SYNOPSIS PAPISMI,

THAT IS,

A GENERALL VIEW OF PAPISTRIE: WHEREIN THE WHOLE MYSTERIE OF INIQVITIE, AND SVMME OF ANTICHRISTIAN DOCTRINE IS SET
downe,which is maintained this day by the Synagogue
of Rome,againſt the Church of
Chriſt:

TOGETHER WITH AN ANTITHESIS OF THE TRVE
CHRISTIAN FAITH, AND AN ANTIDOTVM OR
COVNTERPOYSON OVT OF SCRIPTVRE, AGAINST
the whore of Babylons filthie cuppe of
abominations:

CONFVTED BY SCRIPTVRES, FATHERS, COVNCELS, IMPERIALL CONSTITVTIONS, PONTIFICIALL
decrees, their owne Writers, and our Martyrs.

DIVIDED INTO FIVE BOOKES OR CENTVRIES,
that is, ſo many hundreds of Popiſh hereſies
and errors.

*NOW THIS THIRD TIME PERVSED AND
publiſhed by the former Author, and augmented with a fiſt hundred
of errors, and other neceſſarie additions, to be ſeene in the
end of the Preface.*

1.CORINTH. 11.9.
There muſt be hereſies, that they which are approued amongſt you, might be knowne.
TITVS. 3.10.
A man that is an heretike, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, auoyde.

AVG. DE VERA RELIG. CAP. 6.
Eccleſia Catholica vtitur gentibus ad materiam operationis ſuæ, hæreticis ad probationem doctrinæ ſuæ, ſchiſmaticis ad documentum ſtabilitatis ſuæ: alios inuitat, alios excludit, alios relinquit, omnibus tamen gratiæ Dei participandæ dat poteſtatem: ſiue illi informandi adhuc, ſiue reformandi, ſiue recolligendi ſunt.
The true Catholike Church doth vſe the Gentiles as matter to worke vpon, heretikes for the triall of their doctrine, ſchiſmatikes to proue their conſtancie: the firſt ſhe inuiteth, the ſecond ſhe excludeth, the third ſhe leaueth, yet to them all ſhe offereth the grace of God: in inſtructing the Gentiles, reforming of heretikes, and bringing home again ſchiſmatikes.

◆

AT LONDON
Imprinted by FELIX KYNGSTON, for THOMAS MAN,
dwelling in Pater noſter row at the ſigne of the
Talbot. 1600.

[illegible]

C.46.k.4.

~~[illegible]~~

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BRITISH MUSEUM

XI

T. d.

TO THE RIGHT VERTVOVS, MOST EXCELLENT, NOBLE AND VICTORIOVS PRINCE KING IAMES OVR DREAD SOVERAIGNE, BY THE grace of God King of England, Scotland, France *and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. long life, happie daies, and moſt proſperous raigne.*

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

MOſt noble and worthie King (my dread Soueraigne) let thoſe words of the heauenly and higheſt Maieſtie now ſound in your princely eares, which the Lord ſpake to *Joſua: Moſes my ſeruant is dead, now therefore ariſe,* verſ. 2. *Euery place, that the ſole of your foote ſhall tread vpon, haue J giuen you,* verſ. 3. *There ſhall not a man be able to withſtand thee all the daies of thy life: as J haue been with* Moſes, *ſo will I be with thee, J will neuer leaue nor forſake thee,* verſ. 5. *Only be thou ſtrong and of a moſt valiant courage,* verſ. 7. *Let not the book of the law depart out of thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night; that thou maiſt obſerue and doe according to all that is written therein,* verſ. 8. This holie Sermon made to *Joſua*, ſheweth his *vocation* that he ſhould riſe vp; the Lords *donation*, the whole land is giuen him; his proſperous ſucceſſe and *preſeruation*, the Lord will neuer leaue him; his righteous and godly *adminiſtration*, in obſeruing and keeping the will and precepts of God. Giue me now leaue (moſt vertuous and Chriſtian Prince) to enlarge briefly theſe foure neceſſarie points, and the ſame to applie to your princely perſon. *Joſua 1.*

1 Our *Moſes* then is dead, Queene *Elizabeth* hath chaunged her earthly kingdome for an heauenly, ſhe hath receiued an immortall crowne of eternitie, for a mortall one and tranſitorie: God hath raiſed your Highnes vp in her place, as a *Joſua* to make perfect *Moſes* conqueſt of Canaan, as a *Salomon* to execute *Dauids* godly purpoſe, as a *Zorobabel* to perfect *Nehemiahs* worke. Though we may complaine with *Juda* for *Ioſias*, *that the breath of our noſtrels, the anoynted of the Lord, is taken away:* yet God hath not left the bodie of the Engliſh Church and *Lament. 4. 20.*

Common-wealth breathleſſe, but hath inſpired new life and breath into it. We can doe no leſſe then as *Ambroſe* ſaith in the death of good *Valentinian: Soluamus bono principi ſtipendiarias lachrymas:* yet the annointing of *Dauid* will wipe away *Samuels* teares. God be bleſſed, it is not with the Church of England, as in *Ambroſe* time, when two godly Emperours *Gratian*, and *Valentinian* were taken away, almoſt together, as he ſaith: *Utrumque Germanum, veluti oculos mihi effoſſos video*: The Church had loſt theſe two brothers, as her two eyes. One called Greece, ἑτερόφθαλμον Ἑλλάδα, becauſe an excellent light as one of their eyes was loſt: but this loſſe being recouered and light ſupplied in your princely excellencie, wee haue no cauſe, as hee of Greece, ſo to ſpeake of noble Britannie. Neither yet is the caſe of Chriſts Church now, ſuch as the ſame father deſcribeth, which according to Chriſts rule *(He that ſmiteth thee vpon the cheeke, turne to him the other)* had receiued a blow vpon both cheekes, when theſe two good Emperours died: *Percuſſa eras Eccleſia in maxilla tua, cum Gratianum amitteres, præbuiſti & alteram quando Valentinianus ereptus:* Nor yet is it with vs as in *Alexanders* armie, when he was dead, which was like, as *Leoſthenes* compared it, to *blind Cyclops, that groped with his hands, hauing loſt his eye.* Our Church hath receiued a blow, but vpon the one cheeke; hath loſt a light, but is not dimmed: God hath appointed your Maieſtie to repaire our breaches, to heale our wounds, to recouer our ſight: and as *Iob* ſaith, *to be a King in the armie, and as one that comforteth the mournors.*

1.Sam.16.1.

Ambroſ.in obit.Valentinian.

Matth.5.

ἐοικέναι τῷ Κυκλωπι μετὰ τὴν τύφλωσιν ἐκτείνοντι πανταχοῦ τὰς χεῖρας.

Iob.29.25.

2 Now alſo is Gods promiſe fulfilled in your Highnes: he hath giuen *vnto you all that the ſole of your foote treadeth vpon*, euen this Engliſh ground, that ioyeth to be viſited by ſo princely a preſence. Much ioy was in the land and great peace enſued vpon the conioyning of two great families of Yorke and Lancaſter, which a long time contended for the Crowne: much more happie is this coniunction, whereby two famous kingdomes, heretofore at variance, are now vnited: like as *Iſaie* propheci̇eth; *In that day ſhall there be a path from Egypt to Aſſhur, and Aſſhur ſhall come to Egypt, and Egypt to Aſſhur, ſo the Egyptians ſhall worſhip with Aſſhur.* Two thouſand yeeres and more haue theſe nations of England and Scotland been diuided in gouernment: but now wee may truly ſay, there is *vnus paſtor, vnum ouile*: and what els may this betoken, but that wee ſhall all ſhortly be brought to one ſheepfold to waite for the appearing of our great ſhepheard Ieſus Chriſt. In one Religion and holie worſhip of God, theſe two nations of England and Scotland haue theſe fortie yeeres (thankes be to God) accorded; but now both in one Religion and the ſame regiment they are conſorted, neuer hereafter (I truſt) to be diuorced. *Melanthius* among the Athenians vſed to ſay, that *the Citie was preſerued by the Orators diſſenſion*: but our ſtate ſhall

Iſai.19.23.

Σώζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων διχοστασίας.

be confirmed by this happie vnion: your Maieſtie is that poliſhed corner ſtone, that hath coupled theſe two walles together, and as *Ezechiels* tallies put together two bodies in one: not as *Xerxes* that ioyned Europe and Aſia only with the Helleſpontian bridge made of timber and ſtone, but as *Alexander*, that in manners and conditions made them ſociable. Happie are theſe daies, and happie are you (O Prince) that haue wrought this wonder, and happie are our eyes that doe ſee theſe two renowned Countries conſenting in true *Religion*, and combined by one regall *iuriſdiction*. *Demaratus*, when he ſaw *Alexander* at Suſa weeping for ioy, ſaid, that the Grecians departed, wanted one great ioy, *that they had not ſeene Alexander ſitting in Darius* throne: And God we truſt ſhall ſo direct your royall Maieſtie to gouerne his Church in true Religion and pietie, and this Common-wealth in peace and tranquilitie, that wee may thinke our ſelues happie, ouer thoſe that are at reſt, who liue to ſee it.

Ezech. 37.17.

ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ εἶδον ἐν τῷ Δαρείῳ θρόνῳ καθήμενον.

3 The Lord ſayth further to *Ioſua, As I haue bin with* Moſes, *ſo will I be with thee:* So, ſeeing your Maieſtie profeſſeth and protecteth the Goſpell of Christ, as your noble predeceſſor did, the Lord will be with you, as he was with Queene *Elizabeth*. Thus the Prophet teſtifieth of *Ioſias:* when he iudged the cauſe of the afflicted and poore, he proſpered, was it not becauſe he knew me, ſayth the Lord? Religion and Righteouſnes are the ſupporters of Princes Thrones. The vaine ſucceſſe of the heathen Rulers is not worthie of mention: as of *Sylla*, who was ſo proſperous in his exploits, that he called himſelfe Fortunes ſonne: or of *Iulius Cæſar*, who ſayling in a great tempeſt, when the Pilot was doubtfull to ſet forward, ſayd, *Go to now hoiſe vp the ſayles, remember that thou carrieſt* Cæſar, *and* Cæſars *fortune:* theſe were but their vaine brags. For though for a while they proſpered, yet their ſtate was ſoone altered: the firſt dyed in ſhame and ignominie, the other was ſlaine by treacherie: It is vertue that maketh Kings victorious, and pietie that bringeth proſperitie. Neuer any Prince, whoſe fame is celebrated in heathen ſtories, eſcaped more dangers, then noble *Alexander:* tenne ſeuerall times he was wonderfullie deliuered; among the *Illyrians* his head was wounded with a ſtone, his neck bruſed with a barre: at *Granicum* he was cut in the head by a ſword: at *Iſſum* wounded in the thigh: at *Gaza* falling frō his horſe, his arme was put out of ioynt: at *Maracatarda* his hucklebone was broken: among the *Indians* ſhot in the ſhoulder: among the *Gandridæ* wounded in the leg: and at *Mallus* ſhot into the breſt with a dart where the yron was left behinde: in ſcaling the *Aornian* rocks, which ſeemed higher then the flying of birds, he was in great perill: beſide he eſcaped many treacheries and conſpiracies of diuers diſcontented perſons about him. This happie ſucceſſe of *Alexander* is aſcribed

Iere. 22.16.

Plutarch. de fortuna Romanor.

Plutarch. de fortun. Alexan. oration. 1.

by

by the wiſer heathen to his reuerend opinion of the gods then worſhipped, to whom he referred the praiſe of his victories, who hauing ſurprized the Barbarians, ſent tenne thouſand talents into *Greece* to build temples for the gods. But greater deliuerance from the externall inuaſion and internall practiſing, from forraine aſſaults, and treacherous attempts at home, neuer any Prince had, then our late Soueraigne your Maieſties moſt noble predeceſſor. The ſhield of faith defended her, the helmet of her hope protected her, the ſword of the ſpirit, the word of God, did fight for her: Feare not then, O noble Prince, as God was with *Moſes*, ſo will he be with *Ioſua*. Queene *Elizabeth* hath left your Maieſtie her ſucceſſor in dominion, her heire for religion, the image of her clemencie, and other princely vertues, the patterne of her happie ſucceſſe: ſhe ſhall not dye as long as you liue; her memorie is reuiued in your Maieſtie; her princely benignitie remaineth in your noble conſanguinitie: that we may ſay with *Ambroſe* in the death of *Theodoſius*, *Tantus imperator nobis receſſit, ſed totus non receſſit, reliquit eum nobis ſucceſſorem, in quo eum debemus agnoſcere.*

Ambroſe in obit. Theodoſ.

4 Concerning the vpright and religious adminiſtration of both Church and Common-wealth affaires, as *Ioſua* is a mirror for all Princes; ſo therein of your princely prudence, pious conſcience, exquiſite learning and ſcience, as our neighbour-Church and Countrie hath had many yeares ioyfull experience, ſo we truſt to haue comfortable knowledge and *cogniſance*. *Ioſua* was bid that the booke of God ſhould not depart out of his mouth: ſo we doubt not, but that beſide other books of learning, your highneſſe is often exerciſed in Gods booke. *Homer* was not ſo familiar to *Alexander*, *Anaxagoras* with *Pericles*, *Plato* with *Dion*, *Panetius* with *Scipio*, *Athenodorus* with *Cato*, as we truſt the Prophets and propheticall men are to your Maieſtie: and as *Valentinian* made account of *Ambroſe*, *Sibi ſalutem quandam venturam arbitrabatur*, as *Ambroſe* ſayth, and he himſelfe was likewiſe affected to the Emperour, *Quam me ipſum pro tua obtuliſſem fide*, ſaith he, as your Maieſtie ſhall finde all the Miniſters and profeſſors of the Goſpell obliged in like deuotion toward you.

Ambr. in obit. Valent.

Infamous is the memorie of barbarous *Atias* King of *Scythia*, who when *Amænias* the Muſitian playd before him, ſayd, he had rather heare the neying of a horſe: and of vniuſt *Antigonus*, who when one preſented vnto him a booke of Iuſtice, refuſed it: of rude *Lucinias*, who thought learning a vice in a Prince. But the fame of your princely care to religion, and fauour of learning, hath made me bold to offer this treatiſe of religion to your Highneſſe: which with the Author thereof, and the truth it maintaineth, I humblie in the name of this Church, whereof I am a ſmall member, do commend to your gratious defence, patronage, and protection: the ſame which two yeares ſince I preſumed to ſend to your highneſſe, as a token of loue from a Miniſter of the Goſpell to a Chriſtian Prince, ſo I now againe preſent it vnder your Highneſſe name as a pledge of loyaltie from a faithfull ſubiect to his moſt dread and deare Soueraigne. Saint *Luke* wrote his Goſpell to noble *Theophilus:* Saint *Paule* reioyced in the defence of the truth before King *Agrippa,* *Act.26.3.27.* which beleeued the Prophets. *Quadratus* a Chriſtian Philoſopher, offered his Apologie of the Chriſtian faith to the Emperour *Adrian*; *Iuſtinus* *Hieron.catal.1. ſcriptor.* to *Antoninus Pius*; *Apollinarius* to *Marc. Antonius:* And we the Miniſters of the Goſpell do flie for defence of our faith to your Chriſtian Maieſtie. As *Demetrius Phalerius* gaue counſell to the King, that he *ſhould prouide bookes treating of the affaires of the Kingdome, that he might finde that in writing, which his friends did forbeare to tell him:* So I haue exhibited this Treatiſe of Religion, that where leaſure admitteth no conference, your Highneſſe owne reading may informe your conſcience.

And now (moſt noble King) ſeeing by Gods prouidence you are aduanced to the regiment of this noble Kingdome, not attayning the ſame as *Alexander* by Conqueſt, or by chance, as *Darius* King of *Perſia* by the neying of an horſe, *Aegon* King of *Argiues* by the flying of an Eagle, or by lot, as the Athenian Law-makers; but by Gods direction, and your lawfull ſucceſſion: the Lord now ſayth to you, as to *Ioſua, Only be ſtrong, and of a moſt valiant courage.* Yea, and I am bold to ſay to your Maieſtie, which *S. Paule* ſayd to *Timothie* according to the pro- *1.Tim.5.18.* phecies which went before vpon you, *That you by them ſhould fight a good fight:* ſo now beginneth to be fulfilled that prophecie of the Reuelation, *That the tenne hornes,* that is, *Kings and Princes, which before gaue* *Reuel.17.16.* *their power to the beaſt, ſhall make her deſolate and naked, eate her fleſh, and burne her with fire:* that is, *ſhall vtterly ouerthrow the kingdome of Antichriſt.* King *Henry* the eight, of worthy memory, we truſt was herein a Prophet: *England* (ſayth he) *hath taken leaue of popiſh crafts for euer, neuer to be delu-* *Fox.pag.1083.* *ded of them hereafter: Romane Biſhops haue nothing to do with Engliſh people, the one doth not traffike with the other, at leaſt though they will haue to deale with vs, we will none of their merchandiſe, none of their ſtuffe.*

Queene *Elizabeth* was herein a Propheteſſe, who in the firſt yeare *Stow ann.1. Eliza.* of her raigne made this anſwere to the Parliament houſe: *It is not to be feared, but God will ſo worke in my heart, and in your wiſdoms, as good prouiſion by his help may be made in conuenient, whereby the Realme ſhall not remaine deſtitute of an heire, that may be a fit Gouernour, and peraduenture more beneficiall to the Realme, then ſuch of-ſpring as may come of me.* This princely heire beneficiall to the Realme, as we all ſee this day, God hath prouided your Maieſtie to be, *vpon whom our eyes are, not only as vppon* οὐδεὶς ἀθηναίων μελὰν ἱμάτιον δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐνεδύσατο. *an other Pericles,* who neuer cauſed any of the *Athenians* to weare a black

garment,

τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμονικῶς, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις δεσποτικῶς χρώμενος. garment, or *Alexander*, who followed not *Ariſtotles* counſell, to be as a Prince to the *Grecians*, as a Maiſter to the *Barbarians*: but was equall and indifferent to all; nor as vpon *Titus* the Emperour, whoſe ſaying was, *that no man ought to go ſad away from the Prince*: But we looke toward *Iſay* 32. 1. your Maieſtie as vnto *Hezekiah*, to be as an hiding-place from the *Ioſua* 14. 12. winde, and as a refuge from the tempeſt; as a *Caleb* to expell the *Anakims*; as a *Dauid* to driue out the *Iebuſites*; as a *Ioſias* to the *Chemarims*, and all enemies to God and Religion. The Engliſh Nation ſayth vnto *2.Sam.5.* your Higneſſe, as the *Iſraelites* to *Dauid*, *You are our bone and our fleſh*: We come to bring you from *Hebron* to *Ieruſalem*: all *Iſrael* is yours, and not *Iuda* only: God hath a great worke to be perfected by your hands: what *Dauid* begun, *Salomon* muſt finiſh. God giue your Maieſtie ſtrength, and multiplie the yeares of your happie raigne, as *Dauids* time in *Ieruſalem* exceeded his raigne in *Hebron*; that your Maieſtie may attayne to the ſacred old age of Queene ELIZABETH, and ſo many yeares gouerne his Church militant in earth in the Euangelicall veritie, as that you may in the triumphant Church in heauen be receiued to the Angelicall ſocietie.

Your Maieſties moſt humble ſubiect

BRITISH MUSEUM

ANDREVV WILLET,

Miniſter of the Goſpell.

THE PREFACE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

BRITISH MUSEUM

*IT may ſeeme ſtrange (good Chriſtian Reader) that the Goſpell hauing
been taught amongſt vs by Gods eſpeciall goodneſſe and mercie, nowe
theſe two and fortie yeeres, with great euidence of trueth, plaine demonſtration
out of Scripture, and moſt apparant conuiction of the aduerſarie,
that there yet ſhould be found among vs, whoſe eares are open to
heare, & their hearts more ready to beleeue lies, than to receiue the truth.
What els ſhould be the reaſon hereof, I cannot iudge, but that, which the
Apoſtle rendreth:* Becauſe they receiued not the loue of the truth,
that they might be ſaued, God ſhal ſend them ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhould beleeue
lies, 2.Theſſal.2.11. *And therefore we may ſay of them, as* Hierome *of ſome in his time :* Vnum
tibi confiteor, mores meorum optimè noui, facilius eos vinci poſſe, quam perſuaderi :
*I will confeſſe one thing vnto you, I know their manners very well, they may be ſooner ouercome,
then perſwaded :* aduerſ.Luciferian. *For if our Sauiour Chriſtes rule do hold, as it muſt
needes ſtand:* Ex fructibus eorum cognoſcetis, &c. *Yee ſhall knowe them by their fruites,
Matth.7.16. how can that Religion be iudged to be good, that bringeth forth ſuch bad fruits as
treacherie, conſpiracies, practiſes againſt Prince and Countrie, which things are ſo notoriouſly
knowne, and ſo freſh in euery mans memorie, that for proofe hereof I neede not deſcend to particulars.
VVhat aileth then theſe men, that they cannot conſent in Religion with vs: we build our
faith onely vpon the Scriptures, we ſeeke onely the glorie of Chriſt, abaſing our ſelues, and our corrupt
nature, onely extolling grace: which of theſe can offend them: they enioy their liuings, whereas
Proteſtants were denied their liues; they haue libertie, we were kept in thraldome and miſerie;
they grow rich and purchaſe, the Proteſtants could not holde their owne. I cannot ſee then, what it
is, that ſhould diſcontent them: did not the Prophet* Ezechiel *well propheſie of ſuch:* They Geneſ.49.17.
doe eate the good paſture, and tread downe the reſt with their feete: they haue drunke Ezec.39.18.
of the deepe waters, and troubled the reſidue with their feete. *They are not content
themſelues to eate the fat, and drinke the ſweete of the Land, but ſome of them (for I accuſe not all)
haue laboured and practiſed to diſturbe our peace, and to trouble our quiet ſtate. But let not vs (good
brethren) be offended at theſe things. Firſt, let vs not be aſtoniſhed, as though ſome ſtrange thing
had befallen vs: for Saint* Paul *hath ſaid, That hereſies muſt be among vs, that they which are* 1.Cor.11.19.
approued may be knowne: in time of perſecution exercebant patientiam Eccleſiæ, *they did
proue the patience of the Church: but now as* Auguſtine *ſaith,* exercent ſapientiam; *they doe
exerciſe the wiſdome of the Church. Let not the number and multitude offend vs of thoſe, which
doe band themſelues againſt the Church: for ſo it muſt be,* Chriſts flocke is but a little flocke. Luk.12.32.
*Let vs not be afraid of their wiſdome, power or ſtrength: the Scripture teacheth vs, that they in
their generation are wiſer then the children of light: yet the Lord our God, that is with vs, and
fighteth for vs, is wiſer and ſtronger then they. Let them not deceiue vs with a ſhew of holines:* for
Sathan can transforme himſelfe into an Angel of light: *neither let it moue vs becauſe they* 2.Cor.11.14.
*endure ſome trouble and loſſe of their goods, and impriſonment of their bodies for their religion
(which is falſely ſo called) for Saint* Peter *ſaith, That men may ſuffer as euil doers, and ſo doe theſe.* 1.Pet.4.15.
And Saint Auguſtine *ſaith,* Si pœna martyres faceret, omnes carceres martyribus pleni In Pſalm 34.
eſſent, omnes catenæ martyres traherent: *If the puniſhment onely, and not the cauſe made* Conc.2.
Martyrs, all priſons ſhould be full of Martyrs, and all that are bound with fetters and chaines

ſhould be Martyrs. But let vs (not ſtumbling at any of theſe ſtones) be conſtant in the faith, and goe forward in the profeſſion of the Goſpell, which is grounded vpon the Scripture, ſealed with the blood of Martyrs, waited and attended vpon theſe many yeeres, as the miſtreſſe with the handmaid, with peace, proſperitie, and aboundance of al bleſſings. Bellarm.de laicis.lib.3. cap.1. *With them there is no peace to be had : their owne Doctors teach, that no reconcilation can be made betweene vs : And indeede ſo it is, for there is no fellowſhip betweene light and darkeneſſe.* Deut.22.10. *The Iſraelites were commanded, not to ſowe their ground with diuers ſeedes, nor to plough with an Oxe and an Aſſe. What is this elſe, but that the Church of God cannot conſiſt of beleeuers and Idolaters, of true Chriſtians and hypocrites, Catholikes and Heretikes, Proteſtants and Papiſts? Their ſeede and ours is diuers : they ſow the doctrine of men, and humaine traditions : we ſow the ſeede of Gods word. The Oxe is onely fit for the Lords plough, that chaweth the cud, and deuideth the hoofe; the Aſſe doth neither : Who is he that deuideth the hoofe and chaweth the cud?* Homil 35. Auguſtine *telleth vs,* Fiſſa vngula pertinet ad diſcernendum quid dextrum, quid ſiniſtrum : ruminatio pertinet ad eos, qui cogitant poſtea quid audierint : *He deuideth the hoofe, that deuideth and diſcerneth what is good, and what euill : and they chawe the cud, that doe meditate of that, which they heare out of the worde. But ſuch are not the common Catholikes among the Papiſts : for they doe not allowe euery one, the miſtreſſe, the maid, the ploughman and artificer to talke of Scripture, or moue queſtions and doubts in Religion : and ſo make them Aſſes, not Oxen to chawe the cud.* Rhemiſt.Prefat ſect.7. Rhemiſt.1.Ioan 4.ſect 1. *They ſay it belongeth not to euery Chriſtian, to diſcerne betweene true and falſe doctrine, but they muſt take their faith of their ſuperiours, and obey them in all things : and ſo neither would they haue them deuide the hoofe, taking from them their diſcerning iudgement.* Dan.2.33. *There is no agreement therefore to be looked for at their handes : no more then yron or clay can be tempered together. Their old veſſels cannot receiue the new liquor of the Goſpell : but they muſt firſt become new themſelues : they muſt firſt put off their beggerly ragges of popiſh ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, or els they ſhall neuer put on Chriſt :* Ierem.15.19. *And to be ſhort,* Reuertantur illi ad te, ne tu reuertaris ad illos : *Let them returne vnto vs, we will not returne to them, as the Lord ſaith to* Ieremie.

But leſt now we ſhould be thought to ſpeake without booke, deepely charging our aduerſaries with hereſies, lyes, falſe doctrine, and prouing nothing : we will take ſome paines to ſet downe ſome principall opinions of the Papiſts, which haue in the purer ages of the Church been condemned for hereſies.

1 Marcellina *the companion of* Carpocrates *the archheretike, worſhipped the Images of Ieſus and Paul, and offered incenſe vnto them,* Auguſt.hæreſ.7. *So the Papiſts doe worſhip the Images of Saints, and in the ſecond Nicene Councell it was decreed, that the Image of God ſhould be worſhipped with the ſame honour that God himſelfe was.*

2 *The* Heracleonites *did annoynt their ſicke which lay a dying, with oyle and balme,* Hereſ.16. *So the Papiſts haue found out extreme Vnction and made it a Sacrament.*

3 *The* Caiani *did hold, that the ſinne of* Iudas *in betraying Chriſt, was a benefite to mankind,* Hereſ,18. *The Papiſts come ſomewhat neere : one of them affirmeth, that the Iewes had ſinned mortally, if they had not crucified Chriſt :* Ex Iuel.defenſ.Apolog.p.676.

4 *The* Pepuziani *iudged heretikes, becauſe they permitted women to be Prieſts,* Hereſ.27. *So it was decreed in the Florentine Councel among the Papiſts, that in the caſe of neceſſitie, not onely a lay man, but an heretike, pagan, and a woman too, may baptize.*

5 *The heretikes called* Angelici *were condemned, becauſe they worſhipped Angels,* Hereſ.39. *So the* Rhemiſts *teach, that Angels may be worſhipped,* Annot.in Apocal.3.ſect.6.

6 *There was a ſect of heretikes that walked with bare feete, becauſe God ſaid to* Moſes, *put off thy ſhooes, &c.* Hereſ.68. *And ſo are there of Friers that goe barefoot, as the Friers Flagellants, and Franciſcanes.*

7 *The* Priſcilianiſts *did make the Apocrypha, that is, bookes not Canonicall of equall authoritie with Scripture,* Hereſ.70. *So doe the Papiſts, the bookes of* Tobie, Iudith, Machabees, *and others, which are not found in the Canon of the Hebrue, they make them bookes of Canonicall Scripture, and part of the word of God : yea, they ſay, that whatſoeuer the Paſtors of the Church doe teach beſide Scripture in the vnitie of the Church, is to be taken for the word of God,* Rhem. Annot.1.Theſ.cap.2.ſect.12.

8 *An Archheretike called* Marcus, *did holde that Chriſt did not verily ſuffer and indeede, but*

in ſhew onely and appearance, Hereſ.14. *The* Apollinariſts *alſo affirmed, that Chriſt tooke humaine fleſh without a ſoule,* Hereſ.55. *I pray you, how farre are the Papiſts from theſe hereſies? for they affirme that Chriſt ſuffered not in ſoule: Nay the* Rhemiſts *hold, that it is a blaſphemous aſſertion ſo to ſay,* Annot.Hebru.5.v.7. *What is this els, but either with* Marcus *to ſay, that Chriſt ſuffered but in ſhew, and that he felt nothing in ſoule, when he cryed out vpon the Croſſe, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? for if there were no ſuch matter indeede, Chriſt muſt haue vttered thoſe words onely in outward ſhew and pretenſe. Againe, they cannot ſhift off handſomely from them the* Apollinariſts *hereſie: for why did Chriſt take vpon him our fleſh and ſoule, but to redeeme man, that was loſt both in body and ſoule? and therefore he muſt needes haue ſuffered both in body and ſoule: for if there were no vſe of the humaine ſoule in the worke of our redemption, you might as well ſay with the* Apollinariſts *that Chriſt had no ſoule at all. Thus* Auguſtine Cont. Felician.cap.13. *reaſoneth:* Si totus homo perijt, totus beneficio ſaluatoris indiguit; ſi totus beneficio ſaluatoris indigebat, totum Chriſtus veniendo ſaluauit: *If the whole man both in body and ſoule were loſt, he wholly had neede of a Sauiour: and if he wholly needed a Sauiour; Chriſt by his comming did wholly ſaue him.* Ergo, *it followeth that Chriſt muſt wholly haue dyed and ſuffered in body and ſoule to redeeme man, that was wholly loſt in body and ſoule.*

The Anthropomorphites *did imagine, that God was in ſhape and proportion like a man,* 9 Hereſ.50. *Doe not our* Rhemiſts *ſauour ſtrongly of this hereſie, which allowe the Image of God to be pictured like an olde man with gray haires in their Churches?* Annot. Act. cap.17. verſ.29.

The heretikes Abeliani, *thought it not lawfull for their ſect to liue without wiues, and yet they* 10 *neuer vſed, nor kept company with their wiues,* Hereſ.87. *Doe not the Papiſts come neere them, which hold that their Prieſts which were maried before orders, ought not afterward to haue acceſſe to their wiues, yet are they their wiues ſtill, neither is the mariage knot diſſolued betweene them?* Rhemiſt.Act.21.ſect.1.

The Pelagian *heretikes did hold three pernicious opinions. Firſt, that a man may be perfect in* 11 *this life and keepe all the Commaundements,* Hereſ.88. *So the* Rhemiſts *ſay, it is poſsible to keepe all the precepts of the law,* Annot Iohan. 14. ſect.1. *Secondly, the* Pelagians *ſay, that grace is giuen vnto men onely to this ende, that they may more eaſily doe thoſe things which they are commanded to doe by their owne freewill,* Hereſ.88. *So the* Rhemiſts *ſay, that man was neuer without freewill, but hauing the grace of Chriſt, it is truly made free,* Annot.Ioan.8.ſect.2. *What is this els, but that his free will is made more free, and that grace helpeth him not wholly to worke, but more eaſily onely? Thirdly, the* Pelagians *hold,* Gratiam Dei non ad ſingulos actus dari: *That the grace of God is not needfull to be giuen at euery aſſay, but that their free will in moſt things is ſufficient,* Auguſt.Epiſt.106. *So the* Rhemiſts *ſay, that though the Gentiles beleeued ſpecially by Gods grace, yet they beleeued alſo of their owne free will,* Act.13.ſect.2. *What ſay they elſe, but that a man may beleeue by his owne free will without grace?*

The Manichees *condemned the eating of fleſh, as being vncleane and impure,* Hereſ.46. *So* 12 *the Papiſts alſo forbid at certaine times the eating of fleſh. And herein they perhaps differ from the* Manichees: *They held that fleſh was vncleane by creation: The Papiſts by reaſon of the curſe: for God curſed the earth, and not the waters (ſay they) and therefore vpon faſting dayes fiſh is preferred before fleſh,* Durand.lib.6.capit.de alijs ieiunijs. *So they both agree in this, that fleſh is a thing impure and vncleane: for if they had not ſo thought, why did not that popiſh Biſhop of London* Stokeſlie, *rather ſuffer the pigge to be eaten, which was found in one* Frebarnes *houſe in* Frebarne Fox.p.1585. *Lent time, his wife being great with child longing for a peece thereof, then command it as an vncleane thing to be buried in Finsburie fields, and ſo the good creature of God to be ſpoyled and loſt?*

There was alſo another moſt blaſphemous opinion of the Manichees: *for they helde that the parts and members of Chriſt were diſperſed euery where, and that in their meats and drinkes, they did deliuer the members of Chriſt, which were tyed and bound in the creatures.* Tales *(ſaith* Auguſtine) ſunt electi eorum, vt non ſint ſaluandi à Deo, ſed ſaluatores Dei; liberant enim Auguſt.in Pſal.104. membra Chriſti, cum manducant: *The elect amongſt them (for ſo they call their principals) do make themſelues the ſauiours & redeemers of God, for they do ſet at libertie (as they imagine) the members of Chriſt, he is not their ſauiour. Compare nowe the opinion of the Papiſts with theſe heretikes: ſee if they be not coſin germanes: for as they made themſelues,* ſaluatores Chriſti, *ſauiours of Chriſt : ſo is it a ſaying among the Papiſts, that* Sacerdos eſt creator creatoris ſui : *the Prieſt at Maſſe, which by fiue words ſpeaking maketh the body of Chriſt, is a maker, ſay they, of his maker, a creator of his creator,* Ex Iuell.lib.artic.pag.615. *But herein the Papiſts goe beyond the* Manichees : *for they deliuered the bodie and members of Chriſt from the priſon of the creatures, and ſent them vp to heauen : the Papiſts bring them downe from heauen, and cloſe them in the creature, vnder the ſhape of bread and wine.*

Thus farre we thought good to ſhew, how neere the Papiſts come to the heretikes of olde time : that it might appeare to the world, that we doe not vniuſtly charge them with hereſie, and that we haue good cauſe to ſhunne and abhorre their poyſoned doctrine. Many other hereſies I could haue produced ; which are reuiued by our aduerſaries, and raked againe as it were out of their graues, where they did quietly reſt: But that I am not of purpoſe nowe to deale in this matter : which in a ſeuerall Treatiſe I haue handled more at large.

In Tetraſtylon

I haue onely by the way giuen a taſt of the bitter and ſowre doctrine of Poperie : that our countrie men, which haue been any thing that way infected, may take warning, that if they haue ſipped of the whore of Babylons cuppe of fornication, they ſhould leaue off, before they haue drunke more deepely, leaſt they in the ende be conſtrained to drawe out the very dregges thereof, and to be drunken with their intoxicate cup. If they will in time be warned, they may : a word to a wiſe man is ſufficient : and if they be wiſe, they will alſo take heede in time, I ſay vnto them, as Auguſtine *did ſometime to the Donatiſts :* Si ſapitis, bene & rectè, ſi autem non ſapitis, nos veſtri curam geſſiſſe non pœnitebit, quia etſi cor veſtrum ad pacem non conuertitur, pax noſtra tamen ad nos reuertitur : *If you will be learned, it is well, and as we wiſh : but if you will not, it repenteth vs not, that we haue had ſome care of you : for although your heart be not conuerted to the peace of the Goſpell, yet our peace returneth to vs againe.*

Contra Petilianum.3.59.

Here by the way, I muſt remember my ſelfe of one thing, which I had almoſt ouerſlipped. Euery where both in this Preface and in this whole booke, ſpeaking of our aduerſaries, I call them Papiſts, as we are knowne by the name of Proteſtants : I ſuppoſe our Engliſh Romaniſts will take no offence or griefe hereby ſo to be called : although I haue heard that ſome of them hold great ſcorne to be named Papiſts, yet I ſee no reaſon, why they ſhould ſo doe. The Rhemiſts like this name well enough, becauſe it is not deriued from any one man, but from their Popes and chiefe Biſhops, to whom (ſay they) we are bound to cleaue in Religion, and obey in all things : So to be a Papiſt (ſay they) is to be a Chriſtian man, a childe of the Church, and a ſubiect to Chriſts Vicar. Seeing then this name pleaſeth their ghoſtly fathers of Rhemes ſo well, there is no reaſon why they ſhould miſlike it : and therefore we will vſe it ſtill, as beſt expreſſing their profeſſion, who are pinned vpon the Popes ſleeue for their faith & Religion. As likewiſe the name of Proteſtants we refuſe not : which name I thinke, though elſwhere before in vſe, yet in England tooke beginning in King Henry *the eights dayes; when there was a generall proteſtation made in the name of the King, the whole Councell and Clergie of England againſt the Pope : In the which proteſtation, thus we finde :* England hath taken her leaue of popiſh crafts for euer, neuer to be deluded with them hereafter : Romane Biſhops haue nothing to doe with Engliſh people : the one doth not traffique with the other : at the leaſt, though they will haue to deale with vs, we will none of their merchandiſe, none of their ſtuffe. *Thus we ſee how a Papiſt and a Proteſtant are defined : A Papiſt is he that cleaueth to the Pope in Religion, and is obedient to him in all things : A proteſtant is he, that profeſſeth the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and hath renounced the iuriſdiction of the ſea of Rome, and the forced and vnnaturall obedience to the Pope. Theſe names therefore as beſt fitting both our profeſſions, ſeeing no cauſe to the contrary, I purpoſe euery where to vſe and retaine throughout this Treatiſe.*

Annot.Act.11. ſect.4.

Fox.p.1083.

I would here finiſh and make an end of this Preface, but that firſt I muſt make the Reader acquainted with the order and method, which I haue followed in ſetting downe the controuerſies : The whole body therefore of the controuerſies betweene the Papiſts and vs, our worthie and learned countriman D.Whitakers *hath digeſted and diſpoſed into a ſingular Method, the which I haue propounded to my ſelfe throughout this diſcourſe to obſerue.*

The hereſies and errors therefore of Poperie, doe either impugne the offices of Chriſt, with his benefites and merites, or his perſon : the moſt of them are of the firſt kinde, ſome errors they maintaine againſt his perſon, but not many.

Firſt, the name of Chriſt ſheweth his offices: for it ſignifieth annoynted: he was annoynted to be our Prophet, King and Prieſt: Ieſus betokeneth a Sauiour, and ſetteth forth the benefites of our redemption and ſaluation. Firſt then of this officcs, and then of the benefites, that doe ariſe and ſpring thereof.

The firſt office of our Sauiour Chriſt, is to be our heauenly teacher and Prophet. His heauenly doctrine is contained no where els but in the Scriptures. The firſt generall controuerſie then muſt be of the Scriptures: where there ariſe many queſtions: as of the Canonicall bookes of the Scripture, of the vulgar tranſlation of Scripture, of the perſpicuitie, and plaineneſſe, authoritie, interpretation and perfection of Scripture, with ſuch other.

The ſecond office of Chriſt is to be our King: and becauſe his kingdome is his Church: here we are to handle the controuerſies about the Church: which is either the Church Militant vpon earth, or the Church Triumphant in heauen.

The Church militant is to be conſidered, either in generall, where theſe queſtions are moued, what the Church is, whether it be viſible or not, by what markes it is knowne, whether it may erre, what authoritie it hath. Then the partes of the Church, which are either aſſembled and gathered together, as in generall Councels: where theſe doubts muſt be diſcuſſed, whether generall Councels be neceſſary, by whom they ought to be ſummoned, whether they can erre, whether the Pope be aboue Councels or not, and ſuch like: Or elſe the parts of the Church are ſeuerally to be conſidered, and they are of three ſortes, either the chieſe parts, the middle and meane parts, the loweſt and baſeſt parts of the Church: The chieſe member they make to be the Pope: where there are many queſtions and of great waight, as whether the regiment of the Church be Monarchicall, whether Peter were appoynted head of the Church, whether the Pope be Peters ſucceſſour, whether he may erre, whether the Pope be Antichriſt, with ſuch other. The middle parts, are their Clerkes, which are either ſecular, as they call them, which haue any Eccleſiaſticall function, where we muſt enquire o their election and degrees, of their ſingle life, and ſuch like; the Regular Clerkes are their Monkes, and other of that profeſſion, where we muſt entreat of vowes, of their ſolitarie life, their habite, their Canonicall houres, with other matters. The loweſt members are the lay men: where the queſtions about the Ciuill Magiſtrate muſt be handled: as whether he may put heretikes to death, whether he haue any power and authoritie in Eccleſiaſticall matters, and hitherto of the Militant Church.

The Triumphant Church conſiſteth either of Angels, or other Saints departed: Concerning the Angels, we diſſent about the orders and degrees of them, about their miniſterie and office, and whether they are to be prayed vnto.

Concerning the Saints departed, there are many queſtions in controuerſie, as of Purgatory, Limbus Patrum, whether they are to be praied vnto, of their Reliques, Images, Temples, Holy daies, and ſuch like.

The third office of Chriſt is his Prieſthood, whereof there are two Parts, his interceſſion, where we muſt enquire, whether Chriſt be the onely Mediatour of interceſſion, and his Sacrifice, where the maine and great controuerſie concerning the Sacraments doth offer it ſelfe: for by the Sacraments the power and efficacie of the death of Chriſt is deriued vnto vs.

Here firſt we muſt entreate of the Sacraments in generall, as of their number, their efficacie, the difference betweene the Sacraments of the olde and new Teſtament: then in particular, as of Baptiſme, and the ſeuerall queſtions thereto belonging, of the Lords Supper, where alſo the great controuerſie about their Idolatrous ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and other neceſſary queſtions muſt be handled. Then follow in order fiue other popiſh Sacraments, to be conſidered of, confirmation, penance, extreame vnction, orders, matrimony. And theſe are the controuerſies concerning the offices of Chriſt.

The controuerſies which concerne the benefits of our redemption, with other ſeuerall queſtions, are theſe. Firſt of the ſtate of man in Paradiſe before his fall: where we are to diſcuſſe of the ſtate of Adams ſoule, and of his bodie, whether it were created immortall, of Paradiſe, whether it were a place knowne, and yet remaining. The ſecond Controuerſie is concerning Adams fall, where the queſtions are handled, of Adams tranſgreſſion, and of originall ſinne, with the ſeuerall parts thereof. The third Controuerſie conſiſteth of the reparation of mankinde: where theſe principall queſtions are decided, of Predeſtination, of Grace, Free will, Faith, Iuſtification, Good workes.

Laſtly, there remaine ſome queſtions about the perſon of Chriſt, as whether he be αὐτόθεος, *that is, God of himſelfe, whether he encreaſed in wiſdome, whether he ſuffered in ſoule, whether he merited for himſelfe, with ſuch other.*

Thus haue we the ſumme and body of Antichriſtian doctrine, which we purpoſe by the grace of God to goe through, beginning at the firſt, and ſo proſecuting euery particular queſtion, till we are come to the laſt. My purpoſe is not to ſet down all the hereſies, which impugne the Chriſtian faith, but onely thoſe which are maintained by the Church of Rome this day; who are the chiefe troublers and diſquieters of the peace of our Church: I ſay therefore with Auguſtine, Omnis Chriſtianus Catholicus iſta non debet credere, ſed nō omnis, qui iſta non credit, conſequenter ſe debet Chriſtianũ credere: *Euery true Chriſtiā is bound not to beleeue theſe things, but yet not ſtraightway euery man, that beleeueth them not; muſt hold himſelfe to be a good Chriſtian, for there are many errors and hereſies in the world beſide papiſtrie: But this we haue only choſen to deale againſt in this treatiſe, as being moſt dangerous to our ſtate, more plauſible to carnall men, and moſt like to infect. I haue now this third time, for thy benefit, Chriſtian Reader, peruſed, corrected, & augmented this worke, and publiſhed it for thy vſe. The ſecond edition was in theſe foure poyntes enlarged more then the former: firſt, I haue anſwered more obiections of the aduerſarie, and propounded more arguments for the truth: Secondly, I haue added the Canons of the auncient Councels throughout for the more liuely euidence of truth: Thirdly, I haue adioyned to euery place of greateſt weight, the ſeale and teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs: Fourthly, this booke containeth one hundreth more of popiſh Errors then the firſt: where I haue briefely touched* Bellarmines *chiefe arguments in ſome maine Controuerſies of our faith, as he hath lately cauſed them to be publiſhed in the third volume of his Controuerſies: which came forth ſince the firſt edition of this booke. In this third edition I haue performed more then in the former, in theſe foure points: Firſt, I haue anſwered all ſuch places of weight, which our aduerſaries allcage out of Scripture, and remoued many more obiections of the aduerſarie than before. Secondly, I haue inſerted more teſtimonies of the Fathers for the proofe of the truth, and anſwered their ſhewe of the Fathers in ſome principall controuerſies: Thirdly, I haue conuinced them by the Lawes Imperiall, and their owne Pontificiall decrees, and by their owne writers. Fourthly, I haue adioyned a confutation of* Bellarmines *firſt booke of Indulgences and Iubilee pardons, and added one Centurie more: ſo that the whole is increaſed to fiue Centuries, that is, ſo many hundreds of popiſh errors and hereſies.*

This, through Gods gracious aſsiſtance I haue performed in this worke, and throughout the ſame, as neere as I could, I haue followed Auguſtines *rule,* Ita ſtylo, ſi potuero moderabor, vt huic operi in Dei voluntate peragendo, nec ea, quæ ſuperſint dicam, nec ea quæ ſatis ſunt prætermittam: *My care hath been ſo to temper my ſtyle, that neither things ſuperfluous ſhould be inſerted, nor things neceſſary omitted. Theſe my labours, farre beyond my ſtrength, though not aboue my hope, by the Lords extraordinarie aſsiſtance (I muſt needes coufeſſe) I haue brought to an ende. Recompence I looke for none, but thy good acceptation (Chriſtian Reader:) it is the good of Gods Church, which I ſeeke: other encouragement (the Lord helpe) in theſe dayes we haue ſmall: I now commend my ſelfe to thy prayer, my labours to thy diligent reading (Chriſtian brother) and both you and them to Gods good bleſsing: who giue vs grace to diſcerne truth from error, and hauing diſcerned them, power to ſhunne the one, and embrace the other: that as he well ſaith,* Speremus, quæ Chriſtus promiſit, & ſequamur quò præceſſit: *that hoping and truſting here to that which Chriſt hath promiſed, we may follow at length, whither he is præceded and gone before vs:*

Amen. Dat. Barleiæ. Idib. Octobr.

Anno. 1600.

Lib. 17. de ciuitat. Dei. c. 1.

Auguſt. de ſalutarib. document. c. 13.

Your harty welwiller and ſeruant to you all
in Chriſt. And. Willet.

THE FIRST BOOKE OR CENTVRIE CONTEINING THE CONTROVERSIES OF RELIGION, WHICH ARISE IN QVESTION BETWEENE THE CHVRCH of God and the Papiſts, about the word of God conteined in the Scriptures, and the Church Militant here vpon earth, with the parts and members thereof.

THE FIRST GENERALL CONTROVERSIE of the holie Scriptures.

ACcording to the method which I haue propounded to my ſelfe (God aſſiſting me by his ſpirit) to obſerue throughout this whole treatiſe of the controuerſies, and as I haue ſet it down in the end of the preface, in the firſt place we are to entreat of ſuch matters as concerne the Propheticall office of Chriſt. He is our Prophet, our heauenly teacher, and Doctor, Matth. 23. verſ. 8. from him proceedeth all holy knowledge: we haue not ſeene God, nor the high things of God: ***but the onely begotten ſonne, which is in the boſome of the father, he hath declared him.*** Iohn 1.18. Wherefore all the true ſheepe of Chriſt ***will heare his voyce,*** Iohn 10.3. His voyce is not elſe where heard but onely in the Scriptures: We muſt heare ***Moſes and the Prophets,*** Luke 16.29. and as S. ***Ambroſe*** well ſaith, ***Qui vult ad Chriſti peruenire myſterium, non ingreditur ad illud, niſi per euangelicæ ſcripturæ ſecretum:*** No man can attaine to the knowledge of Chriſt, but by the euangelicall Scriptures. Firſt of all therefore this great and moſt famous controuerſie betweene vs and our aduerſaries concerning the Scriptures muſt be handled: which is diſtributed into ſeuen ſeuerall queſtions.

Serm. 57.

1 Concerning the Canonicall Scripture, what bookes are to be receiued into the ſacred Canon, what bookes to be reiected and counted apocryphall.

2 Concerning the authenticall Edition of the holy Scriptures, whether the Hebrue, Greeke or Latine tranſlation is chiefly to be followed.

3 Whether the Scriptures ought to be tranſlated into the vulgar and Engliſh tongue: and whether publike prayers and diuine ſeruice ought to be vſed in the ſame tongue.

4 Whether the Scriptures are authorized by the Church, and not rather ſo knowne to be of themſelues.

5 Concerning the perſpicuitie and plainenes of the Scripture, whether it be ſo hard, that the common people may not ſafely be admitted to the reading thereof.

6 Concerning the interpretation of Scripture: which queſtion is diuided into three parts: firſt whether the Scripture admit diuers ſenſes and expoſitions: ſecondly who hath the chiefe authoritie to expound Scripture: thirdly what meanes ought to be vſed in expounding of it.

7 Concerning the perfection of the Scripture, three parts of the queſtion. Firſt, whether the Scriptures be neceſſary: ſecondly, whether they be ſufficient to ſaluation: thirdly, whether there be any traditions beſide neceſſarie to ſaluation.

THE FIRST QVESTION CONCERNING the Canonicall Scripture.

Of the ſtate of the firſt Queſtion.

WE haue not any thing in this place to deale with thoſe heretikes, which denie either the whole Scripture, or any part thereof: but onely with our aduerſaries the Papiſts, that holding all thoſe bookes to be Scripture, which we doe acknowledge, doe adde vnto them other bookes which are not canonicall : ſo that they offend not as other heretikes, in denying any part of the Scripture, but which is as bad, in adding vnto it; for both theſe are accurſed, Reuel. 22.18. And here I could haue wiſhed that they would haue followed S. *Hieroms* counſell, writing thus vnto *Læta*; as touching the canonicall bookes of the olde teſtament, which after he had reckoned vp, as we now hold them, giueth this caueat concerning the Apocrypha: *Caueat omnia Apocrypha, & ſi quando ea, non ad dogmatum veritatem, ſed ad ſignorum reuerentiam legere voluerit, ſciat non eorum eſſe, quorum titulis prænotantur, multaque his admixta vitioſa, & grandis eſſe prudentiæ aurum in luto quærere:* Let her take heede of all the Apocripha, which if ſhe will read, not for the truth of doctrine, but reuerence of the ſtorie, let her know, that they are not their writings, whoſe title they beare, and that many corrupt things are intermingled; and herein lieth great wiſdome, how to gather gold out of durt. *Hieron. ad Lætam.*

Firſt of all briefly before we proceed, let vs ſee who they were that did offend in the firſt kinde, namely in denying and detracting from Scripture. Some heretikes generally reiected the whole Scripture, ſome certaine parts thereof. The *Sadduces* receiued no Scripture, beſides the fiue bookes of *Moſes*; the *Maniches* condemned the whole old teſtament, and ſo did wicked *Marcion*.

The bookes of *Moſes* the *Ptolemaits* refuſed, the booke of the Pſalmes the *Nicolaitaines*, and the *Anabaptiſts* in our dayes: there wanted not which condemned the booke of the Preacher and the Canticles as wanton and laſciuious bookes: and the *Anabaptiſts* are not here behind with their parts. The holy and excellent booke of *Iob* hath alſo found enemies, and ſome of the Rabbins, which doe thinke that the ſtorie is but fained: which hereſie is confuted Ezech. 14.14. for there *Noah, Iob, Daniel* are named together: ſo that it is manifeſt, that ſuch a man there was. Wicked *Porphyrie* refuſeth *Daniel* as forged.

The new teſtament the *Maniches* moſt impiouſly affirmed to be full of lies. *Cerdon* the heretike condemned all but *Lukes* Goſpell. *Cerinthus* receiued none but *Markes*. The *Valentinians* could away with none but *Iohns* Goſpell. The *Alogians* of all other hated *Iohns* writings. The *Ebionites* only admitted *Matthewes* Goſpell. The Acts of the Apoſtles the *Seuerian* heretikes contemned. The *Marcionites* the Epiſtles to *Timothie*, to *Titus*, to the Hebrues. The *Ebionites* could not away with any of S. *Pauls* workes. But the Church of God hath euen from the Apoſtles time acknowledged and receiued all the bookes of the new Teſtament, as they now ſtand together, as by *Origene* a moſt anncient writer of the Church is in theſe words confeſſed: *Sacerdotali tuba primus in Euangelio ſuo Matthæus increpuit; Marcus quoque, Lucas & Ioannes ſuis ſingulis tubis ſacerdotalibus cecinerunt, &c.* Firſt *Matthew* ſoundeth forth his euangelicall trumpet; then follow *Marke, Luke* and *Iohn* ſinging with their Prieſtly trumpets; *Peter* alſo ſendeth forth the trumpet of his two Epiſtles; *Iames* alſo and *Iude*, and *Iohn* maketh melodie with his trumpet in his Epiſtles, and the Apocalypſe, and *Luke* in the acts of the Apoſtles: *Et Paulus in quatuordecim epiſtolarum ſuarum fulminat tubis*: And *Paul* thundereth out in the trumpets of his fourteene Epiſtles. Vnto theſe former heretikes adde the *Zuinckfeldians* and *Libertines* that refuſe to be iudged by the Scripture, calling it a dead letter, and flie vnto the inward and ſecret reuelations of the ſpirit. And by your leaue the Papiſts are not far from this hereſie ſome of them: although the Ieſuite crie neuer ſo much with open mouth, that we belie them, *De verbo Dei lib. 1. cap. 1.* Take but a little paines to peruſe that worthy learned mans and reuerent Fathers defence of the Apologie p.521. there you ſhall finde how that *Lodouicus* a Canon Lateran in Rome, ſaid in the Councell of Trent, that the Scripture is but *mortuum atramentum*, dead inke. The Biſhop of Poitiers ſaid, that it was but *res inanimis & muta*, a dead and dumbe thing. *Albertus Pigghius*, that the Scriptures were but *muti Iudices*, dumbe Iudges. *Eckius* calleth it *Euangelium nigrum, & theologiam atramentariam*, the blacke Goſpell and inkie diuinitie: and it is *naſus cereus*, a noſe of waxe ſaith he. And now in commeth *Hoſius* with his part: that it is but loſt labor which is beſtowed in the Scripture: for the Scripture is a creature, and a certaine bare letter. But the Ieſuit ſaith, that we abuſe the name of that man, for thoſe are not his owne words, but he reporteth them of *Zuinckfeldius*. Be it ſo for this time, though *M. Iewel* beſtow ſome paines to proue them to be according to his owne meaning. Though theſe be not *Hoſius* owne words, yet theſe are not much better, yea far worſe, who ſpeaking of *Dauids* writing of the Pſalms, ſaith thus, *Quid ni ſcriberet, ſcribimus indocti doctique poemata paſſim*, why might not he write (ſaith he) being a temporall Prince, as *Horace* ſaith, we write ballads euery body both learned and vnlearned? *Hoſ. lib. 2. cont. Brentium.*

Homil.7. in Ioſu.

I pray you now how much doe theſe Papiſts differ from the Libertines and *Zuinckfeldians*, vnleſſe it be in this, that the Libertines cleaue to ſecret reuelations; the Papiſts are pinned vpon the Popes ſleeue, affirming that it is no Scripture nor Goſpell without the determination of the Church. Nay one of them ſaith, *Determinatio Eccleſiæ appellatur Euangelium*, the determination of the Church is called the Goſpell, *Iohannes Maria*. Will you yet heare of greater impietie? *Anno Domini.* 1240. or thereabout, there was a booke ſet forth by the Friers, called *Euangelium æternum*, full of their owne fables, and abominable errors: they taught that Chriſts Goſpell was not to be

Fox. pag. 322. ex Mat. Pariſienſ.

compared vnto it,and that the Goſpell of Chriſt ſhould be preached but fiftie yeares. This booke with much adoe was condemned by the Pope,(but after long diſputation) and it was burnt ſecretly,leaſt the Friers ſhould haue been diſcredited: and withall,the booke of *Guilielmus de S. amore,* which he had written againſt the Friers,and therein diſputed againſt their Goſpell, was commanded to be burned with the other. Beſides theſe hereſies, their opinion alſo is to be reiected, that thinke that the holy writers might in ſome things be deceiued,as miſtaking one thing for another,or fayling in their memorie. To this opinion *Eraſmus* enclined, whom *Bellarmine* taketh paine to confute,*lib.*1*.cap.6.* He might as well haue turned his argument vpon *Melchior Canus* their owne champion, who thinketh that *Stephen* Act.7. in telling ſo long a ſtorie might forget himſelfe in ſome things, *Can.lib.*2*.cap.*18. But we herein miſlike both *Eraſmus* conceite,and *Canus* his fancie,and who elſe haue ſo thought of the Scriptures;and ſay rather with S. *Auguſtine:Tantummodo ſcripturis canonicis hanc debeo ſeruitutem,&c.* I doe onely to the canonicall Scriptures owe this ſeruice and obedience,which I doe ſo follow, that I thinke the writers thereof erred not any whit at all: and with S. *Hierome,*who,whereas ſome accuſed S. *Matthew* of forgetfulnes,as though he ſhould haue named *Ieremie* for *Zacharie,*Matth.27.9.thus writeth: *Abſit hoc de pediſſequo Chriſti dicere,&c.*Far be it from me ſo to ſay of the follower of Chriſt,who in alleaging the Prophets,hunted not for words or phraſes,but had a care to ſet down the ſenſe and doctrine:for he thinketh that place there cited to be taken,though not word for word,out of *Ieremie*. But now to the queſtion.

Epiſt.19.

Hieron. ad Pammach.

CERTAINE QVESTIONS ABOVT SOME of the Canonicall bookes of Scripture.

THe bookes of Scripture whereof we now intreate,are of three ſorts: ſome are both by vs and our aduerſaries iudged to be Canonicall, as all the bookes of the new Teſtament, wholly as they ſtand: and all theſe bookes of the olde Teſtament,ſo many as are found in the Hebrue:Some are both of vs and our aduerſaries reiected,and thruſt out of the canon: what bookes they are, ſhall be declared in the next ſection.

A third ſort there is,which our aduerſaries would gladly bring into the number of the bookes of ſacred Scripture,but we herein doe by warrant of Gods word reſiſt and withſtand them: and of theſe alſo afterward.

Concerning the firſt kinde,namely ſuch bookes,as are both by them and vs acknowledged for Canonicall,there is no queſtion betweene vs for the authoritie of them: only about the booke of the Preacher there ariſeth ſome controuerſie betweene *Bellarmine* and vs, whom eſpecially I purpoſe to trace through out this treatiſe. We are agreed of the booke it ſelfe,that it is Canonicall; of the author,that he was *Salomon:* but theſe two points we varie about: firſt *Bellarmine* thinketh that *Salomon* made that booke before his fall: we thinke he ſet it forth after, as a token of his repentance: ſecondly,he thinketh that *Salomon* was a reprobate,and a caſt away for euer: we hold the contrarie: let vs firſt examine his arguments,and then ſet downe our owne.

The Papiſts.

THat this book of the Preacher was compiled by *Salomon,*before he fell,thus the Ieſuite would proue it.

*Argum.*1. The Preacher ſaith,that his wiſedome remained yet with him.chap.2.ver.9.But it is not like, that the heauenly gift of wiſedome continued with him, after his heart was turned from God to Idolatrie: *Ergo,* it is like this booke was made before his fall, while he was in the ſtate of wiſedome,*lib.*1*.de verb.cap.*5.

*Anſwer.*1. *Salomons* wiſedome was not only in diuine,but in humane things,and in the knowledge of nature: for he ſpake of trees, of hearbs, of beaſts and fowles, and therefore he is ſaid to excell in wiſedome the children of the Eaſt, and the wiſe of Egypt, whoſe knowledge was in naturall things, 1.King.4.verſ.30.33. And this wiſedome might remaine with *Salomon* in the middeſt of pleaſure, as we ſee it was not denied to the vitious and idolatrous heathen Philoſophers: yea and *Salomon* ſaith of himſelfe, that he thought to giue his heart to wine, and yet to leade his minde in wiſedome, chap.2.verſ.3. ſo that it ſeemeth, that the gift of wiſedome did not whollie faile him,no not in his fall.

2 And what if it were graunted, that the ſpirit of wiſedome departed from him all the time of his dotage? Why might it not returne to him againe afterwards,when he began to repent him of his fall: as the ſpirit of ſtrength and fortitude being gone from *Sampſon,* for a while, came to him againe.

3 Or thus rather the place may bee vnderſtood: *I was great, and increaſed aboue all (ſaith he) that were before me in Ieruſalem, alſo my wiſedome remained with me:* that is, he maketh a large and ample confeſſion of his ſinne,that while he was in honour and wealth,with wiſedome,euen then his heart was entiſed from the true worſhip of God, euen in the middeſt of Gods bleſſings: ſuch

was his vnthankfulnes to God, and forgetfulnes of his benefits. So then the time of the continuance of his wiſedome, is not to be referred to the inſtant of making this book, but hath reſpect to his fall: for he ſaith, that his honour, riches, and wiſedome continued yet, (*I was increaſed:*) but it is to bee thought, that as he being drowned in pleaſure, decayed in wiſedome; ſo alſo his credit and ſubſtance was empayred, which were giuen him as handmaides to waite of his wiſedome.

*Argum.*2. *Salomon* doted when he was an old man, 1.King.11.4. to what time then will you aſſigne then his repentance? Againe, if this book had bin made after his fall, it is like, that whereas he maketh a particular rehearſall of all his pleaſures, he would not haue omitted his pleaſure and delight in ſuch a multitude of wiues and concubines: And is it like, that he being beſotted with the loue of ſo many women, could indite ſuch excellent ſayings? *Bellarm.ibid.*

*Anſ.*1. *Salomon* was old when he gaue himſelfe vnto women, yet it is like he was older, when he weaned himſelfe from his pleaſure, and returned vnto God by heartie repentance: for there are diuers degrees of old age. Secondly, it was not neceſſarie that *Salomon* ſhould reckon vp all his pleaſures: neither indeed doth he: for he ſpake of trees, and beaſts, and fowles, which no doubt was a great delight vnto a wiſe man, to be occupied and exerciſed in knowledge: yet thereof he maketh no mention in the 2.chap. Neither is he altogether ſilent concerning his delight in women: for he ſaith, *I prouided me men ſingers, and women ſingers, the delites of the ſonnes of men*, verſ.8. And, *I haue gotten me men ſeruants, and maides, and had children borne in my houſe:* or as the Latin text readeth, I had a great houſehold. He may in this place haue relation to the multitude of his wiues and concubines: why not? 3. To the third poynt, we anſwer: we ſay not, that at the ſame time, while *Salomon* gaue his minde to pleaſure, that he wrote this booke; but afterwards, when he was come to himſelfe, and awaked out of his long ſleepe.

The Proteſtants.

AT what time the booke of Eccleſiaſtes was written by *Salomon*, though it bee no materiall poynt of our faith to know; yet becauſe the trueth euery where, ſo much as by diligent endeuour may bee attained vnto, is to be ſought out: It ſhall appeare by theſe reaſons following, that both it is moſt like and probable, that it was indited after *Salomons* fall, and that it is moſt ſafe ſo to thinke, becauſe there can no other time be aſſigned for *Salomons* repentance, as it ſhall euen now be ſhewed.

*Argum.*1. Firſt, it is made manifeſt by the inſcription and title of the booke: *the words of the Preacher*: for from whence is it, that *Salomon* being a King, to whom it pertaineth not to teach the people, but to the Leuits and Prieſts, doth giue himſelfe ſo ſtrange a ſtile? It is not becauſe by his writing he preacheth: for then in his two other bookes of the Prouerbs and Canticles, by the ſame reaſon, he might haue ſo named himſelfe: but of a King he is now become a Preacher, preaching vnto the people by the example of his conuerſion. The word קהלת *choheleth* properly ſignifieth *Eccleſiaſten, ſeu Eccleſiaſticum*, a Churchman, or a man of the congregation: And ſo *Salomon* calleth himſelfe, either becauſe he was now reſtored, and made as it were a man of the Church againe: or becauſe publikely he had ſome ſpeech, after his returning to God, as is the manner of theſe, which publikely ſhew repentance for their ſinne, *ſic Iunius in hunc locum.*

*Argum.*2. The Preacher in this booke doth euery where vrge his owne experience: *as I turned me to behold*, 2.12. *I haue ſeene vnder the ſunne*, 3.16. *I haue ſeene all things in the daies of my vanitie*, 7.17. He alſo profeſſeth as much, that he ſought in his heart by his owne experience to finde out, wherein conſiſted the chiefe goodnes of men vnder the ſunne, 2.3. And hauing runne thorough the courſe of al things in his owne knowledge and experience, he at the length, as a man of much obſeruation and great continuance concludeth: *Vanitie of vanities*, (ſaith the Preacher) *all is but vanitie*, chap.12.8. *Ergo*, it is like that *Salomon* wrote this booke, being now thorough aged, and of long experience: wiſedome indeede goeth not by yeeres, but experience is the daughter and offſpring of old age.

*Argum.*3. Further, the Preacher ſaith, he ſought in his heart to giue himſelfe to wine, and to apprehend folly, Eccleſ.2.3. But when elſe did he lay hold on folly, then, when he fell into the ſnares of women, and was ſeduced to Idolatrie? *Ergo*, this booke was made after his fall. It will here I know be anſwered, that there is no ſuch thing in the text, as I haue alleaged: Indeed, in the vulgar Latine there is not, which tranſlateth cleane contrary to the Hebrue: for in ſtead of, *Cogitaui pertrahere animum ad vinum, & prehendere ſtultitiam*, I thought to draw my ſelfe to wine, and to apprehend folly: it is read, *Cogitaui abſtrahere me à vino, & deuitare ſtultitiam:* I bethought to withdraw my ſelfe from wine, and to ſhunne follie; quite contrarie. But *Bellarmine* taketh vpon him to iuſtifie the vulgar tranſlation, and ſaith that the hebrue letter ב *beth*, ſignifieth in conſtruction as well *from* as *to*; and therefore wee may as well reade from wine, as to wine: and this is more agreeable to the text ſaith he, becauſe it followeth, *and to leade my heart in wiſedome, &c.*

Lib.2.de verb. cap.9. reſp. ad arg.3.

*Anſ.*1. The Ieſuite, that maketh himſelfe ſo skilfull in the ſignification of the Hebrue, ſhould haue quoted ſome place, where this letter ב, following in conſtruction the word משך *maſhach*, that ſignifieth to draw,is tranſlated *from:* but that can he not finde,but the contrarie:as Iudg.4.6.*Deborah* biddeth *Baruck* draw the people not from,but to the mount Tabor. 2. But he ſaith nothing of the other word אחז *achaz,* which neuer ſignifieth,*deuitauit*,he ſhunned,but the contrarie,*apprehendit,* he apprehended. 3. This reading agreeth better with the text: for the Preacher ſaith, that euen while his wiſedome remained with him,he gaue himſelfe to wine and pleaſure:as afterward in the tenth verſe.

*Argum.*4. Laſtly,we hold it a very firme and ſure thing, that *Salomon* recouered his fall, and was reſtored to fauour before he dyed: as in the next place it is to be ſeene: and that this booke was ſet foorth as a ſeale and ſure ſigne of his repentance,which it could not be, if it were written before,and not after his fall. And of this iudgement is S. *Hierome*,that the booke of Eccleſiaſtes was written after *Salomons* fall, and to that purpoſe he expoundeth thoſe words, 2.Chron.9.29. *The reſt of the workes of Salomon firſt and laſt are written in the booke of Nathan the Prophet,&c. Priorũ antequam præuaricatus, poſteriorũ poſtquam præuaricatus:* His firſt workes were thoſe before his fall, and his laſt after his fall. But what workes were more like to follow after his fall,then his repentance,and the writing of this booke? and therefore in the ſtorie of the Kings it is ſaid, *The reſt of the words of Salomon:* 1.King.11.41. Wherefore *Salomon* euen after his fall vttered many wiſe words,and his wiſedome returned vnto him: and it is like to haue been ſome notable thing,that *Salomon* did in his latter time,ſeeing that three Prophets,as *Nathan, Abiah, Ieedo* in their bookes made mention thereof: as in 2.Chron.9.29.

The Papiſts.

THe ſecond point of the difference here betweene *Bellarmine* and vs,is that he thinketh,*Salomonem à Deo reprobatum fuiſſe,* that *Salomon* was reprobate of God: though (he ſaith) he is not ignorant,that the Iewes and *Hierome* alſo are of a contrarie opinion, yet he rather followeth *Auguſtines* iudgement herein,who ſhould ſo write(as he ſaith) *in Pſal.*126.that *Salomon* was reiected of God. Other arguments beſide the credit of *Auguſtines* name, he vſeth none, *Bellarm.de verb.dei lib.*1.*cap.*5.

Anſ. I thinke the Ieſuite doth greatly miſtake and miſconſter *Auguſtine* in the place alleaged: he ſpeaketh there indeede of the fall of *Salomon,* not of his finall reprobation: *Quid mirum* (ſaith he) *ſi in populo Dei cecidit Salomon? in paradiſo non cecidit Adam?* What marueile is it if *Salomon* fell among the people, or in the Church of God? did not *Adam* fall in paradiſe? If *Salomon* were no more reprobate then *Adam* was, nor his fall more dangerous then his, *Salomon* was no caſt-away at all. *Auguſtine* addeth further: *Iſte Salomon ædificauerat templum domini, in typo futuræ eccleſiæ, & corporis Chriſti:* This *Salomon* built the temple of the Lord,to bee a type of the Church,and bodie of Chriſt to come: *ibid. in Pſal.*126. Hence then a reaſon may bee framed thus: you cannot ſhew me in all the Scripture, that a reprobate was euer appointed of God to be a figure of Chriſt or his Church: But *Salomon* was a figure of Chriſt,as it is euident throughout the whole 45.Pſal. and the temple he built,as a figure of Chriſts bodie, Ioh.2.*Ergo.*

Againe, ſaith *Bellarmine,* the Scripture maketh no mention of the repentance of *Salomon,* and therefore it is like he repented not.

*Anſ.*1. Though in matters of faith,and points of doctrine an argument may bee taken negatiuely from the Scripture, yet not ſo in matters of fact: it is a good conſequent, this doctrine is not found in Scripture,and therefore ought not to be receiued: yet it followeth not,this or that thing is not mentioned to haue been done in the ſtorie of Scripture, therefore it was not done: for Chriſt did many workes and miracles which are not remembred in the Goſpell: doth it follow therefore,that he did no more,becauſe no more are ſpoken of in the Goſpell? 2. I may then frame you the ſame anſwere, which your Maſter of Sentences maketh to that place of *Ambroſe,* who ſpeaking of S.*Peters* repentance, ſaith, *Lachrymas eius lego, ſatisfactionem non lego:* I reade of his teares,not of his ſatiſfaction. Your Maſter thus anſwereth: *Multa facta ſunt, quæ ſcripta non ſunt:* Many things haue been done, that are not written. Though the Maſters anſwer be not ſufficient here, becauſe ſatisfaction is with them an eſſentiall point of penance, and pertaineth to doctrine: yet may it very well ſerue our turne in a matter of fact as touching *Salomons* repentance. 3. And yet wee doe affirme, that this act of *Salomons* conuerſion and repentance, is not altogether without euidence of Scripture,as now followeth to be ſhewed.

Mag.lib.4.d.17.ſ.

The Proteſtants.

THat *Salomon* was not reiected or reprobate of God, but choſen rather and elected, thus by Scripture we make it plaine.

*Argum.*1. I vrge thoſe places of Scripture, 2.Sam.12.24. it is ſaid, that God loued *Salomon,* and thereupon the Prophet called him *Iedidiiah,* beloued of God: but whom God loueth, he loueth to the end. Againe, 2.Sam.7.14.there the Prophet thus ſpeaketh in the name of the Lord concerning *Salomon: I will be his father,and he ſhall be my ſonne: if he ſinne, I will chaſten him, &c. but my mercie ſhall not depart away from him,as I tooke it from Saul,whom I haue put away before me:* the reaſon is gathered thus : *Salomon* was not caſt away as *Saul* was, *Saul* was caſt away for euer. *Ergo*, ſo was not *Salomon*.

Argum.2. Reade 2.Chron.11.verſ.17. *Rehoboam* (ſaith the text) *for three yeeres walked in the way of Dauid and Salomon*, that is,in the true worſhip of God: *Dauids* way and *Salomons* way, are here ioyned together,and taken for all one : but *Dauid* dyed the ſeruant of God : *Ergo*, alſo *Salomon*. Neither can any man here ſay, that *Salomons* way is here iudged by the beginning, not by the end : for God meaſureth the righteouſnes of men by the end, not by the beginning : he iudgeth them as he findeth them,he regardeth not what they haue been,Ezech.18.24.

Argum.3. Though theſe places of Scripture are euident enough to conuince the matter in hand,yet we will vnto theſe adioyne this reaſon : Can any man ſhew me, when,and where, God vſed a reprobate as his inſtrument, and pen-man to write Scripture, or as a type and figure of Chriſt? but *Salomon* was both a writer and regiſter of Scripture,and a moſt liuely type of Chriſt: *Ergo*, he was no reprobate. The propoſition of this argument is apparantly grounded vpon Scripture,as Rom.8.14. *As many as are led by the ſpirit of God,are the ſonnes of God*: but the Prophets which were the writers and pen-men of Scripture,ſpake as they were moued by the holy Ghoſt, 2.Pet.1.21. and ſo were led by the ſpirit: *Ergo*, they were the ſonnes of God, and ſo not reprobates. Now wherein *Salomon* was a type of Chriſt,is thus declared by *Origen* in his prologue vpon the Canticles : *In plurimis Salomonem Chriſti typum ferre, &c.* That *Salomon* in many things did beare the type of Chriſt is not to be doubted : firſt,in that he is called peaceable:ſecondly,in that the Queene of the South came vnto him from the ends of the earth : and Chriſt is the true Eccleſiaſtes,or Preacher,who took vpon him the forme of a ſeruant,that he might congregate and gather together his Church : *A congregando enim eccleſiam eccleſiaſtes dicitur* : For he is named of the Church,of gathering ẏ Church together.And thus it appeareth how *Salomon* was a type of Chriſt.

Againe, our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Where I am, there alſo ſhall my miniſters be*, Ioh.12.26. but the writers of Scripture were in this eſpeciall ſeruice the principall miniſters of Chriſt : *Ergo*,they reſt with Chriſt and are not caſt-awaies. But ſufficient of this by matter,let vs now proceede.

OF THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKES of Scripture.

The Papiſts.

1.Error. There are certaine bookes annexed to the old Teſtament, which the Papiſts themſelues doe not acknowledge for canonicall,as the Prayer of *Manaſſes*, the two bookes of *Eſdras*, commonly called the third and fourth of *Eſdras* : alſo other which are not vſually in our Engliſh Bibles,as an appendix to the booke of *Iob*,the 151.Pſalme,a Preface to the lamentations of *Ieremie*,the third and fourth booke of the *Machabees*, a booke called the Paſtor. None of all theſe bookes are found in the Hebrue : one of them onely is tranſlated out of the Syriake, namely, the appendix to *Iob*: ſome of them are extant in Latin onely, as the Prayer of *Manaſſes*, the third and fourth of *Eſdras*, the reſt are in Greeke. Of all the other, the bookes of *Eſdras* are worthie of leaſt credit,being ſtuffed full of vaine fables, fitter to feed curious eares, then tending to edification : as *cap*.4.6.*lib*.4. there is a tale put in of two great fiſhes, *Henoch*, and *Leuiathan*,which no waters could hold : chap.4.41.he ſaith,that the ſoules are kept in the womb of the earth : in the 14.chapter he reporteth how the bookes of Scripture being loſt in the captiuitie, were reſtored by *Eſdras*,and how after he had drunke off a cup of water, but as fire in colour, giuen him by the Angell,he ſpake fortie daies together and ceaſed not : in which ſpace fiue Scribes wrote from his mouth 204.bookes:theſe and ſuch like tales that booke is full of. All theſe aforeſaid bookes are as well by our aduerſaries,as our ſelues reiected: ſo that they themſelues dare not allow all that is extant in their Latin vulgar tranſlation.

Other bookes alſo there were ſome annexed to the old Teſtament, ſome to the new, which were deuiſed by Heretikes, but now are not extant, whereof there is no queſtion betweene vs : as another booke of *Geneſis*, called μικρογένεσις, *Geneſis* the leſſe, whereof *Hierome* maketh mention, *tom*.4.*de*.42.*manſionib*. Likewiſe the booke of *Henoch*,which, as *Auguſtine* ſaith,*ob nimiam antiquitatem reijcitur*,is reiected becauſe it is too old : *lib*.18.*de ciuitat.dei.cap*.38.

Gelaſius alſo in his Decretall, reciteth certaine Apocryphal bookes of the old Teſtament : as one of the daughters of *Adam*,another of *Ogias*,a giant, that ſhould fight with the Dragon after the flood : a booke alſo called the repentance of *Iamnes* and *Mambres* : *Decret.p*.1.*d*.15.*c*.3.

Theſe bookes alſo were forged in the new Teſtament: as the goſpell of the twelue Apoſtles,the goſpell of *Thomas*,another goſpell of *Matthias* : mentioned by S. *Ambroſe*, *proœm.in Luc.* S. *Hierome* alſo,*Catolog.ſcriptor*. maketh mention of theſe bookes : the acts of *Peter*,the goſpell of *Peter*, the preaching of *Peter*, the reuelation of *Peter* : a goſpell to the Hebrewes : an epiſtle of *Barnabas* : the peregrinations of *Paul* and *Tecla*.

Gelaſius in his Decretall reckoneth vp a great number of ſuch like forgeries: as the iourneyes of *Peter*, the acts of *Andrew*, the acts of *Philip*, the acts of *Peter*, the acts of *Thomas*: alſo the goſpell of *Thaddæus*, the goſpell of *Thomas*, the goſpell of *Barnabas*, the goſpell of S. *Andrew*: likewiſe certaine forged reuelations, as of *Paul*, of *Thomas*, of *Stephen*: with many ſuch other, as may bee ſeene in that place, as it is alleaged by *Gratian, Decret.p.1.d.15,cap.3.* But of theſe and ſuch like there is no controuerſie betweene vs.

The queſtion betweene vs then is concerning theſe bookes: firſt, certaine peeces ioyned to canonicall bookes, as ſeuen chapters of *Eſther*; certaine ſtories annexed to *Daniel*, as of *Bell* and the Dragon, of *Suſanna*, the Song of the three children: alſo the Epiſtle of *Baruch* ioyned to *Ieremie*. Then follow certaine whole bookes, as *Tobie, Iudith*, the Wiſedome of *Salomon, Eccleſiaſticus*, two bookes of the *Machabees*: theſe ſixe bookes, with the other three appendices or peeces of bookes the Papiſts hold to be canonicall, and of as firme authoritie as any part of the Scripture. Arguments they haue none, beſide certaine teſtimonies of ſome Fathers and Councels, which we purpoſe not to deale withall, leauing them to our learned countrie men who haue taken in hand to diſcuſſe theſe controuerſies to the full, *Bellarm.de verb.dei lib.1.cap.4.*

The Proteſtants.

VVE are agreed concerning the new Teſtament, that all the bookes thereof as they ſtand are to be receiued of all for Scripture: for as for thoſe forged goſpels of *Thomas*, S. *Andrew*, of *Nicodemus*, and the like, though the Church were troubled with them in times paſt, yet their memorie being now worne out, there is no queſtion of them. Concerning the bookes on both ſides acknowledged, if ſome one man ſeeme to doubt of ſome one part, as *Luther* is thought to doe of the Epiſtle of *Iames* and *Iude*, it ought no more to preiudice vs, then *Caietanus* opinion doth hurt them, who called more bookes in queſtion then *Luther* did, as the Epiſtle of *Iames*, of *Iude*, the ſecond of *Peter*, the ſecond and third of *Iohn*, the laſt chapter of *Marke*.

We differ not then in the new Teſtament, vnleſſe it be concerning the author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrewes, which our aduerſaries ſtoutly affirme to bee S. *Pauls*, which wee denie not, neither certainly can affirme it, ſeeing in ſome Greeke copies it is left out, and in the Syriack tranſlation: ſome would proue S. *Paul* to be the author of this Epiſtle, by that place 2.Pet.3.15. where the Apoſtle maketh mention of S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, which *according to the wiſedome giuen vnto him he wrote to you*: that is, the Hebrewes, for vnto them S. *Peter* writeth both the firſt, 1.epiſt.1.1. and the ſecond Epiſtle, 2.Epiſt.3.verſ.1. I finde alſo that many excellent godly learned men of ancient time, as *Hierome, Auguſtine, Ambroſe*, and before them *Origen, hom.8.in Geneſ.* with others, haue taken S. *Paul* for the author of this Epiſtle. And among the late famous witneſſes of Gods truth, and holy Martyrs (to whoſe iudgement I attribute as much, if not more, as to any mans beſide) that bleſſed man Maſter *Philpot*, doth cite S. *Paul* to the Hebrewes, in a certaine epiſtle of his written to the Chriſtian congregation, *Fox*.p.1832. and againe in another epiſtle to certaine godly brethren, pag. 1385. col.2. But it mattereth not who was the author, ſeeing wee receiue it as canonicall: for the title is no part of the booke, and ſo neither of Scripture: and we receiue many bookes in the old Teſtament, the authors whereof are not perfectly knowne. And of this matter, thus further writeth S. *Hierome: Catalog.ſcriptor.Epiſtola, quæ fertur ad Hæbræos, &c.* The epiſtle to the Hebrewes is not thought to be *Pauls*, becauſe of the difference of the phraſe and ſtile: but either the epiſtle of *Barnabas* according to *Tertullian*, or of *Luke* or *Clement*: or ſurely, becauſe *Paul* writ to the Hebrewes, he cut off the title of his name, becauſe it was enuied amongſt them: he writeth as an Hebrew to the Hebrewes, that is in his owne tongue moſt eloquently. Thus *Hierome* reporteth many opinions, ſetting downe nothing certainly himſelfe.

But here by the way, if I might be ſo bold, I would ſpurre a queſtion to our Romane Diuines, that whereas it was decreed (as they would beare vs in hand) by the Apoſtles, *can. Apoſtol.*84. that the two epiſtles of *Clement*, and his precepts or conſtitutions contained in eight bookes, ſhould be counted amongſt the canonicall bookes of the new Teſtament: for theſe are the words of the canon, *Sint omnibus vobis Clericis & laicis, ſacri & venerandi libri, &c.* Let theſe be accounted of all both Clerkes and lay men, as holy and reuerend bookes: and then are reckoned vp the bookes of the old Teſtament, and afterward of the new, amongſt the which, the foreſaid workes of *Clement* are numbred. If thoſe bee the right canons of the Apoſtles, as wee are made to beleeue they are, how dare our aduerſaries doe contrarie to this decree? wee will giue them leaue to pauſe a while of this matter, and in the meane time proceede.

So then all the queſtion betweene vs, is about the Apocrypha of the olde Teſtament: they are called Apocrypha, becauſe they are hid and obſcure, not becauſe their authors are vnknowne: for as I ſaid, we knowe not by whom certaine Canonicall bookes were written. Neither are they ſo called becauſe of ſome vntruthes contained in them contrarie to Scripture, as the moſt of them haue, as we heard before out of S. *Hierome: Multa his admixta vitioſa*: That there are many falſe things mixed in theſe bookes: for it followeth not, that euery booke which hath no vntrueth or

Epiſt.ad Lætam.

lye, ſhould ſtraightwaies be taken for Scripture: but they are therefore iudged and called Apocrypha, becauſe they were not in former time receiued into publike and authenticke authoritie in the Church, neither to be alleaged as grounds of our faith, though they may be read for example of life, and may haue other profitable vſe, as S. *Hierome* well ſaith, *Legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad authoritatem Eccleſiaſticorum dogmatum confirmandam:* The Church readeth them for the edifying of the people, not the confirmation of doctrine: *Præfat. in Prouerb.* And S. *Auguſtine* ſheweth why they are ſo called, *Quia nulla teſtificationis luce declarati, de neſcio quo ſecreto, neſcio quorum præſumptione prolati ſunt:* Becauſe they were publiſhed with no light of authoritie, but hatched in ſecret by ſome mens, I know not whoſe preſumption. But the Canonicall Scripture only hath this priuiledge to giue rules of faith, and thereupon it hath the name, that we may be bold to beleeue and ground our faith vpon the Canonicall and holy Scripture, which is the onely word of God. Wherefore out of this number of Canonicall Scripture we exclude all the bookes afore named, and therefore let not the reader be deceiued, that although they be ioyned in one volume with the Scripture, to thinke that they are for that, of the ſame authoritie and credite with the reſt: firſt we will ſhew our reaſons in generall, and afterward come to the particular bookes in order.

Contra Fauſt. lib.11.2.

1 All Canonicall Scripture in the olde Teſtament was written by Prophets: We haue a ſure word of the Prophets, ſaith S. *Peter*, 2.1.19. and S. *Paul*, Rom.16.26. calleth them the Scriptures of the Prophets: and S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quas itaque ſcripturas dicimus, niſi canonicas, legis & prophetarum? de vnitat. eccleſ. cap.16.* We acknowledge no Canonicall Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament, but the law and the Prophets: But none of thoſe bookes aforenamed, of *Tobias, Iudith* and the reſt, were written by the Prophets: for they were all written ſince *Malachies* time, who was the laſt Prophet, as the Church complaineth, Pſalm.74.9. *There is not one Prophet, nor any that can tell vs how long: Ergo* none of theſe bookes are Canonicall.

2 All the Canonicall bookes of the olde Teſtament, were acknowledged of the Iewes and Hebrues, for they were then onely the Church of God, and where ſhould Scripture be found but in the Church? *To them*, ſaith S. *Paul, were committed the oracles of God*, Rom.3.2. But the Iewes receiued none of theſe bookes into the Canon of the Scripture. For moſt of them were written in the Greeke, but none of them in the Hebrue tongue. And this ſome of the Papiſts cannot deny. *Ergo* they are not Canonicall. Here alſo S. *Auguſtine* thus writeth, *Omnes literæ, quibus Chriſtus prophetatus eſt, apud Iudæos ſunt:* All the bookes which propheſied of Chriſt, are kept amongſt the Iewes, *in Pſalm.56.* and S. *Hierome* vpon thoſe words of the Parable, *All mine are thine*, Luke 15. thus writeth to the ſame purpoſe, *Omnia intelligamus, legem, prophetas, eloquia diuina:* By all we vnderſtand, the law and Prophets, and the diuine ſayings: the Iewes then had all the Scriptures, but they had none of theſe Apocrypha, therefore they are no part of Scripture.

Tom.4. de filio prodigo.

Canus a Papiſt anſwereth, *Non reiectos fuiſſe hos libros à Iudæis, ſed non receptos*, that theſe bookes were not reiected of the Iewes, but onely not receiued, *lib.1. Annot.* *Anſ.1.* This is but a quaint diſtinction, for that thing, which a man knoweth, and yet receiueth not, nor alloweth, what doth he elſe, but reiect it? As our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *He that is not with me, is againſt me: and he that gathereth not, ſcattereth abroad*, Luke 11.23. The Iewes therefore in that they receiued not, nor acknowledged thoſe bookes, refuſed and reiected them. Secondly, how could they otherwiſe chuſe but reiect thoſe bookes, and ſunder them from the reſt of the Scripture, which were written in a ſtrange tongue, and not in Hebrue, wherein the reſt of holy Scripture was written? And what opinion the Iewes haue of theſe bookes, S. *Hierome* further witneſſeth thus: *Arguunt nos Hebræorum ſtudia, & imputant nobis contra ſuum canonem latinis auribus iſta transferre:* The ſtudious Hebrues finde fault with vs, and blame vs for tranſlating into latine, bookes contrarie to their canon: *præfat in Tobiam.* The Iewes then did not onely not receiue theſe Apocryphall bookes, but reiected them alſo: and of this iudgement is *Arias Montanus* one of their owne Church, that no bookes of the old Teſtament not extant in the originall Hebrue, are Canonicall.

3 There is no Scripture of the old Teſtament, but it hath approbation of the new: for as the Prophets beare witneſſe to Chriſt, ſo he againe doth witnes for the Prophets, and therefore it is a true propoſition of *Caietane*, though he be controuled and checked of *Catharinus* another Papiſt for it, that there is no Scripture, which was not either written or approoued by the Apoſtles: but in the whole new Teſtament you ſhall not finde one teſtimonie cited either in the Goſpell or the Epiſtles out of any of the Apocrypha, as out of other bookes of Scripture: therefore hauing no approbation of the new Teſtament, we conclude, they are none of the olde.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtles haue declared thoſe books to be Canonicall, *lib.1. de verbo. cap.10.* *Anſwer.1.* *Catharinus* herein is contrarie to *Bellarmine*. For he ſaith, that the Church hath receiued certaine bookes for Canonicall, *Quos nec ſcriptos ab Apoſtolis, nec approbatos fuiſſe conſtat:* Which it is certaine, were neither written, nor approoued by the Apoſtles, *lib.1. Annot.* Secondly, they are neuer able to ſhew, when and where the Apoſtles declared theſe bookes to be Canonicall, for as much as they are not cited, neither in the Goſpels, nor Epiſtles, written by the

Apoſtles,which onely are their authenticall writings. And therefore we againe conclude,that becauſe the new Teſtament doth not giue any witneſſe to any of theſe bookes, as it doth to the law and the Prophets, *Quibus Chriſtus* (as *Auguſtine* ſaith) *perbibet teſtimonium, vt teſtibus ſuis:* Vnto the which Chriſt giueth teſtimonie, as his witneſſes, *lib.2.contra.Gaud. cap.*23. Therefore they are no part of the old Teſtament: As *Hierome* then ſaith of the interpretation of Scripture, *Sit illa vera interpretatio quam Apoſtoli probauerunt:* That is the true interpretation which the Apoſtles haue approued; ſo thoſe are the very authenticall Scriptures, which haue the teſtimonie and approbation of the Apoſtles.

Præfat. in Euangel.

4 It ſhall appeare in the ſeuerall diſcourſe of the particular bookes,that there is ſomewhat euen in the bookes themſelues to be found,that barreth them from being Canonicall.

OF THE BOOKE OF BARVCH.

The Papiſts.

THis is their beſt reaſon for the authoritie of this hooke, becauſe *Baruch* was *Ieremies* ſcribe: and therefore *Baruch* cannot be refuſed,vnleſſe alſo we doubt of *Ieremie.Bellarm.lib.1.de verbo Dei.cap.8.*

The Proteſtants.

THis booke was neither written by *Ieremie* nor *Baruch:* firſt,becauſe it is in Greeke: if either *Ieremie* or *Baruch* had written it,it is moſt like they would haue written in Hebrue.Secondly, the phraſe and manner of ſpeech ſheweth,that it was neuer written in Hebrue:for in the 6.Chapter in the Epiſtle of *Ieremie*,verſ.2. it is ſaid that the Iſraelites ſhould be in captiuitie ſeuen generations,that is 70. yeares, but it cannot be found in any Hebrue booke that a generation is taken for the ſpace of 10. yeares.

I will adde vnto this a matter of experience concerning this booke: One *Ed. Allin* a conſtant Martyr,reading this place in the 6. of *Baruch, Wherefore when you ſee the multitude of people worſhipping them (he meaneth the Idols) behinde and before, ſay in your hearts,it is thau, O Lord,that ought onely to be worſhipped.* By this place, the ſaid Martyr ſaith,he was ſeduced to heare Maſſe, and therefore his conſcience gaue him, that it was no Scripture. *Fox*.pag.1980.col.1. Concerning this booke alſo S. *Hierome* writeth thus: *Præfat. in Ierem. librum Baruch Notarij eius,qui apud Hebræos nec habetur,nec legitur prætermiſimus:* I haue pretermitted the booke of *Baruch Ieremies* ſcribe,which the Hebrues neither haue nor reade: But if it had been one of the Canonicall bookes,*Hierome* would not haue paſſed it ouer.

We want not alſo the teſtimonie of our aduerſaries: for *Iohannes Driedo*, a writer of their own, refuſeth this booke to be Canonical. *lib.1.de ſcriptur. & dogmatib. eccleſiaſtic.cap.vltimo.*

OF THE SEVEN APOCRYPHAL Chapters of Eſther.

The Papiſts.

ONe of their chiefe Arguments, beſides teſtimonies and authorities, which would make too great a Volume,is this (which is common alſo to the reſt of the Apocrypha) they are read in the Church,and haue been of auncient time. *Ergo* they are Canonicall. I anſwere, that it is no good argument. *Hierome* ſaith plainely, *Legit Eccleſia, ſed eos inter Scripturas Canonicas non recipit, Præfat. in lib. Solomon.* The Church indeede (ſaith he) readeth them, yet for all that they are not Canonicall. And *Auguſtine* was wont to reade vnto the people the Epiſtles of the Donatiſts,and his anſwers vnto them,*Epiſt.*203.

The Proteſtants.

THe moſt of our reaſons againſt the authoritie of the 7. Chapters added to *Eſther* (for of the 10. firſt Chapters,which are found in the Hebrue,we make no doubt at all) are drawne from the matter of the booke it ſelfe.

1 In the ſecond of the Canonicall *Eſther*,ver.16. it is ſaid that the conſpiracie of the two Eunuches againſt the King,was in the ſeuenth yeare of *Aſſuerus:* but in the 11. Chap.verſ.2. of the Apocryphall *Eſther*,we reade that *Mardocheus* did dreame of this conſpiracie in the ſecond yeare. *Bellarmine* anſwereth,that both are true;for the dreame was in the ſecond yere,and the conſpiracie in the ſeuenth; ſo belike,there was fiue yeres betweene. But in the 11. Chapter, it is ſaid that *Mardocheus* was much troubled about that dreame,and the next night after his dreame the conſpiracie was enterpriſed.

2 The true hiſtorie of *Eſther* ſaith, that *Mardocheus* had no reward at that time of the king, chap.6.3. but the forged ſtorie ſaith,chap.12. that at the ſame time the King gaue him great gifts, which cannot be meant of that great honor,as *Bellarmine* coniectureth, which afterward was beſtowed vpon *Mardoche:* for then *Haman* (being hanged the ſame day that *Mardoche* was aduan-

ced to honor,Eſther.6.7.) could worke him no deſpite,whereas the forged ſtorie ſaith, that after the King had rewarded him,then ***Haman*** began to ſtomach him,becauſe of thoſe two Eunuches.

3 Againe, the ſtorie which is added, was written many yeeres after ***Mardocheus*** and ***Eſthers*** death,vnder the raigne of ***Ptolemaus*** and ***Cleopatra***,as it appeareth chap.11.1.It is not like therefore to be a true ſtorie. ***Bellarmines*** ridiculous coniecture is this, that there were two ſtories written in Hebrue of ***Eſther***, the one compendious and ſhort, which wee now haue: the other more large, which might bee tranſlated by ***Lyſimachus*** there ſpoken of, chap.11.whoſe tranſlation we now only haue,the originall being periſhed.And it might be,ſaith he,that theſe 7.chapters were ſometimes written in Hebrue, ***ſed caſu aliquo excidiſſe***, by ſome miſchance were loſt. ***Anſw.***Firſt, the text ſaith not that ***Lyſimachus*** tranſlated any ſuch Hebrue ſtorie,but onely the epiſtle of ***Phurim.*** Secondly, this cannot bee that ample and large ſtorie imagined, being ſhorter,and not ſo full as the canonicall ***Eſther***. Thirdly,it is not like that theſe chapters, or this other ſtorie,which he imagineth,was euer written in Hebrue: for they were more like to bee kept in the Hebrue tongue,then in the Greeke: for ſo much as there was neuer any people more carefull in keeping any thing, then the Iewes were of their Hebrue Scriptures. Theſe therefore are but bare, and light coniectures to make canonicall Scripture.

4 Beſides,the falſe ſtorie ſaith,that ***Haman*** was a Macedonian,chap.16.verſ.10. the true ſtorie ſaith,he was an Agagite or Amalekite, chap.8.3. how can theſe two agree? Nay, the forged booke ſaith, that ***Haman*** would haue deſtroyed the King, and ſo conueied the kingdome of the Perſians to the Macedonians: which could in no wiſe be: for the kingdome of the Macedonians was not yet ſpoken of: and ſo it continued in ſmall or no reputation till ***Philippus*** the father of ***Alexander***, who was very neere 150.yeeres after, by ***Bellarmines*** owne confeſſion.

Bellarmine to ſalue vp this matter,and to bring ***Mardoche*** neerer to the end of the Perſian Monarch,when as the kingdome of the Macedonians began to floriſh,maketh him to be not ſo little as 170.yeere old,as old as ***Abraham***; an age not incident into thoſe daies, whereas in ***Moſes*** time the age of mans life is abridged to 70.or 80.yeeres, Pſal.90. or els, ſaith he,whereas ***Mardoche*** is ſaid to haue been brought with King ***Ioachim*** into captiuitie, it was not, becauſe hee was then borne,but was in his fathers loynes. Who ſeeth not what ſillie ſhifts theſe are?

5 Other contradictions there are betweene thoſe two ſtories of ***Eſther***: the falſe ſtorie ſaith, that when ***Eſther*** came in to the King, that he looked fiercely vpon her,in ſo much,that ſhe fell downe as dead, chap.15.10. but the true ſtorie witneſſeth, that at the firſt the King held vp his ſcepter to the Queene in token of fauour, and well accepted of her comming. The falſe ſtorie, that ***Haman*** went about to hurt ***Mardoche*** becauſe of the two Eunuchs,whoſe conſpiracie he had reuealed, chap.12.6. But the true ſtorie ſaith, that he began to ſtomacke ***Mardoche***, becauſe he would not bow the knee to him,nor doe him reuerence,Eſth.3.2. ***Vide plura apud Whitak.quæſt.1. cap.18.de Scriptur.*** S.***Hierome*** with the reſt of the Apocrypha, which are not extant in the Hebrue,excludeth theſe chapters of ***Eſther*** out of the canonicall Scripture,***tom.4.Paulino:*** and in his preface to the bookes of the Kings. Neither doe we here want the teſtimonie of our aduerſaries, for both ***Nicholaus Lyranus***, and ***Dionyſius Carthuſianus*** in their commentaries vpon this booke, and ***Sixtus Senenſis,lib.1.& 8.bibliothec.*** doe refuſe this appendix of ***Eſther***,as not being canonicall.

OF CERTAINE CHAPTERS annexed to Daniel.

THere are three parcels ioyned to ***Daniel***, the Song of the three children,the ſtorie of ***Suſanna***, of Bel and the Dragon,in the vulgar Latin,which are not any part of canonicall Scripture.

1 They are neither extant in Hebrue at this day, nor are like to haue been tranſlated out of Hebrue into Greeke: but compiled firſt in Greeke,and therefore not written by ***Daniel***: for verſ. 54.58. of the ſtorie of ***Suſanna***, where one of the Elders ſaith, he ſaw her vnder a Lentiske tree, the other vnder a Prune tree: he vſeth a certaine paronomaſie or alluſion vnto the Greek words: which cannot ſtand in the Hebrue,as of the tree σχῖνος, he ſaith the Angell of the Lord σχίσει, ſhall cut you in two: and ſo of the tree πρῖνος,πρίσει, ſhall deuide thee in two. As if a man ſhould thus allude in Engliſh: thou waſt vnder the Prune tree: the Lord ſhall prune thee.This alluſion is not in the Hebrue, as the learned haue very well obſerued, but onely in the Greeke. This exception was taken long agoe againſt this booke by ***Iulius Africanus***, who liued vnder ***M.Aurelius Antoninus***, and hereof did write an epiſtle to ***Origene***, from whom ***Bellarmine*** borroweth his anſwere which here followeth: ***Hierom.catalog.ſcriptor.*** Who alſo reporteth of a certaine learned Iew, that becauſe of this alluſion doubted not to ſay, that this booke was compiled by ſome Greeke: for the alluſion(ſaith he) is in Greeke,as if a man ſhould ſay in Latin, ***De illice arbore,illico pereas,& à lentiſco,non lente pereas:*** and as if in Engliſh a man ſhould thus ſay, thou waſt vnder a firre tree, the Lord ſhall fire thee,or vnder a pare tree, he ſhall pare thee.

Præfat. in Daniel.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that *Daniel* neither named the Lentiſke tree, nor the Prime tree, but ſome other, that might haue an alluſion to cutting, as the names in Greeke haue: and that the Greeke tranſlator kept not the word, but the ſenſe. *Bellarm.cap.9. Anſw.* Firſt, the Ieſuite, that is ſo full of his coniectures, ſhould likewiſe haue geſſed, what trees they were, and how they are called in Hebrue, that *Daniel* named: ſo ſhould his coniecture haue ſeemed more probable. Secondly, if his imagined Hebrue ſhould name one tree, the interpreter ſhould ſet downe another, to keepe the alluſion ſtill, one of them muſt needes tell an vntrueth, and ſo both of them could not be Scripture, which faileth not in the leaſt trueth.

2 The particular time is not knowne when this ſtorie ſhould bee done: yet it is certaine, it was in the captiuitie; for *Suſanna* dwelt in Babylon: but *Daniel* could not then bee ſo young a childe as the ſtorie maketh, for he was carried away in the firſt captiuitie with *Iehoiakim*, as it is Dan.1. And *Ezechiel*, that liued about that time, doth ſpeake of the great prudence and ſage wiſedome of *Daniel*, Ezech.28.3. and ioyneth him with *Noah* and *Iob*, chap.14. All this proueth that *Daniel* could not bee ſo very a babe in the beginning of the captiuitie, as the ſtorie maketh him.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that *Ezechiel* maketh mention of *Daniel, viuentis adhuc in ætate puerili*, being but a childe: being euen then famous amongſt the people for the deliuering of *Suſanna*, and for his interpretations of dreames. *Anſwer.* But the contrarie is eaſily proued, that *Daniel* was no childe, when *Ezechiel* gaue this teſtimonie of him. 1. He is ioyned with *Noah* and *Iob*, and the text ſaith, *They ſhall ſaue neither ſonnes nor daughters:* which could not bee true of *Daniel*, being himſelfe but a childe. And though, as the Ieſuite ſaith, it be but a ſuppoſition, that if theſe three were among them, &c. yet would not the Prophet ſuppoſe a thing impoſſible, as if a childe might haue both ſonnes and daughters. 2. Againe, the word which the Prophet vſeth, ſaying (if theſe three men, &c.) אנוש, is neuer giuen to any childe in Scripture, but is alwaies ſpoken of the elder ſort: as 1.Sam.17.12. *Iſhai ſenex veniens inter homines: Iſhai* was counted old among men, Likewiſe, Eſay.32.9. *Riſe ye women or mothers, and heare ye daughters:* the word is נשים *naſhim*, which is the plurall number of אנוש the firſt letter radicall taken away. Wherefore it appeareth by the vſe and acceptation of this word, that *Daniel*, who is by the Prophet counted among the elder men, could at that time be no childe.

3 In the ſtorie of *Daniel* it is ſaid that he was ſixe daies in the Lions denne: but the true ſtorie ſaith, he was there but one night, chap.6. The Ieſuit anſwereth, he was twice in the Lions denne, or rather he thinketh there were two *Daniels*, the one of the tribe of *Iuda*, which was that great Prophet: the other of *Leui*, which was the principall in thoſe two ſtories of *Suſanna*, and of Bel and the Dragon. But this is a poore ſhift, to inuent another *Daniel*, whom the Scripture neuer knew: and if it were ſo, why are all their acts ioyned together, as if one *Daniel* had done and writ them all?

Other exceptions were taken in times paſt, as S. *Hierome* reporteth, by a certaine learned Iew ſpoken of before, againſt theſe forged pieces of *Daniel*: as againſt the Song of the three children: *Tantum otij fuit trib. illis pueris, &c.* Had the three children ſuch leiſure, in the middeſt of the furnace to make verſes, and to ſtirre vp all creatures to the praiſe of God? And as for the ſtorie of Bell, what great miracle was it to finde out the deceit of the prieſts, or to kill the Dragon, with gobbets of pitch, which were done rather by a cunning wit, then a propheticall ſpirit? And concerning the taking vp of *Habbacucke*, ſaith he, where can the like example be ſhewed in al the old Teſtament, that any of the Saints was carried in his bodie, and did flie in the ayre: whereas *Ezechiel* (ſaith he) was tranſported in ſpirit; and *Paul* dare not affirme, that he was rapt vp in his bodie? Thus then that Iew oppoſed, as *Hierome* hath the ſtorie, *præfat. in Danielem.*

Vpon theſe and ſuch like reaſons, S. *Hierome* doubteth not to call the ſtorie of Bell and the Dragon fables: *præfat. in Daniel.* and ſo doth S. *Auguſt. de mirabilib. lib.2. cap.32. Bellarmines* anſwere is, that by fables, *Hierome* vnderſtandeth, hiſtories, *cap.9.* which is a very ſimple anſwer, and vntrue: for *Hierome* in the ſame place further thus writeth: *Quas fabulas, &c. nos veru antepoſito, eaſq́ iugulante ſubiecimus:* Which fables, becauſe they are ſo well knowne, wee haue added, that is tranſlated, but marked them with a daſh ſtroke or croſſe line to cut the throat of them: for *Hierome* vſed this marke in his tranſlation, thereby ſignifying what he would haue put out. If *Hierome* calling them fables, ſhould meane ſtories, why did he thus write? And *Auguſtine* in the place alleaged giueth a reaſon, why he will not collect any wonders, or miracles out of theſe bookes, becauſe he counteth them fables: if he had vnderſtood ſtories, he would not haue pretermitted them.

But what opinion S. *Hierome* had of theſe fabulous ſtories, it is cleere by *Ruffinus* inuectiue, who blameth him, for that he cut off from the Scriptures the ſtorie of *Suſanna*, an example of great chaſtitie, and the Song of the three children. And *Ruffinus* in the ſame place, rather being ſtirred in choler, than ſpeaking of iudgement, thus argueth the caſe with *Hierome*: Firſt, ſaith he, it is not to bee doubted but that *Peter* ſitting 24.yeeres at Rome,did deliuer vnto the Church all the bookes of Scripture, and theſe among the reſt: but it is not like he would commend vnto them falſe bookes. Secondly,the Apoſtle biddeth vs to take heede of Iewiſh fables,and muſt we now be ſent to the Iewes to learne,which are the Scriptures? Thirdly, thus the holy martyrs are held to haue been in error,which did vſe to ſing in the Church, the Song of the three children.

Theſe and ſuch like arguments *Ruffinus* vſeth in his inuectiues againſt *Hierome*: to the which *Hieromes* anſwere may be thus gathered,though I finde not in any one place theſe arguments by him confuted.

Apolog.2.in Ruffinum.

To the firſt: it is denied,that *Peter*, of whoſe ſitting at Rome ſo many yeeres it may be doubted,did not commend any of the Apocryphall bookes to the Church,as parcell of the Scripture: for *Hierome* thus writeth,*Apoſtolici viri ſcripturis vtuntur Hebraicis,&c.* The Apoſtolike men vſe none but the Hebrue Scriptures. It is manifeſt, that thus did the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts: but the Apocrypha are not in the Hebrue.

To the ſecond: the ſame Apoſtle, which biddeth vs take heede of Iewiſh fables, yet referreth vs vnto them,for the diuine oracles: Rom.3.2. yea, and *Origene*,as *Hierome* ſaith,whom *Ruffinus* did ſo extoll, did conferre with the Iewes for the vnderſtanding of the Hebrue Scriptures, as he confeſſeth,that he learned of one *Huillus* a Iew what is vnderſtood by *Ariel*,in the 29.of Eſay.v.1 *apolog.1.cont.Ruffin.*

Pammachio & Oceano.

To the third: it followeth not, though they bee read in the Church, that therefore they are Scripture: the Church readeth them for the edifying of the people, as *Hierome* ſaith, not for the confirmation of doctrine. And as touching the martyrs, they might haue their errors, as their ſinnes: neither ought wee to embrace the errors of martyrs: *Defendamus ergo peccata* (ſaith *Hierome*) *quia,qui poſtea martyres, prius peccatores fuerunt:* We might as well maintaine their ſinnes,becauſe they,which afterward became martyrs, firſt were ſinners. Thus wee ſee how *Ruffinus* challenged S.*Hierome* for leauing out of the Apocrypha,and how S.*Hierome* defendeth himſelfe:and yet it may ſeeme ſtrange,that *Ruffinus* ſhould blame *Hierome* for this, whereas, he himſelfe in the Creede which goeth vnder his name, which is to bee found both amongſt *Cyprian*, and *Hieromes* workes,doth exclude,the bookes of *Tobie,Iudith, Macchabees,Eccleſiaſticus*,the Wiſedome of *Salomon*,out of the number of the ſacred Scripures. But thus much of this controuerſie betweene theſe two ancient writers.

Laſtly,wee haue here the teſtimonie of our aduerſaries,for *Ioannes Driedo*, a popiſh writer,refuſeth theſe pieces annexed to *Daniel*, as being no part of the Scripture: *lib.1.de ſcriptur, & dogmatib.eccleſiaſtic.cap.vltimo.*

OF THE BOOKE OF TOBIE.

1 THis booke is not found in the Hebrue, in the which tongue all the oracles of God were kept. *Ergo*,it is worthily doubted of.

2 Our aduerſaries themſelues confeſſe, that in *Hieromes* time it was not receiued for canonicall. The Ieſuite anſwereth: that it might be doubted of before it was determined in a generall Councell: to whom (ſaith he) it appertaineth to define of canonicall Scripture: As though this were not a greater doubt,whether a Councel hath any ſuch authoritie to determine which books ought to be receiued for canonicall, for *Canus* a Papiſt maketh a queſtion of it, *lib.2.cap.8.* And the Ieſuite himſelfe ſaith that the Church cannot, *Facere canonicum de non canonico*, make a booke not canonicall to be canonicall,but onely to declare thoſe to be canonicall,which are ſo indeed. Wherefore the Papiſts take too much vpon them,to make this booke within the Canon,being of it ſelfe not canonicall,and ſo adiudged by antiquitie.

3 There is ſome contradiction in the ſtorie,as it is tranſlated in the vulgar Latin, for chap.3. verſ.7.the text ſaith,that *Sara* dwelt in Rages,a citie in Media: but chap.7.1. ſhe is ſaid to dwell in Ecbatane: and from thence *Tobie* ſendeth the Angell to Rages,to receiue the money of *Gabael*.

Bellarmine anſwereth,that there might bee two cities of the ſame name (Rages) one where *Sara* dwelt with *Raguel*, another where *Gabael* dwelt: or ſhe might bee ſaid to dwell in Rages,becauſe ſhe dwelt neere vnto it,*Bellarm.cap.*11.

Anſwer. Firſt,who ſeeth not what beggerly ſhifts theſe are: as before the Ieſuite found out two *Daniels*, ſo here he hath found vs out two cities: but none of theſe ſhifts can ſerue his turne: for whether he ſay,that *Sara* dwelt in his new found citie, or neere vnto Rages, both are falſe,if that bee true in the 7.chapter, that ſhe dwelt in Ecbatane. Secondly,all this buſines the Ieſuit is put to,becauſe he will not confeſſe an error in the Latin tranſlation,which in ſtead of Ecbatane, readeth Rages,chap.3.7. as by examining of the Greeke text may eaſily appeare: And thus *Michael Medina* diſſolueth this doubt,whoſe iudgement though *Bellarmine* miſlike,yet in the end he muſt bee faine to agree to him: or elſe thoſe places will neuer bee reconciled. This obiection, though it maketh nothing againſt the credit of this ſtorie, which wee impugne by other arguments, yet it much ſhaketh the authoritie of their vulgar Latin.

4 He that readeth the booke it ſelfe ſhall finde that both the ſtile, and the matter is not ſuch as beſeemeth canonicall Scripture : as chap.3.8. the euill ſpirit named *Aſmodeus*, a word not found in the canonicall Scripture, ſee *Tremel.* vpon that place. Chap.5.12.the Angell is made to ſay he was of *Azarias* ſtocke. 6.1.in the vulgar Latin, but not in the Greeke, *Tobie his dogge followed him*, a matter not beſeeming the grauitie of Scripture. Chap.12.15.*Raphael* one of the ſeuen Angels: ſee *Tremel.* vpon that place. Chap.8.3.the diuell driuen away with the ſmell of a broyled liuer.

S. *Hierome* of the booke of *Tobie*, thus writeth, *Legit quidem eccleſia, ſed inter Canonicas ſcripturas non recipit*: The Church readeth them, but receiueth them not into the number of Canonicall Scriptures.

Præfat in Prouerb.

OF THE BOOKE OF IVDITH.

AN eſpeciall argument againſt this booke is, that the hiſtorie cannot bee aſſigned to any time.

1 It is pretie ſport to ſee how the Papiſts doe moyle themſelues about this point: and cannot agree amongſt themſelues. Some hold that this ſtorie fell out after yͤ captiuitie in *Cambyſes* time, as *Lyranus*, and *Driedo*: ſome in *Darius Hiſtaſpis* raigne, as *Gerardus Mercator*: ſome would haue it before the captiuitie in *Sedechias* time, as *Genebrard* : ſome in *Ioſias* time, as *Iohan. Benedictus*: but the Ieſuite confuteth them all, and bringeth the ſtorie to *Manaſſes* raigne : but he hath alſo miſt the cuſhion.

2 It appeareth that this ſtorie could not be after the captiuitie, for we reade not of any *Nabuchadnezar* afterwards, for the kingdome was tranſlated from the Aſſyrians to the Perſians and Medes. Againe, it could not bee before, either in *Ioſias* time, *Sedechias*, or *Manaſſes* : firſt, becauſe in the 5.chapter verſ.18. it is ſaid, that the Temple had been deſtroyed and caſt downe, which could not be in any of thoſe Kings raignes. It is but a ſhift of *Bellarmines*, to ſay thoſe words were foyſted into the text : it is rather to be thought, that the Ieſuite is put to his trumps, not hauing elſe what to anſwer. Secondly, *Iudith* being at this time in the flower of her age, and liuing afterward many yeeres till ſhe was 105.yeere old, all which time, and many yeeres after her death, the booke ſaith in the laſt chapter, the land had reſt: this cannot agree with *Manaſſes* time: for within 40.yeeres or not much aboue, the land fell into great trouble, ſtraight after *Ioſias* death. Where then is this long time of reſt? And the Ieſuite that ſtill groundeth vpon impoſſibilities and vnlikelihoods, that *Iudith* was at this time fortie yeere old, which was (ſaith he) in the beginning of *Manaſſes* raigne, and ſo to die about ſeuen yeeres before *Ioſias*: yet for all his ſcanning is driuen to this ſhift, that the many yeeres peace after her death muſt be vnderſtood of poore ſeuen yeeres. Thirdly, if all this happened in *Manaſſes* time, whom the King of Aſſur tooke and carried away priſoner, and had much troubled and afflicted the countrie of Iudea : what neede had *Holofernes* to enquire ſo curiouſly of *Achior* the Ammonite, of the countrie, their citie, people, kings, and ſuch like : ſeeing they had knowne the countrie too well before in ſpoyling and waſting of it, as the Iewes by wofull experience had felt? And this is *Bellarmines* owne reaſon againſt their opinion that hold *Iudith* to haue liued after the captiuitie : *argum.*8. becauſe *Holofernes* needed not then to haue enquired of the people, and of the countrie, ſeeing the Perſians could be ignorant of none of theſe things, ſaith he, when as they had diſmiſſed the Iewes thither a little before. But this reaſon holdeth ſtronger againſt *Bellarmine*: for what neede any ſuch inquiſition after this people, ſeeing the King of Aſſur had ſent his hoſt and Captaines thither before to fetch *Manaſſes* to Babylon?

Iudith cap.5.

S. *Hierome* ſaith, that this book of *Iudith*, as the other of *Tobie*, were not receiued of the Church into the Canon of the Scriptures : *præfat in Prouerb.* And *Auguſtine* againe thus affirmeth out of S. *Hierome* : *Librum Iudith Iudæi in canonem ſcripturarum non recepiſſe dicuntur, & minus authoritatis habet ad ea roboranda, quæ in contentionem veniunt* : The Iewes are ſaid, not to haue receiued the booke of *Iuidth* into the canon of the Scriptures, and it is of ſmall authoritie to ſtrengthen any doctrine, that commeth in queſtion, *de ciuitat.dei* 18.26.

OF THE BOOKE OF WISEDOME.

The Papiſts.

OVr aduerſaries reaſon thus : they ſay that S. *Paul*, Rom.11.34. vſing this ſpeech : *Who hath knowne the Lords minde, or been his counſellor?* doth alleage it out of the 4.chap. of this booke, verſe.13. *Ergo*, it is Canonicall. We anſwere. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſeemeth not in that place to cite any teſtimonie,though the words which he vſeth may elſe where be found. Secondly,though the like words are read in the booke of Wiſdome, yet it is not neceſſarie the Apoſtle ſhould borrow them from thence,but rather they are alleaged out of the 40.of Eſay 13.where the Prophet ſaith: *Who hath inſtructed the ſpirit of God,or was his counſeller ?* And this alſo is the opinion of the Rhemiſts,that S. *Paul* in that place vſeth the Prophets words.

The Proteſtants.

OVr reaſons againſt the authoritie of this booke are theſe and ſuch like.

1 Becauſe this booke is not found in the Hebrue, but written onely in Greeke: wherefore it is not Canonicall,ſeeing the Iewes had all the oracles of God.

2 *Philo* a Iewe is thought by the Papiſts themſelues to be the author of this booke,who liued after Chriſt in the time of *Caligula*;neither himſelfe was a Chriſtian or beleeued in Chriſt: therefore an vnlike man to be a writer of Canonicall Scripture. *Bellarmine* ſaith it was another *Philo*, who was more auncient. Indeede *Ioſephus* maketh mention of a *Philo* before this time,but he was an Heathen and no Iew: But this booke was held to be, *Philonis Iudæi*, *Philo* the Iewes, as S. *Hierome* witneſſeth,*præf. in Prou.* and S. *Aug.lib.*17.*de ciuit.cap.*20.

3 If this booke were written by *Salomon*,why is it not extant in Hebrue? For *Salomon* wrote in Hebrue and not in Greeke. Many of the Papiſts alſo doe prooue, that it was not written by *Salomon*: for though *Salomon* in the ſecond chapter be brought in praying vnto God; that is no good argument to proue *Salomon* the author,for the author might ſpeake in the perſon of *Salomon*. S. *Hierome* doubteth not to call this booke, *Pſeudepigraphum*, falſely intituled: and againſt *Vigilantius*: *De Salomone ſumis teſtimonium quod Salomonis non fuit*: You bring a ſaying out of *Salomon*, which was none of *Salomons*. And S. *Auguſtine*, *Propter nonnullam eloquij ſimilitudinem, vt Salomonis dicatur, obtinuit conſuetudo*: Cuſtome hath ſo preuailed, that it is called *Salomons*, for the likenes of ſtile and ſpeech: *de ciuitat.lib.*17.*c.*20. If this booke then were none of *Salomons*,and yet beareth his name, it cannot be Canonicall Scripture wherein there is no vntruth.

OF THE BOOKE CALLED Eccleſiaſticus.

The Papiſts.

THey haue none but common and generall arguments for the authoritie of this booke, as that it was of old read in the Church,and diuers of the fathers alleadged teſtimonies out of it. All this proueth not, as we haue ſhewed before,that it was Canonicall,but that it was well eſteemed and thought of, becauſe of many holeſome and good precepts which are contayned in it. And for further anſwere, we ſay, that it followeth not, becauſe the Fathers doe quote Eccleſiaſticus in their writings,that therefore it is Canonicall. Firſt, the Fathers alleage alſo the teſtimonies of the heathen Philoſophers and Poets, and yet they are nothing leſſe then Canonicall. Secondly, *Hierome* ſaith, *Legit Eccleſia,&c.* The Church readeth them, but yet doth not take them for Canonicall: as then the Church doth reade them, and yet maketh them no Scripture, ſo the Fathers in their writings may vſe them. Thirdly,if it ſhall be ſaid, that the Fathers doe cite this booke as Canonicall: to this I anſwer, that therein, they may be deceiued as *Auguſtine* was,who ſometime alleageth Eccleſiaſticus vnder the name of a Prophet,*lib.cont.Pagan.*6. and calleth the booke Propheticall, *lib.*2.*de. Geneſ.c.*5. But this his opinion he retracteth: *lib.* 1. *Retract.* 10. Or elſe the Fathers doe alleage theſe bookes not as Canonicall, but as *Hagiographa*, that is,holy writings,ſuch as were inferior to the Scriptures; but yet to be preferred before other mens writings; as *Hierome* ſaith the Hebrues did count the bookes of *Tobie* and *Iudith* among the *Hagiographa*, and yet did cut them off from the Scriptures.

Præfat. in Prouerb.

Præfat. in Tobiam.

The Proteſtantes.

WE doe thus improue the authoritie of this booke.

1 The author in the Preface ſayth, that he tranſlateth in this booke ſuch things, as before were collected by his grandfather in Hebrue, and excuſeth himſelfe, becauſe that things tranſlated out of the Hebrue doe looſe their grace,and haue not the ſame force:ſo then it appeareth that this booke cannot be canonicall being imperfect: Neither was his grandfathers worke (which is now loſt) to be thought any part of the ſcripture, ſeeing he was no prophet himſelfe, but a compiler and a collector of certayne things out of the prophets.

2 He exhorteth his countrey men to take it in good worth, and ſo craueth pardon: but the ſpirit of God vſeth not to make any ſuch excuſe, whoſe works are moſt perfect,and feare not the iudgement of men.

3 This booke ſaith, chap. 46. verſ. 20. that *Samuel* propheſied after his death, and from the earth lift vp his voice. Whereas the canonicall Scripture ſaith not that it was *Samuel*, but that *Saul* ſo imagined, and thought it to be *Samuel*, 1.Sam.28. And *Auguſtine* thinketh it was, *phantaſma Samuelis*,but a ſhew onely and repreſentation of *Samuel*,and an illuſion of the diuell,*lib. ad Dulcitium*,

Dulcitium, quæſt.6. For it is not to be thought, that the diuell can diſeaſe the ſoules of any men, much leſſe of Saints departed. See more of this, *controuerſ.9.quæſt.1.part.2.* S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that Eccleſiaſticus is thought to be *Salomons*, as before he ſaid of the other booke called the *Wiſdome of Salomon: Propter nonnullam eloquij ſimilitudinem:* For ſome likenes of the phraſe, *lib.17. de ciuit. Dei.c.20.* S. *Hierome: Hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis:* Theſe two bookes the Church may reade for edifying of the people, not any confirmation of doctrine: *præfat.in Prouerb.* In the 84. Canon of the Apoſtles, there are onely three bookes aſcribed to *Salomon*, the Prouerbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and the Canticles: but as for this booke the Canon giueth this caueat, *Extrinſecus addiſcant iuuenes ſapientiam eruditi Sirach:* Let the young men learne the wiſdome of learned *Sirach*, beſide and without the Canon. *Gelaſius* Biſhop of Rome in his decree of the Canonicall Scripture, doth bring in onely two bookes vnder *Salomons* name, the Prouerbs and Eccleſiaſtes with the Canticles, both which he maketh one booke: And thus haue we the teſtimonie of our aduerſaries owne authors againſt them.

OF THE TWO BOOKES OF THE Machabees.

OVr Arguments againſt the authoritie of this booke are theſe enſuing, for our aduerſaries bring nothing on their parte, but ſuch arguments drawen from teſtimonies and authorities, as doe generally ſerue for all the Apocrypha, which are aunſwered afore.

1 *Iudas* is commended, 2. booke chap. 12. for offering ſacrifice for the dead: which was not commaunded by the law, neither is it the cuſtome of the Iewes ſo to doe to this day. And againe, they were manifeſt idolaters: for there were found iewels vnder their coates conſecrate to the Idols of the Iamnites. And our aduerſaries grant themſelues, that prayer is not to be made for open malefactors dying impenitently. *Bellarmine* ſaith, that *Iudas* did godlie thinke, that they might repent them at the very point of death, *c.15.ad obiect.1. Anſw.* By this reaſon a man may pray for the wickedeſt man, that dyeth, if he haue a conceite, that he might repent in the very inſtant of death: but this is contrarie to their owne Canons: *Decret.par.2.cauſ.24.qu.2.c.4.Gelaſ. Nobis fas non eſt aliud decernere præter id in quo dies ſupremus quemque inuenit:* We ought not to iudge otherwiſe of a man, then as his laſt day findeth him.

2 *Lib.2.cap.2.* many things are reported of the arke, the holy fire, the altar, the tabernacle, which ſhould be hidde by *Ieremie* in a caue, and that the Lord would ſhewe the people theſe things at their returne. Here are many things vnlikely and vntrue. Firſt, it is found, ſaith the text, in the writings of *Ieremie*: but no ſuch ſtorie is there found. Secondly, *Ieremie* was in priſon till the very taking of the Citie: and the Citie being taken the Temple was ſpoyled, the holy things defaced and carried away; how could they then be conueyed by *Ieremie?* Thirdly, in their returne they found neither arke nor fire, nor any ſuch thing. But, ſaith the Ieſuite, the Iewes in their conuerſion to God in the end of the world may haue them againe: as though when they ſhall beleeue in Chriſt, they will any more looke backe to the ceremonies or rites of the law: for what vſe then I pray you ſhall they haue of altar or ſacrifice or any ſuch like?

3 There is a great diſagreeing in the ſtorie betweene the two bookes concerning the death of *Antiochus, lib.1.cap.6.v.6.16.* It is ſaid that *Antiochus* died for griefe in Babylon, hearing of the good ſucceſſe of the Iewes. *lib.2.1.ver,16. Antiochus* was with the reſt of his ſoldiers ſlaine in the Temple of Nanea, and his head cut off and throwen forth. Chap.9. the ſame *Antiochus* falling ſicke by the way dyed with a moſt filthy ſtinking ſmell, conſumed of wormes: thus, *this murtherer and blaſphemer*, ſayth the text, 2.*lib.9.28.died a miſerable death in a ſtrange countrey among the mountaines.* How could this man dye thrice, in Babylon, in Nanea, and by the way in a ſtrange countrey? It is confeſſed by the Ieſuite that it was the ſame *Antiochus*, who ſaith he loſt his armie in the temple, and ſickened by the way, and dyed at Babylon. But the ſtorie ſaith, that their heads were cutte off: I thinke then he could not liue, and that he dyed in a ſtraunge countrey, therefore not at Babylon in his bed. Theſe things hang not together.

4 Further, the author of theſe bookes ſayth, that he abridgeth the ſtorie of one *Iaſon* a Syrenean, *lib.2.cap.2.ver.23.* who was an Heathen: but the ſpirit of God vſeth not, neither needeth to borrow of prophane writers. He ſaith that this worke was not eaſie but painefull to him, but required ſweating and watching. verſ.26. But to the holy writers of Scripture though their owne labour and diligence was not wanting, yet was not the worke hard or moleſtious vnto them. Laſtly, the author (ſaith he) writeth for pleaſure and recreation of the reader, and craueth pardon if he haue not done well, *lib.2.15.39.* But to reade for pleaſure is no end of Scripture: neither doth the ſpirit of God vſe any excuſe either for matter or manner.

Our aduerſaries ſay, that S. *Paul* likewiſe confeſſeth, that he was rude in ſpeaking, 1.Cor.11.6. We anſwere, he ſo ſayth, becauſe the falſe Apoſtles ſo gaue out of him, not that he was ſo indeede:

and yet in that place S. *Paul* doth not excuſe himſelfe, for his not ſufficient handling of his matter, as this author doth. Neither is that ſpeech of S. *Luke* any thing like: for there the Euangeliſt doubteth not to ſay, that he had attayned to an exact knowledge of all things. Vpon theſe premiſſes we conclude, that theſe bookes of the Machabees are not Canonicall, nor to be taken for any part of holy Scripture, though we denie not, but that there may be ſome profitable vſe of them for the ſtorie.

5 Laſtly, 2. Machab. c. 14. v. 42. *Razis* is commended for killing of himſelfe, contrarie to the Scripture. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that he is commended not for his godly, but manfull act: he is ſaid to haue dyed manfully.

Anſw. 1. The word is εὐγενῶς, nobly, valiantly: which very word is vſed, Act. 17. 11. where the Diſciples of Berœa are ſaid to be more noble, then they of Theſſalonica, that is, more religious and godly: for as the Apoſtle ſaith, godlines is great riches, ſo is it true nobilitie: neither ſhall any man finde any nobilitie in Scripture to be commended without godlines. Wherefore this author, if hee ſpeake according to the phraſe of Scripture, commending nobilitie, meaneth alſo godlines; otherwiſe, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Sic fortes laudare ſolet hiſtoria gentium:* The hiſtories of the Gentiles doe vſe ſo to commend the valour of their men. 2. *Auguſtine*, when the Donatiſts alleaged the example of *Razis* in defence of their madnes, which killed themſelues, thus doubteth not to anſwer, denying the authoritie of the booke: *Non habent Iudæi hunc librum, ſicut Moſis & Prophetarum:* The Iewes doe not account of this booke, as of *Moſes* and the Prophets, *lib. 2. cont. Gaudent. ad. cap. 24.*

And that the authoritie of theſe bookes hath alwaies been vncertaine it may appeare: for that the number of them is not agreed vpon, ſome making but one, ſome two, ſome three Canonicall: *Gelaſius* in his Canon, holdeth but one of the Machabees Canonicall: the 84. Canon of the Apoſtles reciteth three Canonicall bookes, the Papiſts generally holde but two: and thus our aduerſaries owne authorities doe not make for them.

Thus haue we ſeene in particular, what credite is to be giuen to theſe Apocryphall books, that they are not to be receiued into the Canon of the Scripture: and now of them all in generall, that they are not to be held to be any part of the Scripture, beſide the arguments before ſet downe, we haue fower moſt euident teſtimonies of antiquitie.

The firſt of S. *Hierome*; who bringeth all the Canonicall bookes to the number of the Hebrue Alphabet, making them but two and twentie in all: for as, ſaith he, there are but two and twentie Hebrue letters, whereby a man learneth to ſpeake, and expreſſe his minde; ſo are there ſo many bookes of Scripture, whereby wee are trained vp to holy knowledge. And theſe are the bookes: fiue of Moſes, Geneſis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numbers, Deuteronomie: eyght of the Prophets, Ioſua, the Iudges with Ruth, Samuel, the Kings, Eſaias, Ieremias, Ezechiel, the ſmall Prophets: then nine, which he calleth, *Hagiographa*, holy writings: as Iob, the Pſalmes, the Prouerbs, Eccleſiaſtes, the Canticles, Daniel, the Chronicles, Eſra, with Nehemiah, Eſter: which make in all two and twentie. Some, ſaith he, make Ruth, and the Lamentations two ſeuerall bookes, and ſo number them foure and twentie, to anſwer the foure and twentie Elders in the Reuelation: *Sciamus, quicquid extra hos eſt, inter Apocrypha eſſe ponendum:* Let vs knowe, that whatſoeuer booke is not among theſe, is to be placed amongſt the Apocrypha: *Hieron. præfat. in lib. Regum.*

The ſecond authoritie is of S. *Cyprian:* who after he had rehearſed the Canonicall bookes, then addeth further: *Sciendum eſt, quod & alij libri ſunt, qui non Canonici, ſed Eccleſiaſtici à maioribus appellati ſunt:* We muſt know, that there are other bookes beſide, not Canonicall, but Eccleſiaſticall ſo called: as the wiſdome of Salomon, Eccleſiaſticus; the bookes of Tobie, Iudith, Machabees: *Cyprian. in ſymbolum.*

The third authoritie is from the 84. Canon of the Apoſtles, where none of the Apocrypha are named amongſt the bookes of the olde Teſtament, but three bookes of the Machabees onely, which are not all held to be Canonicall of the Papiſts.

The fourth and moſt pregnant witneſſe is the Councell of Laodicea, in the 59. Canon: *Quæ oportet legi & in authoritatem recipi, hæc ſunt:* The bookes that ought to be read and receiued into authoritie, are theſe, and then the two and twentie bookes Canonicall are rehearſed, no mention at all being made of any of the Apocrypha. This Councell though it were prouinciall, yet is ratified by their owne Canons, *decr. p.* 1. *diſt.* 16. *c.* 11. and was confirmed in the ſixt generall Councell, *Can.* 2. as *Gratian* alſo witneſſeth. *decr. p.* 1. *d.* 16. *c.* 7. And the Pope is ſworne to obſerue the eyght generall Councels, whereof the Trullane being the ſixt, is one. *decr. p.* 1. *diſt.* 16. *c.* 8. And ſo it was decreed in the Councell of Conſtance, *ſeſſ.* 39. and in the Councell of Baſile, *ſeſſ.* 38. that the new elected Pope ſhould take his oath not to violate the faith of the eyght generall Councels: Wherefore how is not the Pope forſworne in receiuing the Apocrypha into the number of the Canonicall Scripture, contrarie to the 59. Canon of the Councell of Laodicea, which was confirmed in the ſixt Trullane, *Can.* 2. which Councell and euery Canon thereof, the Pope is ſworne to obſerue: and thus the edge of their owne weapons is turned vpon their owne head.

THE SECOND QVESTION CONCERNING THE authenticall and moſt approoued Edition of the Scriptures.

The Papiſts.

2. Error. WHereas it is confeſſed that the Hebrue Edition of the old Teſtament is the moſt ancient, in the which tongue the Scriptures were compiled by the Prophets; and that the new Teſtament was written in Greeke by the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts: yet our aduerſaries doe generally holde, as it was decreed in the *Tridentine* Chapter, *Seſſ.4.decret.2*: That in all ſermons, readings, diſputations, controuerſies, the vulgar Latine tranſlation ſhould be taken for authentike before the Hebrue or Greeke, and that no man ſhould preſume vpon any occaſion, to reiect it or appeale from it.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe truely affirme, that although there are diuers Editions of the olde Teſtament beſides the Hebrue, and ſome of them very auncient, as the tranſlation of the *Septuagints*, compiled by ſeuenty two ancients of the Iewes, at the inſtigation of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* King of Egypt, 300. yeares before Chriſt; and after Chriſt there were other tranſlations in Greeke made by *Aquila Symmachus, Theodoſion*, and others; alſo a Chaldee Paraphraſe compiled by the Iewes, and laſt of all diuers Latine tranſlations; the which as *Auguſtine* ſayth, in his time were ſo many, that they could not be numbred; and S. *Hirome* ſaith, *Apud Latinos tot ſunt exemplaria, quot codices:* The Latines haue ſo many tranſlations as bookes, *præfat. in Ioſu:* Yet of all the reſt the Hebrue being the moſt ancient, and the mother of the reſt, and freeſt from corruptions, ought to be receiued as moſt authentike. And for the new Teſtament, though there be a Syriacke tranſlation very ancient, yet the Greeke ought to be preferred (being the ſame tongue wherein the Apoſtles and the Euangeliſts wrote) to be the onely authentike copie.

The queſtion then betweene our aduerſaries and vs, is not about any other tranſlation of the old and new Teſtament, but the vulgar Latine, as it is read in their Churches and vſed amongſt them. As for the Chaldee Paraphraſt they themſelues confeſſe, that it is ſtuffed with Iewiſh fables: *Bellarm.lib.2.c.*3. And the Syriake is by him confeſſed not to be ſo auncient, as the times of *Athanaſius, Epiphanius, Hierome:* and therefore not to be compared either with the Greeke or Latine tranſlation. And as for the Greeke tranſlations of the olde Teſtament, of them all the tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, was of greateſt account; who are ſaid to haue been put apart in 72. celles, and to haue all agreed in their tranſlation: But S. *Hierome* holdeth this to be a fable, of the 72. celles, the ruines whereof a long time after were ſhewed at Alexandria, ſeeing that neither *Ariſtæus*, who was a chiefe man about King *Ptolemie*, that ſet the 70. interpreters on worke, nor *Ioſephus* maketh any mention thereof. And as touching the interpreters themſelues, he ſaith, *Aliud eſt vatem agere, aliud interpretem:* It is one thing to be a Prophet, another to be an interpreter. And as for Apolog. 2. in Ruffin. the tranſlation, he ſaith, *Germana illa & antiqua tranſlatio corrupta & violata eſt:* That auncient and true tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, is corrupted and violated, which as *Hierome* ſaith, was agreeable to the Hebrue: but ſo is not the Greeke copie now extant, which is full of corruptions, and ſeemeth to be a mixt and confuſed tranſlation of many: wherefore our aduerſaries doe labour to iuſtifie their Latine tranſlations: ſome of their arguments, let vs ſee.

The Papiſts.

Arg. 1. THe Latine Church hath vſed the vulgar Latine tranſlation for the ſpace of eight hundred, or nine hundred yeares, and it is not like that the Church all this while was without the true Edition of the Scriptures. *Ergo* it is onely authenticall. We anſwere, firſt, by this argument it followeth that this vulgar Latine being generally vſed, was preferred before other Latine tranſlations, which were at the firſt in great number, not that therefore it is more authentike then the Hebrue in the old, and the Greeke in the newe Teſtaments. Secondly, there were other Churches beſides the Latine all this while, as amongſt the Greekes famous congregations and Churches: that be it in the Latin Church, the vulgar tranſlation was reteined being erroneous; yet the whole Church continued not in that error, which were not ſo tyed and bound to the Latine tranſlation. Thirdly, if men all this while (knowledge decreaſing, and a way being in preparing for Antichriſt) were negligent in correcting and amending the common tranſlation, this is no good argument to make it authenticall.

*Argum.*2. As the Hebrues had an authentike tranſlation in their owne tongue, and the Grecians in theirs, why ſhould not the Latine Church haue it alſo authenticall in Latine? We anſwere, firſt, it is no good reaſon, becauſe the Lord did conſecrate the Hebrue and Greeke tongue, and therein would haue his word written, that therefore he would or ſhould alſo haue made the

Latine as well authenticall,as they.Secondly,if the Latine Church muſt haue an authentike tranſlation,why ſhould not other countries likewiſe haue their authenticals? The Armenians had the Scriptures of olde tranſlated by *Chryſoſtome*, the Sclauonians by *Hierome*, the Gothes by *Vlphilas*; why ſhould not theſe alſo as well be authentical? And ſo looke into howe many tongues the Scriptures ſhould be tranſlated,ſo many authentical tranſlations ſhould there be.

*Argum.*3. They ſay that all other tranſlations which are come forth ſince, are erronious, and much differ amongſt themſelues. *Anſw.*Firſt,this is no reaſon to preferre it before the Hebrue and Greeke,though it were better then all other tranſlations.Secondly,they charge vs falſly,that our tranſlations are diſſonant and erronious: for their diſagreement is not in ſuch ſubſtantiall points, and where any of them doe ſwarue from the originall, we allow them not : and yet there is not the meaneſt of them,but may iuſtly compare with theirs,yea and be preferred before it. Thirdly, if their tranſlation were ſo pure, as they ſay *Beza* himſelfe maketh it, he would not haue ſet forth a new Edition : and he preferreth it in ſome places before other tranſlations, but is farre off from making it authenticall,and ſo are we.

*Argum.*4. The Hebrue text of the olde Teſtament in many places is impure and corrupt,and the Apoſtles diuers times in citing the old Scriptures, doe follow the *Septuagint*, and not the Hebrue. *Ergo* it is not authentical. *Bellarmine* to proue the Hebrue to be corrupt,giueth an inſtance of fiue places : the three principall I will ſet downe : firſt,Iſai 9.the Latine hath,*his name ſhall be called wonderfull:* in the Hebrue, *vocabit nomen eius*, he ſhall call his name,which *Caluine* himſelfe confeſſeth, not to be ſo good a reading. *Anſw.* Firſt, there is no great difference in the ſenſe,to ſay his name ſhall bee called, or he or they ſhall call his name : for it is obſerued by the learned in this tongue, that verbs of the third perſon are often taken imperſonally among the Hebrues, *ſic Vatablus.* Secondly, the ſame letters in the Hebrue doe ſerue for both theſe words, the alteration is in the pricks or points : which as *Bellarmine* himſelfe ſaith, *Extrinſecus addita ſunt, nec mutant textum*, were added outwardly, that is, by other writers and interpreters of Scripture, and doe not change the text, which conſiſteth of the letters, not of the poynts. Secondly, he obiecteth that place, Pſal.21.16. the Latine hath,*foderunt manus*,they pierced my hands : but the Hebrue is, not *Caru*,they pierced, but *Caari tanquam leo*,as a lyon : but the former reading of all Chriſtians is approoued.

*Anſw.*Firſt,this is the onely place of moment,which can be obiected : *Bellarmine* alſo here doth furniſh vs with an anſwere : that theſe two words being ſo like in ſound, and in the characters might eaſily be miſtaken either by the negligence of the writers and penmen, or by the *Rabbins*, that firſt added the prickes. 2. Diuers learned men of both ſides doe teſtifie, that there be many Hebrue copies to be found,which haue *Caru*,not *Caari : ſic Andradius, Galatinus : Ioannes Iſaachus lib.2.cont.Lindan.*

The third place is that, Pſal.19.where the Latin hath,as S.*Paul* doth cite the place,*Their ſound is gone forth :* but the Hebrue ſaith,their line is gone forth. *Anſ.* Indeede the Hebrue word ſo ſignifieth,but the *Septuagint*,whom the Apoſtles follow,doe interpret according to the ſenſe: for the glorious workmanſhip of the heauens,as with a noiſe or ſound doth ring in euery mans eare,and ſet forth the power of God,as *Iob* ſaith, *How little a portion doe wee heare of him, and who can vnderſtand the thunder of his power?* Iob.26.14. the workes of God doe as it were thunder out the power of God. But this is no good argument to iuſtifie the Latin tranſlation before the Hebrue, becauſe the Latin followeth the *Septuagint*,which the Apoſtle approueth : for firſt,by this reaſon alſo the *Septuagint* ſhould be authenticall,which they themſelues will not graunt.Secondly,S.*Hierome* ſheweth the cauſe, why the Apoſtles ſometimes followed the *Septuagint* : *Vbicunq; loquuntur ad populos, his teſtimonijs vtuntur, qua iam fuerant in gentibus diuulgata :* So often as they ſpeake to
Tradit.in Gen.46. the people, they vſe ſuch teſtimonies, as were commonly knowne amongſt the heathen : as the tranſlation of the 70.was. Another reaſon thereof was, that when the Apoſtles alleage any te-
Hieron.Algaſ. quæſt.2. ſtimonie out of the old Teſtament,*non verba ſecutos eſſe, ſed ſenſum :* that they follow not ſo much the words,as the ſenſe:and therefore where the *Septuagint* keepe the ſenſe,though not the words, the Apoſtles doe not refuſe them, becauſe the tranſlation was ſo well knowne , as in this place now in queſtion : *Sed vbi 70.ab Hebrais diſcrepant*,but where the 70.doe differ from the Hebrue, the Apoſtles expreſſe the Hebrue ſenſe,&c.

We anſwere further : firſt, that the Ieſuite hath not proued , nor yet is euer able to proue the Hebrue fountaines to bee corrupt. Secondly, where they are faultie, it is to bee imputed to the negligence, or vnskilfulnes of thoſe through whoſe hands they haue paſſed, and no otherwiſe. Thirdly,that the Apoſtles alleaged the *Septuagint*,it maketh not for the Latin, and they alleaged it not as better then the Hebrue, but becauſe the Greeke tongue was then more vniuerſally knowne.Fourthly,neither did the Apoſtles in citing Scripture alwaies tie themſelues to the vulgar *Septuagint :* as for example ſake may appeare in thoſe places,Mica.5.2. cited Mat.2.6.Ierem. 31.13. cited Mat.2.18. Eſay.9.2. alleaged Mat.4.15.16. Eſay.42.1. rehearſed Mat.12.18. but the Apoſtles as they being directed with the ſpirit were able to write Scripture, ſo alſo to recite and alleage Scripture. Fiftly, for thoſe fiue places which the Ieſuite ſaith are faultie in the Hebrue, we are able to ſhew almoſt fiftie times fiue places in the Latin, and therefore by this reaſon they haue gained nothing. Theſe are the Ieſuits arguments, *de verb. dei lib.*2. *cap.*10. and ſome of our Rhemiſts in their preface to the new Teſtament.

Bellarmine alſo taketh the like exception againſt the Greeke of the new Teſtament, ſhewing in ſome places, that the Latin text is leſſe corrupt. Firſt, ſaith he, 1. Cor. 15. 47. the Greeke hath, ***the ſecond man is, the Lord from heauen:*** the Latin more truly, ***is from heauen heauenly.***

Lib. 2. de verbo, cap. 7.

Anſ. 1. How can the trueth of the Latin bee tried, but by the Greeke, out of the which it was tranſlated? which being more ancient, muſt firſt bee beleeued. 2. The firſt reading is moſt agreeable to the text, and ſo readeth ***Damaſcen lib.***3. ***de fide. cap.***12. prouing by this place Chriſt to be God, and man; which could not be ſo well gathered, if wee ſhould not reade, ***the Lord from heauen.*** 3. The Syriake tranſlation alloweth the firſt reading according to the Greeke.

Secondly, 1. Cor. 7. 33. the Greek hath, ***there is a difference between a wife and a virgin,*** or they are diuided: the Latin much better, ioyneth it to the verſe before, ***the man that is maried, is diuided,*** that is, diſtracted about many things.

Anſ. 1. The former reading is approued by the Syriake tranſlation, by ***Theophylact,*** and ***Baſil,*** as ***Beza*** ſheweth vpon this place: and S. ***Hierome*** alloweth it writing againſt ***Heluidius,*** though elſewhere he diſſent from himſelfe. 2. It is more agreeable to the text, for the Apoſtle ſheweth how they are diuided: ***The vnmaried careth for the Lord, the maried for the things of the world.***

Thirdly, Rom. 11. 12. the Greeke hath, ſeruing the time, καιρῷ, the Latin much better κυρίῳ, ſeruing the Lord.

Anſ. The beſt Greeke copies haue alſo κυρίῳ, ſeruing the Lord, as appeareth in the Syriake tranſlation: and who ſeeth not, that it might rather be a ſcape of the writer, taking one word for another, then a fault in the text. Thus we ſee that ***Bellarmine*** by theſe exceptions hath gained nothing for the Latin, nor yet empayred the credit of the Greeke. And be it graunted, that ſome ouerſights might be committed through the ignorance of the Scribes and Notaries, yet the authoritie of the originall is ſound ſtill: and for one ſcape in the Greeke, it is an eaſie matter to ſhew twentie in the Latin.

The Proteſtants.

Arg. 1. IF the Latin tranſlation be authenticall, as it was decreed in the Councell of Trent, then it muſt haue been ſo from the beginning, ſo ſoone as there was any Latin tranſlation: for the Councell had not authoritie to make that authenticall, which was not, but onely to declare it ſo to be. But the Latin tranſlation, for the ſpace of 600. yeeres after Chriſt was not receiued as authenticall: for we finde that the Latin writers, as ***Lactantius, Hilarius, Ambroſius, Hieronymus, Auguſtinus,*** and others, did not vſe the ſame Latin tranſlation: ***Ergo,*** this vulgar Latin hauing not been alwaies, ſince it was extant, authenticall, neither ought it to be now.

Argum.2. That edition which was made, and framed, and firſt written by the Prophets, Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, is to be preferred before that, which was not compiled by any Prophet or Apoſtle. But ſuch are the Hebrue in the old Teſtament, and the Greeke edition in the new, by the confeſſion of our aduerſaries, ***Bellarm. cap.***7. ***lib.***2. Such is not the Latin, for it is vncertaine by whom it was written: for the Ieſuite confeſſeth that it is not all of ***Hieromes*** edition: as the booke of the Pſalmes, Wiſedome, Eccleſiaſticus, the Machabees, which they thinke were not tranſlated by ***Hierome.*** But let vs graunt that the whole was of ***Hieromes*** doing, yet was he no Prophet nor Apoſtle: ſaith he, ***Aliud eſt vatem eſſe, aliud interpretem:*** It is one thing to bee a Prophet, another to bee an interpeter. Wherefore it is no reaſon, that ***Hieromes,*** or whoſe tranſlation elſe ſoeuer ſhould be receiued before the writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles.

But ſay our aduerſaries, if we had a perfect copie of the Hebrue and Greeke editions, wee confeſſe they were to be preferred: but now they are full of faults, and greatly corrupted. We anſwere: firſt, the Ieſuit himſelfe diſputing againſt ***Canus*** and ***Lindanus,*** two archpapiſts, that though there may be ſome ſcapes in the tranſlations by the fault of ſome Libraries and imperfect copies, yet concerning the doctrine of faith and manners, ſaith, there is no corruption in them, ***lib.***2. ***c.***2. Secondly, though there may be, and are, ſome words falſely written, and by error thruſt into the text, yet they ſhall neuer proue that they are more corrupt, the Hebrue and Greeke, then the Latin: for it followeth no more, that becauſe of ſome ſcapes the Latin is to bee preferred before them, then that a cloake altogether patched and ragged is better then a cloake of veluet that hath but one piece.

Argum.3. The Ieſuite himſelfe, and other Papiſts confeſſe, that in ſome caſes it is very neceſſarie to haue recourſe to the originall: as when ſome word ſeemeth to be miſtaken by the writer, as where ***cecinit*** is read for ***cecidit: dorix,*** for ***vorax: cor,*** for ***coram:*** or when the Latin copies doe varie, as Ioſ. 5. ſome Latin bookes haue, ***Quibus iurauit, vt oſtenderet eis terram,*** vnto whom he ſware that he would ſhew them the land: that he would not ſay ſome other, and this (ſaith *Bellarmine*) is the truer reading being agreeable to the Hebrue. Thirdly, when the ſentence is ambiguous, as Luk. 2. *Pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*, peace vnto men of good will: the originall ſheweth, that (good will) is to be referred to peace: peace or good will vnto men, not vnto men of good will. Fourthly, and laſtly, the force and propertie of the words is better vnderſtood in the originall, *Bellarm. lib. 2. cap.* 11. *Ergo*, by the Ieſuits confeſſion, the originall or fountaines are more certaine and ſure without doubtfulnes and ambiguitie, therefore more authenticall then the Latin.

Argum. 4. S. *Hierome* himſelfe findeth fault in diuers places with the vulgar Latin, as it now ſtandeth: and therefore it is not authenticall, nor yet any of *Hieromes* tranſlation.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that all the old Teſtament, beſide the Pſalmes, the Wiſedome of *Salomon*, Eccleſiaſticus, the Machabees, are of *Hieromes* tranſlating, and that theſe reaſons may be giuen, why notwithſtanding there are ſome places remaining in the tranſlation, which *Hierome* found fault with. Firſt, through the negligence of the Notaries. Secondly, becauſe of the diuers acceptions of the Hebrue words, *Hierome* ſometime taking one ſignification, ſometime another. Thirdly, becauſe *Hierome* might afterwards correct and amend the place himſelfe, otherwiſe, then he firſt found fault.

Anſ. I will now produce ſome few places out of *Hieromes* tranſlation, wherein none of theſe former ſhifts ſhall ſerue their turne,

Matth. 5. 22. S. *Hierome* readeth: he that is angrie with his brother without a cauſe, *licet* (ſaith he) *in pleriſque Latinis codicibus, ſine cauſa, additum non ſit*, though in many Latin bookes, this (without a cauſe) is not added: and ſo is it left out in the vulgar Latin.

Hieron. Amando.

Matth. 6. 34. *Hierome* readeth, ſufficient for the day is, *afflictio*, the affliction or griefe thereof; rather, then *malitia*, the malice thereof, as in the vulgar Latin.

Hieron. Minorio.

1. Cor. 15. 51. This (ſaith he) which is read in the Latin, *we ſhall all riſe, but not all be chaunged*, is not found in the Greeke: yet ſo readeth the Latin.

Dial. 1. aduerſ. Pelagian.

2. Chron. 35. *Ioſias* was buried *in Mauſolæo patrum*, in the Mauſoleum or tombe of his fathers; ſo readeth the vulgar Latin: but *Hierome* ſaith, *Iſta vox profana, & gentilis*: This is a prophane, and heatheniſh terme.

Ibid.

1. Tim. 3. 2. *Hierome* readeth, *qui poſſit docere*, that is able to teach: the vulgar, a Doctor, or teacher, or *docilis*, teachable: which *Hierome* in the ſame place calleth, *Latinam ſimplicitatem*, the ſimplicitie or ignorance of the Latin tranſlator.

In theſe places alleaged, the tranſlation whereof *Hierome* reproueth, it may eaſily appeare, that the fault was neither in the Notarie or penman, nor yet is the diuers ſignification of the word the cauſe; neither did *Hierome* correct his iudgement afterward, reſtoring that to the firſt reading which he had corrected: as may appeare moſt ſufficiently by this one place, Rom. 12. 3. where he

Lib. 1. aduerſ. Iouinian.

ſaith, *Male in Latinis codicibus legitur, ſapere ad ſobrietatem*: It is an euill reading in the Latin, to vnderſtand according to ſobrietie: for ſobrietie he readeth chaſtitie. So likewiſe, to ſhew that he

Ibid.

was no changeling, 1. Tim. 2. 15. he ſaith, *Non vt male habetur in Latinis codicibus ſobrietas eſt legenda*: We muſt not reade ſobrietie, as it is euill tranſlated in the Latin, but chaſtitie: S. *Hierome* would neuer haue called the authenticall tranſlation, ſimple, vnlearned, euill, prophane, as he doth this vulgar Latin, as we haue ſeene in theſe places.

Argum. 5. There are many and great errors in the vulgar tranſlation, and contrarie to the originall: *Ergo*, it is not authentike. Some of the places we will quote, as Geneſ. 3. *ipſa conteret*, for *ipſum*, ſhe ſhall breake the Serpents head, where we doe reade that not the woman, but her ſeede ſhall breake his head. Geneſ. 6. verſ. 6. for *figmentum cordis malum*, the thoughts of mans heart are euill; they reade, *intenta ad malum cogitatio*, inclined to euill: and ſo extenuate originall ſinne. Eccleſiaſt. 16. 14. for *ſecundum opera*, a man ſhall receiue according to his workes; they reade after the merit of his workes. Eſdras 9. verſ. 8. the vulgar Latin hath, *pax illius*, for *paxillus*. Pro. 16. verſ. 11. *lapides ſeculi*, ſtones of the world: for *lapides ſacculi*, ſtones of the bagge. And though *Bellarmine* here acknowledge a fault in the copies by miſtaking ſome letter, yet are thoſe words retained in the vulgar Latin ſtill without correction. In their Latin tranſlations of the Pſalmes there are many corruptions, Pſal. 2. verſ. 12. *Apprehendite diſciplinam*: apprehend diſcipline, or inſtruction, for *Oſculamini filium*, Kiſſe the ſonne. And thus an euident place againſt the Iewes for the ſecond perſon in Trinitie, is obſcured and ouerthrowne, by the corrupt Latin text. Pſal. 67. verſ. 12. *Si dormiatis inter medios cleros*, though ye ſleepe betweene two lots, without any ſenſe: the Hebrue thus, *inter ollas*, though you haue lien amongſt the pots, as being blacke with affliction. It is pretie ſport how *Bellarmine* and the reſt, that would in all things iuſtifie the vulgar Latin tranſlation, how he runneth himſelfe out of breath, to finde out ſome likely expoſition of this place: and in the end he thus plaieth the interpreter, *if ye ſleepe betweene two lots*, that is, if ye Preachers abide in the midſt between two lots, the heauenly, and the earthly, neither giuen wholly to action, nor wholly to contemplation; then ſhall the Church bee like a doue, &c. A goodly expoſition ſure, they muſt ſleepe betweene two lots, action and contemplation, that is, they muſt come at neither, but ſleepe betweene both: the words will rather enforce this ſenſe, if we take his expoſition. And indeede of this ſort were moſt of their fat bellied Monkes and Friers, neither ſeene in contemplation of knowledge, nor action of good life. Verſ.23. of the ſame Pſalme they reade, *conuertam in profundum maris*, I will turne them into the bottome of the ſea; for *reducam profundo maris*, I will bring them from the depth of the ſea, cleane contrary. Pſal.132.15. *viduam eius benedicam*, I will bleſſe his widow; for *victum*, I will bleſſe his victuals. So in the new Teſtament are many falſe readings. Matth.6.11. *Panem superſubſtantialem*, for, *quotidianum*, ſuperſubſtantiall bread, for daily or neceſſarie bread. chap.24.6. *Opiniones præliorum*, for, *rumores*. Chap.20.9. *acceperunt ſingulos denarios*, for, *ſinguli denarios*: they tooke euery peny, for, euery man a peny. Chap. 21.30. *Eo domine*, for, *ego domine*, I goe Lord, for, I Lord. Luk.1.28. *plena gratia*, for, *gratis dilecta*, haile Mary full of grace, for, freely beloued. Luk.15.8. *euertit domum*, for, *euerrit*: ſhe ouerthrew the houſe, for, ſhe ſwept the houſe. 1.Cor.15.verſ.51. *non omnes immutabimur*, we ſhall not all be changed, for, *omnes immutabimur*, we ſhall all be changed. Epheſ.2.10. *creati in bonis operibus*, created in good workes, for, *ad opera bona*, created vnto good works. Rom.c.16.23. *Gaius hoſpes meus & vniuerſa Eccleſia*, for, *vniuerſæ Eccleſiæ*: *Gaius* mine hoſt, and the whole Church, for of the whole Church. 1.Cor.9.22. *vt omnes ſaluos facerem*, pro, *vt omnino aliquos ſaluos facerem*: that I might ſaue all, for, that I might ſaue ſome. Heb.12.8. *Ergo adulteri, non filij eſtis*, pro, *ſpurij & adulterini*: wherefore ye are adulterers, and not children, for, ye are baſtards, and not children. An hundred more errors and ouer, you may finde noted in the readings of our learned countrie man *D.Whitak.*2. *quæſt. de ſcrip.*10.11.12.*cap.* Theſe I haue ſet downe for a taſte.

And as the vulgar Latin is imperfect and full of corruptions, and maketh the Scriptures darke and obſcure: ſo on the contrary ſide, the originals of the Hebrue and Greeke are exceeding profitable, and doe bring great light and perſpicuitie to the Scripture: for neuer were the Scriptures better tranſlated, or more plainly vnderſtood, then ſince they were tranſlated out of the originals. Heare the iudgement of a reuerend and learned man ſometime a Biſhop in this land: who in a certaine conference and diſputation of the Biſhops, when ſome of them ſtood mightily for vnwritten tradition, ſtanding vp made an oration, vſing among other theſe words: *The Germanes haue made the text of the Bible ſo plaine and eaſie by the Hebrue and Greeke tongues, that now many things may be better vnderſtood without any gloſſes at all, then by all the commentaries of the Doctors, B. Fox. Fox* pag.1183.col.1.

Laſtly, we will rehearſe *Auguſtines* iudgement: *Vtcunque eſt, ei lingua magis credatur, vnde eſt in aliam per interpretes facta tranſlatio*: Howſoeuer the caſe ſtandeth (ſaith he) wee ought to giue more credit to that tongue, out of the which other are tranſlated, *lib.*15.*de ciuit.cap.*13. *Ergo*, the Hebrue in the old Teſtament, and the Greeke in the new, out of the which the Latin and all other tranſlations haue iſſued, ought to haue the onely preheminence. To this agreeth S. *Ambroſe, lib. de incarnat.c.*8. *Ita in Græcis codicibus inuenimus, quorum prior eſt authoritas*: So we find in the Greek copies, whoſe authoritie is to bee preferred. *Et lib.*2.*de ſpiritu, cap.*6. *Si quis de Latinorum codicum varietate contendat, Græcos inſpiciat codices*: If any man doe take exception againſt the diuerſitie of the Latin bookes, let him looke into the Greeke. And S. *Hierome ad Lucinium*: *Vt veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda eſt, ita nouorum Græci ſermonis formam deſiderat*: As the credit of the old Teſtamēt muſt be examined by the Hebrue volumes, ſo in the new by the Greek. And this authoritie of S. *Hierome* is ratified and allowed by their owne decrees; *Gratian.decr.p.*1.*d.*9.*cap.*6. And to this purpoſe *Franciſcus Mirandula* made an oration to *Leo* 10. and the Councell of Laterane, that the Scriptures might be conferred with the originall copies. So alſo *Iſodor. in præfat. ad Concil. Quod ſi veritas quærenda eſt, Græcorum ſequamur ſtylum, eorumq́ imitemur editiones & exemplaria. Et poſtea: Vnitas & veritas ab ipſis quærenda eſt, quorum lingua edita eſſe noſcuntur*: If we ſeeke for the trueth, let vs follow and imitate the Greeke copies and examples. And afterward: The trueth is to be ſought for at their hands, in whoſe tongue or language it is ſet foorth. This he ſpeaketh of the true originall copies of the Councels to be had from the Greeke. And the ſame reaſon alſo ſerueth for the authentike originals of the holy Scriptures. Thus haue we their owne teſtimonies againſt them.

THE THIRD QVESTION: CONCERNING the vulgar tranſlation of Scripture.

The Papiſts.

THey doe not abſolutely condemne the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, whatſoeuer they haue thought in times paſt: neither would they generally haue euery man permitted to reade the Scripture, but ſuch onely as haue eſpeciall licence from their ordinarie, hauing the teſtimonie of their Curates that they be humble and deuout perſons, *Rhenenſ. præfat.*

ſect.6. So then they hold it daungerous for all men to reade Scripture, and they would not willingly licence any, but their Pope holy deuout Catholikes: they are like to make a mad peece of worke, that goe about to picke their faith out of Scripture, ſay the Rhemiſtes, *annot.* 1. Cor. 1. 5. This then is their opinion, that it is neither neceſſarie nor conuenient for all men to haue acceſſe to the Scriptures: we will ſee ſom of their reaſons.

Argum. 1. From the time of *Eſdras* till Chriſt, and in our Sauiours time, the Scriptures were not in the vulgar tongue, but onely in the Hebrue, which the Iewes vnderſtoode not after the captiuitie: *Ergo* it is not nowe neceſſarie to haue them in the vulgar tongue. That the people vnderſtoode not Hebrue, the Ieſuite proueth out of the 8. of *Nehemiah:* where it is ſaid, that *Eſdras* did expound the law to the people, becauſe they vnderſtood it not. We anſwere, that the text ſaith cleane contrarie, that he read the law before the people that vnderſtood it, verſ. 3. and they might giue the ſenſe, though the people vnderſtoode the language. Concerning the places obiected out of the Goſpel, to proue the Iewes ſpake another language then Hebrue, as it appeareth by thoſe ſpeeches Marc. 5. *Talitha cumi,* Matth. 27. *Golgotha,* which ſauour not of the Hebrue tongue. We anſwere, that although they ſpake not pure Hebrue, but many ſtrange words were vſed, yet they vnderſtoode the Hebrue; for why els doth Chriſt bid the people to ſearch the Scriptures? And they were not the Iewes, but the Romane ſouldiers that vnderſtoode not the voice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe, ſaying, he called for *Elias.* And whereas *Bellarmine* further would gather by that place, Iohn 7. 49. *This people, that know not the law,* that the Iewes vnderſtoode not the Scriptures in the Hebrue tongue; it is a meere cauill: firſt, they note the ignorance of the people not in the letter of the law, but the ſenſe thereof, which the Phariſees had obſerued by their traditions, and therefore Matth. 23. they are ſaid to haue ſhut vp the kingdome of Heauen. Secondly, it is euident Luke 4. 18. that the people vnderſtoode the reading of the law: for when Chriſt had read the text, without further conſtruing, or tranſlating of it, he ſhut the book and ſaid to the people, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your eares.* Againe, Act. 15. 21. *Iames* ſaith, that *Moſes* is preached, becauſe he is read: in what ſenſe can reading be called preaching, if it be not vnderſtoode. And yet it is more euident, that the people vnderſtoode the Hebrue tongue, Act. 22. 2: for when they heard, that *Paul* ſpake Hebrue, they kept ſilence. What dare not now theſe fellowes affirme, thus contrarie to Scripture not being aſhamed to ſay, that the Iewes vnderſtoode not Hebrue?

Bellarmine argum. 2.

Argum. 2. The Apoſtles (ſaith the Ieſuite) wrote their Epiſtles onely in Hebrue or Greeke, and not in the vulgar tongues of the nations to whom they preached: *Ergo* it is not neceſſary that the Scriptures ſhould be in the vulgar tongue. We anſwere: firſt, it had been an infinite labour for the Apoſtles, to haue left their writings in euery language; neither was it neceſſary, ſeeing out of the originals they might be tranſlated into euery language. Secondly, they preached the ſame things vnto the Gentiles in their owne tongues, which they afterward left in writing. Thirdly, the Greeke tongue, wherein they wrote, was vniuerſally knowen, and fewe countries were ignorant of it eſpecially in the Eaſt partes. But it is moſt certaine, that the Apoſtles did write to no Churches in the Greeke tongue, which vnderſtoode it not. And whereas the Ieſuite giueth an inſtance, of the Epiſtle written to the Romanes, whoſe vulgar tongue was Latin and not Greeke, and the Epiſtles of *Iames* and *Peter* written to the diſperſed Iewes: it can be no queſtion, whether the Romanes vnderſtoode Greeke, the language being ſo common, and moſt of them being Grecians, as may appeare by their names, yet reſiant at Rome, to whom he writeth: and how could the Iewes being diſperſed among the Gentiles, be ignorant of the Greeke tongue, ſeeing now alſo they ſpeake the languages of thoſe countries, where they are diſperſed?

Bellarm. lib. 2. cap. 15. argum. 5.

Argum. 3. There is no cauſe (ſay they) why the Scriptures ſhould be tranſlated: if it be for the vnderſtanding of the people, they vnderſtand them not being tranſlated neither. We anſwere: many things they may eaſily vnderſtand: and for the harder places, they are neerer the vnderſtanding of them being tranſlated, then before: for then they haue two great lets, the tongue vnknown, and the obſcure and hid ſenſe; now they neede not to labour for the tongue, but onely for the ſenſe.

Rhemiſt. præfat. ſect. 13.

Argum. 4. The Scriptures are occaſion of offence and hereſie, being not right vnderſtood. *Ergo.* And here *Bellarmine* telleth vs a tale of a certaine woman in England that ſtoode vp in the Church when ſhe heard the 25. Chapter of Eccleſiaſticus read and ſaid, is this the word of God, nay it is the word of the Deuill? We anſwere: firſt, becauſe many ſurfet of meates and drinkes, it is no reaſon that ſober men ſhould bee forbidden the vſe of them: no more for heretikes and wicked mens ſakes ought the people of God to bee barred from Scripture. Secondly, more haue periſhed by ignorance in Scripture, then by miſunderſtanding it: and the Scripture was ordayned of God to meete with offences, and to confute hereſies. 2. Tim. 3. 15. Wherefore theſe men make themſelues wiſer then God, that thinke the Scripture is an occaſion of thoſe diſeaſes, for the which it is appointed a remedie. The like blinde reaſon ſometime a popiſh Frier vſed againſt M.*Latimer*, in his frierly ſermon: if the rude people, ſaith he, ſhould heare the Scriptures read in Engliſh; the ploughman when he heareth, that ***he which holdeth the plough, and looketh backe, &c.*** would thereupon ceaſe to plough any more. And the baker when he heareth it read, ***a little leauen corrupteth the whole lumpe***, might be moued not to vſe leauen at all: and when the Scripture ſaith, ***If thine eye offend thee plucke it out***, the ignorant might be perſwaded to pull out their eyes: And therefore it was not good to haue the Scriptures in Engliſh. To this frierly reaſon, M.*Latimer* vouchſafed no other anſwere but this: he would wiſh the Scriptures no longer to be in Engliſh, till either the ploughman were thereby perſwaded not to plough, or the baker not to bake, *Fox*.p.1734.col.2.

Now concerning *Bellarmines* tale, though we neede not beleeue it vnleſſe we will, ſeeing he hath it but by hearesay: yet if any fooliſh woman ſhould be ſo ſimple, as to be offended with the reading of the Scriptures, which ſhe vnderſtandeth not, this can be no preiudice to ſo holy an exerciſe, no more, then the exclamation of the Pythoniſſe, Act.16. was vnto S. *Pauls* preaching. But the Ieſuite pleaſeth himſelfe in this tale, becauſe he miſliketh, that women ſhould be acquainted with the Scriptures: and yet can he not be ignorant how *Aquila*, and *Priſcilla* his wife expounded to *Apollos* the way of God more perfectly, Act.18. And *Ruffinus* that tranſlated ſome of *Origenes* homilies giueth this as a reaſon: ***Hoc beneficij procreabit hæc lectio, vt prophetia peruenire non ſolum ad viros, verumetiam ad religioſas fœminas poſſit:*** This benefite, ſaith he, ſhall come by this reading or tranſlation, that the knowledge of this propheſie not only men, but women alſo may attaine vnto: ***præfat. in hom.Origen.in Pſal.36.*** In thoſe dayes women vnderſtoode the Latin tongue, and were acquainted with the Scriptures tranſlated into that language.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe beleeue and holde that it is requiſite, expedient and neceſſarie for the Scriptures to be vttered and ſet forth in the vulgar and common ſpeech, and that none vpon any occaſion ought to be prohibited the reading thereof for knowledge and inſtructions ſake: and that Chriſtian Magiſtrates ought to prouide, that the people may haue the Scriptures in their mother and knowen tongue. Wherefore great wrong was offered to the people of England, that diuers 110.yeares, till King *Henrie* the eight, could not be ſuffered to haue the Scriptures in Engliſh. And how, I pray you, did the Papiſts ſtorme, when as *Tindals* tranſlation came foorth? ſome affirming that it was impoſſible to haue the Scriptures tranſlated into Engliſh: ſome that it would make the people heretikes: others that it would cauſe them to rebel, *Fox*.pag.117.col.1. What fowle and ſhamefull ſlanders were theſe? For the vulgar tranſlations of Scripture we reaſon thus.

Argum.1. It is Gods commaudement, that the Scriptures ſhould be read before the people, that they may learne to feare God, Deut.31.verſ.11.12. The people are commanded to write the law vpon their gates, and in their houſes to conferre and talke with their children, and teach them the law, Deut.6.6,7,8. And our Sauiour biddeth the people ſearch the Scripture, Ioh.5.verſ.39. ***Ergo*** what God hath commanded, no man ought to prohibite or forbid: the people therefore muſt not be kept from reading of the Scripture.

Argum.2. Without Scripture there is no faith; faith is neceſſarie for all people: ***Ergo*** the knowledge of the Scripture: that faith commeth by the Scriptures, reade Iohn 20. 31. theſe things are written, that ye might beleeue Ieſus Chriſt to be the ſonne of God. Again, the weapons of Chriſtian men are not denied to any, whereby they ſhould fight againſt their ſpiritual enemies: but the word of God is a ſpeciall part of our harneſſe, and a principall weapon, euen the ſword of the ſpirit, ***Ergo.*** Epheſ.6.

Argum.3. The Goſpell may be preached in the vulgar tongue, as our bleſſed Sauiour and the holy Apoſtles taught the people: ***Ergo*** the word of God may be read and written in the vulgar tongue. The propoſition our aduerſaries grant, that ſermons may be made in the vulgar tongue: but it followeth not, ſay they, that therefore Scripture ſhould be in the mother tongue, *Rhem.* 1. Cor.14.8. But I pray you how can the Preacher alleadge Scripture in his ſermon, vnles it be recited in the vulgar tongue? or how ſhould the people know they preach the word, vnles they may compare their doctrine with Scripture, as the Berrœans did, Act.17.

Argum.4. I will adioyne the teſtimonie of three godly learned Martyrs, vnto whoſe iudgement, I thinke as much ought to be giuen, as vnto any mans beſide, who ſealed the trueth they profeſſed with their blood: theſe three Martyrs are ***Tindal, Lambert, Bradford. Tindal*** was the firſt, that in thoſe laſt times tranſlated the new Teſtament into Engliſh: whereat the Papiſts ſo ſtormed, that ſome of them ſaid it was not poſſible to tranſlate the Scriptures into the Engliſh tongue: others, that it was not lawfull for the lay people to haue it in their mother tongue: ſome, that it would make them all heretikes: yea, they ſo practiſed againſt *Tindal*, that at the length they tooke from him his life. This holy Martyr ſaith, that the very cauſe why the Papiſts would not haue the Scriptures tranſlated, was this, that the people might be kept in ignorance ſtill, and ſo they might tyrannize ouer their conſcience by their ſuperſtitious doctrines, *Fox*.pag.1077.

Lambert ſaith, that there can be no reaſonable cauſe to withhold the Scriptures from the people,

ple, being the foode of their ſoules, eſpecially when they deſire it, no more then bodily foode ought to be kept from thoſe that hunger after it, pag. 1116. col. 1.

Bleſſed *Bradford* ſaith, that it was plaine robberie to take from the people the Engliſh ſeruice: to whom one *Willerton* replyed, that the people ought to learne at the prieſts hands: to whom he anſwered, then will you bring the people to crucifie Chriſt againe, and let *Barrabas* goe, if all muſt be learned at the prieſts hands, for ſo the prieſts then perſwaded the people, pag. 1612.

Argum. 5. We haue the practiſe of the Church of God in times paſt for our warrant: for in *Chryſoſtoms* time the people had vulgar tranſlations: whereupon he exhorteth them to get them Bibles, or at the leaſt the new Teſtament, the Actes of the Apoſtles, the Goſpels, *Homil. 9. Epiſt. ad Coloſſ.* We heard before that the Armenians, Sclauonians, Gothes had the Scripture in their owne language: ſo many hundred yeares agoe in England King *Alured* tranſlated the Pſalter: a copie whereof was found in Crowland Abbey, called S. *Guthlakes* Pſalter, as Maſter *Lambert* witneſſeth: and *Bede* our learned country man tranſlated S. *Iohns* Goſpel, *Fox* p. 1115. col. 2. The Rhemiſts alſo confeſſe, that more then 300. yeares agoe the Italians had the Bible tranſlated, and the French men aboue 200. yeares agoe, *Præfat. in Teſtam. 4. ſect.* Why ſhould not the people of God haue the ſame libertie now freely to reade the Scriptures, as they haue had in times paſt?

Bellarmine anſwereth, that he denieth not, but that the Scriptures were in times paſt extant in the vulgar tongue, yet not vniuerſally to all, but to ſuch as might profit by reading of them. Our Rhemiſts alſo ſay, that *Chryſoſtome,* when he exhorted the people to reading of Scripture, ſpake as a pulpit man, not as giuing a rule in ſchooles, *præfat. in Teſtam. ſect.* 14. And *Bellarmine* addeth that it was not his meaning that they ſhould all reade Scripture, but ſuch as might doe it ſafely. *lib. 2. cap. 16. reſponſ. ad argum. 7.*

Anſwer. Firſt, ſeeing in times paſt, great and populous nations had the Scriptures tranſlated, as the Armenians, Sclauonians, into their vulgar tongue, how is it like that any man was forbidden the reading of them? As we doe proue vnto them, that theſe nations had the Scriptures in their owne tongue, ſo if they can ſhew vs any prohibition to haue been made in thoſe countries, to bar any from reading of Scripture (which they are neuer able to doe) they ſhould ſay ſomewhat. 2. That *Chriſoſtomes* meaning was, that all men ſhould be exerciſed in reading of Scripture, it dooth eaſilie appeare: for he ſo exhorteth in his ſermones, vnto the which all the people of all conditions reſorted, therefore he ſpake to all: yea he would haue boyes and children to reade Scripture. And though *Chriſoſtome* were nowe in the Pulpit, what of that? He would not (I thinke) ſay one thing in the Pulpit, and an other thing in ſchooles: he would not ſpeake otherwiſe, then he thought; or make the Pulpit a place to vtter lies in. 3. Whereas Chriſt giueth libertie to all to ſearch Scripture, yea commandeth them ſo to doe, with what authoritie can they reſtraine this libertie? And if euery man muſt be readie to render a reaſon of his faith and hope, 1. Pet. 3. 15. then euery man ought to ſtudie the Scriptures, thereby to learne to giue account of his faith. What profiteth it a man to haue meate, and not to eate it, apparell and not to weare it? ſo what good doth it to haue Scriptures, and not to reade them?

Let vs heare *Auguſtines* opinion: *Lectiones diuinas* (ſaith he) *& in Eccleſia, ſicut conſueſtis, audite, & in domib. veſtris relegite.* I would haue you both to attend vnto the publike readings in the Church, and in your houſe to reade ouer againe the holy leſſons: but how could the people reade them at home, if they were not in their vulgar tongue?

But *Auguſtine* was but one man, heare then the conſent of whole councels. *Turon. ſub Carolo. can. 17. Homilias Epiſcopus transferre ſtudeat in ruſticam Romanam linguam, aut Theotiſiam, quo facilius cuncti poſſint intelligere, quæ dicuntur:* The Biſhop muſt haue a care to tranſlate yͤ Homilies into the countrey, Latin or vulgar tongue, that al men may the better vnderſtand what is ſaid. If it be anſwered, that ſermons and Homilies may be read and preached in the vulgar, but not the Scriptures; we oppoſe an other decree. *In eccleſijs parochialib. per ſingulos dies dominicos preſbyteri clara voce ac intelligibili ac verbis maternis annuncient* 10. *præcepta decalogi, et articulos fidei:* In the pariſh Churches euery Lords day, let the Presbyters declare with a loud and intelligible voice and in the mother tongue, the ten commandements and articles of the faith: ſynod. *Senouenſ. decret. morum* 11. And it was alſo decreed, ſynod. *Auguſten.* cap. 25. That the Angels ſalutation, and the Lords prayer ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue. Thus we ſee that thoſe popiſh prelates that liued 40. or 50. yeares agoe, were not altogither ſo popiſh and vnreaſonable, as our Romaniſts in theſe dayes are. I will alſo oppoſe againſt them their owne Maſter of Sentences, who preſcribing the office and dutie of a lector, thus ſaith, *Vim accentuum ſciat, diſtinctè legat, ne intellectum auditoribus auferat, &c.* Let him know the accents, and reade diſtinctly, that he hinder not the vnderſtanding of the hearers: let him marke what muſt be read indicatiuely, what with an interrogation, and keepe his diſtinctions: which if he doe not, he troubleth the peoples vnderſtanding, and moueth other to laughter: *Mag. lib. 4. diſ. 24. d.* But what neede theſe precepts of obſeruing the accents, and keeping diſtinctions, where no man vnderſtandeth what is read: or what neede they feare the hindring of the

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peoples vnderſtanding, where nothing is vnderſtood? Wherefore it appeareth by this, that it ſtandeth with the maſters minde, to haue the Scriptures read in the vulgar tongue.

AN APPENDIX OR PART OF THIS QVEſtion, concerning publike prayers and diuine ſeruice in the vulgar tongue.

The Papiſts.

4.Error.

IT was decreed in the Tridentine Councell, that the ſeruice of the Church which they call the Maſſe, ſhould not be celebrated in the vulgar tongue. *ſect.*22.*cap.*8. And it is the common practiſe euery where of the Romiſh church to vſe the Latin tongue onely. We muſt be content (ſay they) with thoſe three tongues which God honored vpon the croſſe: namely, the Hebrue, Greek, and Latin. This libertie onely they grant, that their prieſt may expound ſome things, as he readeth, and ſhew the meaning to the people.

Argum. 1. Thus they argue: The maieſtie and grauitie of the ſacred buſines, doe require alſo to be vttered in a ſage, ſanctified and graue language: *Ergo*, not in the vulgar. *Bellarm.lib.*2.*cap.*15 *argum.*7. We anſwere, the grauitie, reuerence and holineſſe conſiſteth not in words, phraſes, and ſounds, though neuer ſo eloquent, but in the things themſelues. Neither is any tongue that is vnderſtood, before the Lord counted barbarous: for S. *Paul* ſaith, that he is a barbarian, and ſpeaketh barbarouſly in the Church, that cannot bee vnderſtood, 1.Cor.14.11. And Acts 2.11. the very ſtrangers and barbarians heard the Apoſtles vtter in their languages the wonderfull things of God: they thought the tongue no diſgrace to thoſe holy myſteries they vttered.

Pope *Nicholas* 1.*Epiſt.ad Michaëlem Imperator.Conſtantinop.* writeth thus of this matter, the Emperour in a certaine Epiſtle to the Pope had termed the Latine tongue barbarous: whom he anſwereth thus: ***Omnis operis derogatio, redundat ad opificis iniuriam: ô furorem, qui nec lingua nouit parcere quam deus fecit: in eo ipſo, quo verum Deum colit lingua Latina, quantum barbaram, vel ſcythicam linguam antecedit, agnoſcitur:*** The diſgracing of the worke, tendeth to the iniurie of the worker: What madnes is this, not to ſpare that tongue which God hath made? and herein, how farre the Latine tongue exceedeth the Barbarians and Scythians language, it is ſeene, becauſe it worſhippeth the true God. By theſe two reaſons, whereby he proueth the Latin tongue not to be barbarous, we likewiſe affirme neither the Engliſh tongue, nor any other vulgar language of Chriſtians to be barbarous: both becauſe they are the gifts and workes of God, and becauſe the true God is by thoſe vulgar tongues acknowledged and worſhipped.

Bellarm.lib.2. de verb.c.16. reſ.ad arg.2.

Argum. 2. Leuit.16.ver.17. The people is commanded to ſtand without, till the Prieſt went in and made attonement for them: they vnderſtood not the Prieſt, for they heard him not: *Ergo* it is not neceſſarie the people ſhould vnderſtand the Miniſter. We anſwere. Firſt, that was a type of our Sauiour Chriſt, who euen ſo aſcended into heauen, as the high Prieſt did into the holy place: but types and figures proue nothing. Secondly, they vnderſtood not the Prieſt, becauſe they heard him not: but they cannot proue that the Prieſt vttered any thing in their hearing at any time, which they vnderſtood not.

Rhemiſt.annot.1.Cor.c.14.ſect.14.

Argum. 3. We muſt onely vſe thoſe tongues in holy affayres, which were ſanctified in the croſſe: that is Hebrue, Greek, and Latin. We anſwer: Thoſe tongues were not then vſed for any ſuch purpoſe, but that the death of Chriſt might by thoſe common and vniuerſall tongues be the further ſpread abroad. And ſurely if they would proue that theſe tongues were hereby ſanctified, me thinkes *Pilate* was no fit inſtrument of that ſanctification, by whoſe appointment the title was written: why then are not all tongues as well ſanctified, wherein the holy Ghoſt ſpake, as theſe which were written by *Pilate*? Thirdly, doth not the Apoſtle ſay, that euery tongue ſhall confeſſe that Ieſus Chriſt is the Lord, &c. 2.Philip. 11. Seeing God hath ſanctified euery tongue and language for the confeſſion of the faith, how dare you goe againſt Gods ordinance? Laſtly, if thoſe three tongues onely were conſecrated vpon the croſſe, why did Pope *Nicholas* the 1. when he had decreed that ſeruice ſhould bee ſaid in the Latin tongue, yet diſpenſed with the Sclauonians and Polonians, to haue it in their owne vulgar tongue?

The Proteſtants.

WE doe affirme, that as it hath been the commendable vſe of all ancient Churches, to haue the ſeruice in the vulgar tongue, that the people might vnderſtand, and be better ſtirred vp to deuotion: ſo the ſame godly vſe ought for euer to remaine and bee retained in the Church of God.

Argum. 1. This is moſt agreeable to S. *Pauls* doctrine, 1.Cor.14.verſ.26. who would haue all things done to edifying: but by an vnknowne tongue no man is edified: and he ſaith, he had rather ſpeake fiue words to be vnderſtood, then ten thouſand otherwiſe. Some of the Papiſts ſay, that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of preaching eſpecially and but *obiter* of praying: ſo *B. Brookes, Fox* pag. 1879.

But in the 14.verſe he ſpeaketh namely of prayer, and in the 16.of the peoples ſaying Amen, which was not giuen at ſermons,but in the end of prayers: this is but a weake anſwer. The Rhemiſts and the Ieſuite ſay, he meaneth certaine extraordinarie Hymnes and giuing of thankes, whereof S.*Paul* ſpeaketh Epheſ.5.19. *Anſ.* S.*Paul* ſpeaketh generally of all publike exerciſe in the Church,whether of prayer,preaching,ſinging,that it ſhould all be done in a knowne tongue: for he vſeth the generall termes of ſpeaking, τὸ λαλεῖν, and of the voyce, as verſ.11. *If I vnderſtand not the power of the voyce* (he ſaith not of the ſong or preaching) *I ſhall be to him that ſpeaketh,a barbarian:* ſo he miſliketh not onely preaching, or ſinging, but any kinde of ſpeaking in the Church in a ſtraunge tongue. And againe, S.*Pauls* reaſon is generall againſt all exerciſes in the Church ordinary or extraordinary in an vnknowne tongue,becauſe he would haue all things referred to the edification of the Church. *Bellarmine* againe thus anſwereth, that the reaſon is not alike,for theſe extraordinary ſongs and prayers,which were vſed in thoſe times,and for the ordinary ſeruice: for the end of thoſe ſongs,was the inſtruction and conſolation of the people: but that is not the end of our ordinarie prayers, but the ſeruice and worſhip of God:*Bellarm.cap.16. ad obiect.*1. *Anſw.* How is not the Ieſuite aſhamed thus to contradict the Apoſtle, who ſaith directly that the Scriptures are written for our comfort and conſolation,Rom.15.4.yet he ſaith the end of reading the Scriptures in the diuine office is not for conſolation. Secondly,as though the worſhip or ſeruice of God,can be ſeuered from the inſtruction and conſolation of the people: or can God be rightly worſhipped by that, which giueth no inſtruction to the worſhipper? Thus would the Ieſuite bring in againe,a Samaritane ſeruice or worſhip: *for they* (as our Sauiour ſaith) *worſhip they know not what,*and ſo doe the Papiſts: *but wee,* ſaith he, all true worſhippers, *worſhip that wee know,* Ioh.4.22. and conſequently wee know what wee worſhip. This place of S.*Paul* is too euident and plaine, then that it may bee ſo eaſily wreſted and depraued by their hereticall and deceitfull gloſſes.

Out of this place of the Apoſtle,which maketh ſo directly againſt prayer in a ſtrange tongue, theſe arguments may bee gathered. Firſt, no language not vnderſtood ought to bee vſed in the Church,becauſe it edifieth not,and they ſhould ſpeake in the ayre,that is,vainly,to no purpoſe, verſ.9. *Ergo,* ſeruice in the Latin tongue is vnprofitable where it is not vnderſtood. So ſaith S. *Ambroſe: Si ad ædificandam eccleſiam conuenitis, ea debent dici quæ intelligunt audientes:* If you come together to edifie the Church,thoſe things muſt be ſpoken which may be vnderſtood. Secondly, he that ſpeaketh with a ſtrange tongue,muſt keepe ſilence if there be no interpretor,verſ.28.*Ergo,* Latin ſeruice muſt be abandoned,vnleſſe they will interprete it,which were a loſt labour,ſeeing they may haue it as well in Engliſh. Againe S.*Ambroſe: Tacere debet in eccleſia,qui lingua loquitur,quam ſolus ſcit:* He muſt hold his peace in the Church,which ſpeaketh with a tongue,which he onely vnderſtandeth. Thirdly, he that ſpeaketh in a ſtrange tongue is as a Barbarian, or an alien to the hearer that vnderſtandeth not, verſ.11. but it were abſurd, that the Miniſter of the word or Sacraments ſhould be an alien to the people. *Ergo.* So S.*Ambroſe: Non competit fidelibus audire linguas,quas non intelligunt, ſed infidelibus, qui non ſunt digni intelligere:* It is not meete for beleeuers to heare thoſe tongues, which they vnderſtand not, but for vnbeleeuers,who are not worthie to vnderſtand. Fourthly,no prayer or giuing of thanks ought to be vſed in the Church, vnto the which the people cannot ſay Amen,verſ.16. but they cannot ſay Amen to Latin prayers,becauſe they know them not.*Ergo.* Fiftly,if it were not lawfull to vſe the miraculous gift of tongues,ſuch as this was in the Apoſtles time, without interpretation: much leſſe is the Latin to be vſed,which may be pronounced and read without a miracle. *Argum.Proteſtant.diſput.Weſtmonaſt.pag.*2120.

In 14.1.ad Cor.

*Argum.*2. Who ſeeth not that prayers made with the vnderſtanding are more comfortable and fruitfull: the other nothing to profit at all,nor yet to be auaileable before God? Howſoeuer our aduerſaries ſay,that the heart and affection may pray, though the vnderſtanding pray not, yet S.*Paul* ſaith,they ſpeake in the ayre: their prayer is but winde,1.Cor.14.9.and mine vnderſtanding(ſaith the Apoſtle) is without fruite,verſ.14. Therefore not amiſſe did that godly martyr *M.Wiſehart,*compare the ridiculous geſtures of the prieſt at Maſſe, being not vnderſtood of the people, to the playing of an Ape: *Fox* pag.1269.col.2. And one *Iohn Riburne* was vniuſtly troubled of *Longland* Biſhop of Lincolne *Anno* 1530.for ſaying,if we had our *Pater noſter* in Engliſh,one ſhould ſay it nine times,againſt once now: *Fox* pag.984.col.2. And was not that ghoſtly and Biſhoplike counſaile thinke you of the Biſhop of *Cauaillon* to the Merindolians in France? that it was ſufficient to know their *Pater noſter,*and Creede in Latin: it was not neceſſarie to ſaluation to vnderſtand or expound the articles of faith: for there were many Biſhops,Curats,yea Doctors of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expound the Creede or *Pater noſter*. *Fox Martyrolog.*pag.949.col.2.

Bellarmine anſwereth,that a prayer in an vnknowne tongue may be profitable, if there bee the intention of the heart,for the prayer is made vnto God,and it is ſufficient if he vnderſtand it: we ſee alſo,that they which are abſent, who neither heare, nor vnderſtand our prayers, yet may bee profited by them : neither is the inſtruction or edification of the people any end of prayer, but it is a part of ſeruice that belongeth vnto God : ***Bellarm.cap.*16.*reſ.ad.*2 *&* 4.*obiect.*** Againe,ſaith he, the Apoſtle doth not ſay that his prayer is without fruite,but onely his minde or vnderſtanding, but his ſpirit and affection is profited: for he ſaith,thou verily giueſt thanks well: and the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch a tongue as none doe vnderſtand in the Church : but the Latin , though the common people vnderſtand it not,yet many that know the language doe.

Anſ. The heart cannot bee neere vnto God without faith, whatſoeuer intention it hath ; but faith is ioyned with knowledge : he then that prayeth, he knoweth not what,can haue no faith or hope of thoſe things, which he knoweth not. And if it were ſufficient, that God vnderſtood our prayer, then neede not the prayer to bee vttered by the voyce, becauſe God knoweth the thoughts of the heart. Secondly, they which are abſent vnderſtand not the prayers made for them,becauſe they know them not : and they are praied for,they pray not: but the people is preſent,within hearing of the voyce,and they all offer vp one prayer,therefore they ought to vnderſtand it. Thirdly,it is an abſurd anſwere,that publike reading is not for the peoples inſtruction: it hath no vſe nor end, in reſpect of God, who neede not to receiue any information, or to haue his memorie renued by reading of ſtories : wherefore it is either in vaine,or elſe the end thereof is the peoples inſtruction. And if prayer be a part of Gods worſhip, which muſt proceede from the loue of God,and God is to be loued,with all our heart,our ſoule and minde, Matth.22.37. then our prayers muſt not bee made with a bare intention onely,but with knowledge and vnderſtanding : for God requireth both the heart, the minde and the ſoule. Further, where the Apoſtle ſaith,my ſpirit praieth,but my minde is without fruite,he doth not ſo ſpeake, as though the ſpirit (that is the affection)could pray without the vnderſtanding : but by the ſpirit is vnderſtood the ſpirituall gift of ſpeaking with tongues, as ***Hierome, Sedulius, Primaſius*** expound this place, as they are cited by ***Eſpenſæus : de Chriſt.Mediator.pag.*234.*g.*** So that the meaning is this, he for his owne part,that hath the gift of tongues,praieth or giueth thankes well,knowing and vnderſtanding what he praieth;but the vnderſtanding of other,that heare,is not edified. Fiftly, and therefore the Apoſtle miſliking that any ſhould ſo pray, not being vnderſtood of others, ſaith, I will pray with the ſpirit,and I will pray with the vnderſtanding alſo,verſ.15. And that the affection cannot be good in prayer without the vnderſtanding,and that ſuch prayer is without fruit,Saint ***Ambroſe*** expounding this place ſaith : ***Quem fructum habere poteſt,qui ignorat quæ loquatur ?*** What fruit can he haue,who knoweth not what he ſpeaketh? Sixtly,neither were theſe ſtrange tongues vnderſtood of none in the Church,for there was alſo the gift of interpretation, as well as the gift of tongues,verſ.27.and yet many times your Latin ſeruice is vnderſtood of none in the Church, no not of the Prieſt that ſaieth it : as may appeare by that Prieſt that ſpake falſe Latin, when he baptized,ſaying, ***In nomine patria, filia, & ſpirita ſancta:*** Which baptiſme was called into queſtion: and for better reſolution, they were faine to poſt vp to Rome to Pope ***Zacharie,*** who after much conſultation determined that notwithſtanding the falſe Latin, the baptiſme was good : ***Decret. pag.*3.*d.cap.*86.** And that many popiſh prieſts are no better Clerkes now a daies, then they were in thoſe times,let vs heare what ***Eraſmus*** ſaith : ***Quanquam ſacerdotum vulgus hodie magni faciat ſua verba,quæ nec ipſi qui ſonant intelligunt:*** Though now a daies the moſt ſort of Prieſts doe ſo magnifie their Latin words,which they vnderſtand not,that ſpeake them : ***Præfat. in Hieron. epiſt.Paulino. tom.*4.**

Argum.*3.** In the time of the Law,all things pertaining to their publike prayer, benedictions, thankſgiuings , ſacrifices, were celebrated in their vulgar tongue. 2.Chron. chap.29. ***Ezechias commaunded the Leuites to praiſe God with the Pſalmes of ***Dauid*** and ***Aſaph,*** which no doubt were in the Hebrue tongue: If they did ſo in the ſhadowes of the Law,much more ought we now, who,as our Sauiour ſaith,ought to pray, ***ſpiritu & veritate,*** in ſpirit and trueth. ***Argum.Proteſtant. diſput.Weſtmonaſt.***

We will conclude with ***Auguſtine: Quare dicta ſunt,niſi vt ſciantur? quare ſonuerunt,niſi vt audiantur ? quare audita ſunt,niſi vt intelligantur ? Tract.in Iohan.*21.** Why are things ſpoken in the Church (ſaith he)but to be knowne ? why are they pronounced but to be heard ? why are they heard but to be vnderſtood ? ***Ergo,*** Leſſons,and Scriptures, and publike prayers muſt bee vſed in a knowne tongue,and eaſie to be vnderſtood.

It was thus alſo decreed not long ſince in a general Councel: ***Concil.Lateranenſ.ſub Innocent.*3. *c.*9. *Quoniam in pleriſq; partibus intra eandem ciuitatē permixti ſunt populi diuerſarū linguarū, diſtrictè præcipimus,vt pontifices huiuſmodi ciuitatum, prouideant viros idoneos, qui ſecundum diuerſitates rituum & linguarum diuina officia illis celebrent,& eccleſiaſtica ſacramenta miniſtrent:*** Becauſe in many places,in one and the ſame citie there be mixed together people of diuers languages,we do ſtraightly charge the Biſhops of thoſe cities to prouide able men,to celebrate diuine ſeruice,and miniſter the Sacraments of the Church vnto them,according to the diuerſitie of their rites and languages.

What could be ſayd plainer,for the celebrating of diuine ſeruice in the vulgar tongue? *Bellarmine* thus would anſwere this authoritie, that *Innocentius* decree is to bee vnderſtoode onely. of the Greeke and Latin tongues,and of no other; and that he would haue the ſeruice of the Church celebrated in theſe two tongues and no other. *Anſw.*1. This appeareth to be a weake anſwere, for the decree maketh mention of people,*diuerſarum linguarum*,of diuers languages; and therefore he would haue the diuine office celebrated according to the diuerſitie of their tongues. But diuers tongues implie not a dualitie onely of two, but a pluralitie of many. 2. This Canon prouideth, that ſeruice ſhall be ſaid in diuers languages,becauſe of the diuerſitie of the people: but what need this prouiſion,if that the vnderſtanding of the people ſhould not be reſpected? for otherwiſe one language might ſerue diuers people. 3. A little before,if the Ieſuite be remembred, he ſaid, that many hundred yeares agoe, long before *Innocentius* time, neither the Greeke in Grecia, nor the Latine in Italie were the vulgar tongues,nor commonly vnderſtoode, chap.15. and yet now he graunteth,that *Innocentius* would haue Greeke and Latine Seruice, becauſe of the diuerſitie of the people; that is,to their vnderſtanding: ſo *Bellarmine* neither agreeth with himſelfe, nor with their owne Canons.

Laſtly,in defence of this truth,that praiers ought to be vſed in the vulgar tongue, *Iohn Ardelie*, and *Iohn Simſon* gaue their liues. *Fox* pag.1583.col.1. and *Iohn Hallingdale*, pag. 2026. See the confeſſion alſo of Maſter *Rogers* before *Wincheſter*, pag.1485.col.2. and of Maſter *Bradford*, pag. 1617. col. 2. holy Martyrs: let the Papiſts ſhew the like conſtancie in their popiſh profeſſors if they can.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION: OF THE authoritie of the Scriptures.

The Papiſts.

5.Error.
Echius enchirid.loc. de authorit.eccleſ.
Pighius lib.1. de Hierarch eccleſ.cap.2.
Can.loc.com. lib.2.cap.8.
Stap.lib.9. doc.princip. cap.1.

THe Papiſtes of former times doubted not to ſay, that the Scripture is not authenticall without the authoritie of the Church; ſo *Echius* ſaith,ſo *Pigghius*, that the authoritie of the Scripture dependeth of the authoritie of the Church neceſſarilie. *Hermannus* a Papiſt moſt impudently affirmeth, that the Scripture ſhould be of no more credite then *Æſopes* fables,without the approbation of the Church: a fowle blaſphemie. But our Papiſtes of later time, being aſhamed of their forefathers ignorance, they ſay that the Scriptures in themſelues are perfect, ſufficient, authenticall, but that to vs it appeareth not ſo; neither are we bound to take them for Scripture without the authoritie of the Church: ſo *Canus, Bellarmine, Stapleton*. So that (ſay they) in reſpect of vs the Church hath abſolute authoritie to determine, which is Scripture, which not. *Ex Whitacher.quæſt.3.de Script.cap.*1.

*Argum.*1. There is no more certaine authoritie,then of the Church: *Ergo* the Church muſt determine of Scripture, *ſic Stapleton.* We anſwer. Firſt, the Maieſtie of the Scriptures themſelues is more certaine, and the inward teſtimonie of the ſpirit, without the which we cannot be perſwaded of the truth and authoritie of the Scripture. Secondly, if they meane by the church,the Synagogue of Rome,it hath nothing to doe to iudge of Scripture,being the ſeate of Antichriſt: neither is the authoritie of that Church to be credited, but rather ſuſpected and miſtruſted.

*Argum.*2. There are certaine writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles not Canonicall; and other writings of ſome that were no Prophets,made Canonicall: *Ergo* the Church hath authoritie to iudge of Scripture,*ſic Stapleton.* For the firſt,where he obiecteth that there are many writings of the Prophets, as of *Salomon, Nathan, Ahija, Ieedo,* 2.Chron.9.29. that are loſt, and if they were extant, ſhould not be receiued: We aunſwere. Firſt,it is not to be doubted of, but ſome part of the Canonicall Scripture is loſt. Secondly, how proueth he that if they were extant, they were not to be acknowledged for Scripture?

Stapleton further obiecteth, that S.*Pauls* Epiſtle written to the Laodiceans whereof mention is made,Coloſ.4.16.was neuer receiued into the Canon. We anſwere,there is no ſuch Epiſtle mentioned in that place ſent to the Laodiceans,but from Laodicea,as it is in the Originall, which was not like to haue been of the Apoſtles writing to them, who at that time had not ſeene the Laodiceans,Coloſ.2.1.but an Epiſtle rather written by them to the Apoſtle; which S.*Paul* would haue the Coloſſians reade, becauſe it might conteine ſomewhat, which did concerne them: that Epiſtle therefore, that carrieth S.*Pauls* name to the Laodiceans,is but a forged, and baſtard writing, and therefore worthilie reiected out of the Canon. This was the iudgement alſo of a generall Councell.*Nicen.2.action.6.tom.5.Inter epiſtolas diuini Apoſtoli,quædam fertur ad Laodicenſes,quam patres noſtri tanquam alienam reprobarunt:* Amongſt the Epiſtles of the diuine Apoſtle there is one counted,bearing the name to the Laodiceans,which our fathers haue reiected as a baſtard and forraine writing. Their ſentence is that this Epiſtle was fained,and neuer written by S.*Paul.*

To the ſecond, that bookes not made by Prophets are iudged Canonicall, as of *Toby, Iudith:*

We anſwere, that theſe bookes ought not to be canonicall, neither that euer they were ſo taken, till of late it was decreed by Councels of no great antiquitie: for in the Laodicene Councell and other auncient Councels, they were deemed not to be Canonicall.

Argum. 3. Certaine bookes of the new Teſtament before doubted of, as the Epiſtle to the Hebrues, the Apocalypſe, the ſecond Epiſtle of *Peter*, the ſecond of *Iohn*, are receiued into authoritie by the Church: and other bookes, as the Goſpel of *Thomas, Matthias, Andrew, Peter*, were reiected by the authoritie of the Church. We anſwere. Firſt, we denie not but that the Church is to diſcerne betweene the true Scriptures and forged bookes: but this ſhe doth not of her owne authoritie, but following the direction of Gods ſpirit ſpeaking in thoſe writings: for the Church looking into the ſacred and diuine matter of the Apoſtles writings, was moued to acknowledge them for the word of God, though of ſome they were doubted of: and finding the other to be fabulous bookes did by the direction of the ſame ſpirit reiect them. Secondly, *Auguſtine* and *Hierome* think that the Canon of Scripture might be confirmed in the Apoſtles time, *Iohn* being the ſuruiuer of them all, who both acknowledged the true writings of the Apoſtles, and condemned the contrarie. If it be ſo (the ſpirit of God in the Apoſtles hauing determined this queſtion alreadie concerning the Canonicall Scripture) the Church hath no authoritie to alter or change that decree. Concerning this matter S. *Auguſtine* writeth thus vnto S. *Hierome, Epiſt.* 19. *Veritas diuinarum ſcripturarum, &c. non à quibuſlibet, ſed ab ipſis Apoſtolis; ac per hac in Canonicum authoritatis culmen recepta, ex omni parte verax & indubitata perſiſtit*: The truth of the diuine Scriptures was receiued into the Canon of authoritie by none other but the Apoſtles themſelues, and therefore is vndoubtedly true. The Apoſtles then by the ſpirit of God haue ſet downe the Canon of the Scriptures, which the Church is bound to receiue, and beleeue: it hath no authoritie to make the Canon of the Scriptures.

Argum. 4. The Church is more auncient then Scripture, and was before it. *Ergo*, it is of more authoritie then Scripture. *Argum. Eckij Enchirid. & Hoſ. lib.* 3, *de authoritate ſcripturæ.*

Anſw. 1. We graunt, that the Scriptures, that is the word written, haue not been from the beginning: yet though there were a Church before the Scriptures, that is the word written, the word of God notwithſtanding was before the Church, which is the ſame now written, that was before vnwritten. 2. Neither is the argument good, for alwaies that, which is more auncient, is not of greateſt authoritie: for *Iohn* Baptiſt, in reſpect of his office came before Chriſt, yet was not his authoritie greater.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe not deſpiſe the ſentence of the Church, as our aduerſaries doe falſly charge vs: nay we doe reuerence the iudgement of the Church of God, and heare it with all obedience, to whome we confeſſe it belongeth. 1. As a faithfull keeper or treaſurer, carefully to preſerue and keepe the holy Scriptures from being violated or corrupted by heretikes or other enimies of Scripture. 2. According to her ſpirituall cunning, to diſcerne the Scripture from other forged and baſtard writings, as the Goldſmith doth the gold from other adulterate mettal. 3. To propound and preach, and hold out the light of Gods truth to the people. 4. To interpret and expound Scripture according to the analogie of faith. *Whitach. quæſt.* 3. *cap.* 2. *de ſcriptur.* We confeſſe alſo as much, as hath been in former times decreed by the Papiſts themſelues: *Penes eccleſiam eſt diſcernendi authoritas ſcripturas veras ab adulterinis: ſic etiam poteſtatem habet interpretandi, atque adeo ex eiſdem ſcripturis eliciendi & explanandi dogmata*: the Church hath power to diſcerne true Scripture from falſe, alſo to interpret the Scripture, and out of the ſame to deriue and explane precepts of religion, that is to preach. But the Church ought not to ſet the Lords ſtamp vpon falſe coine, as the Papiſts doe in making Apocryphall bookes Canonicall. Neither doe we onely beleeue the Scripture, becauſe of the Churches teſtimonie, nor chiefly, but becauſe the ſpirit of God doth ſo teach vs, and the Scriptures themſelues doe teſtifie for themſelues: ſo that euery man is bound to acknowledge the Scripture, though there were no publike approbation of the Church: *Fulk* 2. *Galat.* 6. *Whitacher. quæſt.* 3, *cap.* 1. *de Scripturis.* We doe reaſon thus.

Interrelig. Cæſarea cap. 11. anno. 1548.

Argum. 1. The Ieſuite doth reaſon ſtrongly for vs: he bringeth fiue arguments to proue the Scripture to be the word of God: *veritas vaticiniorum*, the conſtant and perpetuall trueth of the Propheſies: *incredibilis ſcriptorum conſpiratio*, the wonderfull harmonie and conſent of holy writers of the Scripture: *teſtis eſt Deus ipſe*, the ſpirit of God is a principall witneſſe vnto vs: *teſtis eſt ipſa Scriptura*, the Scripture it ſelfe beareth witneſſe, as 2. Tim. 3. all Scripture is giuen by inſpiration: *teſtis eſt diuinorum numerus infinitus miraculorum*: laſtly, the many and great miracles wrought by the Prophets and Apoſtles doe teſtifie for the truth thereof. He maketh no mention at all of the teſtimonie of the Church, but ſaith the ſame that we hold, that the ſpirit of God inwardly working in our hearts by the Scriptures themſelues, which we find to be moſt perfect, conſonant, true, of ſingular maieſtie, doth teach vs which is the word of God. *Bellarm. de verbo Dei. lib.* 1. *c.* 2.

Thoſe arguments or inducements, which do ariſe of the conſideration of the Scriptures themſelues (as *Bellarmine* here ſetteth downe ſome, and other may be added vnto them) are more forcible to perſwade vs, that it is the word of God, then the bare teſtimonie of the Church: Firſt, ***doctrinæ maieſtas***, the ſingular maieſtie of the Scriptures, in the bookes of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and of the heauenly doctrine therein contained: wherein none of the writings of the Philoſophers or Orators, are to be compared vnto them. Secondly, beſide the maieſtie of the matter, the purenes of ſtile, grauitie and diuineneſſe of ſpeech, doth commend the excellencie of Scripture. Thirdly, the antiquitie of theſe holy writings ſheweth them to be diuine: for the bookes of ***Moſes*** are found to bee more ancient, then all the writings in the world. Fourthly, the propheticall predictions and prophecies, which afterward were accompliſhed, yea the very names of certaine men were ſet down many yeres before they were borne, as ***Ioſias***, 1. King. 13. 2. ***Cyrus***, Eſay. 44. 28. Fiftly, the wonderfull and ſtrange miracles, which were wrought by the Prophets and Apoſtles. Sixtly, the teſtimonies alſo of Martyrs, which gaue their liues in defence of the holy doctrine ſet forth in Scripture, doe euidently declare, that they are diuine writings. Seuenthly, the enemies of the Scriptures, which haue attempted all meanes to extinguiſh them, and could not preuaile, doe ſet forth the maieſtie, and authoritie thereof. Eightly, the writers alſo of the Scriptures the Prophets and Apoſtles, doe not a little moue vs: who were but ſimple and plaine men, as ſhepheards, heardmen, fiſhermen, before they were called and ſet apart of God for this worke: whereby it is apparant, that God who inſpired them with ſo great grace, was the author of the Scriptures: ***Hæc Caluin. lib. inſtitut.*** 1. ***cap.*** 8. Theſe aforeſaid motiues do eaſily conuince, that the Scriptures are no humane, but diuine writings: and they are more able to moue vs, then the bare teſtimonie of the Church: yet perſwade vs they cannot, which is the onely worke of the ſpirit, but onely prepare our hearts, and ſtirre vs vp: ***Ergo***, much leſſe is the authoritie of the Church able to doe it.

Argum. 2. The Scripture giueth authoritie to the Church: ***Ergo***, the Church giueth not authoritie to the Scripture: the firſt we proue by our aduerſaries owne confeſsion: for being asked, how they know that the Church erreth not, they alleage ſuch places of Scripture, as Matth. 28. 20. ***I âm with you to the end of the world***, and the like: how then doth the Church giue authoritie to Scripture, ſeeing it taketh her warrant and authoritie from thence? The Ieſuite himſelfe ſaith, that ***nihil eſt certius vel notius Scripturis***, nothing is more certaine or notoriouſly known then Scripture. And againe, ***ſacra Scriptura eſt regula credendi certiſſima***, the holy Scripture is the moſt certaine rule of faith. ***Bellarm. de verbo.*** 1. 2. If the authoritie of Scripture then be moſt certaine, what reaſon is it, that they ſhould depend vpon the iudgement of the Church, which is nothing ſo certaine? The leſſe certaine ought (rather and ſo doth indeed) depend of the more certain; the Church vpon the ſcripture, not contrariwiſe; for the Scriptures are the foundation of the Church, Ephe. 2. 20. ***Argum. Whitach.*** 3.

Argum. 3. To beleeue the Scripture is a worke of faith: the Church cannot infuſe faith into vs, but the ſpirit of God. ***Ergo*** the ſpirit of God not the Church teacheth vs to beleeue Scripture. ***argum. Whitach.*** 18.

Againe, if the Scriptures depend vpon the approbation of the Church, then the promiſes of ſaluation and eternall life conteined in the Scriptures doe ſo likewiſe: but it is abſurd to thinke that the promiſes of God doe ſtand vpon the allowance of men, ***Ergo*** neither the Scriptures, ***argum. Caluini. lib.*** 1. ***inſtitut. cap.*** 7.

Argum. 4. The Scripture is the chiefe iudge, and ought ſo to be in all controuerſies: we may appeale from the Church to the Scripture, not from the Scripture to the Church: the Church is ſubiect to the Scriptures, the rule of faith is in the Scriptures, not in the Church: for the companie of the faithfull which is the Church, are ruled by faith: they doe not ouerrule faith: neither are a rule thereof: the Church is a point of beleefe, as in the Creed, not a rule or meaſure thereof: ***Ergo*** the Church is not the chiefe iudge of Scripture, but it ſelfe to be iudged by Scripture. ***Whitach. argum.*** 16.

Argum. 5. We haue euident places of Scripture, Iohn. 5. 34. ſaith Chriſt, I receiue no witneſſe of men: but the Scripture is the voice of Chriſt, and of the ſame authoritie. ***Ergo***. ver. 36. I haue a greater teſtimonie then of ***Iohn***, the Scriptures doe teſtifie of me. ver. 9. The teſtimonie of the Scriptures is greater then the record of ***Iohn: Ergo*** then of the Church. 1. Ioh. 5. 6. the ſpirit beareth witnes, that the ſpirit, that is, the doctrine of the ſpirit, is the truth. And ver. 9. if we receiue the witneſſe of man, the witneſſe of God is greater, ***Ergo***, not the iudgement of the Church, but the witneſſe of the ſpirit doth certifie and aſſure vs of the truth and authoritie of Scripture.

I will adde one ſaying out of ***Auguſtine: Mihi certum eſt, nuſquam à Chriſti authoritate diſcedere, non enim reperio valentiorem. Contra Academic. lib.*** 3. ***cap.*** 20. I am reſolued for no cauſe to leaue the authoritie of Chriſt (ſpeaking in the Scriptures) for I finde none more forcible: ***Ergo*** the authoritie of Scripture is aboue the Church, which is denied by the Rhemiſtes, ***annot.*** 2. ***Gal. ſect.*** 2. I will here vrge them with their owne authoritie: ***Thomas Aquinas*** hath this diſtinction: that God worketh two waies; firſt by mediate cauſes, as the Prophet ſaith, Pſalm. 138. Thou haſt made me, that is, by the worke of nature: ſecondly, he worketh ſomethings immediately, as miracles: ſo he ſaith, ***Deum hominis intellectum per alias literas mediatè inſtruere, per ſacras immediatè:*** God inſtructeth man mediatly by other writings, but immediately by the Scriptures: as miracles then are Gods workes immediatlie, ſo are the Scriptures his words. Then as miracles of themſelues are knowne to be Gods works, as the Magicians in Ægypt could ſay, ***digitus Dei eſt***, it is the finger of God; ſo are Scriptures knowne to be Gods writings: for if we ſhould neede the teſtimonie of men to perſwade vs of the word, then God thereby doth not immediately inſtruct vs, as *Thomas Aquinas* here ſaith. So then, as the Lawes of Emperours, though they were, ***ſine die & conſule***, without the date of the day and the Conſull, were notwithſtanding authentike, becauſe they were imperiall, ***Cod. lib.*** 1. ***tit.*** 4. ***leg.*** 1. ***Iuſtinian.*** much more the holy Scriptures ought of themſelues to beare credite, becauſe they are diuine. Ex citation. Eſpenſei in 2. Tim. p. 120. g.

Laſtly, let vs ſee the confeſſion of the holy Martyrs, whoſe iudgment in matters of faith, though our aduerſaries regard it not, yet is of vs much to be regarded, ſeeing they doubted not to ſpend their liues in defence of their faith.

Maiſter *Philopt* thus anſwereth to *Morgans* argument, who vrged that the Church was before Scripture, and therefore aboue Scripture: that the worde of God conſiſted not onely in letters and externall writing, but it was the word, wherewith the hearts of the Patriarches, Prophets and Apoſtles were inſpired, euen before it was written, as the ſalutation of the Angel was the Scripture of Chriſt, and word of God, euen before it was written: *ſic Philpot*, pag. 1417. *diſput. conuocat.*

Maiſter *Bradford* ſaith, that the Church is a meane more ſpeedily to bring vs to know the Scriptures: as was the woman of Samaria a meane to bring the Samaritans to know Chriſt: but as they, when they had heard Chriſt, beleeued not ſo much becauſe of her report, as for that they heard him themſelues ſpeake: ſo after that Scriptures are diſcerned, and ſhewed to vs by the Church, we beleeue them to be the word of God, not becauſe the Church ſaith ſo, but for that indeed we finde them to be ſo, as true ſheepe acknowledging the voice of our ſhepheard Chriſt Ieſus ſpeaking therein, ***hac ille.*** pag. 6116. col. 1.

Maiſter *Glouer* Martyr, to this argument propounded, the Church ſheweth which is the word of God, ***Ergo*** it is aboue the word, anſwereth thus: this is no good reaſon, for by the ſame argument *Iohn Baptiſt* ſhall be aboue Chriſt, becauſe he ſhewed Chriſt: and he that telleth one which is the King, ſhould be aboue the King. pag. 1712.

Robert Drakes Martyr, being asked how he knew the Scriptures to be the word of God, anſwered: by the holy doctrine which it containeth, teaching ſaluation by Chriſt, and giuing precepts of holines, to withdraw vs from a wicked life. ***William Tims*** anſwered, that the old Teſtament doth giue witneſſe to the new, and one of them doth teſtifie for another: whereby it appeareth, they are the very word of God. *Fox.* pag. 1897. All thoſe holy Martyrs died in this confeſſion of their faith: therefore bleſſed be God that hath not left his truth without ſuch excellent witneſſes, in thoſe crooked and euill daies.

THE FIFT QVESTION CONCERNING THE perſpicuitie and plainneſſe of the Scripture.

The Papiſts.

6. Error. OVr aduerſaries doe hold that the Scriptures are moſt hard, difficult, and obſcure. ***Bellarmine*** ſaith, ***neceſſariò fatendum eſt, Scripturas eſſe obſcuriſſimas***, it muſt needes be granted that the Scriptures are moſt obſcure, ***de verbo Dei. lib.*** 3. ***cap.*** 1. They doe not onely affirme that ſome things are obſcure in the Scriptures: but that they are all hard, and doubtfull, and vncertaine, and compare them therefore to a leaden rule, which may be turned euery way, ***Petrus a Soto.*** And to a noſe of wax, ***Lindanus*** a Papiſt, ***ex Tilmanno de verbo Dei, error.*** 5. Our Rhemiſts ſay, it is all one to affirme ſome things to be hard in a writer, and the writer to be hard: ſo they conclude, that the Scriptures are both in reſpect of the matter and manner, very hard, and therefore daungerous for the ignorant to reade them. ***Rhemenſ. annot. in*** 2. Pet. 3. verſ. 16.

Argum. 1. They obiect that place, 2. Pet. 3. 16. where the Apoſtle ſaith, ſpeaking of S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, that many things are hard. ***Ergo***, the Epiſtles of S. *Paul* are hard, and ſo the Scriptures: this is *Bellarmine* and the Ieſuites Argument. We anſwere. Firſt, he ſaith not, that *Pauls* Epiſtles are hard, but many things, which he entreateth of. Secondly, they are hard not to all, but the vnſtable and vnlearned doe peruert them. Thirdly, we denie not, but that ſome places in the Scripture are obſcure, and haue neede of interpretation: but it followeth not, that therefore the whole Scripture is obſcure: and becauſe of ſome harde places, that the people ſhould be forbidden the reading of all.

Argum. 2. The Scriptures are obſcure both in reſpect of the matter and manner: firſt the matter is high and myſticall: as of the Trinitie, of the incarnation of the word, of the nature of Angels, and ſuch like. We anſwer, theſe myſteries may be ſaid to be obſcure three diuers waies. 1. In their own nature: ſo are they hard indeed, for by humane reaſon, we cannot attaine to the depth of them. 2. In reſpect of their handling in the Seripture: ſo are they not obſcure, for all theſe things are plainly declared in the word, as the nature of ſuch deepe myſteries will affoord. 3. In reſpect of vs: ſo muſt they needes be obſcure, if men be not contented with the knowledge in the word, but curiouſly ſearch further. ***Luther*** therefore doth aptly diſtinguiſh of theſe things, he ſaith that, ***res Dei***, the things of God are obſcure, the very depth of his myſteries cannot be comprehended of vs: but, ***res Scripturæ***, theſe things, as they are opened in Scripture, are plaine, if we will content our ſelues with that knowledge.

Secondly (ſaith ***Bellarmine***) the manner of handling is hard and obſcure: there are many tropes, metaphors, allegories, Hebraiſmes, which cannot eaſily be vnderſtood. We anſwere. Firſt, many of theſe are rather ornaments of the Scripture, as tropes, metaphors, then impediments to the reader. Secondly, though the phraſe of Scripture ſeeme hard at the firſt, yet by further trauell in the Scriptures it may become eaſie and plaine: for all things are not vnderſtoode at the firſt. Thirdly, we denie not but that ſome places are obſcure, and had need to be opened.

Argum. 3. If the Scriptures be not hard, what need ſo many Commentaries, and expoſitions, ***Rhemiſt.*** 2.Pet.3.16. ***& Bellarm. lib.*** 3. ***de verb. Dei. cap.*** 1. We anſwer. Firſt, ſo many Commentaries are not requiſite, ſome may be ſpared. Secondly, expoſitions are needfull for the vnderſtanding of darke places; but many things are plaine enough without expoſitions, and may be vnderſtood of the ſimple.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe not hold that the Scripture is euery where ſo plaine and euident, that it neede no interpretation, as our aduerſaries doe ſlander vs, and therefore here they doe fight with their owne ſhadow. ***Bellarm. lib.*** 3. ***de verbo cap.*** 1. We confeſſe, that the Lord in the Scriptures hath tempered hard things and eaſie together, that we might be exerciſed in the Scriptures, and might knocke and labour by prayer and ſtudie, for the opening of the ſenſe: and that there might be order kept in the Church, ſome to be hearers, ſome teachers and expounders, by whoſe diligent ſearch and trauell, the harder places may be opened to the people. But this we affirme againſt our aduerſaries: firſt, that all points of faith neceſſarie to ſaluation, are plainely ſet forth in the Scriptures. Secondly, that the Scriptures may with great profite be read of the ſimple and vnlearned, notwithſtanding the hardnes of ſome places, which in time alſo vſing the meanes they come to the vnderſtanding of, ***Ex Fulk. annot.*** 2. ***Pet.*** 3.16. ***Whitacher. quaeſt.*** 4. ***cap.*** 1.

Argum. 1. Firſt, that which we maintaine is euident out of the Scripture, Deut. 30.11. ***The commandement, which I command thee, is not hid from thee, nor farre off.*** And as it followeth, ***Thou needeſt not aſcend to the heauens, or goe beyond the ſea: the word is neere vnto thee, euen in thy mouth and heart, to doe it. argum. Brentij. Ergo*** the Scriptures are plaine. Firſt, the Ieſuite anſwereth, that it is meant onely of the decalogue and the ten commandements, that they are eaſie, not of the whole Scripture. As though if the commandements be eaſie the reſt of the Scriptures be not likewiſe, as the Prophets and hiſtoricall bookes, being but commentaries and expoſitions of the decalogue. S. ***Paul***, Rom. 10.6. vnderſtandeth this place of the whole doctrine of faith, who better knew the meaning of ***Moſes*** then the Ieſuite. Againe, the Prophet ***Dauid*** ſaith, ***Thy word is a lanterne to my feete, and a light to my pathes:*** which is not to be vnderſtood only of the commandements and precepts in Scripture, but of the whole word of God, as ***Auguſtine*** expoundeth it: ***Quod ait lucerna pedibus verbum tuum, verbum eſt, quod ſcripturis omnibus ſanctis continetur:*** where he ſaith, thy word is a lanterne to my feete, he vnderſtandeth the word of God, which is contained in all the holy Scriptures, ***Auguſt. concion.*** 23. ***in Pſalm.*** 118.

Argum. 2. 2.Cor.4.3. If our Goſpell be hid, it is to them onely that are loſt: ***Ergo*** the Scriptures are plaine to the faithfull. The Ieſuite anſwereth, S. ***Paul*** ſpeaketh of the knowledge of Chriſt, not of the Scriptures. Firſt, it is manifeſt out of the ſecond verſe, that S. ***Paul*** ſpeaketh of that Goſpell, which hee preached to the Corinthians, which is the ſame hee wrote vnto them: wherefore if the Goſpell preached were eaſie and plaine, why is not the Goſpell written by him, I meane the doctrine of faith, being the ſame which he preached? Secondly, if they graunt that the knowledge of Chriſt is eaſie, we aske no more: for this is that we ſay, that the doctrine of faith and ſaluation is plainely expreſſed in Scripture.

Argum. 3. This is the difference betweene the new Teſtament and the old: the old is compared to a claſped book, Eſa. 29.11. the new to a book opened, Apoc. 5. The knowledge of Chriſtians far exceedeth the knowledg of the Iewes: it was lawful for them to reade the Scriptures, much more for all Chriſtians. The Ieſuit anſwereth that our knowledge is greater then theirs, not in all Scripture, but in the myſteries for our redemption only. We anſwer: this is all we deſire: for if the myſterie of ſaluation and redemption be plainely opened in the Scripture, why ſhould not the people be admitted to the reading of the word, to be confirmed in the knowledge of their redemption? Who ſeeth not what ſillie anſwers theſe be? ***Auguſtine*** thus writeth of this matter, ***In ÿs (inquit) quæ apertè in ſcripturis poſita ſunt, inueniuntur ea omnia, quæ fidem continent moreſque viuendi: De doctrin. Chriſtian.lib.2.cap.9.*** The plaine and eaſie places of Scripture containe all things neceſſarie vnto faith and good life: ***Ergo***, the doctrine of ſaluation in the Scriptures is not hard and difficult, but eaſie of good Chriſtians to be vnderſtood.

Toletan.4.cap.16. it was thus decreed: ***Qui Apocalypſin Iohannis à Paſcha vſq; ad Pentecoſten Miſſarum tempore in eccleſia non prædicauerit, excommunicationis ſententiam habebit:*** He that refuſeth to preach to the people in the time of diuine ſeruice from Eaſter to Whitſontide the Apocalypſe of S.***Iohn***, ſhall haue the ſentence of excommunication. By this appeareth, that this Councell deemed not the reſt of the Scripture ſo very hard, ſeeing they ſo ſtreightly enioyne the reading and preaching of the hardeſt booke in Scripture to the people: which ſome reformed Churches euen at this day doe forbeare the reading of.

Further, if that by the Emperiall law it was prouided, ***Vt ad omnium notitiam, conſtitutiones valeant peruenire***: That the conſtitutions ſhould come to euery mans knowledge: ***Cod. lib.1.tit.1. lege.3.Iuſtinian:*** And againe, ***Conſtitutionum noſtri codicis iubar omnibus clareat, leg.3.*** That as the Sunne beames our conſtitutions ſhould ſhine vpon all. How much more comfortable and perſpicuous to all is the Sunne light of the Scriptures?

I will alſo vrge them with their owne decrees: ***Decret.par.1.diſt.38.cap.9. Ignorantia ſcripturarum, ignoratio Chriſti:*** The ignorance of the Scripture, is the ignorance of Chriſt. If then the people be kept from the knowledge of Scripture, they cannot attaine to the knowledge of Chriſt.

Heare alſo what a writer of your owne alleageth to this purpoſe out of ***Poſper. Paruuli, magni, fortes, infirmi, habent in ſcripturis vnde alantur & ſatientur:*** Great and ſmall, ſtrong and weake, may finde nouriſhment in the Scriptures. And in the ſame place he hath theſe verſes:

Quæ nullis animis, nullis non congruit annis Eſpenſ.in 2. Tim.p.117.B.
Lacte rigans paruos, pane cibans validos.
Which may be tranſlated thus.
No age ſo young, no wit ſo ſmall,
which Scripture doth not fit:
Ther's milke for babes, and yet withall
ther's meate for ſtronger wit.

If then children and little ones, and men of ſimple wit may be admitted to the reading of Scripture, it ſeemeth not that it ſhould be ſo difficult and obſcure, as they would beare vs in hand.

I will in the laſt place adde the iudgement of a reuerend and learned man, that faithfull martyr, and bleſſed ſeruant of God ***D.Taylor***, who in an epiſtle of his confuteth a certaine ſermon made by a popiſh Prieſt in Hadley, whereof the ſaid ***D.Taylor*** was Paſtor: He ſaith, the Scripture is full of darke ſentences: but indeed it is called of ***Dauid***, a candle to our feete, and a light to our ſteps. Our Sauiour Chriſt calleth his word the light, which euill doers doe flie from, &c. ***Fox*** p.1528.

THE SIXT QVESTION: CONCERNING the interpretation of Scripture.

THis queſtion doth deuide it ſelfe into three parts: Firſt, concerning the diuers ſenſes of the Scripture. Secondly, to whom the chiefe authoritie to expound Scripture is committed. Thirdly, what meanes muſt be vſed in the interpretation of Scripture.

THE FIRST PART OF THE SIXT QVEſtion: of the diuers ſenſes of Scripture.

The Papiſts.

THere are two ſtrange aſſertions of our aduerſaries concerning this matter. Firſt, they affirme that the Scripture may haue diuers ſenſes and meanings in the ſame place. The ſenſe of the Scripture is either literall (ſay they) and hiſtoricall, which is the firſt and moſt proper ſenſe; or ſpirituall, that is an higher ſenſe deriued out of the other. The literall ſenſe, which there is gathered directly, and immediatly out of the words: the ſpirituall, which hath another reference, then to that, which the words doe properly ſignifie. The literall is of two ſorts, either plaine and ſimple, or elſe figuratiue: as where Chriſt ſaith, ***I haue other ſheepe, which are not of this folde, &c.*** Iohn 10. Whereby he vnderſtandeth other people beſide the Iewes. The ſpirituall is of three kindes; Allegoricall, Tropologicall, Anagogicall: they ſhew by particular inſtance and induction, that the Scripture beſide the literall ſenſe may haue theſe alſo. **7.Error.**

The Allegoricall ſenſe is, when beſides the plaine hiſtoricall and literall meaning, ſomewhat is ſignified, which by an allegorie is referred vnto Chriſt, or the Church, as Gal.4. beſide the trueth of the ſtorie of the bond and free woman, S. *Paul* applieth it vnto the two Teſtaments: *Ergo*, one place may haue more ſenſes then one.

The Tropologicall ſenſe is, when as there is ſomewhat ſignified appertaining to manners, as Deut. 25. *Thou ſhalt not muſle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth out the corne:* this by S. *Paul* is applied to the miniſters of the Goſpell, 1. Cor. 9. *Ergo*, the Scripture hath diuers ſenſes.

The Anagogicall ſenſe is, when the place is applied to decipher and ſet forth the kingdome of heauen and eternall things, as Pſal. 94. *I ſware vnto them, if they ſhould enter into my reſt:* this is literally vnderſtood of the reſt in Canaan, and ſpiritually of life eternall: *Ergo*, many ſenſes. Thus reaſoneth *Bellarm. lib.* 3. *de ſcriptur. cap.* 3.

The Proteſtants.

WE affirme that of one place of Scripture there can bee but one ſenſe, which we call the literall ſenſe, when as the words are either taken properly, or figuratiuely to expreſſe the thing which is meant: as in this place, *The ſeede of the woman ſhall breake the Serpents head:* the literall ſenſe is of Chriſt, who ſhould triumph ouer Sathan, though it bee ſpoken in a borrowed and figuratiue ſpeech. There can bee therefore but one ſenſe, which is the literall: as for thoſe three kindes, they are not diuers ſenſes, but diuers applications onely and collections out of one and the ſame ſenſe: as S. *Ambroſe* ſaith *in* 17. *cap. Luc. Non vna tantum figura, ſed multiplex in ſcripturis eſſe conſueuit, vt vnus ſermo plures ſpecies comprehendat:* The Scripture is accuſtomed to afford not one, but diuers figures, that one ſaying may comprehend diuers kindes vnder it: that is, diuers ſpeciall ſenſes, or applications of one generall ſenſe.

Argum. 1. It ſhall appeare by a ſeuerall induction of all theſe kindes: In the firſt example of the Allegoricall ſenſe, Galat. 4. the Apoſtle ſaith not that there is a double ſenſe, but that it may be allegorically applied, which is hiſtorically ſet downe. There is then but one ſenſe of the place, part whereof conſiſteth in the ſtorie, part in the allegorie: ſo that the whole ſenſe is contained in them both. Concerning the ſecond example of the Tropologicall: there is not a twofold ſenſe of that place, but one whole generall ſenſe, that as the mouth of the oxe was not to bee muſled, ſo the miniſter of the Goſpell muſt bee prouided for. Likewiſe of the Anagogicall kinde: it is not one ſenſe to vnderſtand the reſt of Canaan, another of the kingdome of God: but there is one whole ſenſe, that as they for their Idolatrie were depriued of the land of promiſe, ſo wee ſhould take heede leaſt by our diſobedience we loſe the hope of the kingdome of heauen. So wee conclude that thoſe are not diuers ſenſes, but one ſenſe diuerſly applied.

Argum. 2. The literall ſenſe is the onely ſenſe of the place, becauſe out of that ſenſe only may an argument ſtrongly be framed: wherefore ſeeing allegories and tropes doe not conclude, they are not the ſenſes of the place. An allegorie or type may be part of the literall ſenſe, and then it concludeth: but when an allegorie is framed beſide the literall ſenſe, it concludeth not; and therfore is no part of the ſenſe: as to reaſon thus, the oxes mouth muſt not be muſled: *Ergo*, the Miniſter muſt bee maintained, it followeth well, becauſe it is part of the ſenſe. But allegories deuiſed beſide the ſenſe proue not, though they may illuſtrate.

Argum. 3. That propertie is the ſenſe of the place, which the text alwaies yeeldeth: for no text of Scripture is without his ſenſe: but the ſpirituall ſenſe is not in euery place to be found, but the literall ſenſe alwaies. And this the Ieſuite confeſſeth: *Non inuenitur ſpiritualis ſenſus in omni ſententia ſcripturæ:* The ſpirituall ſenſe is not found in euery ſentence of Scripture: *Ergo*, it is not the ſenſe properly.

Here alſo I will vrge the Ieſuite with his owne teſtimonie: *Spirituales ſenſus licet ædificent, & tamen non ſemper conſtat, an ſint à ſpiritu ſancto intenti:* The ſpirituall ſenſes, though they may edifie, yet it is not alwaies certaine, whether they bee intended by the ſpirit: but the literall ſenſe is certaine alwaies to bee the ſenſe of the ſpirit, *Bellarm. cap.* 3. The literall ſenſe therefore is the onely ſenſe, becauſe it is the ſenſe of the ſpirit.

I will alſo oppoſe againſt them their owne decrees: *Sext. decretal. lib.* 5. *tit* 12. *c.* 3. *Nicholaus* 4. *Gloſſæ non fiant, niſi forſan per quas verbi ſenſus, vel conſtructio, quaſi grammaticaliter ad literam, vel intelligibilius exponatur:* Let there bee no gloſſes made, but ſuch, whereby the ſenſe or conſtruction of the word may bee grammatically expounded according to the letter. This decree alloweth none but the grammaticall and literall ſenſe.

The Papiſts.

8. Error. THeir other aſſertion is this, that it is lawfull to allegorize ſcripture both in the old and new Teſtament, *Bellarm. lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. They reaſon thus, *Rhemenſ. annot. Hebr.* 4. *ver.* 5. The Apoſtle applieth the reſt of the Sabbath to the eternall reſt: *Ergo*, the like applications of the Fathers are lawfull. See *Annot. Hebr.* 7. 2. The Apoſtle (ſay they) findeth great myſteries, euen in the very names: *Ergo*, it is lawfull to make allegories.

The

The Proteſtants.

WE ſay it is dangerous to make allegories of Scripture, without the warrant and direction of Gods ſpirit. This was the occaſion that diuers of the ancient fathers greatly erred: as the Ieſuite himſelfe giueth an inſtance of *Origen,* who doth allegorize the ſtorie of Geneſis concerning the terreſtriall paradiſe. And it is much to bee wondered at that our aduerſaries doe ſo much ſtand for the allegorizing of Scripture, beyond the litterall ſenſe, ſeeing that, contrary to their owne iudgement, who ſo much eſteeme of tropes and allegories, in theſe words of Chriſt, *hoc eſt corpus meum,* they ſtand onely vpon the literall and verball ſenſe, admitting no trope, figure or allegorie at all. I will put them in minde here of a ſaying of an old popiſh Biſhop, aboue two hundred yeeres agoe: The words in Scripture (ſaith he) muſt not bee iudged by the ſenſe which they make, but the ſenſe whereof they are made, the conſtructions in Scripture are not bound to *Donates* rules, where faith is farre placed from the capacitie of reaſon: *Sic Iohann. Treſnant. Epiſcop. Hereford. Fox* pag. 465. How well the Papiſts now a daies doe follow this rule it appeareth by the former example.

To their arguments our learned countrie man *D. Fulk* anſwereth: Firſt, it followeth not, becauſe it was lawfull for the Apoſtles, gouerned by the ſpirit, to make allegories, that it is therefore lawfull for others. Secondly, when the fathers or any other writers can bee aſſured of the ſame ſpirit, which the holy writers had, and of the like dexteritie in vnderſtanding and expounding Scripture, they may likewiſe be bold to make allegories.

Let vs heare what *Auguſtine* ſaith of this matter: *Sicut mihi multum errare videntur, qui nullas res geſtas aliquid aliud prater id, quod eo modo geſta ſunt, ſignificare arbitrantur: ita multum audere, qui prorſus ibi omnia ſignificationibus allegoricis inuoluta eſſe contendunt:* As they are much deceiued, which thinke that the ſtories in the Scripture doe ſignifie no other thing, but that which was done: ſo they are too raſh and bold, that would draw all things to allegories, which they reade in Scripture. *Ergo,* it is not lawfull for any to inuent allegories of Scripture, as it ſeemeth good to themſelues.

Concil. Bracarenſ. 1. can. 30. it was thus decreed: *Placuit, vt nihil veteris teſtamenti poeticè compoſitum in Eccleſia pſaltatur:* It ſeemeth good to vs that no part of the old Teſtament ſhould be ſung in meeter in the Church, or compoſed after a poetical manner. But what do they elſe but follow poeticall fictions, that draw the Scripture as they liſt, to imagined allegories? *Synod. Auguſt. c. 13. Concionator ſe ad captum auditorum demittat, nunc Catechiſtam agat, nunc interpretem ſcripturarum, nunc vitiorum reprehenſorem, nunc doctorem myſteriorum:* The Preacher muſt apply himſelfe to his auditors capacitie, ſometime playing the Catechiſt, ſometime interpreting Scriptures, otherwhile reprehending vice, and againe vnfolding myſteries. He muſt then vnfolde myſteries, not allegorize Scripture at his pleaſure, and make more myſteries.

Let them heare alſo their owne decrees: *Decr. par. 1. d. 37. c. 4. Pſeudoprophetas eos debemus accipere, qui aliter ſcripturarum verba accipiunt, quam ſpiritus ſanctus ſonat:* We vnderſtand them to bee falſe prophets, which doe take the words of Scripture otherwiſe, then the ſpirit ſoundeth. And againe, *ibid. cap. 14. Clemens 1. Multas quidem, vt audiuimus veſtrarū partium ingenioſi homines, ex ÿs, qua legunt, veriſimilitudes capiunt:* Certaine wittie conceited men in your parts, as I heare, doe gather ſimilitudes and reſemblances out of that which they reade: which vſe is forbidden in this decree: the former canon calleth them, *imagines, vmbras, phantaſmata:* ſhadowes, and phantaſies. And I wiſh in my heart, that in handling of Scripture, this age of ours were not too much giuen to follow ſuch wittie rather then pithie conceites and phantaſies.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SIXT QVEſtion: to whom the chiefe authoritie to expound Scripture is committed.

The Papiſts.

IT was decreed in the Councell of Trent, that Scripture ſhould bee expounded, as the Church expoundeth it, and according to the common and conſonant conſent of the fathers, *Seſſ. 4.* The Rheiniſts ſay, that the ſenſe of the Scriptures muſt bee learned of the fathers and paſtors of the Church, *Præfat. ſect. 18.* If the fathers agree not, the matter is referred to a generall Councell: if there it be not determined, we muſt haue recourſe to the Pope and his Cardinals. The Ieſuite dare not referre the matter to the Pope alone to expound Scripture, but ioyneth the Colledge of Cardinals with him, *Bellarm. lib. 3. de ſcript. cap. 3.* 9. Error.

Argum. 1. They obiect that place Deut. 17. 9. where the people are commanded to reſort vnto the Prieſt or Iudge in doubtfull matters: *Ergo,* there ought to bee a chiefe and ſupreme Iudge in Eccleſiaſticall matters, *Bellarm.* We anſwere: Firſt, here the ciuill Magiſtrate and the Iudge are ioyned together, as verſ. 12. Wherefore if they will gather hereby, that the Pope muſt bee ſupreme Iudge in all Eccleſiaſticall matters, then the Emperour ought to be as well in ciuill. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that by the Iudge is vnderſtood the chiefe Prieſt: or if it be taken for the ciuill Iudge, he is but to execute the ſentence giuen by the Prieſt. *Contra.*1. It appeareth in the 12. verſe, that the high Prieſt and the chiefe Iudge are not all one: *that man, that ſhall not hearken to the Prieſt,&c. or vnto the Iudge,* howſoeuer the vulgar Latin reade otherwiſe. 2. We graunt that the Prieſts office was to declare to the Iudge the word of God, but not to giue ſentence: for the Prieſt had not to doe with matters of blood, which are named amongſt other cauſes, verſ.8. Secondly, the text ſaith, they ſhall come to the Prieſts, verſ.9. aſſigning many, not to one onely Prieſt. Thirdly, they muſt iudge according to the law, verſ.11. not as they liſt themſelues. *Bellarmine* ſaith, that this is no condition, *if they ſhall iudge according to the law*; for then the people ſhould iudge the ſentence of the Prieſt: but it is a promiſe, &c. *Contra.*1. We ſay not that the people ſhould iudge of the ſentence of the Prieſt, but the law of God it ſelfe: as the Diſciples by the Scriptures did examine the Apoſtles preachings, Act.17. who were not inferiour in office in the Goſpell to the Prieſts in the law. 2. Neither had the Iudges any ſuch promiſe not to erre in iudgement, but ſo farre forth as they followed the law: for there were among them vnrighteous Iudges, as *Abimelech*, Iudg.9. and the two Elders, that condemned *Suſanna*, which booke is good ſcripture with them. Fourthly, here is no mention made of doubts in interpreting Scripture, but of controuerſies that may fall out betweene man and man, either eccleſiaſticall to be decided by the Prieſt, or ciuill by the Magiſtrate. Fiftly, we graunt that in euery countrie there ought to bee a ſupreme and high ſeate of iudgement for the determining of controuerſiall matters betweene men: but it followeth not that there ſhould be a ſupreme Iudge ouer the whole Church, eſpecially in ſuch matters as this concerning the ſenſe of the Scriptures, which is not committed to the iudgement of men, neither is any ſuch controuerſie named in that place, verſ.8.

*Argum.*2. Eccleſiaſt.12.11. The Wiſeman compareth the words of the wiſe to nayles which are faſtened, giuen by one paſtor. In this place *Salomon* teacheth, that men ought to reſt in the ſentence of the chiefe paſtor, without any further inquirie or ſearch. And if the chiefe paſtor in the old Teſtament had ſuch authoritie, much more the chiefe Prieſt in the new: *Ergo,* we ought to reſt in the ſentence and iudgement of the Pope with his aſſiſtants, *Bellar.cap.4.argum.*3.

We anſwere, the wiſe men are here vnderſtood to be the Paſtors and Miniſters of Gods word, but this one paſtor ſignifieth neither the high Prieſt in the old law, nor the Pope in the new, but Ieſus Chriſt the high ſhepheard for our ſoules. What great boldnes is this to attribute that to the Pope, which is onely proper to Chriſt?

*Argum.*3. They alſo picke out ſome places in the new Teſtament, as Matth.16.19. to thee will I giue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. Chriſt ſaith ſo to *Peter: Ergo,* the Pope hath authoritie to expound Scripture. We anſwere: firſt, by the keyes here is meant commiſſion to preach the Goſpell, not onely to expound doubts. Secondly, they were giuen to all the Apoſtles, not to *Peter* onely, Matth.28. verſ.18.19. *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ.cap.9.ex Iſidor. Cæteri Apoſtoli cum Petro par conſortium honoris & poteſtatis acceperunt*: The reſt of the Apoſtles were receiued together with *Peter*, into the ſame fellowſhip of dignitie and authoritie or power. Thirdly, the Pope is not ſucceſſor of *Peter*, no more then any other godly Biſhop, nor ſo much, vnleſſe he follow *Peters* ſteps: As S. *Hierome* ſaith to *Damaſus*, as it is alleaged in your own decrees: *Decr.p.2.cauſ.24.qu.1.c.*14. *Petri & fidem & ſedem tenes*: You hold both *Peters* ſeate and faith. So they abuſe that place, Matth. 18.17. *He that will not heare the Church*, &c. *Ergo,* the Biſhops and chiefe paſtors muſt expound the doubts in Scripture. *Anſw.* Firſt, our Sauiour ſpeaketh here of the diſcipline of the Church, of corrections and admonitions, not of interpreting Scripture, which dependeth not vpon the will and phantaſie of Pope, Cardinals, or popiſh Councels, but muſt bee tried by the Scriptures themſelues. Secondly, wee muſt giue eare to the Church, but with a double condition: firſt, we muſt be ſure it is the Church of God, as our Sauiour himſelfe expoundeth, verſ.20. *Where two or three are gathered together in my name,* &c. ſo that euery congregation is not the Church, but that which is aſſembled in the name and authoritie of Chriſt. Secondly, we muſt not heare them, contrarie to the Scriptures, but ſo long as they doe teach the doctrine of Chriſt: for otherwiſe an Angell from heauen is not to be heard, 1. Galath.1.8.

*Argum.*4. S. *Paul* went to Ieruſalem to conferre with S. *Peter, Iames* and *Iohn*, otherwiſe he ſaith he ſhould haue runne in vaine: *Ergo,* the iudgement of faith belongeth to *Peter*, and *Peters* ſucceſſor, *Bellar.cap.*5.

Anſw. Firſt, S. *Paul* went not vp to Ieruſalem of neceſſitie, as though he needed to haue his doctrine confirmed by the former Apoſtles: for he himſelfe ſaith contrarie, Galat.2.6. They that ſeemed to be the chiefe communicated nothing with me. And againe, *Peter* was rather confirmed by him, whom he openly rebuketh for a certaine ſlip of infirmitie, verſ.12. but he ſpeaketh in reſpect of others, that ſaid he taught contrarie to the Apoſtles, leaſt he ſhould haue runne in vaine. Secondly, S. *Ambroſe* ſaith to this purpoſe, that *Paul* went vp to Ieruſalem to ſee *Peter*, not of neceſſitie,

ceſſitie, *Neque vt aliquid ab eo diſceret, qui iam ab authore didicerat, ſed propter affectionem Apoſtolatus, & propter concordiam:* Neither to learne any thing of him, who had learned of Chriſt the author himſelfe, but for loue vnto his fellow Apoſtle, and for concord ſake. *Ambroſ. in hunc locum.*

The Proteſtants.

WE haue a more compendious way to come to the vnderſtanding of the Scripture: It were too long when we doubt of any place to ſtay till wee haue the generall conſent of the paſtors of the Church, or to expect a generall Councell, or goe vp to Rome. And it were too much to trouble the Popes grauitie with euery queſtion: the Lord hath ſhewed vs a more eaſie and readie way, ſo that wee neede not aſcend to heauen, or compaſſe the earth, or paſſe the Alpes: but the word of God is amongſt vs, the Scriptures themſelues and the ſpirit of God opening our hearts doe teach vs how to vnderſtand them. And yet wee ſay not, as they doe falſely charge vs, that wee allow euery priuate mans interpretation of Scripture; and refuſing the iudgement of the Paſtors of the Church, place the gift of interpretation in euery mans particular breaſt, *Bellar. de verb. dei. lib. 3. cap. 4.* But wee denie, that the interpretation of Scripture is aſſigned to any ſucceſſion of Paſtors, or tied to any place or perſons: and yet graunt, that it is the office of the Paſtors and Miniſters, to whom the diſpenſation of the word is committed, not of priuate men to expound Scripture according to the ſenſe and meaning of the ſpirit; and to diſcerne betweene the orthodoxall and hereticall interpretations: yet they are but the inſtruments, the ſpirit of God ſpeaking in the Scriptures is the interpreter of himſelfe: and in this vnderſtanding we conſent to a decree of one of your owne Synodes: *Senonenſ. ſynod. decret. 4. de fide: Eccleſia catholicum ſenſum ab hæretico, germanum ab adulterino diſcernit:* The Church doth diſcerne the Catholike ſenſe from the hereticall, the true from the falſe. It hath no power to make or coyne interpretations beſide Scripture, but to diſcerne and diſtinguiſh. Our arguments now follow.

Argum. 1. That only hath power to giue the ſenſe of Scripture, which doth beget vs faith: the ſpirit onely by the Scriptures begetteth faith, Rom. 10. 17. faith commeth by hearing the word: *Ergo*, the ſpirit of God is the onely interpreter of Scripture. The propoſition alſo is cleere: for ſeeing the Scripture is the true ſenſe and meaning thereof, if any ſhould giue the ſenſe of the Scripture, but that which worketh faith, then vpon him ſhould our faith bee grounded. If the Pope therefore giue the ſenſe of Scripture, and our faith ariſeth of the Scripture vnderſtood, then our faith is builded vpon the Popes ſenſe, *argum. Whitach. 2. & 9.*

Argum. 2. The Scriptures cannot be interpreted but by the ſame ſpirit, wherewith they were written: but that ſpirit is found no where but in the Scriptures. *Ergo.* The firſt part the Papiſts themſelues graunt: the ſecond is thus proued. The ſpirit of the Apoſtles is not giuen by ſecret inſpiration, that ſauoureth of Anabaptiſme: where is it thē to be found? whether is it like that S. *Peters* ſpirit ſhuld be found in yͤ Popes chaire, or in his Epiſtles? or if they haue S. *Peters* ſpirit, where is S. *Pauls* found but in his writings? Yet it is all one ſpirit, and appeareth not elſewhere but in the Scriptures: where euery man may finde it as well as the Pope: *The ſpirituall man iudgeth all things.* 1. Cor. 2. 15. *You haue an oyntment from him that is holy, and you haue knowne all things:* 1. Ioh. 2. verſ. 27. *You neede not that any man teach you.* By theſe places it is euident, that euery faithfull man by the ſpirit of God according to the meaſure of his gift, and qualitie of his calling may vnderſtand the Scriptures. To this beareth witneſſe that decree, *Synod. Colonienſ. part. 2. cap. 4. Preſbyteri in lege domini meditentur die & nocte, & iudicia diuina exquirant & ſcrutentur non propria præſumptione, aut humano ſenſu, ſed ſpiritu ſancto dictante, &c.* Let the Preachers and Presbyters meditate in the law of God day and night, and ſearch and trie out the diuine iudgements, not by their owne preſumption, or humane ſenſe, but according to the direction of the ſpirit. This Canon referreth Preachers for the vnderſtanding of Scripture, not to the Pope or Cardinals, but to the ſpirit of God as the author; and the diligent ſearching of Scripture as the meane.

Argum. 3. The doctrine of the Church muſt bee examined by the Scriptures: *Ergo*, the Scriptures are not to ſtand to the iudgement of the Church. The former part is prooued by the example of the Berrœans, Act. 17. 11. If they did well in examining *Pauls* doctrine, much more may the decrees of the Pope, Church, Councels, be examined by the Scriptures. But they knew not whether *Paul* was an Apoſtle or not, therefore they might examine his doctrine, ſaith the Ieſuit. *Anſw.* Firſt, they could not bee ignorant of his Apoſtleſhip, who was famous throughout the Churches. Secondly, they doubted only whether *Paul* was an Apoſtle; but we are ſure the Pope is none, neither ſucceſſor of any Apoſtle, but very Antichriſt: *Ergo*, wee haue more iuſt cauſe to examine his decrees. Thirdly, if S. *Pauls* Apoſtleſhip might be doubted of, much more may the Popes authoritie be called into queſtion.

Argum. 4. S. *Paul* ſaith, We are builded vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Epheſ. 2. 20. The Pope nor his Church are not the foundation of the Saints: *Ergo*, wee are not to build vpon them nor their interpretation. *Bellarmine* denieth the aſſumption or ſecond part, and ſaith, that the teſtimonie of the Church is a ſecond foundation: for we know not which is the word but by the Church. *reſp. ad arg.*13. *Anſw.* 1. The Ieſuite ſpeaketh abſurdly, in ſaying the Church is the foundation, the Church is the building: and the building and foundation cannot be all one. Secondly, there cannot be diuers foundations: as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1. Cor. 3. 11. Other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, Ieſus Chriſt. If it ſhall be obiected, how then are Apoſtles ſaid to be foundations? I anſwere; the perſons of the Apoſtles is not the foundation, but their doctrine, which is the faith in Ieſus. Thirdly, it is another vntruth, that the Scriptures are not knowne but by the teſtimonie of the Church: as partly hath been ſhewed before, and ſhall more afterwards, as Chriſt ſaith, Iohn 5. 34. He did not receiue the teſtimonie of men, his owne workes did witneſſe of him; ſo the efficacie of the ſpirit ſpeaking in the Scriptures doth teſtifie of it, that it is the word.

*Argum.*5. If the Pope haue authoritie to iudge of Scripture, and that the ſenſe of the Scripture without his approbation is not authenticall, then it would follow, that the Pope is aboue Scripture, which were not onely a great abſurditie, but a grieuous blaſphemie.

Bellarmine. To be ſaid to iudge of the Scripture may be taken two waies, either to iudge whether the Scripture be true or no: and who ſo thus iudgeth, ſhould be aboue Scripture; but ſo doth not the Pope: Or elſe to iudge of the ſenſe of Scripture, which is not to be aboue Scripture, but aboue the priuate iudgements and interpretations of men, *ſic Bellarmin. lib.* 3. *cap.* 10. *reſponſ. ad argum.*14.

Anſw. Firſt to expound and giue the ſenſe of Scripture, by the Scripture it ſelfe, is not to be a iudge of Scripture, or ſuperiour to it, but to be ſubiected rather vnto it and ordered by it: but the Pope in taking vpon him abſolute authoritie to expound Scripture, doth make himſelfe ſuperiour to it, in as much as the Scripture is not the letter, but the ſenſe thereof: he therefore that ouerruleth the ſenſe, ouerruleth Scripture. Secondly, againe, he that may giue the ſenſe to Scripture, as it pleaſeth him, may at his pleaſure make the Scripture true or falſe; for the Scripture is the ſenſe: the Pope for the moſt part giueth a falſe ſenſe of Scripture, and ſo maketh the Scripture falſe: and thus is he become a Iudge of Scripture after the firſt way, which the Ieſuite denieth.

Now let *Auguſtine* ſpeake: *Nouit charitas veſtra omnes nos vnum magiſtrum habere, & ſub illo condiſcipulos eſſe, nec ideo magiſtri ſumus, quia de ſuperiore loco loquimur vobis, ſed magiſter eſt omnium, qui habitat in nobis omnibus.* You know brethren (ſaith he) that we are all fellow ſchollers vnder one maſter, and though we ſpeake to you out of an higher place, yet are we not your maſter, he is the teacher and maſter of vs all that dwelleth in our hearts. *Ergo* the ſpirit of God ſpeaking in the Scriptures is the chiefe and beſt interpreter thereof.

I will enforce againſt them firſt their Imperiall lawes, then their owne pontificiall conſtitutions, which order I purpoſe God willing to obſerue thoroughout.

Firſt, *Iuſtinian* hath this law. *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 17. *leg.* 11. *Quis legum ænigmata ſoluere idoneus eſſe videbitur, niſi is, cui ſoli legiſlatorem eſſe conceſſum eſt:* Who is thought more fit to open the darke ſentences of the law, but he that hath authoritie to make them? And therefore he concludeth, *Tam conditor, quam interpres legum ſolus Imperator iuſtè cenſebitur:* The Emperour onely is of right taken to be both the maker, and interpreter of the law. As then the Imperiall lawes muſt be interpreted by the Emperor that made them; ſo the diuine lawes by the ſpirit of God that gaue them: ſo alſo ſaith your owne law, *decret. Gregor. lib.*5. *tit.* 39. *c.* 31. *Innocent.* 3. *Vnde ius prodijt, interpretatio quoque procedat:* Let the interpretation proceede from whence the law commeth.

Secondly, ſearch further your owne decrees, *part.* 1. *diſt.* 20. *præfat. Diuinarum tractatores ſcripturarum in ſacrarum ſcripturarum expoſitionibus eis præponuntur:* The interpreters of Scripture for the expoſition thereof, muſt be preferred before the Popes: *Ergo* all reſteth not in the Popes breaſt.

Let vs laſtly heare the iudgement of an holy Martyr, that maintained this trueth with the loſſe of his life; who being demaunded of *Boner*, denyed that the Pope had any authoritie to expound Scripture: adding further, what a goodly expoſition did the Pope make of Scripture, when he ſet his foote vpon the Emperours necke, and ſayd, *Thou ſhalt walke vpon the Lyon and the Aſpe, the young Lyon and the Dragon: ſic Roger. Holland. Fox* pag. 2040. col. 2. His reaſon is this, the Pope miſconſtrueth Scripture, and expoundeth it as he liſt. *Ergo* this authoritie is not giuen him of God.

THE THIRD PART OF THE SIXT QVESTION: concerning the meanes or method to be vſed in interpreting of Scripture.

The Papiſts.

10. Error. OVr aduerſaries preſcribe this method and courſe to be taken in expounding of Scripture, which conſiſteth in foure rules: the generall practiſe of the Church, the conſonant interpretation of the Fathers, the decrees of generall Councels; laſtly, the rule of fayth, conſiſting

partly of the Scriptures,partly of traditions vnwritten,*Stapleton.* Concerning the three firſt, we haue already touched them in part: they appeare to be inſufficient. Firſt, the Councels and Fathers he made chiefe interpreters of Scripture before,and now they are but meanes: what other chiefe iudge then is there to vſe theſe meanes? ſurely none but the Scriptures. Secondly, theſe meanes are moſt vncertaine,the practiſe of the Church is often changed, Fathers agree not in their expoſitions,and Councels cannot alwaies be had.

Concerning the rule of faith conſiſting of vnwritten verities: he groundeth it falſly vpon that place Rom.12.6.Let vs propheſie according to the rule of faith,and Gal.6.16. As many as walke according to this rule. This rule was a certaine platforme of religion,giuen by the Apoſtles before the Scriptures were written, according to the which (ſay they) the Scriptures were afterward compiled by the Apoſtles, *Rhemenſ.in Rom.*12.6. *Anſwere:* Saint *Paul* meaneth no other rule, but that which is ſet downe in his writings, no other forme of doctrine but that contained in his Epiſtles, as in the 6. to the Galathians, ſpeaking of this rule, he alludeth to the former verſe, where he ſaith, he reioyced in nothing but in the Croſſe of Chriſt: his rule therefore is to receiue Chriſt onely without the ceremonies or workes of the law: againſt the which hereſie he diſputeth in the whole Epiſtle. But of all other it is a great blaſphemie to ſay that the Apoſtles ſet downe the Scriptures by a rule, as though the ſpirit of God, by whom they ſpake, had need of any ſuch direction. So then no vnwritten rule can giue a direction to the written word, but the written word rather giueth a rule to all other things,as one of your owne Popes confeſſeth: *Cum ex ſcripturis,integram quis & firmam regulam ſuſceperit veritatis, &c.* When a man hath gathered a firme and certaine rule of truth out of the Scriptures, then may hee compare with it other liberall arts,&c. Concerning alſo theſe foure waies of theirs, I will appoſe them againe with their owne authoritie: *decr.p.1.d.20.c.3.Innocentius* 1. the decree ſtandeth thus,which I will onely ſet downe tranſlated,becauſe it is long: *If there be any cauſe which cannot be diſſolued by the bookes of the olde Teſtament,the foure Euangeliſts and writings of the Apoſtles,then haue recourſe to the diuine writings in Greeke: if nothing be found there, then to the Canons of the Apoſtolike ſea: if not there,then to the Catholike ſtories of the Church: if neither there,conſider the practiſe of the Saints: if yet the queſtion cannot be diſſolued,gather thē elders of the prouince,and aske them,&c.* Out of this decree I gather three things: firſt that the meanes here preſcribed, are not to be vſed, but where the Scripture is ſilent: and therefore where any thing may be decided by Scripture, theſe helpes are ſuperfluous. Secondly, in the laſt place we are not referred to the Pope and his Cardinals, but to the Elders, that is, the Biſhops, Paſtors,and Miniſters of euery Prouince.Thirdly,he ſendeth vs to the Greeke originall of the Scriptures,which is one of the meanes that we doe preſcribe.

Clemen. 1. decret.p.1. d.37.cap.14.

The Proteſtants.

WHen wee ſay that the Scriptures muſt expound themſelues, our meaning is, that by certaine compendious and readie meanes, wee ſhould labour to vnderſtand the Scriptures by themſelues: the meanes are eſpecially theſe foure:Firſt,to haue recourſe to the Original tongue, as in the old Teſtament to the Hebrue; in the new,to the Greeke: as 1.Tim.2.15. *Through bearing of children they ſhall be ſaued, if they continue in faith and loue*: in the Engliſh it is doubtfull whether this clauſe,*if they continue in faith,*be referred to children,or to thoſe that beare them; but reade the Greeke and the doubt is remoued: for bearing of children is all one word in the originall τεχνογονία, ſo that it muſt needes be vnderſtoode of the women, for the word τεχνογονία, bearing of children is in the ſingular number,that which followeth of the plurall,and it is but an action,not a perſon;ſo that it ſhould be improperly ſayd,if they continue,that is,in bearing of children.

Stapleton obiecteth againſt this meane: that it is not now needfull,ſeeing there is a perfect and abſolute tranſlation authoriſed by the Councell of Trent,he meaneth the vulgar Latin. We anſwere: firſt,it is no perfect,but an erronious tranſlation, and very corrupt. Secondly, if it were neuer ſo perfect, yet for more certaintie, it is profitable to ſearch the originall: euery man will truſt his owne skill,rather then another mans. Thirdly,the Councell did fondly in authoriſing an olde blinde tranſlation, before the authenticall copies of the Hebrue and Greeke. For the Greeke originall,we haue the decree of *Innocentius* the firſt, before repeated; and for recourſe to be had to the Hebrue, we haue the practiſe of their owne Maſter of Sentences: who in deciding of a certaine queſtion,in the ſecond of Geneſis, whether we ſhould reade *conſummauit Deus,* or *compleuit,* God did conſummate,or accompliſh his works vpon the ſeuenth day, reſolueth vpon the latter reading: *quod habet Hebraica veritas,* which is, ſaith he, according to the Hebrue veritie.*lib.2.d.15.g.*

2 Secondly, the ſcope of the place, the circumſtance of it, with that which goeth before, and commeth after,muſt be weighed, which will bring great light to the place we haue in hand: an example we haue 1.Pet. 4. 8. *Loue couereth the multitude of ſinnes:* the Papiſts gather out of theſe words,that loue doth iuſtifie vs before God, and taketh away our ſinnes: But by the circumſtance of the place,the Apoſtle ſaying immediately before; *Haue feruent loue among you,* it is eui-

dent he vnderſtandeth brotherly loue amongſt our ſelues, whereby faults are buried, forgiuen, and forgotten.

Stapleton obiecteth, that this is but an vncertaine way, and many times fayleth: for the Scripture paſſeth many times from one matter and argument to another: how then can it helpe to conſider the circumſtance of the place being of a diuers matter? We anſwere, we ſay not that any of theſe meanes ſerueth for euery place, but when one fayleth, to vſe another: when the circumſtance helpeth not, to run to the originall; if there we finde no ſuccour, to compare places together; and when we may, to vſe them all, or the moſt. This rule of examining the circumſtances, as the precedence, and conſequence of a text, may be alſo warranted by their owne practiſe: So *Nicholas* the fourth, in expounding of the rule of S. *Francis* giueth this precept: *Sext. decretal. lib.5. tit.12. c.3. Vtriuſque iuris argumenta nos docent, ea, quæ in principio ad medium & finem; illa verò, quæ in medio, ad principium & finem; & quæ in fine ad vtrumque, vel eorum alterum ſæpe referri:* The reaſon of both lawes doth teach vs, that the beginning muſt be referred to the middeſt and the end; the middeſt to the beginning and the end; the end vnto both the other, or the one of them at the leaſt. If they themſelues then are ſo curious in the ſifting out of the meaning of their ſuperſtitious Father, with what face can they blame our diligence in ſearching the ſenſe of the Scripture.

3 Thirdly, the conference of places is very profitable, as Iames 2.21. *Abraham* was iuſtified by workes, compare it with that place, Rom.4.2. there S. *Paul* ſaith flatly, that *Abraham* was not iuſtified by workes. Wherefore ſeeing one Apoſtle is not contrary to the other: we muſt needes gather, that this word iuſtified is diuerſly taken: *Paul* ſaith that *Abraham* was not iuſtified, that is, made righteous before God by his workes; *Iames* ſaith he was iuſtified, that is, declared to be iuſt before men, and ſo *Thomas Aquinas* expoundeth it.

Stapleton obiecteth, that this meanes in comparing of places is of it ſelfe many times of ſmall force. *Anſw.* As though we affirme that theſe meanes muſt be vſed a ſunder, and not rather ioyntly togither, and where one faileth, another to helpe. Secondly, ſome things are found but once in the Scriptures. *Anſwere,* they are then either very plaine, or not greatly neceſſary. Thirdly, heretikes haue erred in comparing of Scripture. *Anſwere,* they compared them not diligently, nor with a ſyncere minde, but corruptly and negligently.

Let vs heare what that reuerend and learned man, and conſtant Martyr, B. *Cranmer* thinketh of this meane in comparing and conferring of Scripture: *I wonder,* ſaith he, *that you doe attribute ſo little to the reading of Scripture, and conferring of places, ſeeing the Scriptures doe ſo much commend the ſame: as* Ioh.5. *Scrutamini ſcripturas,* ſearch the Scriptures, *Fox.* pag 1460. *in diſput. Oxonienſ.* This reuerend fathers iudgement, I dare ſet againſt either *Stapletons* opinion, or any others of that ſide: nay put the ſentence of their whole Church in one balance, it ſhall not be able, in this, or any other poynt of the Chriſtian faith, to weigh againſt the faith of theſe holy Martyrs in the day of iudgement, but ſhall be found lighter then vanitie.

Leo the firſt alſo ſomtime Biſhop of Rome, whoſe iudgement our aduerſaries, I thinke, dare not refuſe, thus writeth of this meane in hauing recourſe to the Scripture, *Epiſtol. decretal.* 10. *cap.1. In hanc inſipientiam cadunt hæretici, qui cum ad cognoſcendam veritatem aliquo impediuntur obſcuro, non ad propheticas voces, Apoſtolicas literas, nec ad Euangelicas authoritates, ſed ad ſeipſos recurrunt, &c.* Such is the fooliſhnes of heretikes, that when as by ſome darke place they are hindred from knowing the trueth: they will not reſort to the Prophets and Apoſtles writings, but truſt onely to themſelues. His counſell is, if we meete with any darke place in Scripture, to reſort to none other but to the Prophets and Apoſtles for the vnderſtanding thereof. And *Clemens* the firſt ſaith, as he is cited by *Gratian. decr. p.1. tit.37. c.14. Ex ipſis ſcripturis debemus ſenſum capere veritatis:* We muſt take the ſenſe of the Scripture, from the Scriptures themſelues.

4 The fourth rule is the analogie and proportion of faith, which is nothing els but the ſumme and grounds of religion gathered out of Scripture, ſuch as are contayned in the Creede, the Lords Prayer, the ten Commaundements, and in our whole Catechiſme. We muſt take heede that in the interpretation of Scripture we ſwarue not from this rule of faith, nor impugne any principle of Religion. Wherefore the Papiſts interpretation of thoſe words of Chriſt we doe reiect, *Hoc eſt corpus meum,* this is my bodie: who would haue the very fleſh of Chriſt preſent in the ſacrament: for this is againſt the article of the Creede, that Chriſt is aſcended into heauen, and there ſitteth till his comming againe in iudgement.

Concerning theſe meanes, thus writeth *Auguſtine, Rariſſimè inuenitur ambiguitas in verbis proprijs, quam non aut circumſtantia ipſa ſermonis qua cognoſcitur Scripturarum intentio, aut interpretum collatio, aut præcedentis linguæ ſoluat inſpectio, de doctrin. Chriſt. lib.3* 4. There is almoſt no ambiguitie in any word properly vſed (that is not metaphoricall or borrowed) which may not either by the circumſtance of the place, the conference and comparing of interpreters, or by looking into the Originals, eaſily be taken away. *Auguſtine* we ſee approueth this methode, though our aduerſaries like it not. So alſo in your owne decrees: *decr. p.2. cauſ.24. qu.3. c.27. Quicunque aliter ſcripturam* *intelligit, quam ſenſus ſpiritus ſancti flagitat, quo ſcripta eſt, hæreticus appellari poteſt* : He that otherwiſe vnderſtandeth Scripture, then after the meaning of the ſpirit wherewith it is written, is an heretike. Wherefore the Scripture out of Scripture muſt be expounded : for where elſe is the ſpirit of the Scripture to be found, but in the Scripture?

Beſides theſe meanes, which I haue ſhewed, prayer muſt be vſed before we enterpriſe any thing, that the Lord would direct vs. And they which cannot ſo eaſily take this courſe, which is preſcribed, ſhall doe well to ſeeke helpe of learned and godly expoſitors, or to conſult with their paſtors and miniſters.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION: CONCERNING the perfection and ſufficiencie of Scripture.

THis queſtion is deuided into three parts. Firſt, whether the Scriptures be abſolutely neceſſary. Secondly, whether they be ſufficient without vnwritten traditions. Thirdly, whether there be any traditions of faith and manners beſide the Scriptures.

THE FIRST PART OF THE NECESSItie of the Scriptures.

The Papiſts.

11. Error. THe Ieſuite laboureth to proue that the Scriptures are not ſimply neceſſary : which we denie not, for meate is not ſimply neceſſary, for God may preſerue man without : ſo in reſpect of God nothing is ſimply neceſſarie : God is not neceſſarily tyed to vſe this or that meanes. But his arguments doe tend to this end, to ſhew that the Scriptures are not neceſſarie at all, and may be ſpared in the Church (ſo ſaith *Petrus à Soto*) the Scripture was not alway extant, and it is not neceſſarie vnto faith : and the Scripture is not now ſo neceſſarie ſince Chriſt, as it was afore, *Tilman. de verb. dei error*. 17.

Argum. 1. There was no Scripture from *Adam* to *Moſes*, for the ſpace of two thouſand yeares, and yet true religion was kept and continued, and why might not true religion be as well preſerued 1500. yeares after Chriſt without Scripture, as afore? *Bellarmine de verb. dei lib. cap.* 4. *argum.* 1.

We anſwere : It followeth not, becauſe in times paſt God taught his Church by a liuely voyce, that the written word is not neceſſarie now : for the Lord ſaw it good, that his word ſhould be left in writing, that we might haue a certaine rule of our faith in this corrupt and ſinfull age. And what els is this, but to controll the wiſdome of God, ſaying, it is not neceſſarie or needfull for the Church, which the Lord ſaw to be needfull : for if the Lord had thought it as good for vs to be taught without Scripture, as in that ſimple and innocent age of the world (I meane innocent in reſpect of vs) he would not haue moued and ſtirred vp his Apoſtles to write.

Argum. 2. After the time of *Moſes*, when the law was written, yet there were many that feared God amongſt the Gentles, which had not the Scriptures, as *Iob*, and the other his friends : *Ergo*, the Scripture not neceſſarie. The Iewes alſo themſelues vſed traditions more then Scriptures, as Pſal. 44. verſ. 1, 2. The fathers did reporte the workes of God to their children: by the negligence alſo of the Prieſts the law was loſt, as 2. King. 22. we reade that the volume of the law was found, which had been miſſing a long time, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We anſwere : firſt, euen the faithfull amongſt the Gentiles did reade the Scripture, as the Eunuche Act. 8. had the booke of the Prophet *Iſay*. Secondly, the Iewes declared the workes of God vnto their children, but the ſame were alſo written, as how the heathen were caſt out before them, and of their deliuerance out of Egypt : thoſe were the things they heard of their fathers, as we reade Pſal. 44. and 78. yet all theſe things are recorded in the bookes of *Moſes*. Thirdly, what though the Prieſts were negligent in preſeruing the Scriptures, it is no good argument to prooue that therefore they are not neceſſarie, neither was the whole booke of the law loſt, but either *Moſes* owne manuſcript, or the booke of Deuteronomie. Yet he hath proued nothing.

Argum. 3. The Church after Chriſt wanted the Scriptures many yeares: *Ergo* they are not neceſſarie, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We anſwere, it is a great vntrueth : for the old Teſtament the Church could not be without, and the new teſtament was written not long after in the age of the Apoſtles : whoſe liuely voyce and preachings were vnto them, as their writings are now to vs. See now, what ſtrong arguments they bring : the Scriptures were not neceſſarie in the time of the Patriarkes, when God taught them by his owne voyce; they were not neceſſarie in the time of the Prophets and Apoſtles, when they had men inſpired of God to teach them : *Ergo* they are not now neceſſarie, when neither God teacheth from heauen, neither haue we any Prophets or Apoſtles to inſtruct vs by heauenly reuelations: nay rather becauſe they were not neceſſarie then, when they had other effectuall meanes, notwithſtanding they are neceſſary now, ſeeing there is no other way of inſtruction left vnto vs.

*Argum.*4. If the writing of the Scriptures were neceſſarie, then Chriſt would not haue omitted to haue giuen his Apoſtles charge and commandement ſo to doe: but this he doth not; neither doe the Apoſtles make mention of any ſuch charge that was giuen them, but onely to preach, *Bellarmine cap* 4.*argum*.2.

*Anſw.*1. It was not needfull that our Sauiour Chriſt ſhould giue his Apoſtles charge concerning all neceſſarie things to bee done in the Church, ſeeing he was to ſend them the holy Ghoſt who ſhould leade them into all truth: and therefore our Sauiour telleth them, that he had many things to ſay, but they could not beare them, but the ſpirit afterward ſhould teach them, Iohn 16. 12.13. The inſtitution of deacons, Act.6. the forbidding of things ſuffocated, Act.15. for a time, were neceſſarie; yet herein they receiued no inſtruction from Chriſt, who referred them to the direction of the ſpirit. Secondly, Chriſt notwithſtanding did alſo giue them a charge to write, both by way of implication, where he biddeth them teach all nations, Matth.28. which was impoſſible to be done by their liuely voyce, and therefore muſt be ſupplied by their writing: as alſo directly *Iohn* is charged to write to the Churches, Apocal.1.11. And this being the laſt booke which is commaunded to be written, it is not to be doubted of, but that the reſt were written by the ſame authoritie. Thirdly, the Ieſuite himſelfe ſaith: *Apoſtoli non niſi neceſſitate quadam coacti:* The Apoſtles did not write, but thereunto moued of neceſſitie. But if the Scriptures were not neceſſarie, there ſhould be no neceſſitie of writing.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Scriptures are neceſſarie for the people of God, the reading, preaching, and vnderſtanding whereof is the onely and ordinarie meanes to beget faith in vs, we thus proue out of the Scriptures themſelues.

*Argum.*1. Theſe Scriptures containe neceſſarie knowledge to ſaluation, which cannot be learned but out of the Scripture, *Ergo* they are neceſſarie. The knowledge of the law is neceſſarie; but that onely is deriued from the Scripture: as the Apoſtle witneſſeth Rom.7.7. he had not knowen luſt to be ſinne, vnleſſe the law had ſaid, Thou ſhalt not luſt. And if the right knowledge of the law is not learned, but out of Scripture: much more the knowledge of the Goſpell is more high and myſticall, and more ſtrange vnto our nature.

*Argum.*2. That whereby we are kept from error and doubtfulnes in matters of faith is neceſſarie: but this is performed by the Scripture, *Ergo.* Firſt, the Scripture keepeth vs from error, Matth. 22. 29. Yee erre, not knowing the Scriptures (ſaith our Sauiour.) The ignorance of Scripture was cauſe of their error. Secondly, if our knowledge were onely builded vpon tradition without Scripture, wee ſhould bee doubtfull and vncertaine of the trueth: ſo Saint *Luke* ſaith in his Preface to *Theophilus:* I haue written (ſaith hee) that *thou mighteſt bee certaine of thoſe things, whereof thou haſt been inſtructed.* Hence wee conclude, that although wee might know the trueth without Scripture, as *Theophilus* did, yet wee cannot knowe it certainly without it.

Argum 3. If the Scriptures be not neceſſarie, then we may be without them; but this cannot be: *Ergo* the Scriptures cannot be ſpared: for then God had done a needleſſe and ſuperfluous worke in ſtirring vp the Prophets and Apoſtles to write. S.*Paul* ſaith, that *whatſoeuer is written, is written for our learning, that through patience and conſolation of the Scriptures we might haue hope,* Rom. 15.4. The Lord ſaw in wiſdome that his people could not be without the Scriptures, which are neceſſarie for their learning, for their comfort, and to ſtrengthen their hope: how then dare our aduerſaries ſay, that the Scriptures are not neceſſarie, ſeeing theſe things wrought in vs onely by the Scriptures, knowledge, conſolation, hope, are moſt neceſſarie.

*Argum.*4. The knowledge of eternall life is neceſſarie; but that commeth onely by the Scriptures, Iohn 5.39. Search the Scriptures, for in them you thinke to haue eternall life: *Ergo* they are neceſſarie. Againe, to be made wiſe vnto ſaluation, and perfect to euery good worke, are neceſſarie: but theſe things the Scripture worketh, 2.Timoth.3.15,17. Further, a man cannot walke in darkenes without light, ſo that light in darkenes is neceſſarie: but the Scriptures are light in a darke place, 2.Pet.1.19. Laſtly, our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith to *Martha,* Luke 10.42. *vnum neceſſarium:* one thing is neceſſarie, namely that which *Marie* had choſen, to heare the word and voyce of Chriſt, who elſewhere ſpeaketh not but in Scripture, Iohn 5.39. they teſtifie of me, and verſe 46. *Moſes* wrote of me: *Ergo* the knowledge of the Scriptures is neceſſarie.

Let *Auguſtine* now put in his verdict: *Illud credo, quod etiam hinc diuinorum eloquiorum clariſſima authoritas eſſet, ſi homo illud ſine diſpendio ſalutis ignorare non poſſet. de peccator. merit. & remiſſ. lib.*2.36. I thinke (ſaith he) that euen concerning this matter (ſpeaking of the Originall or beginning of the ſoule) the Scriptures would not haue been ſilent, if we might not ſafely be ignorant of this matter, without danger of ſaluation: *Ergo* whatſoeuer is neceſſarie to ſaluation, is onely to be found in Scripture (for other matters there not expreſſed, there is no danger in not knowing them) therefore the Scriptures by this Fathers iudgement are moſt neceſſarie. Let vs heare a teſtimonie of their owne.

Concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Innocentio 3. cap. 10. we finde this decree: *Inter cætera, quæ ad ſalutem ſpectant populi Chriſtiani pabulum verbi Dei permaximè noſcitur ſibi neceſſarium, quia ſicut corpus materiali, ita anima ſpirituali nutritur cibo.* Among other things which concerne the ſaluation of Chriſtian people, the foode of the word of God is knowen to be moſt neceſſarie; for as the bodie is fed with materiall foode, ſo the ſoule with ſpirituall: the foode therefore of Gods word is moſt neceſſarie. And leaſt it might be imagined, that the word vnwritten is as well here vnderſtoode, as the word written: let it be conſidered what *Gelaſius* Biſhop of Rome writeth in his decretals, *Epiſtol. ad Euphemiam. Fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum Dei: illud i. verbum, quod confeſſioni B. Petri Apoſtoli portas inferni nunquam prævalituras eſſe promiſit:* Faith commeth by hearing, hearing by the word of God: that is, that word which promiſed that the gates of hell ſhould not preuaile againſt the confeſſion of *Peter*. And this is the word written; the neceſſitie then of the word of God, is the neceſſitie of the word written.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SEVENTH question, of the ſufficiencie of Scripture.

The Papiſts.

THey do ſtrangely affirme, that the Scriptures containe not all things neceſſarie to be knowen 12. Error. concerning faith and manners, and that they are not ſufficient without traditions, *Bellarm. cap.* 3.4. *Lindanus* a Papiſt ſaith, that the Scriptures containe not all things neceſſarie to ſaluation. *Andradius*, that their approued traditions are of equall authoritie with the Scripture, *Ex Tilman. de verbo error.* 2.

Argum. 1 The Ieſuite thus reaſoneth againſt the ſufficiencie of Scripture: There are diuers bookes of Canonicall Scripture loſt and periſhed: *Ergo* that part of Canonicall Scripture which remaineth, is not ſufficient. That much is loſt, he thus proueth, 1. *Chron. cap. vlt.* mention is made of the bookes of *Nathan* and *Gad*. 2. Chron. 9. of the bookes of *Abijah* and *Ieedo:* and in the new Teſtament, Col. 4. of the Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the Laodiceans: all thoſe bookes are loſt.

Anſw. 1. S. *Auguſtine* thus anſwereth, thoſe bookes of the Prophets, which are named in the Kings, are not found in the Canon, for what cauſe, ſaith he, I know not, *Niſi quod exiſtimo prophetas illos, alia ſicut homines, hiſtorica diligentia; alia ſicut prophetas inſpiratione diuina ſcribere potuiſſe:* But that I thinke, that thoſe Prophets might write ſome ſtories as men, and ſome things as Prophets, by the inſpiration of the ſpirit, *lib.* 36. *de ciuitat. Dei c.* 38. Thus *Auguſtine* thinketh that thoſe bookes now wanting, were no part of the Canonicall Scripture. But wee denie not, but that ſome bookes are now wanting, which were part of Canonicall Scripture, and yet that which remaineth is ſufficient: as ſome of *Salomons* bookes are periſhed, which he wrote of hearbs and plants, and many of his Prouerbs: the Lord ſaw that they were not ſo greatly neceſſarie for vs to ſaluation, as containing matter of ſtorie rather then of doctrine. Secondly, there is not ſo much wanting, as the Ieſuite would beare vs in hand: for the bookes of the Prophets which he nameth, are the ſame with the books of the Chronicles and of the Kings, which no doubt were written by thoſe Prophets. And as for the Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the Laodiceans, there was neuer any ſuch: the text is, Written from the Laodiceans; it was the Epiſtle rather of the Laodiceans to Saint *Paul*, vnto the which he partly maketh anſwere in the Epiſtle to the Coloſſians, and therefore he would haue it read alſo in their Church. And this is Saint *Hieromes* iudgement concerning this epiſtle: *Legunt quidam & epiſtolam ad Laodicenſes, ſed ab omnibus exploditur:* Some doe reade the Epiſtle to the Laodiceans, but it is refuſed of all men: *catolog. ſcriptor.*

Argum. 2. There are two things in Scripture, the letter and the ſenſe: the firſt is knowne to all, that can reade, but the ſecond is not had without tradition: *Ergo*, the Scriptures are not ſufficient, *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Firſt, the ſenſe of the Scriptures is contained in the Scriptures themſelues, and if it bee not there to be found, it is not the ſenſe of the Scriptures. And of this matter your owne *Clemens* giueth a good rule, as he is alleaged by *Gratian: Decret. pag.* 1. *diſt.* 37. *cap.* 14. *Non ſenſum, quem extrinſecus adulteretis alienum & extraneum debetis quærere, &c. ſed ex ipſis ſcripturis ſenſum capere veritatis:* You muſt not ſeeke for a ſtrange ſenſe without, which you may adulterate at your pleaſure, but out of the Scriptures themſelues the ſenſe of truth muſt be had. Secondly, the Ieſuit is intangled in his owne ſpeech: for he ſaith, *Duo eſſe in ſcriptura, voces ſcriptas, & ſenſum:* There are two things in Scripture,the written words,and the ſenſe: *Ergo*,the ſenſe of Scripture(by his owne confeſſion)is in the Scripture.

Argum.3. There are many points, which we ought in no wiſe to be ignorant of, which the Scriptures ſpeake either obſcurely of,or not at all.

Firſt,theſe things are obſcurely and doubtfully ſet downe in Scripture, the equalitie of the perſons in Trinitie,the proceeding of the holy Ghoſt,from the Father and the Sonne; the doctrine of Originall ſinne.

We anſwere: firſt,if theſe things be found at all in the Scriptures, it is ſufficient concerning the queſtion we haue in hand. Secondly, the Scripture doth manifeſtly declare the trueth in all theſe poynts, the equalitie of the perſons is directly proued, 1.Iohn 5.7. There are three, which beare record in heauen,the Father, the Word,and the holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one: the proceſſion of the ſpirit,Iohn 15.26. The ſpirit is there ſaid to be ſent from the Father and the Sonne; and Iohn 14.26. Whom the Father will ſend in my name: Originall ſinne is deſcribed plainely by the Apoſtle, Rom.5.12. though the name be not found in Scripture: By one man ſinne entered into the world,and death by ſinne,for as much as all men haue ſinned.

Secondly,there are diuers things neceſſarie to be knowen,not at all neclared in Scripture: theſe examples he ſetteth downe. It is neceſſarie to beleeue that the Canonicall Scriptures are contained in the old and new Teſtament. And not onely ſo,but to know which bookes are Canonicall, as that the Goſpell of *Marke* and *Luke* are Canonicall, and ſo of the reſt: yea it is neceſſarie to know that theſe are the very Goſpels which were written by S.*Marke* and *Luke*,and ſo of the reſt of the Scripture: but theſe things cannot bee knowen out of the Scriptures themſelues, but by tradition. *Ergo* the Scriptures containe not all neceſſarie knowledge.

Anſwere: Firſt,the Scriptures doe giue teſtimonie of themſelues,the old Teſtament giueth witneſſe to the new,and the new againe to the olde. All Scripture is giuen, ſaith S.*Paul*, by inſpiration: and the harmonie and conſent of Scripture, the propheticall predictions, the holy precepts, the chaſt and pure ſtile, doe euidently ſhew, that they are the writings of the holy Ghoſt: and the iudgement and ſentence of the Church concerning Canonicall Scripture, if it be right,muſt and doth ariſe, and is grounded vpon theſe conſiderations drawen out of the Scriptures themſelues.

Secondly,likewiſe to know euery particular booke of Scripture to be Canonical,it is not ſimply neceſſarie to ſaluation, ſeeing many godly learned men haue doubted of ſome bookes, who (God forbid) but might notwithſtanding be ſaued. Againe we anſwere,that thoſe very particular books,as the Goſpels of *Marke* and *Luke* are receiued, the Goſpels of *Bartholmew* and *Thomas* refuſed,not ſo much becauſe the Church hath ſo determined, but becauſe their determination agreeth with the trueth it ſelfe: ſeeing thoſe forged goſpels are found to be full of fables,and therefor worthie of ſmall credit: the other are pure,chaſt, and diuine writings. So S.*Auguſtine* ſaith: ***In Apocryphis licet inuenitur aliqua veritas,tamen propter falſa multa,nulla eſt canonica authoritas:*** In the Apocryphall bookes,though ſome things bee true, yet becauſe there are many falſe,they are not of any canonicall authoritie: *lib.15.de ciuitat.dei.cap.23.*

Thirdly,we anſwere,that it is not neceſſarie to know the author of euery booke,for as much as there are diuers books of Scripture whoſe authors are not knowne: it is enough to beleeue them to be Scripture.

Further ſaith the Ieſuit,it is neceſſarie to know that *Mary* continued a perpetuall virgin. We anſwere,the Scripture ſaith euery where ſhe was a virgin, neither maketh mention of any children ſhe had: and therefore out of the Scripture we gather,that ſhe ſo continued. And thus doth S.*Hierome* anſwere *Heluidius*: ***Vt hæc, quæ ſcripta ſunt, non negamus, ita ea, quæ non ſunt ſcripta renuimus:*** As we denie not, what is written,ſo we refuſe, what is not written. That God was borne of a virgin we beleeue,*quia legimus*, becauſe wee reade ſo in Scripture: but that *Mary* was married afterward,we beleeue not,*quia non legimus*,becauſe we doe not reade it. Secondly,*Baſil* ſaith that it is ſufficient to know ſhe was a virgin before the birth of Chriſt. Laſtly,to know that the Paſch or Eaſter muſt be kept vpon the Lords day is neceſſarie. *Anſwer*. There is no ſuch neceſſitie in it to ſaluation: neither needed the Church ſo much to haue contended about it in times paſt: theſe are the mightie weapons,which our aduerſaries vſe. That this day is meeteſt to be kept (as it is) vpon the Lords day, S.*Auguſtine* doth ſhew it out of Scripture: *Epiſt.*118. *Quo die dominus crucifixus,& ſepultus, & reſurrexit, ex Euangelio manifeſtum,&c.* It is manifeſt in the Goſpell, what day our Sauiour was crucified, buried, and roſe againe: *Et vniuerſo orbi perſuaſum eſt Paſcha ſic celebrari oportere:* And the whole world was perſwaded, that the Paſch ought to bee celebrated after that manner.

Vnto thoſe obiections which the Ieſuite maketh, I will adde alſo one other, which ſometime was obiected to that excellent learned man, and famous martyr Maſter *Philpot*, by Maſter *Chriſtoferſon:* How doe you know that Chriſt is ***homonſios***, that is,of one ſubſtance with his father, but by the determination of the Church? *Anſ.* I doe know it by Scripture, Heb.1.3. Chriſt is ſaid to bee the expreſſe image of Gods ſubſtance. Obiect. Nay he ſaith, but *expreſſa imago ſubſtantiæ*, and an image is an accident. *Anſ.* Yes, the text is *ſubſtantiæ illius*, of his, that is Gods ſubſtance: and ye know that in God are no accidents. Neither is this the onely place for this purpoſe, but we haue other: as our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith, *Ego & pater vnum ſumus*, I and my father are one: *ſic Philpot. Fox* pag.1820.col.2.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe not affirme, as our aduerſaries charge vs, that all things neceſſarie to ſaluation, are expreſſely contained in Scripture, that is, in ſo many words: but this wee hold, that all things, which are neceſſarie to be knowne of vs, are either expreſſely declared in Scripture, or neceſſarily concluded out of Scripture, and ſo contained in them. Wee alſo graunt, that it was not Goſpell onely which was written, but all that Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught by liuely voyce: the whole ſumme whereof and ſubſtance is contained in the written word: and ſo we conclude, that nothing neceſſarie to ſaluation either concerning faith or manners, is elſewhere to bee found but in the holy Scriptures.

*Argum.*1. S.*Paul* ſaith: If wee, or an Angell preach vnto you otherwiſe then that which wee haue preached, let him be accurſed: *Ergo*, the Scripture containeth all things neceſſarie.

Firſt, the Ieſuite anſwereth, that S.*Paul* ſpeaketh not onely of his writings, but alſo of his preachings which were not written.

We anſwer, that the ſumme of all S.*Pauls* preachings is contained in his Epiſtles and other holie writings: for S.*Paul* confirmed his doctrine out of the Scriptures, as Act.17.10. the Berrœans examined his doctrine by the Scriptures, and found it to bee conſonant, and to agree in all things.

Secondly, he condemneth thoſe which preach any thing, not beſides or otherwiſe, but contrarie: and therefore not any other doctrine beſides Scripture is forbidden, but that which is contrarie. We anſwere, whatſoeuer is impoſed as neceſſarie to ſaluation beſide the Scripture, *præter Scripturas*, is alſo *contra Scripturas*, contrarie to Scripture; as are all popiſh traditions, which they lay a neceſſitie vpon, both beſide and contrary to Scripture. 2. Neither did thoſe falſe Apoſtles, againſt whom S.*Paul* writeth, ſo much bring in another or contrarie Goſpell, as the Apoſtle ſaith verſ.7. as they did labour to corrupt and peruert that Goſpell, which S.*Paul* taught. Therefore all traditions whether *præter*, or *contra*, beſide or contrary to Scripture, are notably by this place ouerthrowne. And as S.*Auguſtine* ſaith, *Qui prætergreditur fidei regulam, non incedit in via, ſed recedit à via:* He that paſſeth beſide the rule of faith, doth not goe in the way, but departeth from the way. So that, as he doth not only goe out of the way, which goeth againſt it, but he alſo that goeth beſide it: ſo not onely traditions and ceremonies apparantly contrarie to ſcripture, but euen them alſo, which haue a ſuperſtitious ſhew of holines are againſt it.

*Argum.*2. Ioh.20.31. *Theſe things are written, that ye might beleeue that Ieſus Chriſt is the ſonne of God, and that in beleeuing ye might haue life through his name: Ergo*, the Scripture containe all things neceſſarie to ſaluation: for they ſuffice to worke in vs faith, and faith bringeth vs to eternall life.

Firſt, *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that *Iohn* ſpeaketh onely of that which he had written. *Anſw.* If this one Apoſtles writings were able to worke faith, the whole bodie of Scripture much more: but he rather ſpeaketh of all other holy writings of the Apoſtles, for he was the ſuruiuer of them all, and acknowledged their writings & approued thē. Secondly (ſaith he) the Apoſtle ſaith not that thoſe writings onely ſuffice, but they are profitable, and referred to this end, to worke faith. *Anſ.* The Scripture is not one of the meanes, but the ſole, whole, and onely meanes: for if they perfectly worke faith, what neede any other helpes: but the firſt is true; for they doe beget in vs a perfect faith, which ſhall bring vs to eternall life: *Ergo*, they are the onely meanes of faith.

*Argum.*3. The whole Scripture (ſaith S.*Paul*) is profitable to teach, to improoue, to correct, and inſtruct in righteouſneſſe, 2.Tim.3.16. *Ergo*, it containeth all things neceſſarie: for what elſe is requiſit beſides theſe foure, to teach the right faith, improue error, to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe and vertue, and to correct vice?

Firſt they anſwere, the Apoſtle meaneth as well euery booke of Scripture, as the whole: euery part therefore hath this perfection as well as the whole. But you will not ſay, that euery booke containeth all things neceſſarie to ſaluation: therefore this perfection is not ſo to be taken, *Bellar.*

We anſwer. Firſt, S.*Paul* vnderſtandeth the bodie of Scripture, as verſ.15. thou haſt knowne the Scriptures, he ſpeaketh of them all. Secondly, if euery part had theſe vtilities, you might as well conclude that euery word and ſillable hath them, for they are parts of Scripture. Thirdly, it appeareth by theſe foure great vtilities here ſet downe, that the Apoſtle meaneth not any part or parts of ſcripture, but the whole, for euery part of ſcripture is not profitable for all theſe endes, but the whole.

Secondly, they ſay it followeth not: the Scripture is profitable, therefore ſufficient, they alſo graunt it is profitable. *Anſ.* But we conclude out of S. *Paul*, that the Scripture is not onely profitable, but ſufficient, as it followeth, verſ. 17. That the man of God may bee abſolute, perfectly inſtructed to euery good worke. If then the Scriptures are able perfectly to inſtruct vs, then are they ſufficient, then neede we no other helpes.

Neither are the Scriptures ſufficient onely to inſtruct the ignorant and vulgar ſort, but euen the learned, and ſuch, as are the teachers of others: *That the man of God* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *may be abſolute, &c.* That is, the Preacher of the Goſpell. To this agreeth the 67. Canon. *Concil. Cabil. ſub Carolo: Quid generaliter ab omnibus & in omnibus ſequendum ſit, quid vitandum, qualiter intra ſanctam eccleſiam ſit viuendum, qui plenius noſſe deſiderat, ſanctarum ſcripturarum prata percurrere non deſiſtat:* What is of all men, in all caſes to be followed, what to be auoyded, how a man ſhould liue and behaue himſelfe in the Church of God, he that is deſirous more fully to know, let him not ceaſe to trace the pleaſant fields of the holie Scriptures. The Scriptures then doe teach all men, in all caſes both concerning faith and manners, what is to be done, what to be left vndone.

Further *Auguſtine* thus writeth, *in Pſal. 66. Ne putetis* (ſaith he) *ex alijs Scripturis petendum, quod forte hic deeſt:* Thinke not (ſaith he) that it is to bee found in any other writings if it bee not in Scripture. And in another place: *In Euangelio quaeramus, nam ſi ibi non inuenimus, vbi inueniemus?* Let vs (ſaith he) ſeeke to be reſolued in the Goſpell, if we finde not there, where ſhall we finde it? *Ergo*, by the iudgement of *Auguſtine* there is no trueth neceſſarie to bee knowne, which is not to be found in the Scripture.

I forbeare to vſe other teſtimonies of the Fathers, as that of *Origen*: *In Euangelijs omnis veritas, & omnis manifeſtatio veritatis:* In the Goſpels is all trueth, and manifeſtation of trueth, *Hom. 9. in Exod.* And that of *Ambroſe*: *Quod non legi vſurpare non debeo:* I dare not vſe, or receiue, that which I reade not, *lib. de incarnat. cap. 9.* I will ſpare to cite the Fathers on our ſide, becauſe I omit the teſtimonies, which our aduerſaries vſe: profeſſing in this treatiſe chiefly to deale with the Scriptures: purpoſing hereafter, if it pleaſe God, to handle the authorities alleaged on both ſides: I will at this time onely vrge againſt them ſuch euidence, as I finde both in the Emperiall, and pontificial conſtitutions.

Firſt *Iuſtinian. Cod. lib. 1. tit. 2. leg. 1.* thus decreeth concerning the authoritie of his conſtitutions, that they ſhould onely be vſed in deciding of all cauſes, *Quia recitatio conſtitutionum codicis noſtri ſufficiat:* Becauſe the allegation onely of the conſtitutions of our Codex is ſufficient. If then the Emperours Codex be ſufficient for all ciuill cauſes, ſhall we thinke that the diuine Codex is leſſe ſufficient for ſpirituall?

Againe, *Cod. lib. 9. tit. 29. leg. 1.* the Emperours, *Theodoſ. Gratian. Valentinian.* enacted this law: *Qui diuinae legis ſanctitatem, aut neſciendo omittunt, aut negligendo violant, &c.* They are guiltie of ſacrilege, that either of ignorance omit, or of negligence violate the diuine law. Then muſt our aduerſaries be guiltie of ſacrilege, which doe omit and neglect the Scriptures, by following vnwritten traditions.

Secondly out of your owne Canons, *Extrauag. commun. lib. 1. tit. 3. cap. 1. Bonif.* 8. thus writeth: That none ſhould be receiued as a Legate of the Apoſtolike ſea, *niſi fide doceat oculata:* vnleſſe he demonſtrate it or make faith to the ſight, that is, by ſome writing: for it is the manner of that ſea to doe no ſuch thing, *ſine ſignatis apicibus*, without ſigned letters. If then in humane matters, there muſt be *fides oculata*, and *ſignati apices*, a faith in ſight, and ſigning of writings, how much more needfull is it in diuine?

Yet more directly, Ioh. 22. *Extrau. lib. 5. tit.* 8 *c. vinc. Diuina exempla debent eſſe actionum noſtrarum regula:* The diuine examples in Scripture (for ſo he meaneth, as it followeth in the Canon) muſt be an example of our acts.

Laſtly, the trueth of the doctrine that the Scripture containeth all things neceſſarie to ſaluation, hath been ſealed with the blood of Martyrs: this was one of the articles obiected againſt Doctor *Taylor*, *Fox* pag. 1522. And in teſtimonie whereof (ſaith *Bradford*) I giue and render my life, *epiſtol. ad Londinenſ. pag. 1626. col. 1.*

To this alſo giueth teſtimonie, that valiant ſouldiour of Chriſt M. *Haukes* martyr: Is not the Scripture (ſaith he) ſufficient for my ſaluation? Yes, ſaith one of *Boners* Chaplaines, it is ſufficient for our ſaluation, but not for our inſtruction. He anſwered, God ſend me the ſaluation, and you the inſtruction, *Fox* pag. 1586.

For this article alſo that the word of God doth containe ſufficient doctrine to ſaluation, the townſhips of Winſon and Mendleſam in Suffolke were perſecuted, pag. 1912. What neede wee doubt then of this doctrine which is proued by Scripture, grounded vpon reaſon, and confirmed by the blood of the Saints?

THE THIRD PART OF THE SEVENTH QVEſtion: whether there be any traditions, beſide Scripture concerning faith and manners.

The Papiſts.

THey vnderſtand by this word tradition, doctrine, precepts, and ceremonies, with other vſages of the Church, which are not written in the Scriptures. They doe not ſay that all their traditions are neceſſarie, but they make diuers kindes of them: ſome are vniuerſall, obſerued in the whole Church, ſome particular: ſome are free, ſome neceſſarie: ſome are Apoſtolicall, inuented by the Apoſtles, ſome Eccleſiaſticall by the Church. So thus they conclude; all traditions decreed in Councels, and iudged Apoſtolicall, and whatſoeuer the Church of Rome receiueth as Apoſtolicall, are not to be doubted, but to be Apoſtolicall indeede. Secondly, all Apoſtolicall traditions are of equall authoritie with the writings of the Apoſtles, *Bellar.lib.4.cap.2.& 9.* And they are that part of the word of God which is vnwritten, as well as the Scriptures are that part which is written. Let vs ſee what arguments they bring for theſe traditions. 13.Error.

Argum.1. They giue an inſtance of certaine traditions, as the baptiſme of infants, and the not rebaptiſing of thoſe, which were before baptiſed by heretikes. We anſwer, theſe two cuſtomes of the Church are grounded vpon Scripture: for as children were in the time of the law circumciſed, ſo are they now vnder the Goſpell baptiſed: and that promiſe, Geneſ.17. *I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeede:* as it belonged to them and their children, ſo doth it appertaine to vs and our children.

Concerning the other point, that they whom heretikes haue once baptiſed, ought not to bee baptiſed againe: S. *Auguſtine* doth prooue it out of the Scripture, Epheſ.4. *There is one faith, one Baptiſme. Ergo,* not to be repeated.

But now they come in with other traditions, as the Lenten faſt, which they vſe moſt fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly: the eight Eccleſiaſticall orders, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacons, Acolythiſts, Readers, Exorciſts, Doore-keepers, the worſhipping of Images, with many other: theſe they would face vs out to be Apoſtolicall traditions, and to haue bin vniuerſally obſerued, which are but their vaine brags, and Thraſonicall crakes: they ſhall neuer proue them vniuerſall, much leſſe Apoſtolicall. And becauſe they finde no ſcripture to eſtabliſh theſe their ſuperſtitious phantaſies by, they flie vnto tradition, which is their onely hauen, where they hope to finde ſuccour: but all in vaine. *Bellarm.lib.4.cap.9.Conſul.Whitacher.queſt.6.cap.4.*

Argum.2. They proceede and alleage Scripture for their traditions, as that place Ioh.16.12. *I haue many things to ſay, but you cannot beare them now: Ergo,* ſay they, there are many traditions not written.

We anſwere. Firſt, it followeth not, becauſe Chriſt declared not all things at that time, that therefore he kept them from his Apoſtles altogether. Nay, whatſoeuer afterwards the Apoſtles learned of the ſpirit of God, they had heard before of Chriſt: for it was the office of the ſpirit, partly to put them in remembrance of Chriſts ſayings, Ioh.14.26. which they had heard before, but vnderſtood them not, and ſo forgat them, partly they were taught of the ſpirit, whatſoeuer was neceſſarie, who ſhould leade them into all trueth, and teach them things to come, which are the ſame things which the Apoſtles did both preach and write. Wherefore theſe things, which Chriſt forbeareth to ſpeake, are the ſame things, which were afterward taught by the ſpirit, and are contained in the Apoſtles writings. Secondly, if there were other matters, which Chriſt vttered not, how followeth it, nay what great preſumption is it to ſay, that thoſe trifles and apiſh toyes, which the Papiſts vſe in their Idolatrous ſacrifice, and their other beggerly ceremonies (which boyes may well laugh at) are thoſe profound matters, which the Apoſtles were not then able to conceiue.

Argum.3. That of all other, they take to be an inuincible place, 2.Theſſ.2.15. *Keepe the inſtructions or traditions, which ye haue been taught either by word, or by Epiſtle: Ergo,* there are traditions beſide Scripture.

We anſwere, when S. *Paul* wrote this Epiſtle, all the Scriptures were not written: wherefore beſides theſe two ſhort Epiſtles, which doe not containe the ſumme of the Goſpell, nor all neceſſarie precepts, he by his preaching ſupplied what was wanting, and ſo declared vnto them the whole myſterie of the Goſpell, as he ſaith, 1.Theſſ.2.2. theſe he calleth his traditions, becauſe yet he had not written his other Epiſtles, wherein thoſe inſtructions and traditions are contained. This then is but a weake argument: the Theſſalonians had other inſtructions and traditions, beſide the two Epiſtles written vnto them: *Ergo,* they had other traditions, beſide all the writings of S. *Paul* and the other Apoſtles. This is their maine and waightie argument. And further, it is not onely the Apoſtles phraſe, but the vſe of the Fathers, to call the Scriptures a tradition: as S. *Cy-*

priane

prian epiſt. ad Pompeium: Si aut in Euangelio præcipitur, aut in Apoſtolorum epiſtolis, aut actibus continetur, obſeruetur etiam & hæc ſancta traditio: If it be either commaunded in the Goſpell, or contained in the epiſtles or acts of the Apoſtles, let this tradition alſo bee obſerued. Likewiſe S. *Ambroſe: Corpus Chriſti traditiones ſunt ſcripturarum:* The bodie of Chriſt are the traditions of the Scriptures.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, wee graunt that all things are not written which our Sauiour Chriſt and the Apoſtles taught, and that it was the Goſpell, which they preached, as well as this which is written: yet in ſubſtance they preached the ſame Goſpell, which now is expreſſed in the Scripture: neither was there any neceſſary precept deliuered in their ſermons, which is not now to bee found in the Scriptures. Secondly, we denie not but there were certaine rites and orders ordained by the Apoſtles in diuers Churches, which were not committed to writing, becauſe they were not to continue and endure for euer in the Church: as that precept, Acts 15. that the Gentiles ſhould abſtaine from ſtrangled, and from blood. Thirdly, wee alſo graunt that the Church may vſe externall rites and orders either left by tradition, or ordained by the Church for decencie and comlineſſe, and tending to edification. But we conſtantly affirme, that there are no traditions in the Church of God neceſſarie to ſaluation beſide Scripture: wherein all things are contained neceſſarie to ſaluation, both concerning faith and manners.

*Argum.*1. It is not lawfull, as to take ought from the word of God, ſo to adde any thing vnto it, Deut. 12.32. Apocal. 22.18. But they which bring in traditions neceſſarie beſide the Scriptures, doe adde vnto them. *Ergo.*

To the propoſition the Ieſuit anſwereth: that all addition to the word of God is not forbidden, for the Prophetes did write after *Moſes*, and the Apoſtles after the Euangeliſts. We anſwere: firſt, that thoſe holy men had authoritie from God to compile Scripture: if the Papiſts haue the like Apoſtolike authoritie for their traditions, let them ſhew it, and we will beleeue them. Secondly, the Prophets did but explane *Moſes*, and expound the law, and the Apoſtles did as it were ſet forth their Commentaries vpon the Goſpell: this therefore was no addition, becauſe they did not derogate from the perfection of the Scriptures any way.

To the aſſumption they anſwere: that their traditions are but expoſitions of the Scripture. We anſwere, their traditions are cleane contrarie to Scripture, as the worſhipping of Images, and the ſacrifice of their Maſſe: and they adde to Scripture, making it vnperfect, ſaying, It doth not containe all things neceſſarie to ſaluation. Wherefore they cannot eſcape that curſe, which they runne into that adde to the word of God.

*Argum.*2. All traditions among the Iewes beſides the law were condemned, Matth. 15.3. *Ergo*, all vnwritten traditions now muſt bee aboliſhed. The Ieſuite anſwereth: Firſt, Chriſt condemned not the ancient traditions of *Moſes*, but thoſe which were newly and lately inuented. *Anſ.* Firſt, the Scripture maketh no mention of any ſuch traditions of *Moſes*: Chriſt biddeth them ſearch the Scriptures, not runne vnto traditions. Secondly, theſe ſeemed to be ancient traditions, bearing the name of Elders traditions, and they were in great authoritie amongſt the Iewes: moſt like, becauſe of ſome long continuance.

Secondly (ſaith he) Chriſt findeth fault with wicked and impious traditions. *Anſw.* Firſt, their traditions were not openly and plainly euill and pernicious, but had ſome ſhew of holineſſe, as the waſhing of pots, and tables, and beds. I would the Papiſts did not here take themſelues by the noſe, whoſe traditions come neerer to open impietie, and blaſphemie, then theirs did. Secondly, Chriſt in oppoſing the Scripture againſt traditions, therein condemneth all traditions not written, beſides the Scripture.

*Argum.*3. If *Paul* preaching the whole Goſpell, Act. 20.27. did ſay none other things then *Moſes* and the Prophets; then all things neceſſarie to ſaluation are contained in the Scriptures. For it cannot bee ſaid to bee a whole and perfect Goſpell, if any thing neceſſarie to ſaluation bee wanting. But *Paul* preached nothing, but out of *Moſes* and the Prophets, Act. 26.22. *Ergo*, much more now is the Scripture a perfect rule of faith; wee hauing beſide *Moſes* and the Prophets, the holy writings of the Euangeliſts and Apoſtles. So that wee further reaſon thus: If *Moſes* and the Prophets were ſufficient without any other helpes for the times of the law, much more ſufficient is the new Teſtament together with the old now. But the firſt is true, therefore the ſecond. The conſequence of the firſt propoſition cannot bee denied: for we ſee now more then the Prophets did, Matth. 13.17. and if the old Teſtament then was ſufficient, much more the new together with the old. The ſecond part is thus proued, Luk. 16.29. The rich mans brethren are ſent to *Moſes* and the Prophets, which were more ſufficient to inſtruct them, then if one ſhould come from the dead: ſo that the written word is to be preferred before vnwritten reuelations. And *Abraham*, in ſaying, *heare them*, teſtifieth, that they contained ſufficient inſtruction vnto life: *Ergo*, much more the Goſpell now.

*Argum.*4. The Scriptures were written, to be a rule and meaſure of our faith : And they being the worke of God, whoſe workes are all perfect, muſt needes alſo be a perfect rule of our faith : and ſo containe all things neceſſarie to faith : for the rule and meaſure muſt not come ſhort of that which is meaſured.

*Bellarm.*1. The Scripture was not ordained eſpecially to be a rule of our faith : but onely to be, *Commentarium quoddam,* as a remembrancer to nouriſh and preſerue ſound doctrine by preaching: for if it were to that end, it ſhould conteine onely ſuch things as belong vnto the faith ; but now it conteineth many things beſide.

Anſwere 1. That the Scriptures were not written, to be a rule of our faith, it is a bold and vntrue aſſertion contrarie to Scripture: the Scriptures doe teach and ſhew vs eternall life, Iohn 5.39. but it is eternall life to beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt, Ioh. 3. 16. *Ergo,* the Scriptures doe teach and giue rules of our faith and beliefe: yea S. *Paul* doth in direct termes call the doctrine of Chriſt crucified, which is ſet forth in Scriptures, a rule, Gal. 6.15.16.

*Bellarm.*2. Againe we ſay, that the Scripture, is a rule of faith (though this be not the chiefe end thereof) yet not a totall and abſolute rule, but in part onely : the word of God is one part or peece of the rule, vnwritten traditions another.

Anſwere 1. That it is the chiefe end of Scripture to be a rule of faith and good manners, the wiſe man ſpeaketh plainely, Prou. 1. 1. The prouerbs of *Salomon to know wiſdome and vnderſtand the words of knowledge, to receiue inſtruction to doe wiſely.* This is the end of Scripture to know true wiſdome, and to doe wiſely: And leaſt they ſhould ſay, that this is the end onely of that booke, S. *Paul* ſheweth the ſame generally to be the end and vſe of all Scripture, 1. Tim. 3.16. 2. If the Scripture be a rule, then is it a perfect rule : for God leaueth not any of his workes vnperfect : *I knowe,* ſaith the Preacher, *that whatſoeuer God doth, it ſhall be for euer : to it can no man adde, and from it can no man diminiſh :* Eccleſ. 3.14. But the Scripture is one of Gods workes: *Ergo,* it is perfect: yea Saint *Paul* ſaith plainely, that the Scriptures are able to make the man of God perfect to euery good worke : *Ergo,* themſelues are much more perfect. 3. It is no good argument which the Ieſuite vſeth, the Scriptures conteine more then belongeth to faith, or then is neceſſary to be beleeued : *Ergo,* they are not properly a rule of faith. We anſwere. 1. Though the Scriptures be profitable to other ends, then to inſtruct in faith and good manners, yet this is the chiefe and principall, as we haue ſhewed : and though many things in Scripture declared hiſtorically, are not properly of the ſubſtance of Faith ; yet there is nothing therein conteined, which may not be referred to faith and good manners, as profitable, and helping to one of thoſe ends. 2. This argument may be returned vpon the Ieſuites owne head : for if the Scripture ſpeake of many things which are not of the neceſſitie of faith, much leſſe is it ſilent in all neceſſarie points of faith : if it abound in things not neceſſarie, *Non deficit in neceſſarys,* much leſſe doth it faile in neceſſarie.

Laſt of al, although we might multiplie many arguments, but theſe I truſt, ſtronglie concluding out of Scripture, may ſerue as a ſufficient bulwarke againſt all Popiſh paper bullets : Let vs heare in the knitting vp the iudgement of *Auguſtine. In his rebus, inquit, in quibus nihil certi ſtatuit Scriptura, mos populi Dei, vel inſtituta maiorum, pro lege tenenda. Epiſt.* 86. In all thoſe things (ſaith he) ſpeaking of externall rites, and ceremonies, of the which we haue no certaine rule out of Scripture, the cuſtome of ẏ people of God, & the godly conſtitutions of our forefathers muſt ſtand for a law. But concerning matters of faith and good manners the Scriptures do giue certaine rules; as in another place: *In ijs quæ apertè in Scriptura poſita ſunt, inueniuntur illa omnia, quæ continent fidem, moreſq; viuendi, de doctrina Chriſt.*2.9. Al things appertaining to faith, and ẏ rule of life, are plainely expreſſed in the Scripture: *Ergo,* by the ſentence of *Auguſtine,* traditions beſides Scripture haue nothing to do with the doctrine of faith and manners, but do conſiſt only in externall rites & cuſtomes of the Church.

This doctrine alſo that no traditions concerning either faith or manners are to be receiued beſides Scripture, wanteth not the glorious conſent of Martyres. Sir *Iohn Borthwicke* knight was condemned by the Cardinall of *Scotland,* for affirming, amongſt other things, that the Pope ought not to obtrude vpon the Church any lawes of faith beſide or contrarie to the Scripture: for as the Prophets (ſaith he) alwaies in the beginning of their propheſies, ſaid *The word of the Lord,* ſhewing thereby, that they preached not their owne phantaſies, but the word of God; and as our Sauiour bad his Apoſtles preach, Mat. 28. not what they would themſelues, but what he commanded them: ſo now nothing ought to be taught in the Church beſide the word of God conteined in Scripture. *Fox.*pag. 1264. See the confeſſion alſo of *Iohn Fortune* Martyr, that he would not beleeue vnwritten verities, which agreed not with written verities. *Fox* pag, 1918. col. 2.

Let vs alſo ſee the conſent of antiquitie : *Concil. Florentin. general. Seſſ.*7. *Andreas Coloſſen.* being choſen a champion for the Latine Church, thus ſpeaketh vnto the Greeke diſputers, which ſaid ſpeech was approoued of the whole Councel : *Velim à vobis (ampliſſimi patres) doceri an ſacratiſſim. euangelium perfectiſſim. religionis noſtræ doctrinam præ ſe ferat : Equidem vos nihil aliud puto pro veſtra ſumma pietate reſponſuros, quàm conſummatiſſimam fidei noſtræ ſcientiam in ipſo concluſam eſſe :* I would gladly learne of you (honorable Fathers) whether the moſt holy Goſpell doth not ſet foorth the moſt perfect doctrine of our religion, I thinke you will make no other anſwere (ſuch is your pietie) then that therein, the moſt abſolute knowledge of our faith is contained.

Further for the Imperiall conſtitutions: *Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*18. *lex. vnic. Gratian. Valentinian. omnes ſciant, nemini quicquam, quam quod ſcriptis probauerit, eſſe credendum:* Let all men know, that no man is to be credited in any thing, vnleſſe he proue it by writing: Likewiſe, *lib.*3.*tit.*1.*leg.*8. *Conſtantin. placuit in omnibus rebus præcipuam eſſe iuſtitiæ ſcriptæ rationem:* It ſeemeth good to vs, that in all matters greateſt regard be had vnto the written law. As then in ciuill matters, the written law onely tooke place, ſo alſo in diuine, the ſacred writings ſhould onely be heard: and the rather, becauſe there is greater danger, and more vncertaintie in vnwritten Scriptures, then vnwritten lawes.

Heare alſo your owne decrees: *decr.p.*2.*cauſ.*24.*qu.*3.*c.*30.*Leo.*1.*Qui non ad propheticas voces, non ad apoſtolicas literas, nec ad euangelicas authoritates, ſed ad ſeipſos recurrunt, ideo Magiſtri erroris ſunt:* They which doe not run to the propheticall ſayings, Apoſtolicall writings, and Euangelicall authorities, but haue recourſe to themſelues, become the maſters of errors. Therefore Papiſts be maſters of errors, becauſe they doe not in all things referre themſelues to the Scriptures. I would therefore they were reſolued to follow the voice of the Scriptures, and leaue their blinde traditions; as once one of their owne Popes bethought himſelfe, Iohn 22. *extrau. tit.* 7. *c.* 1. *Dignum eſt, vt adulterinas plantationes, quas non pater cæleſtis, ſed humanæ temeritatis audacia plantauit, Apoſtolici culminis cenſura diuellat:* It is meete, that ſuch plantations, as not the heauenly father, but humane raſhnes hath planted, ſhould be rooted out by the Apoſtolicall cenſure. If the Pope would thus doe, as he ſaith, he ſhould be an Apoſtolike man in deede.

THE SECOND GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE CHVRCH.

HAuing now finiſhed the queſtions betweene our aduerſaries and vs, concerning the Scriptures, and word of God, which all doe belong to the Propheticall office of Chriſt: in the next place ſuch controuerſies are to be handled, as doe concerne the Kingly office of Chriſt. And ſeeing the Church of Chriſt is his kingdome, where he ruleth and raigneth, we muſt intreat of the Church: and firſt in generall of the whole, then in ſpeciall of the partes and members. This preſent controuerſie concerning the Church in generall ſtandeth vpon fiue principall queſtions.

1 Of the definition of the Catholike Church: two partes of the queſtion. Firſt, whether wicked men and infidels, be true members of the Church. Secondly, whether the Catholike Church be inuiſible.

2 Whether the Catholike Church may erre, and whether the viſible Church may faile vpon earth.

3 Concerning the true notes and markes of the Church.

4 Of the authoritie of the Church: two partes. Firſt, whether the Church haue authoritie in matters of Faith beſide the Scriptures, and whether we ought to beleeue in the Church. Secondly, concerning the ceremonies of the Church.

5 Whether the Church of Rome be the true Church: two parts. Firſt, whether it be the Catholike Church. Secondly, whether the Church of Rome be a true viſible Church: of theſe now in their place and order.

THE FIRST QVESTION: OF THE definition of the Catholike Church.

The Papiſts.

THe Catholike Church (ſay they) is a viſible companie of men profeſſing the ſame faith and Religion, and acknowledging the Biſhop of Rome to be their chiefe paſtor, and the Vicar of

Chriſt vpon earth. *Bellarmin.de Eccleſ.lib,*3*.cap.*2*.Caniſius capit.de precept.Eccleſ.articul.* 9*.Lindanus lib.*4*.cap.*84.

The Proteſtants.

THe Catholike and vniuerſall Church is the inuiſible companie of the faithfull elected and choſen to eternall life, Iohn. 10.16. A particular Church is a member of the vniuerſall and Catholike Church, and it is a viſible companie and congregation of men, amongſt whom the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments rightly adminiſtred: in the which viſible congregation, there may be and are many hypocrites, euill and vnfaithfull men founde, and ſhall be to the end of the world. So then betweene the vniuerſall and particular Church, there is a treble difference. Firſt, the one is diſperſed ouer all the world; the other in ſome one countrey, citie, or any certaine place. Secondly, the vniuerſall conſiſteth onely of the elect; the particular both of good and bad. Thirdly, the Catholike is inuiſible; the other is viſible and to be ſeene.

The queſtion betweene vs and our aduerſaries, is about the vniuerſall Catholike Church, which they doe falſely define in three points. Firſt, they hold that wicked men are true members of the Catholike Church. Secondly, they allow not this diſtinction of the Church viſible and inuiſible, but doe affirme that the Catholike Church is viſible. Thirdly, they make the Catholike Church to be in ſubiection to the Biſhop of Rome. Concerning this laſt point, it belongeth to the controuerſie of the Biſhop of Rome, and therefore we will not touch it in this place. The other two are now to be handled in this queſtion as two parts thereof.

THE FIRST PART OF THIS FIRST QVEſtion, whether wicked men and infidels may be true members of the Church.

The Papiſts.

THey affirme that not onely the predeſtinate, but euen reprobates alſo may belong vnto the Church, and be true members thereof. *Bellarmin.Lib.*3*.de Eccleſ.cap.*7. Nay they denie that the elect which are vnborne, and not yet called, doe appertaine to the Church of Chriſt. *Rhemiſts annot.in* 1*.Tim.*3*.Sect.*10. This then is generally their opinion, that there is no internall grace or vertue required in the members of the Church, but onely the externall and publike outward profeſſion. *Bellarmin.cap.*2. And therefore they doubt not to ſay that euen wicked men and reprobates remaining in the publike profeſſion of the Church, are true members of the bodie of Chriſt. *Rhemiſts annot.in Iohan.*15*.Sect.*1. 14.Error.

*Argum.*1. They firſt alleage certaine places of Scripture, as Matth. 3. the Church is compared to a barne floore, where there is both chaffe and corn. Mat. 13. to a net caſt into the ſea, where all manner of fiſhe are gathered togither. 2. Tim. 2. to a houſe, wherein there be veſſels of honor and diſhonour: *Ergo*, both good and bad are members of the Church, *Bellarm.cap.*7*.lib.*3.

We anſwere. All theſe places muſt be vnderſtood of the viſible Church: which is knowne by the publike preaching of the word, and therefore Matth. 3. compared to a fanne, and Math. 13. to a draw net; the Apoſtles, paſtors and teachers are the fiſher men. Wherefore we denie not but that wicked men may be in the Church, but not of it: yea they may be members of the viſible Church for a time, but cannot be truely ingraffed into the bodie of Chriſt. *Fulk.annot.Iohan.*15*.Sect.*1.

*Argum.*2. The Church (ſay they) is compared to a bodie, 1. Cor. 12. as in the bodie there are ſome parts, which haue neither ſenſe nor life: ſo in the Church there are ſome members, which haue neither faith nor charitie, which is the life of the Church: *Ergo*, wicked men may be right members of the Church: *Bellarm.cap.*10. There may be alſo ſome fruitleſſe branches in the vine, and ſo euill men may be members of Chriſt. *Rhemiſt.annot.*15*.Iohan.*1*.Euery branch not bearing fruit in me ſhall be caſt forth: Ergo*, there may be fruitleſſe branches in Chriſt.

We anſwere to the firſt, who would haue ſaid, as the Ieſuite doth, that there are parts in the bodie, that receiue neither life nor ſenſe of the bodie? doth he meane the nailes and haires, as he ſeemeth to giue inſtance in the end of the Chapter? but they are no partes of the bodie but excrements (he is ſo deepe in his ſophiſtrie, that he hath forgotten Philoſophie) and yet they receiue ſome gift from the bodie, for they growe and increaſe; but the wicked receiue no grace at all from the Church. The Rhemiſts yet are more reaſonable, that ſay the wicked in the Church, are as ill humors and ſuperfluous excrements in the bodie, rather then liuely parts thereof, 1. *Iohan.*2*. Sect.*10.

To the ſecond, is a dead bough or a branch, I pray you, any part of the tree? I thinke not: the tree cannot conueniently ſpare any one of the parts thereof: but the dead parts are hurtful and comberſome, and it doth the tree good to cut thẽ off. But that they haue preuented vs, we would haue vſed no better argument againſt them, then this drawen from the reſemblance of a mans bodie: for as what is in the bodie receiuing no life nor power from the bodie is not properly a part of the bodie, howſoeuer it ſeeme to be ioyned to the bodie: ſo the wicked although they be in the outward face of the Church, yet becauſe they are not partakers of the ſpirituall life thereof by Chriſt, are not truely to be iudged members of it.

*Argum.*3. If wicked men ſhould not be right members of the Church, but the faithfull and predeſtinate, we ſhould be vncertaine which is the true Church: which is not to be admitted, becauſe the whole doctrine, and all the principles of Religion doe depend of the teſtimonie of the Church. *Bellarm.lib.*2.*cap.*10.

We anſwere. Firſt, although it is neceſſarie that the true Church ſhould be certainly knowen, yet not for that cauſe, which the Ieſuite pretendeth: for the religion of Chriſtians is grounded vpon the Scriptures, and although the true Church doth giue a notable teſtimonie thereunto, yet doth not our faith depend vpon their witneſſe, teſtimonie, or allowance. Secondly, the true viſible Church is certainly knowne by the preaching of the word, and the right vſe of the Sacraments: ſo that we doubt not but there is the true Church, where we finde theſe markes: neither is it needfull to know the eſtate of euery particular member thereof; for ſo long, as all actions in the Church are directed and ordered by the rule of Gods word, we neede not to doubt to commit our ſelues to that Church, howſoeuer otherwiſe men doe ſtand before God: and yet, ſo much as is neceſſary, the faithfull may be iudged and knowne by their fruites.

Thirdly, though we admit that wicked men are members: yet the vncertaintie remaineth ſtill: for they themſelues hold that neither men not baptiſed, or perſons excommunicate, or heretikes can be of the Church: but many may liue in the Church, whom we know not to be baptiſed, which may be *ipſo facto*, by the deede dooing excommunicate without publike ſentence, and heretikes alſo: Wherefore euen amongſt themſelues they are vncertaine, who are members of the Church.

*Argum.*4. There is but one Church, the wicked, which outwardly profeſſe Chriſt, are of ſome Church: *Ergo*, of this one Catholike Church: *argum.D.Day epiſcop.Ciceſt.* *Anſwere*, there is but one true Church, but alwaies vnto the ſame was ioyned in the world a falſe, and malignant Church: theſe two Churches were repreſented in the beginning in *Cain* and *Abel*, and ſo haue continued. *Obiect.* I grant you, in the Law, before Chriſts comming there were two Churches, but not ſince Chriſts comming. *Anſwere.* Yes that there was, for was there not a Iudas in the new law, and a *Simon Magus*? *Obiect.* But you cannot finde me two Churches after Chriſt was aſcended. *Anſwere.* Yes, S. *Paul* ſaith that Antichriſt with his falſe generation ſhall ſit in the temple, 2.Theſ.2. which is not the true, but the falſe Church, *reſponſ.Philpotti, Fox.*pag.1818.

The Proteſtants.

Fulk. annot. 1.Iohan.2. Sect.10. Fox.pag.609.

WE holde that the Catholike Church conſiſteth onely of the predeſtinate, and comprehendeth the vniuerſall number of all thoſe which ſhall be ſaued; not onely thoſe now liuing on earth, but all that haue been ſince the beginning of the world: of this Church S. *Paul* was euen being a perſecutor, for hee was neuer a member of the Diuell nor reprobate, as *Iohn Huſſe* ſaith, *articul.*2. Of this Church *Iudas* the traytor neuer was, though he were reputed for a Diſciple of Chriſt for a while, *Huſſ.articul.*7. Therefore the wicked and reprobate though they liue in the outward aſſembly of Chriſtians, are no more the true members of Chriſt, then the tares in the field may be counted wheate or good corne.

*Argum.*1. The true members of Chriſt are alſo his ſheepe: the wicked are not the ſheepe of Chriſt: *Ergo*, neither his members.

Iohn.10.3.

The ſheep of Chriſt heare his voice; the wicked doe not heare his voice: *Ergo.* If they ſhall anſwere, that hypocrites and wicked men doe heare Chriſts voice, ſo long as they continue in the outward profeſſion of Chriſtians, we thus improue it: Chriſts ſheepe doe follow him in life and example, Ioh.15.4. but ſo doe not they. If it ſhall bee yet anſwered, that they may alſo a while walke in Chriſts ſteps: this is not enough, for all Chriſts ſhall be ſaued, verſ.9. Wherefore the Goſpell vnderſtandeth ſuch followers, as continue to the end. *Bellarmine* would ſeeme here to anſwere with a diſtinction, that ſometimes in the Scripture ſheepe are taken both for the good and bad, as where Chriſt ſaith to *Peter, Feede my ſheepe*: ſometime for the predeſtinate onely, as Ioh.10. *My ſheepe heare my voyce, cap.7.reſ.ad argum.*5. *Contra.* It is enough that he confeſſeth in this place of *Iohn* the predeſtinate onely to bee vnderſtoode by ſheepe: for it followeth in the ſame chapter, verſ.16. *There ſhall bee one ſheepefold, and one ſhepheard*: therefore if the ſheepe onely be in the ſheepfold, and the predeſtinate onely bee the ſheepe; then they onely belong to the ſheepfold.

*Argum.*2. Chriſt is the head of his Church, and all the parts thereof; but he is not the head of the wicked and reprobate; *Ergo.* The Ieſuite graunteth that he is the head, euen of thoſe parts that ſhall periſh, *Bellarm.cap.*7. We thus anſwere, Chriſt is the head onely of thoſe, for whom he gaue himſelfe, Ephe.5.23.25. but he gaue not himſelfe for the wicked: *Ergo.* If this be denied, we thus proceede, Chriſt died onely for thoſe whom he ſanctifieth and cleanſeth, to make them a glorious

Church without ſpot and wrinckle, Ephe.5.26.27. But this cannot agree in any wiſe to the wicked. *Ergo.*

Argum.3. The Church of God is the whole familie of the children of God in heauen and earth, Epheſ.3.15. they both make but one Church, the wicked are not of this familie: for who would ſay that the Saints in heauen, and wicked and reprobate men vpon the earth, are fellow ſeruants, and of one houſehold? *Ergo*, they are not of the catholike Church. Likewiſe Ioh.11.52. The end of Chriſts death was to gather together in one the children of God, &c. but the wicked are not the children of God: *Ergo*, they belong not to the congregation which Chriſt hath gathered together.

Bellarmine anſwereth here by a diſtinction: that ſome are ſaid to bee the ſonnes of God and members of Chriſt, according to their preſent iuſtice; ſome according to Gods predeſtination: the wicked may be the firſt way the ſonnes of God, and the members of Chriſt, *Bellarm. cap.7. reſp. ad argum.6.*

Contra.1. This diſtinction is contrarie to the Apoſtle, Rom.8.17. *The children of God are alſo heires*: but the wicked are not heires; therefore they are not children. 2. The Ieſuite doth not anſwere to the point in queſtion: for our aſſertion is, that the wicked cannot bee the true members of Chriſt: he anſwereth, they may bee ſo called after a ſort, according to their preſent ſtate, which is in ſhew only, and outward apparance, not in deede and in trueth: for they that doe beleeue in Chriſt, and are in deede his ſheepe, ſhall neuer periſh, Ioh.10.28. And againe, verſ.26. *Ye beleeue not, becauſe ye are not my ſheepe.* Wherefore faith and beleefe maketh men Chriſts ſheepe, contrary to that which the Ieſuite affirmed before, that there is no internall grace, or vertue required to make a member of Chriſts Church.

Argum.4. Of all other that is a moſt euident place, 1.Ioh.2.19. *They went out of vs, but were not of vs: Ergo*, heretikes and reprobates are not of the Church. *Bellarmine* anſwereth: though they were not of vs, that is, of the Church, *animis & voluntate*, in ſoule and minde, and purpoſe of hart: yet they were of vs, *externa profeſſione*, in externall profeſſion. Thus they are not aſhamed (ſuch is their great boldneſſe) to contradict the Scriptures: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *non erant ex nobis*, they were not of vs: they ſay, yes forſooth, after a ſort, *erant ex nobis*, they were of vs: the Apoſtle ſaith nay, they ſay yea, he ſaith indeede *exierunt ex nobis*, they went out of vs: which ſoundeth nothing like, as *erant ex nobis*, they were of vs, as the Ieſuite ſubtlely would conclude.

Let *Auguſtine* ſpeake for vs both: *Illa columba, vnica, pudica, caſta, ſponſa ſine macula & ruga non intelligitur, niſi in bonis, iuſtis, ſanctis*: That louely doue (ſaith he) the chaſt, vndefiled, & vnſpotted ſpouſe (that is the Church of God) is onely vnderſtood of thoſe that are righteous, faithfull, holy: *Ergo*, the wicked are not of the Church, which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt.

Concil. Vormatienſ. in præfation. concil. Eccleſiam catholicam precio ſui ſanguinis redemptam, cum eo credimus in perpetuum regnaturam: That catholike Church, which is redeemed by his blood, we beleeue ſhall raigne with him eternally. The wicked therefore are no members of the catholike Church, for they ſhall not raigne with Chriſt.

We want not here the teſtimonie of our aduerſaries: *Ioannes de Turre cremata lib.4. de Eccleſ. par.2. cap.20.* holdeth, that they which haue no faith nor no inward grace, doe not belong to the Church.

So the Maſter of the Sentences out of S. *Auguſtine* affirmeth: *Illi ad templum dei non pertinent, qui cognoſcentes deum, non ſicut deum glorificant*: They belong not to the temple of God, which knowing God, doe not glorifie him as God, *lib.1.d.37.e.*

Hereunto agree their owne decrees, *Decr.p.2. cauſ.24. quæſt.3. cap.8. Ad eccleſiam non pertinent illi, qui in eius vnitate corporaliter miſti per peſſimam vitam ſeparantur*: They belong not to the Church of Chriſt, which being corporally mixed in the ſocietie thereof, are ſeparated by an euill life. Againe, *Cauſ.33. quæſt.3. diſt.1. de pœniten. cap.70. Qui peccator eſt, & aliqua ſorde maculatus, de eccleſia Chriſti non poteſt appellari, &c.* He that is a ſinner, and polluted, cannot be called of the Church, which is without ſpot, &c.

Laſtly, this doctrine, that the faithfull onely are the true members of the catholike Church, which is the myſticall body of Chriſt, hath the witneſſe and approbation of holy martyrs. This was one of the articles for the which *Iohn Hus* was condemned in the Councell of Conſtance, for ſaying that the catholike Church is the vniuerſall companie of the predeſtinate: grounding his opinion vpon that place of S. *Paul*, Epheſ.5. *Chriſt ſo loued the Church, that he gaue himſelfe for the ſame*: but he gaue himſelfe onely for the faithfull, *Fox* pag.610. arti.8. *Luther* openly proteſted before the Emperour at Wormes, that he would not conſent to the Councell of Conſtance, becauſe it condemned this article propounded by *Iohn Hus, That the catholike Church is the communion of the predeſtinate*, and ſo aboliſheth, ſaith he, this article of our faith, I beleeue the holy Church vniuerſall: and ſaith further, he was readie to ſpend his blood, rather then to reuoke any trueth agreeable to Gods word, pag.852. See the confeſſion alſo of *Richard Feurus* a French martyr, That the congregation of Chriſt conſiſted in the number of the elect, *Fox* p.912.col.1.

This alſo was the faith of the Merindolians, That the catholike Church was the fellowſhip of Gods elect: who for this and other points of their Chriſtian faith, were perſecuted, and their countrie deſtroyed, *Fox* pag.954.col.1.

That the faithfull onely are the members of Chriſt: it is affirmed by Doctor *Ridley*, and Maſter *Latimer* martyrs, according to the Scripture, If any man haue not the ſpirit of Chriſt, the ſame is none of his, Rom.8.9. And the Church of Chriſt ſtandeth onely of liuing ſtones, 1.Pet.2.5. that is, true Chriſtians, not onely outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and truth, *reſponſ. ad articul. Antonij* 7.

The blood of theſe holy martyrs doth giue a liuely teſtimonie vnto the trueth, and doth notably confirme vs therein.

THE SECOND PART OF THE QVESTION, whether the Catholike Church be inuiſible.

The Papiſts.

15.Error. THey doe affirme that the catholike Church is, and hath been alwaies viſible: not ſo viſible, becauſe it might be ſeene, but that it hath been alwaies actually viſible, and not ſeene onely vnto the members of the Church, but notoriouſly knowne to the whole world, *Rhemenſ. annot. in Matth.cap.*5.*ſect*.3. Neither doe they meane any particular Church ſo to haue been viſible, but the vniuerſall catholike Church, which they define to bee a viſible congregation of all faithfull men, *Caniſius cap.de fide & Symbol.articul.*18.*Bellar.lib.*3.*de Eccleſ.cap.*12.*ration.*7.

Argum.1. The foundation of the Church is viſible: therefore the Church is viſible. The propoſition they prooue thus: for whether wee affirme Chriſt, or *Peter* to bee the foundation of the Church: both of them are now viſible in him, which is the Vicar of Chriſt, and *Peters* ſucceſſor.

We anſwere: Firſt, we vtterly denie either *Peter* to be the foundation of the Church, or elſe the Pope to be his lawfull ſucceſſor: for *Peter* is no more the foundation of the Church, then all the Prophets and Apoſtles, Epheſ.2.20. whoſe doctrine is the foundation, not their perſons. And as for the Pope, wee care not ſo much for outward ſucceſſion in place, which notwithſtanding they cannot proue to haue been perpetuall without interruption, as wee doe require a ſucceſſion of faith and doctrine. Secondly, wee affirme that Chriſt is the foundation, but not the viſible beholding of Chriſt with the carnall eyes, but beleeuing in his name: for when *Peter* had vttered that notable confeſſion of Chriſt, he ſaid that fleſh and blood had not reuealed it, but his father in heauen: but if the beholding of Chriſt had giuen *Peter* a ſight of the foundation, then fleſh had reuealed it vnto him, his carnall eyes had brought him to Chriſt. Thirdly, we may much better returne this argument vpon themſelues: that becauſe the foundation of the Church, which is faith in Chriſt, is inuiſible, therefore the Church is inuiſible.

Argum.2. They heape vp many places of Scriptures, but to ſmall purpoſe, as Matth.18. Tell the Church. Acts 15. When they came to Ieruſalem, they were receiued of the Church. Philip.3.6. *Paul* perſecuted the Church. How could the Church be perſecuted? how could it receiue the Apoſtles, if it were not viſible? *Bellarm.cap.*12.

We anſwere, what goodly reaſons here be? a particular Church, ſuch as was at Ieruſalem may be ſeene: *Ergo*, the catholike and vniuerſall. Secondly, a particular Church may bee ſometime viſible: *Ergo*, alwaies. Thirdly, the Church is viſible vnto the faithfull, as in time of perſecution, for to *Paul* it was not knowne, when he perſecuted it, but onely to the brethren: *Ergo*, it is viſible to the world. For theſe three points they muſt proue, that the catholike Church not a particular is viſible, that the Church is not ſometime but alwaie viſible, yea and to the world, or elſe they ſay nothing. For ſhame maſters make better arguments.

Argum.3. He hath ſet his tabernacle in the Sunne, Pſal.19. The Church is as a citie vpon an hill, Matth.5. *Ergo*, it is alwaies viſible, *Bellarm.ibid.Rhemiſt.Mat.*5.*ſect*.3.

We anſwere. Firſt, the Apoſtles themſelues, euen at this time, when Chriſt ſpake theſe words vnto them, were not ſo *in ſole*, or *in monte*, in the Sunne, or vpon the hill, that they were ſeene of the world, nay they were not ſeene nor acknowledged of the Scribes and Phariſees in Iewrie: the Church is ſeene of the faithfull, it is viſible to them that ſearch for her out of the Scriptures: they that can ſee the mountaine, ſhall ſee the citie, the mountaine is Chriſt, the citie is the Church. No maruaile if the Church be not alwaies viſible to the world, for they ſee not, neither do they know Chriſt. Secondly, the Church is ſaid to be on a hill: becauſe the trueth ſeeketh no corners, heretikes and falſe teachers flie into the deſert and into ſecret places, Matth.24.verſ.26. but the truth is not aſhamed: the Apoſtles confeſſed Chriſt, euen before Kings and Princes, Mark.13.19. So *Auguſtine* expoundeth it, *Cont.Fauſtum.lib.*13.*cap.*13.

Argum.4. Chriſts Church is alway viſible. *Dic eccleſiæ*, ſaith he, Tell it to the Church. But how can a man goe vnto that Church, which he knoweth not? *argum.Boner.pag.*1691. *Marci Antonij.obiect.6.*

Anſw. 1. In the times of the Apoſtles, when the Church was perſecuted, they were faine to congregate themſelues in houſes and priuie places: who though they were not knowne by any external pompe, yet were they knowne among themſelues, and redreſſed things that were amiſſe, euen in their ſecret aſſemblies. Neither were they altogether vnknowne of the world: for how could they then haue perſecuted them, though they were not regarded, *reſponſ.Rob.Smithi.* Martyr.

2. The fault why the Church is not ſeene, is not becauſe it is not viſible, but becauſe mens eyes are dazeled, and cannot ſee, vnleſſe they looke for it, by the light of Gods word, *reſponſ.Brad.pag.1616.col.1.D.Ridley ad 6.obiect.Marc. Antonij.p.1719.*

The Proteſtants.

Concerning the Catholike Church, wee hold, that becauſe it is an article of our faith, it is alwaies vnto the world inuiſible, and not to bee eſpied but by the eyes of faith, *Fulk* Matth.5. ſect.5.

Concerning particular Churches, if by viſible, they vnderſtand that which may bee ſeene, ſo we graunt they are alwaies viſible, *Fulk.* Act.11.verſ.24. If for that which is actually viſible: we ſay it is not ſo alwaies viſible to the world, nay it may ſometimes bee ſo hid and ſecret, that the members know not one another, *Fulke in* Matth.5.ſect.3.

Argum. 1. To the Hebrues it is thus written, chap.12.ver.18, 23, 24. *You are not come to the mountaine, which might bee touched, but to the citie of the liuing God, the celeſtiall Ieruſalem, &c. Ergo,* the Church is inuiſible, and here oppoſed to the viſible hill of Sinay.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this is vnderſtood of the triumphant Church in heauen, not of the militant vpon earth, chap.15.

To this wee make anſwere, the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth the whole vniuerſall Church in heauen and earth, which both make but one familie, Epheſ.3.15. for here he nameth not onely the ſpirits of iuſt men which are in heauen, but the faithfull vpon earth, whoſe names are written in heauen: the congregation (ſaith he) of the firſt borne: the words are πανήγυρις and ἐκκλησία, a gathering together, collection or congregation, which muſt needes bee vnderſtood of men vpon earth. Againe (ſaith he) ye are come, not ye ſhall come: they had now left the ſmoking mountaine Sinay, and were come to Sion, the Church vnder the Goſpell. Wherefore this is a moſt firme and inuincible argument: the catholike Church is the vniuerſal number of Gods choſen in heauen and in earth: *Ergo,* inuiſible.

*Argum.*2. We will giue an inſtance: In the daies of *Elias* the Church was not viſible, for he complaineth and ſaith that he was onely left alone, 1.King.19.10. *Ergo,* the Church is not alway viſible.

The Rhemiſts anſwere: Firſt, at that time the Church was viſible in Iudea, the ſouldiours were numbred to 1000.thouſand, 2.Chron.17. We anſwere. Firſt, belike they haue taken a more exact account of them then the Lord himſelfe: for he (ſaith he) had reſerued 7000. 1.King.19.18. that had not bowed their knees to *Baal:* they ſay there were ten hundred thouſand. Againe, *Elias,* if he had knowne ſuch a number, could not haue been left ſo comfortleſſe, as in griefe of heart to deſire to die. But be it graunted that the Church was viſible in Iudea at this time, though it were not ſo to *Elias:* yet where was that viſible Church in the daies of *Achaz* and *Manaſſeh,* when Iudea fell alſo to Idolatrie?

Annot. in Rom.11.ver.4.

Bellarmine alſo anſwereth, as the Rhemiſts doe, that in *Elias* time the Church was viſible in Iudea, and therefore God ſaith directly, that he had left 7000. in Iſrael: whereby thoſe tribes are vnderſtood which were vnder the King of Samaria, *cap.16.reſp.ad argum.3.*

Anſw. Firſt, they cannot ſhew vs of any Prophet notwithſtanding at this inſtant in Iudea. Secondly, I will aske the Ieſuite, theſe 7000. in Iſrael were they not of the Church? it cannot be denied: *Ergo,* the Church is not alwaies, and in all places viſible, as they would beare vs in hand: for they were not knowne to *Elias,* who complaineth that he was left alone. Thirdly, S. *Paul,* the beſt expounder of the Prophets, Rom.11.1. expoundeth Iſrael to be all the people of God: and himſelfe of the tribe of *Beniamin* he calleth an Iſraelite, which tribe notwithſtanding belonged to the diuiſion of Iuda. And in the fifth verſe the Apoſtle ſaith, *Euen ſo now* (ſaith he) *there is a remnant, through the election of grace,* as there were then 7000. left: whereby the Apoſtle ſignifieth, that this was the whole remnant of the elect which was left then.

Some other doe anſwere thus: They graunt that the Church before Chriſt might be inuiſible, but not the Church ſince Chriſt: for he ſaith, *ædificabo eccleſiam,* I will build my Church, not that I doe build, or haue built it: *ſic Hethus epiſcop. Eboracenſ.*

Anſ. By ſtanding thus ſtrictly vpon the future tenſe, you may as well proue that Chriſts Church was not at all before his comming, as that it was not viſible before. But Chriſts meaning is this rather, that there is no building in the Church but by Chriſt only: for *Paul* and *Apollos* be but waterers, *ſic Bradford Martyr. Fox* pag.1615.col.1.

*Argum.*3. To beleeue that there is an holy catholike Church is an article of our faith: *Ergo*, it is inuiſible. *Bellarmine* anſwereth. Firſt, the holineſſe of the Church is inuiſible. We replie, ſo the Church is partly viſible, partly inuiſible by his confeſſion. Firſt, why then doe ye define the catholike church to be a viſible congregation, if it be not wholly and altogether viſible? they know that *definitio* muſt *conuenire definito*, the definition muſt agree wholly to that which is defined: but now it is not: for they ſay, the catholike holy Church is partly viſible as it is a Church, partly inuiſible as it is holy. Secondly, doe we not ſay in the Creede, *Credo Catholicam*, as well as *Credo ſanctam*, I beleeue a catholike Church, as well as I beleeue the holy Church? then it is alſo inuiſible, as it is catholike, becauſe this alſo is part of the article. See I pray you what ſhifting is here.

Secondly he anſwereth, that ſome thing is ſeene in the Church, ſome thing beleeued: for wee ſee that viſible companie of men, which make the Church; but whether that companie be the true Church, we doe not ſee it, but beleeue it.

We replie againe: firſt, the Ieſuite hath not yet proued that ſome thing is ſeene in the Church, ſome thing beleeued: but one thing is ſeene, namely the congregation as they are men, another thing is beleeued, that they are the Church: the ſight and beleefe now by his owne confeſſion are not both in the Church. Secondly, wee denie that the vniuerſall companie of the catholike Church, which is the number of the predeſtinate, can be ſeene; therefore all is beleeued, and nothing ſeene. Thirdly, he ſaith that by faith we know which is the true Church: *Ergo*, by faith we know which are the members of the Church: *Ergo*, by faith the members doe know themſelues to be of the Church: therefore faith is requiſite in the true members of the Church: then vnfaithfull men cannot be true members of the Church: which point the Ieſuite ſtrongly before maintained againſt vs. *Mendacem oportet eſſe memorem*, a lier had neede haue a good memorie, leaſt he tell contrarie tales, and ſo hath the Ieſuite here: for before he denied that faith was requiſite to make a true member of the Church: here he ſaith, that without faith a member cannot be knowne, much leſſe therefore made.

Lib.3.de Eccleſ.cap.15. reſp.ad arg.6. cap.10.lib.3. de Eccleſ.

*Argum.*4. The Rhemiſts confeſſe in theſe very words, that *in the raigne of (their imagined and ſuppoſed) Antichriſt the externall ſtate of the Romane Church, and publike entercourſe of the faithfull with the ſame ſhall ceaſe, and that there ſhall be onely a communion in heart with it, and practiſe in ſecret. Annot.in 2.Theſſ.2.ſect.10.* Where then (I pray you) ſhall be your *tabernaculum in ſole, ciuitas in monte, candela ſplendens in domo:* your tabernacle in the Sunne, your citie in a mountaine, your candle ſhining in the houſe, that is (ſay you) in the world? Matth.5.ſect.3. *Ergo*, out of their owne words we conclude, that the Church ſhall not alwaies be viſible, and notoriouſly knowne in the world.

We muſt not here ouerpaſſe the ſentence and iudgement of the holy Martyrs, whoſe witneſſe is in ſtead of many arguments.

Maſter *Bradford* reaſoneth thus: As *Eue* was of the ſame ſubſtance that *Adam* was of; ſo is the Church of the ſame ſubſtance that Chriſt was of, fleſh of his fleſh, bone of his bones, Epheſ.5.30. Looke therefore how Chriſt was knowne when he was vpon earth, ſo is his Church: but Chriſt was not knowne by any external pompe in the world, but by conſidering according to the word of God: *Ergo*, ſo is his Church, *Fox* pag.1613.

This was one of the articles for the which Biſhop *Farrar* was condemned, for denying that the Church was alwaies viſible vpon earth, *Fox* pag.1554.col.2.articl.6.

M. *Robert Glouer* Martyr giueth an inſtance of *Elias* times, when the Church lay hid and was not apparant, no not to the Prophet. It was anſwered him that *Elias* complained onely of the ten tribes that fell from *Dauids* houſe. He replyeth, that they were not able to ſhew any Prophets that the other two tribes had at the ſame time, *Fox* p.1712.col.1.

M. *Philpot* confeſſeth the Church to be viſible, and inuiſible, the vniuerſall Catholike Church is inuiſible, conſiſting of the elect of God onely; the viſible conſiſteth of good and bad, and is known by the word of God and Sacraments, pag.1824.

Enarrat.in Pſal.128.

Laſtly, we will conclude with *Auguſtine*, *Aliquando in ſola domo Noah Eccleſia erat: in ſolo Abraham Eccleſia erat: in ſolo Loth & domo eius Eccleſia erat: in ſolo Henoch Eccleſia erat:* Sometime the Church was onely in *Henochs* houſe, ſometime onely in *Noah*, ſometime in *Abraham* alone, in *Loth* and his houſe. How then hath the Church been alwaies ſo viſible and notoriouſly knowne to the world, when it hath lien hidden ſometime in one houſe, yea in one man?

Interrelig.Cæſarea.cap.9. Eccleſia, quatenus conſtat membris talibus quæ ſecundum charitatem viuūt, ſanctorum eſt tantum, & eatenus ſpiritualis & inuiſibilis: The Church as it conſiſteth of ſuch members, which liue after the rule of charitie, is onely of the Saints, and ſo ſpirituall onely, and inuiſible. Behold here we haue the teſtimonie of our aduerſaries themſelues, ſitting in Councell for the inuiſibilitie of the Catholike Church. To this their owne decrees alſo doe giue conſent:

decr.p.3.diſt.2.cap.63. Societas corporis & membrorum Chriſti Eccleſia in prædiſtinatis: The ſocietie of the bodie and members of Chriſt is the Church conſiſting of the Predeſtinate. If the Church conſiſt of the elect onely, then is it not viſible to men, but onely to God; for he onely knoweth who are his, 2.Tim.2.19.

THE SECOND QVESTION: WHETHER the Church may erre.

THis queſtion is diuided into two parts. Firſt, whether the Catholike Church may erre at all, or not? Secondly, whether the viſible Church vpon earth may fall away from God into Idolatrie and Apoſtaſie.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE CATHOlike Church may erre in doctrine.

The Papiſts.

16.Error.

THey doe teach that the Catholike Church cannot poſſibly erre, not onely in matters abſolutely neceſſarie to ſaluation, but not in any thing, which it imposeth and commaundeth, whether it be contained in the word of God or not: yea that it cannot erre in thoſe things, which beſide the word of God in the holy Scriptures are commanded. And by the Church here they doe meane not onely the Paſtors and Biſhops, but the whole company of the faithfull: ſo that neither that which all the Paſtors of the Church doe teach, can be erronious, nor what is receiued generally of the whole Church, *Bellarm. de Eccleſ. lib.3. cap.14. Rhemiſt. annot. in Iohan.14. ver.16.*

Bellarm. lib.3. cap.14.

*Argum.*1. The Church (ſay they) is the pillar of trueth, 1.Tim.3. *Ergo*, it cannot erre. We anſwere: firſt, it is no otherwiſe the pillar of trueth, then a Virgine without ſpot and wrinckle, Epheſ.5.27. As that place doth not priuiledge the Church from all ſinne and imperfection of life; ſo neither doth this place exempt her from all error in doctrine. Secondly, ſhe is called the pillar of trueth in reſpect of vs, becauſe the trueth is preſerued in the true Church, and is not elſe where to be found: not becauſe the trueth dependeth vpon the Church: for Saint *Paul* ſendeth not *Timothie* in this place to learne of the Church, as though it could not poſſibly be deceiued; but (ſaith he) theſe things haue I written, that thou mayſt know how to behaue thy ſelfe in the houſe of God, verſ.14, 15. *Ergo*, the word of God is the rule of trueth, and the Church hath no warrant to be kept from error, but as ſhe is led and gouerned by the word of God. Thirdly, the argument followeth not, for *Peter* was a pillar, and yet erred, Gal.2.9.11.

*Argum.*2. They heape many arguments together. The Church hath the ſpirite of God, to leade it into all trueth, the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it, Matth.16. God hath giuen it Apoſtles, teachers, Euangeliſts, to keepe it in the trueth, Epheſ.4. Chriſt hath prayed for the Church that it may be ſanctified in the veritie, Iohn 17. Chriſt prayed that *Peters* fayth ſhould not fayle: *Ergo* the Church cannot erre, *Rhemenſ. annot. 1.Tim.3.15.*

We anſwere: euery one of the elect hath the ſpirit of God, neither ſhall the gates of hell preuaile againſt the faith of any one of the elect to ouerthrowe it: Chriſt prayeth for euery one of his Diciples that they may be ſanctified in the trueth. Ioh.17.20. wherefore it followeth as well by theſe arguments, that no one faithfull man can fall into error. The Paſtors and teachers ſo long as they follow the Apoſtles doctrine, may keepe the Church from error: but it is not gathered out of that place, Epheſ.4. that the paſtors, if they ſwarue from Gods word, cannot erre: But rather the contrarie; and therefore the Apoſtle addeth further, verſ.14. that we ſhould not be carried about with euerie winde of doctrine; but follow the truth in loue verſ.15. The Church then, ſo long as it followeth the truth, and is not carried with wind of doctrine, cannot erre.

Concerning *Peter*, Chriſt prayed for him that his faith ſhould not faile in that grieuous tentation, which he fell into. Secondly, he prayed not for him as gouernour of the Church, but as he prayeth for euery faithfull man, Ioh.17.23. Thirdly, for all this prayer *Peter* erred, Gal.2.

*Argum.*3. This argument was vſed in the Councell of *Baſil:* the Church is without ſpot and wrinckle, Epheſ.5.27. *Ergo*, without error, *Fox.* pag.672. *ex Aenea Siluio.*

We anſwere: firſt, S. *Paul* ſpeaketh there of a glorious Church, ſuch as it ſhall be in the kingdome of heauen, not of the Church, as it is vpon earth: ſo Reuel.7.14. The elders which ſate round about the throne, which are the Saints in heauen, were ſeene in long white robes, which they had waſhed white in the blood of the Lambe.

2 It followeth out of this place, that the Church is as well without ſinne, as free from error: which the diuines in the Councell did alſo grant. But ſeeing by their owne confeſſion euery member of the Church, being clothed in this mortall fleſh ſinneth, how can the Church be without ſinne? If the Church conſiſt of men, and all men are ſinners, how is the Church free? If all the

parts and members be ſinnefull, how is not the whole alſo polluted with ſinne? If all the parts of the bodie be ſicke and diſeaſed, how can the whole be ſounde? The Church alſo is not aſhamed to confeſſe her ſelfe to be blacke, Can. 1. 5. ſhe ſhall be made beautifull and glorious without all ſpot and blemiſh in the kingdome of God: and euen now alſo is made righteous and iuſt before God through Chriſt, not becauſe ſhe hath no ſinne, but becauſe it is remitted: and although ſome errors and imperfections remaine, yet ſhall they be no hinderance to her ſaluation.

The Proteſtants.

THis queſtion, whether the Church may erre, muſt be vnderſtood with a double exception: firſt, that the vniuerſall Catholike Church of Chriſt erreth not, *Caluin.inſtitut.lib.4.cap.8.ſec.* 11. 12. But there is no viſible Church in the earth, which may not erre, as well in faith as in manners: this poſition was maintained by M. *Bucer*, in open diſputation at *Cambridge*, *Fox* pag. 1388. Secondly, the true Church of God may erre in ſome poynts not neceſſarie to ſaluation, but can not fall cleane away from God into any damnable error, *Calu.ibid.Fulk.annot.in* Epheſ. 5. verſ. 29. And in this ſenſe is the Church called, *Religionis & fidei perpetua mater*: A perpetuall mother and preſeruer of faith and religion, *Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*5.*l.*14.*Leo & Anthem*. That the Church may erre as we ſay, we doe ſhew it thus: and by the Church, we vnderſtand the whole company and congregation, the paſtors with the people.

1 When our Sauiour Chriſt ſuffered, the Church erred in faith: *Ergo*, it may erre: the propoſition is thus proued. The Church was either in the Scribes and Phariſies, or els in the Apoſtles: but both of them erred: they in putting Chriſt to death; the other in their incredulitie, not beleeuing rightly in the reſurrection of Chriſt. *Bellarmine* anſwereth: firſt, that the Phariſies were priuiledged not to erre, onely till the comming of Chriſt. We reply againe: firſt, after Chriſt was come they ſate in *Moſes* chaire, and Chriſt biddeth they ſhould be heard, Mat. 23. 2. If they erred not afore, neither could they now; for they were not diſplaced out of *Moſes* chaire: but the truth is, they neuer had any ſuch priuiledge not to erre. Secondly, the Maſter of Sentences ſeemeth herein to be of another opinion, who thus ſaith, anſwering to a certaine obiection, whether circumciſion ceaſed to be in force ſtraight after the inſtitution of Baptiſme: *In Chriſti morte terminata eſſe legalia omnia*: That all the legall rites were determined in Chriſts death, and from that time Circumciſion ceaſed, *lib.*3.*diſt.*3 *K*. If that all the Legals were in force till Chriſts death, then the Prieſthoode alſo: wherefore what priuiledge they had before, they held it till then. Thirdly, if the Phariſies were now prone to error, then by our aduerſaries owne confeſſion, they ceaſed to be the Church: *Ergo*, the Church was not now viſible, for in them it was not: and the Apoſtles fled from Chriſt, and ſhifted for themſelues: how could then the Church be viſible to the world?

Lib.3.de eccleſ.cap.17.

Secondly, the Ieſuite anſwereth concerning the Apoſtles. Firſt, the Apoſtles were not yet entred into their office and Biſhopricke, but only appoynted to it, and therefore they might erre. We reply againe: firſt, they were not onely appointed Apoſtles, but partly alreadie they had exerciſed their Apoſtleſhip: for they were ſent forth to preach the Goſpell, and had power and commiſſion to worke miracles, and heale diſeaſes, Matth. 10. How then is not the Ieſuite aſhamed to ſay, that they were not yet Paſtors nor Apoſtles? Secondly, if the Phariſies erred, and the Apoſtles erred, then all the world was in error: *Ergo*, by their ſaying at this inſtant there was no Church vpon the earth, which is a great abſurditie, for the Church erreth not, they ſay.

Thirdly, (ſaith the Ieſuite) the Apoſtles erred not in faith: they were reproued for not beleeuing the reſurrection: which beliefe becauſe they had not yet receiued, they could not looſe it. We reply. Firſt, though they had not erred in any materiall point; yet if there were any error at all in them, it is ſufficient for our purpoſe: that they erred it is manifeſt, for they fled away from Chriſt. Secondly, he excuſeth them for their infidelitie concerning the reſurrection, becauſe this faith they had not yet receiued. But had not Chriſt (I pray you) often inſtructed them of this matter? and if this were no ſuch error in them, then Chriſt was too ſharpe in reprouing them for their infidelitie. Thirdly, it appeareth, that they wholly were deceiued concerning the Meſſiah, Luk. 24. 21. the two Diſciples ſay, they truſted that it had been he that ſhould haue deliuered Iſrael: ſee then what weake anſweres theſe are: did theſe fellowes thinke that their gloſes ſhould not be examined? or that their dreames ſhould be taken for oracles?

Fourthly, ſome of the Papiſts affirme, that the true faith in the paſſion of Chriſt only remained in the virgin Maries breaſt: *Alexand. Halenſ. Iohan. de turre cremat*. If this be true, then is *Bellarmines* opinion falſe, that the Apoſtles at that time kept the faith. But it is moſt like that they are all deceiued, and that both *Marie* and the Apoſtles at that time were in great feare and doubt, and their faith ſhaken. That the Apoſtles wauered, we haue alreadie ſhewed: and yet there was greater cauſe, that they ſhould be ſtable in faith, who were alſo to be preachers of faith, then *Marie* who was a beleeuer onely, not an Apoſtle or preacher of the Goſpell.

Argum. 2. The Church of the Iewes erred before our Sauiour Chriſts comming: *Ergo*, the true Church may erre.

The propoſition is proued : In the time of the raigne of good kings, they did offer ſacrifice vpon hill altars, but onely to the Lord, which was an error. 2.King.12.3.14.4. The feaſt of the Paſſeouer was not kept ſo preciſely according to Gods word at any time before, no not in the raigne of the beſt kings, as it was in the 18. yeare of *Ioſias* raigne, 2.King.23.22. The feaſt of Tabernacles had not been ſo ſolemnly and truly kept from the daies of *Ioſua*, as it was in *Nehemiahs* time, Nehem.8.18. *Ergo* all this while the Church of the Iewes erred ſomewhat in the externall worſhip of God, *Fulk. Eph.cap.5.Sect.4.*

*Argum.*3. We reade of famous Churches that erred both in faith and manners after our Sauiour Chriſts comming in the fleſh, euen in the Apoſtles time : *Ergo,* the true Church may erre. The firſt part is thus proued : the Church of the Corinthians erred in manners : they went to law among heathen Iudges, chap.6. which was a generall fault among them : *Is it ſo, that there is not a wiſe man among you ?* verſ.5. They erred alſo in indgement. It will be anſwered, that the error, or hereſie rather, concerning the reſurrection was not generall : for the Apoſtle ſaith, *How ſay ſome among you that there is no reſurrection of the dead?* chap.15.verſ.13. But that error and abuſe in the receiuing of the Lords Supper ſeemeth to haue been more vniuerſally ſpred : *Euery man* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *when they ſhould eate, taketh his own ſupper afore, and one is hungry, another is drunken,* chap. 11.verſ.21. Euery man, ſaith he, that is, very many, yea and the moſt among them. The Church alſo of the Galathians, was (in no ſmall part thereof) infected with this error, that the ceremonies of the law ought neceſſarily to be kept together with the Goſpel: and therefore S, *Paul* vpbraideth in a manner the whole Church : *O ye fooliſh Galathians, who hath bewitched you? &c.* Chap. 3. 1. *Ergo,* theſe Churches, being notwithſtanding the Churches of Chriſt, erred.

Bellarmine anſwereth, confeſſing that theſe Churches had their errors (yea he is more liberall in granting this, then we would haue him) for hee ſlandereth the whole Church of Corinth, as though they denied generally the reſurrection of the dead, which they did not : S. *Paul* only chargeth ſome of them, that is, the falſe brethren, with this error, as it may appeare 1.Corinth chap.15. verſ.12.

Bellarmines laſt refuge therefore is this, that error may be in a particular Church, but not in the vniuerſall Catholike Church : *de eccleſ.lib.4.cap.2. argum.*3.

Anſwere : Firſt, thus *Bellarmine* himſelfe is conſtrained to vſe *Caluines* diſtinction which he miſliked before : who confeſſeth that a particular Church may fall into dangerous error, but not the vniuerſall, *de eccleſ. lib.3.cap.14.princip. cap.* Secondly, the Ieſuite hath granted, as much as we would deſire : for if euery particular Church be ſubiect to error, then the viſible Church is; for the viſible Churches muſt needes be particular : for vniuerſall things are not ſubiect to the ſenſe, but to the vnderſtanding : this then he hath granted, that a particular Church may erre, but the Italian, Spaniſh, French, and ſo of the reſt, are but particular Churches : *Ergo,* they may erre. Thus we haue the Ieſuites owne confeſſion, that particular viſible Churches may erre.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Quomodo erit Eccleſia in iſto tempore, perfecta ſine macula & ruga, cuius membra non mendaciter confitentur ſe habere peccata?* How can the Church be perfect in this life, without ſpot or wrinckle, whoſe members do truely confeſſe, that they are not without ſinne? *Ergo,* the Church ſinneth and is imperfect, and why not ſubiect to error? But in the Councell of *Baſil* it was denied, as ye haue heard, that the Church could ſinne.

Contr.2.Epiſt.
Pelag.lib.4.
cap.7.

We haue their owne teſtimonies againſt them : as before for particular men, of their ſide, we haue heard the opinion of *Alexander. Alenſ.3.par.quaeſ. vltim. artic.* 2. and of *Iohannes de turre cremata, lib.* 1. *de eccleſ.c.*30. That at the paſſion of Chriſt the true faith onely remained with *Marie :* Hereupon it will follow, that the Church that then was, erred and failed in faith; vnleſſe they will ſay, that *Marie* onely was the Church.

But let vs heare the iudgement of their owne Church againſt them: *decret. Gregor. lib.5.tit.* 39. *c.*28. *Innocent.*3. *Iudicium Dei veritati quæ nec fallit, nec fallitur, ſemper innititur; iudicium autem eccleſiæ nonnunquam opinionem ſequitur, quam & fallere ſæpe contingit, & falli, propter quod contingit interdum vt qui ligatus eſt apud Deum, ſit apud eccleſiam ſolutus, &c.* The iudgement of God is grounded vpon the truth, which neither deceiueth, nor is deceiued; but the iudgement of the Church is many times ruled by opinion, which both may deceiue, and be deceiued : whereupon it ſometimes falleth out, that he, which is bound before God, is looſed with the Church ; and he that is free before God, is bound by the Church, &c. Beholde then a teſtimonie of one of your moſt learned Popes, that the Church may erre in iudgement. But it will be here anſwered, that he ſpeaketh of the diſcipline of the Church, not of doctrine. *Anſw.* But *Bellarmine,* to proue that the Church erreth not, obiecteth that place, Matth.18. *dic Eccleſiæ,* tell it to the Church : and he that heareth not the Church, let him be as an heathen and Publicane. But this were an hard matter, ſaith he, to bind men to heare the Church if it might erre: *Bellarm.c.*14. But this place is vnderſtoode altogether of diſcipline : wherefore his meaning is, that the Church cannot erre in the keyes : and in deede, ſo long as it followeth Gods word, it cannot, as our Sauiour ſaith, *Whatſoeuer you binde in*

earth, ſhall be bound in Heauen: but otherwiſe it may erre in the keyes; ſo that ſometime, that which the Church bindeth in earth, may be looſed in Heauen: as ***Innocentius*** in this Canon confeſſeth.

Shall we now in the laſt place to this doctrine put to the ſeale of the holy witneſſes of Gods trueth: M. *Bilney* being demaunded, what he thought of the Church, whether it might erre or not: anſwered, that the Catholike Church can by no meanes erre in faith; for it is the whole congregation of the elect: otherwiſe he graunted not, *Fox* pag. 1000. articl.4. The like confeſſion made *James Bainham* Martyr, pag. 1028. But concerning the viſible Paſtors and teachers of the Church, we haue the ancient confeſſion of *Walter Brute*, who liued about two hundred yeares agoe, that they may all erre, and haue erred: yea *Peter* erred (ſaith he) Gal.2. and was therefore reproued of S. *Paul*, onely the Scriptures are priuiledged from erring, *Fox* pag.477.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THE viſible Church may fayle vpon the earth.

The Papiſts.

17.Error. They holde that it is impoſſible that the viſible Church ſhould vtterly faile vpon the earth, and fall from God; but that there ſhall alwaies be a viſible and knowne Church vpon the earth, hauing a perpetuall ſucceſſion of Paſtors and Doctors, where the true worſhip of God ſhall be preſerued and kept, *Bellarm.lib.3. de Eccleſ.cap.*13.

*Argum.*1. Theſe and ſuch places of Scripture they ſtand vpon, Matth.16. ***The gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it.*** Matth.28. ***I will be with you to the end of the world.*** Pſalm.88. ***His throne ſhall be as the Sunne, and endure as the Moone: Ergo,*** the viſible Church ſhall not faile vpon earth, ***Bellarm. ibid.***

We anſwere: that theſe places muſt be vnderſtood of the Catholike and vniuerſall Church, whereof we denie not, but euery true particular Church is a part. This Church is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, this Church ſhall not periſh, this is the kingdome of Chriſt, with this Church will he alway be preſent to the end of the world: we denie not but that the inuiſible Church ſhall continue vpon the earth ſo long as the world endureth. Secondly, thoſe places are vnproperly vnderſtood of the viſible Church, for therein are both good and bad: how then can that be the ſpouſe of Chriſt, where there are many infidels and wicked ones, which haue not eſpouſed themſelues vnto him? How can it be called his kingdome, whereas it is not of all acknowledged? But in the true Catholike Church all and euery one are eſpouſed to Chriſt: all and euery one haue the kingdome of God within them, as it is Luke 17.verſ.21.

*Argum.*2. They doe abuſe that place of S. *Paul*, Epheſ.4.11. ***He gaue ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Euangeliſts, ſome Paſtors and teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints: Ergo,*** the Church ſhall alwaies be viſible till all the Saints are gathered together, ***Bellarm.cap.13. Rhemiſt. Epheſ.4. Sect.5.***

We anſwere: this place proueth that the Church hath neuer wanted Paſtors and teachers for the continuance of the trueth, neither ſhall euer be without them, as the Lord ſaid by the Prophet Eſay 59.verſ.21. ***My ſpirit which is vpon thee, and my words which I haue put into thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor the mouth of thy ſeed for euer.*** We therefore denie not but that in all ages, yea in the moſt ignorant times of Poperie, God raiſed vp faithfull teachers vnto his Church: although they were not mitred and croziard Biſhops, neither could ſhew any outward pompe or boaſt of any glorious ſucceſſion: Such were ***Guilielmus de S. Amore, Arnoldus de noua villa. anno*** 1240. ***Berengarius, Ioachim Abbas,*** in the time of ***Innocentius*** the 3. ***Wickleſ, Brute, Swinderby, Badby,*** and others about ***anno*** 1400. with many which were not knowne to the world: for the trueth neuer in any age wanted witneſſes.

By the continuance of the trueth and right faith we gather, that there haue been alwaies faithfull teachers, though not notorious to the world, and ſhall be: but who they were, and where they liued, what pompe, what authoritie they were of, it is not materiall to know: wherefore an outward viſible ſucceſſion of Biſhops and Paſtors is not neceſſarie for the continuance of the trueth: neither can it be concluded out of this place.

*Argum.*3. Thus they reaſon, there haue been alwayes ſome faithfull men, which haue outwardly profeſſed their faith: for if they diſſembled or cloaked their profeſſion, then were they not faithfull: *Ergo*, the Church hath been alwayes viſible, as in the time of perſecution, ***Bellarmin. ibid.***

We anſwere: firſt, the Ieſuite doth cleane peruert and change the ſtate of the queſtion: for he defineth a viſible Church, to be ***multitudo congregata, in qua ſint prælati et ſubditi:*** a multitude or companie gathered together, where there are both Prelates and Biſhops, and people obedient vnto them. And now he giueth an inſtance of perſecution, wherein ſome faithfull Chriſtians may giue an outward profeſſion of their faith: where is now that multitude congregate together?

where is that iuriſdiction of Prelates? where is that viſible and glorious ſucceſſion? We denie not but that in time of perſecution the faithfull may be knowen to themſelues; and yet ſometime they are not: for in Iſrael there were ſeuen thouſand faithfull beſide *Elias*, yet he knewe none of them. But it followeth not, that therefore the Church is then viſible to the world, and notoriouſly knowen to men, as the Rhemiſts ſay, *in Matth.5.Sect.3.& Act.11.Sect.3.* Thus they flie manifeſtly from the queſtion.

The Proteſtants.

WE denie not, but that the Catholike vniuerſall Church, as it hath hitherto continued ſince the beginning of the world, ſo ſhall it endure to the end: the Lord ſhall neuer want vpon earth a companie of faithfull men, which ſhall truely ſerue him: though it be not neceſſarie, neither hath alwayes been ſeene, that they ſhould be in any one place. A viſible Church we define to be a congregation of men, amongſt whom the word is truely preached, and the Sacraments adminiſtred. Such a Church hath not alwayes been, neither can we be aſſured that it ſhall alway be found vpon the earth, wherein the worſhip of God publikely and viſibly is practiſed.

*Argum.*1. In the raigne of *Ahaz* King of Iuda there was no viſible Church, where the pure worſhip of God was practiſed; for both Iſrael vnder *Pekah*, and Iuda vnder *Ahaz*, fell to Idolatrie, and followed the cuſtome of the Gentiles, 2.King.16.3. yea *Vriah* the high Prieſt conſented with the King to ſet vp Idolatrie. Likewiſe in the dayes of *Manaſſeh*, who did euill after the abhomination of the heathen, 2.King.21.2. there was no place where God was publikely worſhipped: for Iuda was corrupted, Iſrael was carried away captiue: *Ergo*, there was a time when there was no viſible Church.

Bellarmine cannot here ſhift vs off with that anſwere, which he maketh to the obiection of *Elias* time: that he complayning of the ſmall number of the faithfull, meant of Iſrael onely: for at the ſame time, the true worſhip of God was exerciſed in Iudæa: to this we haue anſwered before, 1.*quæſt.2.part.* of this Controuerſie, *in argum.proteſt.2.*

The Ieſuite then hath another ſtarting hole: there is not the like reaſon betweene the Church of the Iſraelites then, and of Chriſtians now, for theirs was but a particular Church; and therefore though it failed with them, yet were there many faithfull among the heathen to be found, as *Melchiſedech* and *Iob:* but the Church of Chriſtians is an vniuerſall Church, &c. *Bellarm.cap.16.reſp.ad argum.3.*

Anſw. Firſt, I demaund of them, was not the Church of the Iewes then the Church of Chriſt, as the Church of Chriſtians is now? but the Church of Chriſt was alwaies Catholike: *Ergo*, ſo was that Church then: and though it were viſible onely then among the Iſraelites, yet all the faithfull in the world were members of the ſame Church, that the Iſraelites belonged vnto: *Ergo*, there is no ſuch difference betweene theſe Churches, as the Ieſuite ſuppoſeth. Secondly, what telleth he me of certaine beleeuers among the Gentiles? that is not the queſtion: for we doubt not but that the inuiſible Church of Chriſt hath been in all times and places: he ſhould haue proued, that there was another viſible Church to be found among the Gentiles, beſide that of the Iſraelites: which could not be, ſeeing that at Ieruſalem onely the ſacrifices were to be offered, and the law was onely and the Prophets among them, which then were the eſſentiall notes and markes of the Church. Thirdly, yet will the Ieſuite finde it an hard matter to finde any faithfull men at this time among the heathen, when there was none in Iſrael: In *Melchiſedechs* time, there was *Abraham*, and when *Iob* liued, there were many excellent men in Iſrael, if as ſome thinke, hee liued about the time of *Moſes:* but whom can he name now among the Gentiles, that were true worſhippers, when as all Iſrael and Iuda were giuen to idolatrie? We conclude then, that ſeeing we can aſſigne a time, when as the Church was not viſible among the circumciſed Iſraelites, and among the vncircumciſed it could not be, that there was a time when as the viſible Church fayled vpon earth: *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Eccleſia Catholica, non ſolum poſt aduentum Domini & ſaluatoris noſtri prædicata eſt, ſed etiam ab initio mundi multis figuris & ſacramentis deſignata:* The Catholike Church began not ſo to be called after the comming of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt, but was from the beginning of the world by many figures and ſacraments deſcribed, *ſerm.* 217. *Auguſtine* here ſaith, that the Church before Chriſts comming was *Catholica*, Catholike or vniuerſall. *Bellarmine* ſaith, *Eccleſia Iudæorum non erat vniuerſalis*, The Church of the Iewes was not vniuerſall or Catholike. Out of *Auguſtine* I conclude thus, the Church of the Iewes before Chriſt was the Catholike and onely viſible Church of the world, but it ſometime failed: *Ergo*, the viſible Church may fayle vpon earth.

*Argum.*2. In the paſſion of our Sauiour there was no viſible Church, ſuch a Church wee ſtill meane, as where there are *Prælati & ſubditi, paſtores & oues*, Prelates and people, paſtors and ſheepe. We proue it thus:

The viſible Church was not amongſt the Phariſees and Prieſts, for they ſhamefully and wickedly erred, *Bellarm.*17. It was not amongſt the Apoſtles, for they alſo erred; therefore after the Papiſts opinion, they were not the Church: for the Church (ſay they) erreth not.

Secondly, he ſaith, they were yet but materiall parts, not formall, that is, not Biſhops or paſtors: how then could there bee a viſible Church, which was without the formall and principall parts, that is, Paſtors and Biſhops: *Ergo*, there was then no viſible Church.

3 When the abomination of deſolation ſhall ſtand in the temple, and there ſhall be a generall defection and apoſtaſie from the faith, then ſhall the viſible Church faile vpon earth. But the firſt is true, Matth. 24. 15. 2. Theſſ. 2. 3. *Ergo*.

To the firſt place the Ieſuite anſwereth, that it muſt bee vnderſtood of the deſtruction of the temple, chap. 16. But the Rhemiſts more liberall then ſo, affirme that it ſhall bee eſpecially accompliſhed in Antichriſts time, when as the ſacrifice of the Maſſe ſhall vtterly bee aboliſhed, *Annot. in Mat 24. ver. 15.*

To the next place concerning that defection and apoſtaſie, which S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of, firſt he ſaith, that it ſhall be a defection from the Romane Empire: but the Rhemiſts ſay, it ſhall bee a defection from moſt points of Chriſtian religion. Secondly, the Ieſuite anſwereth, that though it be a defection from the Romane faith, yet it ſhall not be generall but particular. But the Rhemiſts better aduiſed graunt it ſhall be a reuolt of kingdomes, peoples, prouinces: and the publike entercourſe of the faithfull with the Church of Rome ſhall ceaſe; they ſhall only communicate with it in heart, *Annot. in 2. Theſſ. 2. ſect. 6.*

Now out of their owne words we conclude: there ſhall be a time when as the publike ſeruice of God ſhall ceaſe, there ſhall be deſolation in the Churches and temples of Chriſtians: there ſhall bee then no publike entercourſe with the Church, but a priuate communicating in heart: *Ergo*, there ſhall be a time when there ſhall be no outward viſible Church notoriouſly and famouſly knowne: *Ergo*, our aduerſaries are in an error, and are condemned by their owne mouth.

In the laſt place let vs ſee how this doctrine hath been ſealed: Maſter *Philpot* that bleſſed martyr, by that place of S. *Paul*, 2. Theſſ. chap. 2. verſ. 3. *Chriſt ſhall not come, except there be a departing firſt*, ſheweth, that there ſhould bee an vniuerſall departing from the faith, for ſo the word ἀποστασία, properly ſignifieth, and we call him apoſtata that forſaketh the faith: in which ſenſe the word is vſed, 1. Timoth. chap. 4. verſ. 1. When this vniuerſal departing from the faith fell out in the world, which came to paſſe when Antichriſt was reuealed, and the man of ſinne diſcloſed, as the Apoſtle there ſaith: what was then become of the viſible Church? I thinke it failed when the profeſſion of the faith failed.

Fox pag. 1801. Examin. 4.

Let vs ſee antiquitie for this matter: The Emperour *Conſtance*, who fauoured the Arrians, thus tauntingly ſaid to *Liberius* Biſhop of Rome: *Quota pars es orbis terrarum, quòd ſolus vindicas hominem nefandiſſimum?* I pray thee how many parts of the world art thou, that thou dareſt alone ſuccour this naughtie man? meaning *Athanaſius*. *Liberius* anſwereth: *Non eò quòd ſum ſolus fidei cauſa minuitur, nam & antiquitùs tres ſoli reperti ſunt reſiſtentes præcepto regis:* The cauſe of faith is not therefore impaired becauſe I am alone, for ſometimes there were onely three found, which reſiſted the Kings wicked commandement, Dan. 3. When the true worſhip of God was only found amongſt three perſons, it is apparant that the viſible Church of God failed vpon earth. Thus haue we an authoritie of one of the Biſhops of Rome againſt them.

Theodor. lib. 2 cap. 16.

THE THIRD QVESTION: OF THE NOTES and markes, whereby the true Church may be diſcerned and knowne.

FIRST OF THE FALSE AND ERRONIOUS NOTES OF THE CHURCH.

OVr aduerſaries doe deuiſe many notes, whereby their Church is deſcried, as *Bellarmine* reckoneth vp fifteene in order, too many (certaine) to bee found in a good Church: but there are ſixe principall which they doe moſt ſtand vpon; Antiquitie, vniuerſalitie, ſucceſſion, vnitie, the power of miracles, the gift of propheſie. We will firſt touch theſe in order, and then come to ſpeake of the true and infallible notes of the Church.

Of Antiquitie. Note 1.

18. Error. THe Papiſts make great bragges of the long continuance of their Church: yea, that they can ſhew the deſcent of their Church from *Adam, Rhemiſt. annot. in Act. 28. ſect. 5.* But (alacke) ſillie men, they muſt come ſhort of our Sauiour Chriſt and the Apoſtles time, by fiue or ſixe hundred yeeres, for the moſt of the opinions which they now hold. Let vs examine their reaſons.

In any great change of religion (ſay they) the authors of the ſect, the time when it began, the perſons that oppugned it may be knowne: but no ſuch thing can bee ſhewed of our Church (ſay they) as we can ſhew of yours: we can tell them the yeere, the places, and ringleaders of their reuolt, ſay our Engliſh Rhemiſts, *Annot.in* 1.*Iohan.*2.*ſect.*9.*Bellar.lib.*4.*de Eccleſ.cap.*5.

We anſwere: firſt, no marueile if Papiſtrie herein doe much differ from other hereſies: they, as the hereſies of the Arrians, Pelagians, Donatiſts, becauſe they were not long to continue, ſuddenly brake out, and ſuddenly againe were extinguiſhed: But Papiſtrie, being the prop and pillar of Antichriſts kingdome, by whom the world muſt bee deluded many yeeres, was at the beginning to worke cloſely and ſecretly, not breaking out at once into open impietie and blaſphemie, but vnder pretence of holineſſe to ſet abroch her deadly poyſon: therefore S. *Paul* calleth it a myſterie of iniquitie, which began euen to worke in his daies, 2. Theſſ. 2. 7. And ſo ſaith S. *Hierome*; *Nunc quoque myſterium iniquitatis operatur, & garrit vnuſquiſque, quod ſentit:* Euen now the myſterie of iniquitie beginneth to worke, and euery man doth vtter his owne fancies.

Aduerſus Pelag. dialog. 1.

And whereas you alleage, that the authors of euery hereſie may be aſſigned, which cannot bee ſhewed, you ſay, of your profeſſion: S. *Bernard* would haue told you otherwiſe, if you had conſulted with him: for thus he writeth of the heretikes called *Apoſtolici*: *Quære ab his ſuæ ſectæ authorem, neminem dabunt:* Aske of them the author of their ſect, they can name none: which hereſie had not it proper author from amongſt men, as the Manichees had *Manes*, the Sabellians *Sabellius*, the Arrians *Arrius*, &c. But with what name will you call this hereſie? ſurely with none: *non eſt ab homine illorum hæreſis*, their hereſie is not of men, &c. yet is it not by reuelation, *ſed per immiſſionem & fraudem dæmoniorum*, but by the fraud and deceit of the diuell. Thus farre *Bernard*. Thus we ſee, that the heretikes called Apoſtolicall, could name no author of their ſect, yet were they heretikes: ſo the Papiſts, that haue ſo much in their mouthes, the See Apoſtolike, Apoſtolical men, Apoſtolicall traditions, &c. and ſo ſhew themſelues to be the *Apoſtolici* of theſe daies: though the authors of their ſuperſtitions lay hid, yet this were not ſufficient to cleere them of hereſie.

Serm. 66. in Cantic.

Secondly, we alſo anſwere, that all theſe things, the authors of their ſects, the time, the perſons that withſtood them, may manifeſtly be detected: firſt, concerning the time, we haue a manifeſt propheſie, Apocal. 20. that Sathan ſhould bee bound a thouſand yeeres, and afterward let looſe: when no doubt Antichriſt ſhould begin to ſhew himſelfe to the world. Concerning this ſpace of a thouſand yeeres, there are two probable opinions: ſome thinke they are to begin immediatly after our Sauiour Chriſts time, and ſo counting a thouſand yeeres, all which time Sathan muſt be bound; then Antichriſt ſhould begin to appeare. Thus *Iohn Wickliffe* expoundeth it. Others ſay, the thouſand yeeres ought to begin after the three hundred yeeres expired of perſecution: for all that while it is moſt like Sathan was let looſe, when he raged with open mouth like a Lion againſt the Church and Saints of God. Of this opinion was *Walter Brute* ſomewhat after *Wickliffes* time: who by this meanes maketh the propheſie of *Daniel* of 1290. daies, and that in the Apocal. 12. of 1260. daies, to agree with the thouſand yeeres of Sathans binding (a few yeeres excepted, which in the computation of hundreds and thouſands make no great oddes:) for taking euery day for a yeere, we ſhall come to 1290. yeeres after Chriſt: when the thouſand yeeres muſt be expired, beginning from the three hundred yeeres of perſecution. If wee count the thouſand yeeres from Chriſt, wee ſhall come to the time of *Hildebrand*, called *Gregorie* the 7. who was Pope of Rome a thouſand yeres after Chriſt and vpward: by whom the mariage of Miniſters is thought firſt to haue been forbidden. If we begin after the ceaſing of perſecution, which continued three hundred yeeres, we ſhall fall into the yeere 1300. about the time of *Iohn Wickliffe*, when the great rabble of Monkes and Friers began to ſwarme, and ſuperſtition to increaſe.

Fox pag. 426.

Fox pag. 480.

Fox pag. 101.

But we will take a little paine briefly to touch the authors of many ſuperſtitions in Poperie, and of their erronious and hereticall opinions. *Anno* 420. *Zoſimus* Biſhop of Rome did chalenge a prerogatiue aboue other Churches, that it might be lawfull to make appeales from other Churches to that See: and to ſet the better colour vpon it, he falſely alleaged a decree of the Nicene Councell, but there was no ſuch thing found there: wherefore it was decreed in the Councell of Carthage at that time, that none ſhould appeale ouer the ſeas to Rome.

Boniface the 3. purchaſed of the wicked Emperour *Phocas* the title of vniuerſall Biſhop. Tranſubſtantiation was firſt concluded againſt *Berengarius*, *anno* 1062. vnder *Leo* the 9. but not publikely enacted before *anno* 1216. vnder *Innocentius* the 3. The Dominicke Friers brought in the ſame time, and their ſect eſtabliſhed by *Innocentius* the 3. Auricular confeſſion alſo was brought in *anno* 1215. vnder the ſame Pope.

Fox Martyrol. pag. 1147.

Teleſphorus brought in the Lenton faſt. *Calixtus* inſtituted the foure Ember faſts in the yeere: *Hyginus* brought in Chriſme. We can alſo ſhew by whom euery piece of their blaſphemous Maſſe hath been patched together: Mariage was firſt prohibited by *Nicholas* the ſecond, *Alexander* the ſecond, *Gregorie* the ſeuenth, about the yeere 1070. The Communion in one kinde forged and inuented, and decreed in the Councell of Conſtance, not aboue two hundred yeeres agoe. By theſe few examples it may appeare that it is falſe which the Ieſuite ſaith, that the authors of their ſects and hereſies cannot be ſhewed.

Kemnit. exam. ſeſſ. 4.

Now wee will briefly declare what oppugners and gainſayers they haue had in all ages, ſince their groſſeſt opinions began to bee receiued: Such were ***Bertramus*** and ***Berengarius*** about Pope ***Hildebrands*** time, that mightily impugned the groſſe opinion of Tranſubſtantiation, ***Robertus Gallus*** 1291. ***Robert Groſthead*** Biſhop of Lincolne, who was called ***malleus Romanorum,*** the mallet or hammer of the Romanes, ***anno*** 1250. *Franciſcus Petrarcha* 1350. ***Iohannes de Rupe ſciſſa,*** who prophecied againſt the Pope 1340. with many other, which ceaſed not to crie out againſt the abominable vices and erronious opinions of the Church of Rome. Wherefore it is a great vntrueth, which the Ieſuite doth ſo ſtifly auouch, that we cannot ſet down the pedegree and deſcent of their Church and faith, and how it hath continually been reſiſted.

Fox. præfat.

3 Now whereas they ſay, that they can name the ringleaders of our ſect: we haue none other maſters and authors of our faith, then our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles, by whoſe holy writings wee refuſe not to bee tried. But you flie from the light, you diſgrace the Scriptures, making them imperfect, and inſufficient: this the true Diſciples of Chriſt would not doe: you are the Diſciples of Chriſt, as the Phariſees bragged that they were the Diſciples of ***Moſes.*** And as then the true Church was not in thoſe that ſate in ***Moſes*** chaire, though they could alleage great antiquitie, but in Chriſt and his Apoſtles: ſo is not now the true Church to be diſcerned, by cuſtome or number of yeeres, but by that trueth which was taught and preached by our bleſſed Sauiour, and his Apoſtles. ***Auguſtine*** alſo ſaith, ***Poſſunt etiam latrones & adulteri pro ſe antiquitatem adferre:*** Theeues and adulterers can alſo alleage antiquitie for themſelues, ***quaſt. ex veter. teſtam.*** 114. Antiquitie therefore is not a perpetuall note of the Church.

Here ***Bellarmine,*** whereas wee alleage, that our Church is moſt ancient euen from the Apoſtles time, though it hath a long time been hid, and not been notoriouſly knowne in the world, as the malignant Church hath been; doth thus replie againſt vs: That if the true Church of Chriſt hath been ſo many yeeres buried in ſilence, it ſhould bee [illegible] more miſerable caſe, then the people of the Iewes, which haue had alwaies their Synagogues: and where is then that glorie of the Church of Chriſt ſpoken of by the Prophets? ***Bellar. lib.*** 4 ***de Eccleſ. cap.*** 5. ***in fine.***

Anſw. 1. As for the Iewes, though their name and nation yet remaineth, yet they are a people ignominious through the face of the earth, and as vagabonds doe wander from one nation to an other, and therefore are not to be compared to the Church of Chriſt, which though it were in the firſt times obſcured in the cruell perſecutions of the Emperours, and ſince defaced through the ambition of the Biſhops of Rome, yet hath been ſince Chriſts time, for many yeres a glorious and flouriſhing Church throughout the world. 2. Concerning the glorie of Chriſts Church, foretold by the Prophets, it was rather ſpirituall in the propagation of the faith, and preaching of Chriſt to the Gentiles, 1. Timoth. 3. 16. then temporall in the outward glittering ſhew: and yet the Church alſo was outwardly glorious from the time of ***Conſtantine*** for many hundred yeeres after. The ſpirituall beautie of the Church hath and ſhall continue to the end of the world: the temporall glorie it alwaies enioyed not, as in the perſecutions vnder the Romane Emperours, and ſince vnder the Italian Biſhops; though in the middeſt of the hot perſecutions both then and ſince the true members of Chriſt ſhewed themſelues; as partly I haue touched before, in the ſecond part of this anſwere to their note of antiquitie, that for the ſpace of theſe fiue or ſixe hundred yeeres, there haue not wanted ſome of our Church, that haue taſted of their perſecutions.

But ſaith ***Bellarmine*** againe, moſt of your Euangelicall Doctors came out of our Church, as ***Luther*** confeſſeth himſelfe that he had been a Monke. ***Anſ.*** 1. And from whence, I pray you, ſprang our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles? came they not of the Iewes? and were not his Apoſtles taken out of the Iewiſh Church, that was then ſo corrupted in religion? 2. As vnder the gouernment of the high Prieſts and Scribes, there were notwithſtanding many deuout men, that expected the comming of the ***Meſſia,*** as ***Zacharie,*** and ***Simeon:*** ſo wee doubt not, but that in Poperie there were many, and ſome of them Monkes, that had a taſte of the Goſpell, and loathed the corruptions of the Romiſh Church.

But concerning this note of antiquitie, that it is no ſufficient mark of the Church, we can vrge them with both their lawes. ***Iuſt. Cod. lib.*** 8. ***tit.*** 55. ***l.*** 2. ***Conſtantin. Conſuetudo non valet, quæ rationem vincit non legem:*** That cuſtome or antiquitie is of no worth, which goeth againſt reaſon or law. But ſuch is your antiquitie againſt the law of the word of God. ***Ergo.***

Secondly, out of your owne law, ***Decr. p.*** 1. ***d.*** 8. ***cap.*** 4. ***Veritate manifeſtata, cedat conſuetudo veritati:*** After the trueth is manifeſted, let cuſtome giue place to the trueth. ***Cap.*** 5. ***Gregorius*** 1. ***Chriſtus dixit, Ego ſum veritas, non conſuetudo:*** Chriſt ſaid, I am the trueth, not the cuſtome. ***Cap.*** 8. ***Conſuetudo ſine veritate, vetuſtas eſt erroris:*** Cuſtome without trueth, is the oldnes of error. Likewiſe, ***Decret. Gregor. lib.*** 1. ***tit.*** 4. ***cap.*** 11. ***Conſuetudo non derogat iuri diuino:*** Cuſtome doth not preuaile againſt the diuine law.

By all theſe decrees it is manifeſt, that cuſtome and antiquitie vnleſſe it bee propped vp with trueth, and agreeable to the law of God, is of no force. Such antiquitie vnleſſe you can ſhew for your Church, as wee are ſure you cannot, you are able to ſay iuſt nothing.

Laſtly, let them ſpeake that haue ſealed this doctrine with their blood: firſt, Maſter *Philpot* denieth that trueth ought to be meaſured by antiquitie: *Ex diuinis nulla occurrit præſcriptio:* Preſcription hath no place in matters belonging to God, pag. 1805. exam. 5.

Maſter *Bradford* alſo ſaith, that theſe three notes of the Popes Church, vnitie, antiquitie, conſent, may as well be in the diuels Church as in Gods Church: as for example, the idolatrie of the Iſraelites had them all three, pag. 1622. col. 1.

Secondly, the ſame bleſſed martyr *Philpot* plainly auoucheth, that his religion was older then the Papiſts by a thouſand yeeres, pag. 1821. exam. 11.

Roger Holland martyr, thus alſo with great boldnes proteſted: The antiquitie of our Church is not from Pope *Nicholas*, or Pope *Ioane*; but euen from the beginning from the time that God ſayd to *Adam*; *The ſeede of the woman ſhall breake the Serpents head.* Moreouer of our Church haue been the Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, Martyrs, and confeſſors of Chriſt, that haue been at all times, and in all ages perſecuted for the teſtimonie of the word of God. But for the vpholding of your Church, what antiquitie can ye ſhew? your idolatrous Maſſe is not yet 400. yeere old, and ſome of your Maſſes are younger, as that Maſſe of S. *Thomas* the traitor: *hac Roger Holland. p.* 2040.

Of Vniuerſalitie. Note 2.

OVr Church is vniuerſall, ſay they, both in reſpect of time, perſon, and place; it hath alwaies been in the world, in all countries and nations it hath floriſhed: *Ergo*, it is the true Church. 19. Error.

That it is vniuerſall, they firſt proue by the name of Catholike, which is, ſay they, by Gods prouidence appropriate to them, which name they affirme without ground to haue been impoſed by the Apoſtles vpon true beleeuers, *Rhem. in Act. cap.* 11. *ſect.* 4. *Bellar. lib.* 4. *de Eccleſ. cap.* 4.

We anſwere: firſt, the name of Chriſtians is a more honourable title then the name of Catholikes: for it is manifeſt, Act. 11. 26. that this name was vſed in the Apoſtles time, and by the Apoſtles themſelues allowed: but it is not certaine that the name Catholike came from the Apoſtles. Againe, many heretikes chalenged this name to be called Catholikes, who did not ſo eaſily obtaine to bee called Chriſtians: as *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 8. *leg.* 6. *Theod. Gratian.* It is decreed, that the Neſtorian heretikes, *non abutantur nomine Chriſtianorum*, ſhould not abuſe the name of Chriſtians: the law ſaith not Catholikes. But this ancient and honourable name the Papiſts doe deſpiſe: for in Italie and at Rome it is vſed as a name of reproch, to ſignifie a dolt or a foole, *Fulk. in Act.* 11. 26.

2 We ſay that you doe vſurpe this name, as the Donatiſts in *Auguſtines* time would be called Catholikes: for what is the name of Catholike, without the Catholike doctrine? They are the true Catholikes that profeſſe the ancient and Apoſtolike faith: to vs therefore, bee it knowne to you, this name of better right appertaineth, then to you (ô ye Papiſts:) yet we haue better arguments to proue our Church by, then by ſillables and titles: *Quaſi nos* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *huius nominis* Epiſt. 48. *teſtimonio nitamur ad demonſtrandam Eccleſiam, & non promiſſis Dei:* As though we (ſaith he) doe leane vpon this name to proue our Church by, and not rather vpon the promiſes of God. And S. *Hierome* ſaith, *lib.* 3. *aduerſ. Pelag. Quid ſi te alius Catholicum dixerit, ſtatimne aſſenſum tribuam? ſtultiſſimum eſt, ſuper fide mea, ex alterius pendere iudicio:* What if another man call thee Catholike, ſhall I giue conſent? it is a moſt fooliſh point concerning my faith to depend of another mans iudgement. So I ſay, it is a vaine thing for them to proue their faith, by the calling and naming of others.

Now then, although wee much force not of this name, that heretikes alſo haue chalenged to themſelues: yet this title as it was firſt taken, doth alſo appertaine to vs: for the Imperiall law ſaith *vs*, which was made by *Theodoſ. Gratian. Valentinian. &c.* that they which hold the equalitie of the Trinitie, ſhould bee called Catholike Chriſtians, *Iubemus amplecti Chriſtianorum Catholicorum nomen:* We will haue them called Chriſtian Catholikes, *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 4. *l.* 1. But I truſt our aduerſaries cannot ſay, but that wee beleeue concerning the Trinitie as ſoundly as they themſelues. Therefore we alſo doe make chalenge of right to this title.

Secondly, they proue their vniuerſalitie, by the multitude of people that haue receiued the Romiſh faith: and their Church (ſay they) hath repleniſhed the greateſt part of the world. They would prooue this by the propagation of the Church, in the Apoſtles time, in *Tertullian, Irenaus, Hierome, Auguſtine*, yea and afterward in *Gregories* daies: yea and now alſo beſides many great countries in Europe, they haue of their Church in India, America, and the vnknowne parts of the world, *Bellarm. cap.* 7. *nota.* 4.

We anſwere: firſt, the trueth is not alwaies to be meaſured by the iudgement or opinion of the multitude: Follow not a multitude, ſaith the Scripture, to doe euill: the greateſt part is not the beſt: Chriſt calleth his flocke *puſillum gregem*, a little flocke: *Feare not little flocke* (ſaith he): Saint

Hierome ſaith, *Multitudo ſociorum nequaquam te Catholicum, ſed hæreticum eſſe monſtrabit*: The multitude of your fellowes doth not therefore prooue you a Catholike, but rather an heretike, *lib.3. aduerſ.Pelagian.* And S. *Auguſtine: Non omnes hæretici per totam faciem terræ, ſed tamen hæretici per totam faciem terræ, alij hïc, alij ibi*: All heretikes are not diſperſed ouer the face of the earth, yet heretikes are, ſome here, ſome there, *Homil.de paſtorib.* Thus we ſee that heretikes may as well ſtand vpon vniuerſalitie, as Catholikes.

The like alſo hath the Ciuill law, *Cod.lib.*1.*titul.*20.*l.*1.*Iuſtinian. Neque ex multitudine authorum, quod melius æquiuſque eſt, iudicatote, cum poſſit vnius forſan, & deterioris ſententia, & multos & maiores aliqua in parte ſuperare*: Neither by the multitude of authors iudge ye what ſtandeth beſt with equitie, when as perhaps the ſentence of one that is inferiour, may in ſome reſpect goe beyond the greater and higher ſort. As then equitie in Ciuill cauſes goeth not by multitude, ſo neither veritie in diuine.

Heare alſo one of your owne Popes teſtimonie, *Nicholaus* 1.*ad Michael.Imperator. Numerus puſillus non obeſt, vbi abundat pietas; nec multiplex prodeſt, vbi abundat impietas: nolite igitur gloriari in multitudine, quia non multitudo, ſed cauſa, damnationem, vel iuſtificationem adducit*: A mall company hindereth not, where pietie aboundeth, neither doth a great companie further, where impietie aboundeth; glorie not therefore in multitude, for not the multitude, but the cauſe iuſtifieth or condemneth.

Secondly, you haue nothing to doe with the Church which was propagated in the Apoſtles time, nor for the ſpace of fiue or ſixe hundred yeeres after Chriſt: it was not your Church, for the moſt of your hereſies are more lately ſprung vp then ſo. And you neede not bragge of your vniuerſalitie now: for the Turke (I trow) hath a larger dominion then the Pope, and Mahometiſme is as largely ſpred as Papiſtrie, and further too. And for Europe, I hope you need not make your boaſt: the Pope had neuer leſſe iuriſdiction then he hath now, and I truſt euery day ſhall haue leſſe. But many (you ſay) in the new found countries haue been conuerted to your religion. Indeede, if you had had grace, ſuch an oportunitie being offered as the Spaniards had, you might haue wonne that ſimple people to Chriſt. But you thirſted more for their gold, then for their ſoules health: it is notoriouſly knowne to the world what extreame crueltie hath been wrought vpon that innocent people. Was that a Catholike part of the Spaniards to keepe dogs of purpoſe, to woarie and deſtroy the inhabitants, to vſe them as horſe and beaſts, to plough, to carrie, to digge? Thus by your crueltie, there were out of one ſmall Iland called Hiſpaniola, which was well peopled and inhabited, deſtroyed and rooted out in ſhort time, two millions of men and women: the ſtorie of *Benzo* an Italian, is abroad to bee ſeene of this matter: you haue none or few of your Popiſh Catholikes in thoſe countries, but of your owne brood that haue been ſent thither. But enough of this.

3 We nothing doubt, but that our faith, the truth of the Goſpel hath been long ſince knowne and publiſhed to the whole world.

Thoſe two conditions, which the Ieſuite putteth in, to make the Church vniuerſall, do helpe vs very well: the firſt is, that it is not neceſſarie, that all countries wholly ſhould profeſſe the Chriſtian faith; but it ſufficeth, if there bee ſome of the Church in euery countrie. The ſecond, it is not requiſite, that this vniuerſalitie of the Church ſhould be all at one time: but if it be done *ſucceſſiuè*, that is, in diuers ages, one countrie to be ioyned to the Church after another, it is enough.

Now keeping theſe two conditions, we ſhall eaſily proue our Church to be vniuerſall: for there are no countries in Europe, and few in the whole world, wherein there are not ſome of our faith, namely, that abhorre worſhipping of Images, doe onely hope to be ſaued by faith in Chriſt without merit, and beleeue in the reſt, as we doe. And againe, taking one age after another, we ſhall eaſily make it good, that our faith at times hath ſpred it ſelfe ouer the whole world.

Now let vs ſet to the ſeale of this our anſwere, the teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs.

Bl. *Philpot* firſt denieth that vniuerſalitie, vnleſſe it be ioyned with veritie, is a ſufficient note of the Church, *Fox* pag. 1825. For the Church of God hath not for the moſt part the greateſt multitude, for it is the broad way that leadeth to deſtruction, and many there be that find it, *ſic Richard Woodman* Martyr.pag.1996.col.1.

Secondly, Maſter *Philpot* denieth that vniuerſalitie is a note of the Romiſh Church: for the faith which that See now maintaineth, hath not conſent of all nations, neither euer had: for the Greeke Church, and a good part of Chriſtendome beſide, neuer receiued their ſeruice in an vnknowen tongue, neither yet your Tranſſubſtantiation, your receiuing alone, your purgatorie, your Images: *ſic Roger Holland* Martyr.pag.2040.

Thirdly, ſaith M. *Bradford*, our Church is rather to be counted vniuerſall, though it were but in tenne perſons, becauſe it agreeth with the faith which the Apoſtles vniuerſally did plant: for Chriſts Church is not ſo much called Catholike, becauſe it is vniuerſally ſpred ouer all nations, for ſo was it not in the Apoſtles time, but becauſe the doctrine which they had receiued of Chriſt, was perfect,and appoynted to be preached to all the world. So ſaith *Auguſtine, Eccleſia ideo dicitur Catholica,quia vniuerſaliter perfecta eſt,& in nullo claudicat:* The Church is called Catholike, becauſe the doctrine thereof is vniuerſally perfect,and faileth not in any point, *lib.de Geneſ.cap.*1. *Sic Philpot Fox* pag. 1825.

The third Note, of ſucceſsion.

THey make great boaſt of the long and perpetuall ſucceſſion of their Popes from the Apoſtles for the ſpace of theſe 1500. yeares and more: condemning all Churches which cannot ſhew the like order of ſucceſſion, *Bellarm.cap.*8. *Rhemiſt. annot.in Epheſ.verſ.*13. And further,ſaith *Bellarmine*,there are two things requiſite in lawfull Paſtors and Biſhops,ſucceſſion,and ordination: for firſt they muſt ſucceede either immediatly ſome Apoſtle, as *Clemens* did *Peter*; or ſome conſecrated by the Apoſtles,as *Ignatius* ſucceeded *Euodius*,whom *Peter* made a Biſhop; or muſt be conſecrated by him that hath the Apoſtolike authoritie: but ſuch ſucceſſion, you can ſhew none in your Church,either from Apoſtle,or Apoſtolike men. 20. Error.

Secondly, ordination is requiſite in a lawfull Biſhop, that he bee ordained of three Biſhops, which were ordained of others,and they of others before them,til they come to the Apoſtles:thus *Iacob* was ordained Biſhop at Ieruſalem by *Peter, Iames* and *Iohn: Anacletus epiſt.*2. according to the firſt canon of the Apoſtles: neither can you ſhew ſuch ordination of your Biſhops: *Ergo,* you haue no true Paſtors,nor lawfull Biſhops,and ſo conſequently no Church,*Bellar.cap.*8.

Anſw. Firſt,as touching ordination, then concerning ſucceſſion. 1. That there ought to bee in euery Church a ſeemely ordination and conſecration of the Biſhops, Paſtors, and Miniſters, and that according to the example and rule of the Apoſtles, wee denie not; and ſuch wee doubt not,but our Church hath. But ſuch ordination,as the Ieſuite requireth, is not neceſſarie, that euery lawfull Biſhop muſt prooue his ordination by three other ſucceſſiuely from the Apoſtles time: as thus it is ſhewed. Firſt,if you will credit S.*Hierome*,he ſaith, *Olim idem erat preſbyter & epiſcopus:* In the beginning,a Biſhop and Prieſt were all one: and before that ſchiſmes entered into the Church,*communi preſbyterorum concilio eccleſiæ gubernabantur*,the Churches were gouerned in common by the whole presbyterie: Which ſentence of his is allowed in your owne canons,*Decret.par.*1.*diſt.*95.*cap.*5. If it bee thus,that this diſtinction of Biſhops and Prieſts was not brought in in the Apoſtles time, but afterward;then can no ſuch ordination be ſhewed from the Apoſtles time. Secondly,notwithſtanding the Canon which goeth vnder the name of the Apoſtles, it ſeemeth the practiſe of the Apoſtles, and of the Church was otherwiſe a long time: for *Timothie*,whom you hold to haue been a Biſhop, was ordained by the impoſition of the hands of the whole presbyterie or eldership,which was not the aſſemblie of Biſhops only, as *Bellarmine* would 1.Tim.4.14. expound it,but of other paſtors alſo,as *Hierome* doth interprete it,*epiſt.ad Euagrium:* and the Rhemiſts alſo in the ſame ſenſe tranſlate it,the prieſthood,and in their annotations ſhew the ancient practiſe of the Church agreeable to this place of S.*Paul*,when as the reſt of the Prieſthood lay on their hands together with the Biſhop. And your owne Canons to this purpoſe approoue the ſentence of S.*Hierome: Senatum Romani habebant, cuius conſilio cuncta agebant,& nos habemus ſenatum noſtrum cœtum preſbyterorum:* The Romanes had their Senate,by whoſe counſaile they did all things,and we haue our Senate the companie of Presbyters,*Decret.part.*2.*cauſ.*16.*cap.*7. And S.*Ambroſe* thus writeth plainly: *Non per omnia conueniunt ſcripta Apoſtoli ordinationi, quæ nunc eſt in eccleſia:* The writings of the Apoſtle doe not in euery point anſwere the ordination now vſed in the Church, *in* 4.*ad Epheſ.* How then is the Ieſuite able to prooue their manner of ordination from the Apoſtles time? The practiſe alſo of their owne Church is contrarie: as *Decr.par* 1.*d.*65. *cap.*2. *Martinus* thus decreeth: That at the ordination of a Biſhop,*adeſſe oportet omnes, qui ſunt in prouincia ſacerdotes,* all the other Biſhops of the prouince muſt bee preſent, whom the Metropolitane muſt ſummon by his letters: and if all come together it is well;but if this cannot be,yet moſt of thē muſt come: but they that cannot come, muſt be preſent by their letters,that ſo the Biſhop may bee ordained, *omnium facto conſenſu,* by a generall conſent of all. And then he concludeth thus: *Si aliter factum fuerit,&c.* But if it be done otherwiſe,then I haue preſcribed,ſuch ordination is of no force. Likewiſe,*diſtin.*66.1. *Anicetus: Archiepiſcopus ab omnibus ſuæ prouinciæ Epiſcopis ordinetur:* An Archbiſhop muſt bee ordained of all the Biſhops in the prouince. By theſe Canons a preſence of more then three Biſhops is required. Thirdly, whereas the Ieſuite ſaith,that *Iames* after this manner was conſecrated by three, *Peter, Iames* and *Iohn,* out of *Anacletus,* he ſpeaketh he knoweth not what,and is too much confident vpon his counterfeit *Anacletus:* for this *Iames* the Apoſtle named in the 2.to the Galathians with *Peter* and *Iohn*,is the ſame which was Biſhop of Ieruſalem: for the other *Iames* was ſlaine long before by *Herod*, Act. 12. and this the Ieſuite elſwhere confeſſeth, *lib.*1.*de Roman.pontifice cap.*18. but now he bringeth in a third *Iames* to be Biſhop of Ieruſalem. And if *Iames* muſt needes be ordained by three,how commeth it to paſſe, that S.*Peter*,againſt the Canon of the Apoſtles,himſelfe alone appointed *Clement* his ſucceſſor,ſaying thus, *Clementem hunc Epiſcopum vobis ordino?* I ordaine *Clement* your Biſhop? *Decr.par.2.cauſ.8.quaſt.1.cap.2.* If it bee anſwered, *Peter* was an Apoſtle, and more then a Biſhop, and therefore might ordaine alone; why then did he not as well alone ordaine *Iames* Biſhop of Ieruſalem? vnleſſe you will ſay that it was the chiefe Biſhopricke, and therefore required the preſence of more Apoſtles. This vnleſſe you will ſay, you can ſhew no reaſon of *Peters* ſole ordaining *Clement*.

Fourthly, whereas *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that as in the old law the Prieſthood went by carnall generation and lineall deſcent from *Aaron*; ſo in the new it muſt be deriued by ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles. We anſwere: firſt, that our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles could ſhew no lineall deſcent from *Aaron*, neither had their ordination from his ſucceſſors; and yet were the true paſtors of the Church. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that Chriſt began a new Prieſthood after the order of *Melchiſedech*, and therefore he was not tied to the lineall deſcent: but from Chriſt and his Apoſtles a ſucceſſion muſt now neceſſarily be ſhewed. *Contra.* To grant this difference for this time, though indeed Chriſt came not to diſſolue *Moſes* law, but to fulfill it; yet this wee ſay further, that both before Chriſt there were true paſtors and Prophets, which were not ordained by the Prieſts of *Aaron*; and ſince Chriſt, that receiued not their ordination ſucceſſiuely from the Apoſtles. Firſt in the old law, when the ordinarie Prieſthood was corrupted, God raiſed vp Prophets from other tribes, that receiued not from the Prieſts their ordination and allowance; ſuch an one was *Amos*, who was among the heardſmen, and as *Hierome* ſaith, *Ruborum mora diſtringens ſubitò propheta effectus:* was made a Prophet as he gathered wilde blackberries. After the ſame manner, in the corrupt times of the Goſpell, the Lord hath raiſed vp faithfull Miniſters to his Church, that could ſhew no ſucceſſion from the degenerated Clergie. Againe, ſince our Sauiour Chriſt S. *Paul* was appoynted an Apoſtle, who had not his ordination from the other Apoſtles, but was immediately called by Chriſt: yet the Ieſuite telleth vs that he was ordained of the other Apoſtles, and quoteth Act.9. Act.13. *Contra.*1. Act.9.17. *Ananias* layeth his hands vpon *Saul* to receiue his ſight, and to baptize him, but not to make him an Apoſtle: for *Ananias* himſelfe was but a Diſciple, no Apoſtle; how then could he ordaine an Apoſtle? Secondly, Act.13.3. The Prophets at Antioch named in the firſt verſe, layde hands vpon *Saul* and *Barnabas*, not thereby giuing them ordination of Apoſtles, but ſeparating and ſanctifying them for that eſpeciall worke: for if this impoſition were an ordination, and that other alſo by *Ananias*; by this reaſon, he ſhould be twice ordayned: and againe here were none but Prophets at Antioch, no Apoſtles; how then could they ordaine Apoſtles? Thirdly, if S. *Paul* were ordained by the Apoſtles, then he himſelfe was no Apoſtle, for the Apoſtles had no authoritie to make new Apoſtles, but all Apoſtles were immediately deſigned from God. Fourthly, the Apoſtle himſelfe ſaith, he was no Apoſtle of men or by men, but by Ieſus Chriſt, Galath.1.1. And againe, he did not communicate with fleſh and blood, neither went vp to the other Apoſtles, but after three yeares, verſ.16.17. immediately after his calling from heauen preaching Chriſt. Here is no ordination from the Apoſtles, he was acknowledged by them, and receiued into the number of the Apoſtles, but not ordayned.

Ad Heliodor.

If it be anſwered, that this example of S. *Paul* was extraordinarie, but now in the Church an ordination ſucceſſiuely from the Apoſtles muſt be ſhewed:

We replie againe, that we alleage not this example, as though we did expect the like extraordinarie calling now, or refuſe ordination deriued from the Apoſtles, but to this end, that if S. *Paul* were made an Apoſtle, without the ordination of the lawfull Apoſtles; much more may the Lord raiſe vp new Paſtors to his Church without ordination from the vſurpers of the Apoſtles. Secondly, we alſo hold that an ordination from the Apoſtles is alwaies neceſſarie in the Church, but not ſuch as they meane by locall ſucceſſion, and outward tradition: but a lawfull conſecrating and ordaining of Paſtors and Miniſters by the authoritie of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, according to the word of God committed to the faithfull diſpenſers in euery true Church and congregation of Chriſt; which ordination our Church hath. As for their ſuperſtitious ordination, we refuſe it as ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie: there may be lawfull Biſhops and Paſtors without it, as there were Prophets in the Law not of *Aaron:* yea and much more, for the Prieſthoode of *Aaron* was of Gods inſtitution, ſo is not your Popiſh conſecration: And Saint *Hierome* here ſaith with vs; *Non facit Eccleſiaſtica dignitas Chriſtianum:* The Eccleſiaſticall dignitie maketh not a Chriſtian, as he ſheweth by the example of *Amos:* and thus much concerning ordination. Now in the next place of *Bellarmines* obiection for ſucceſſion.

We anſwere: firſt, they cannot ſhew ſuch an entire and perpetuall ſucceſſion, without any interruption, or diſcontinuance for ſo many yeares: for ſome time there were two, ſometime three Popes together: and this ſchiſme continued 29. yeares, till the Councell of Conſtance, where three Popes were depoſed at once, *Benedict.*13. the Spaniſh Pope, *Gregorie* 12. the French Pope, and *Iohn* 23. the Italian Pope. Beſide there are many other doubts in their ſucceſſion: Firſt, whether *Peter* were Biſhop of Rome or not, whereof more ſhall be ſaid afterward in the controuerſie of the Biſhop of Rome: and your owne Canons affirme, that *ambo Eccleſiam Romanam conſecrarunt:*

Decr.par.1.
d.22.cap.2.
Anacletus.

both *Peter* and *Paul* did conſecrate the Romane Church: you muſt ſhew then a ſucceſſion from both. Secondly, it is vncertaine who ſucceeded *Peter*; your decrees hold, that he ordained *Clement*, as we haue ſeene before: others affirme that *Linus* was, *primus poſt Petrum Epiſcopus*, the firſt Biſhop after *Peter*, as *Dorotheus, Euſeb.lib.*3.*c.*4. *Hieron. in catalog.&c.* How then can you deriue your ſucceſſion from *Peter*? Thirdly, your ſucceſſion hath been interrupted and broken off, as when Pope *Ioan* ſtept into the Papall chayre, and a woman managed the affaires of your Church, ſay alſo, that ſhe was S. *Peters* ſucceſſor; ſo then they themſelues cannot ſhew that ſucceſſion, which they boaſt of.

2 If ſucceſſion be ſo ſure a note of the Church, it is found alſo in other Churches beſides, as in Conſtantinople where hath been a perpetual ſucceſſion (as *Nicephorus* ſaith) from S. *Andrew*, and where *Ieremiah* is at this day Patriarch, at *Alexandria* from S. *Marke*, where *Melitius* alſo hath at this time his patriarchal ſeate: in other Churches alſo of Grecia, they haue yet their Metropolitanes, as at Theſſalonica, where *Gabriel* now ſitteth, at Epheſus alſo and Corinth: as it may appeare by theſe reuerend patriarches and Metropolitanes authentike letters directed vnto our Churches here in the Weſt in the yeare 1593. in the behalfe of *Iacomo Miloita*, a Grecian of Pathmos, who collecteth for his raunſome. Other Churches therefore we ſee may alleadge ſucceſſion, as well as the Church of Rome.

The Ieſuite here is driuen to his ſhiftes, and hath nothing to ſay, but this: that the argument followeth negatiuely, that where there is no ſucceſſion, there is no Church: not affirmatiuely, that where any ſucceſſion can be ſhewed, there ſtraightwayes it ſhould follow there is a true Church: So by the Ieſuites owne confeſſion he hath made but a bad argument for the Church of Rome: we haue a perpetuall ſucceſſion of Popes from the Apoſtles time: *Ergo*, we are the Church. It followeth not, ſaith the Ieſuite: we grant it. Why then a little before did he call it *inſolubile argumentum*, an inſoluble and vnanſwerable argument?

3 Thirdly, we ſay, that a ſucceſſion of perſons in the ſame place, without ſucceſſion of doctrine, which they cannot ſhew, is nothing worth. A ſucceſſion of the Apoſtolike faith and doctrine proueth a continuance of Paſtors and teachers, and not contrariwiſe. We haue the Apoſtolike faith, and therefore we doubt not but that there haue been continually in the Church faithfull teachers, by whom that doctrine hath been preſerued and kept: though they were not famous, nor carried a glorious ſhew in the world. For that outward ſucceſſion is not neceſſarie, neither ſo much to be ſtoode vpon. *Auguſtine* when he had alleaged ſucceſſion againſt heretikes, concluded thus: *Quanquam non tantum nos de iſtis documentis præſumamus, quàm de Scripturis ſanctis:* although Epiſt.165. (ſaith he) we preſume not ſo much vpon theſe documents as of holy Scripture.

Wherefore briefely to ioyne iſſue with them: firſt we ſay that they themſelues can ſhew no ſuch ſucceſſion in place from S. *Peter*, as they pretend, as we haue ſhewed before. Secondly, though they did ſucceede in place, yet not ſucceeding in faith and holines, it is nothing: as *Symmachus* your owne Biſhop ſaith, that *Petrus hæreditatem innocentiæ tranſmiſit ad poſteros*, that S. *Peter* did leaue to his ſucceſſors the inheritance of his innocencie: *decr.p.* 1. *diſt.* 40. *c.*1. Therefore hauing left his innocencie, they haue left the ſucceſſion. Thirdly, whereas diuers of the Fathers commend the ſucceſſion of that See from the Apoſtles, it was for that they kept alſo the Apoſtolike faith: as *decr.p.*2.*cauſ.*24.*qu.*1.*c.*14. *Hierome* thus writeth to *Damaſus*, *Petri & fidem & ſedem tenes:* You holde both the ſeate and faith of *Peter*. Fourthly, a ſucceſſion in doctrine is ſufficient to proue a Church, though in reſpect of the time and place, the ſucceſſion bee interrupted: ſo the Apoſtle ſaith: *Cui ſeruio à progenitoribus:* Whom I doe ſerue from my progenitors, 2. Timoth. 1. 3. meaning *Abraham*, *Iſaack* and *Iacob*, the firſt Fathers of the faith, for we doubt his immediate progenitors did ſauour of the leauen of the Phariſees: As the Apoſtle proueth his faith by a deſcent though interrupted from his progenitors, ſo we ſhew our Church, by ſucceeding the Apoſtles in doctrine.

And here your owne decrees doe helpe vs well, *decr.p.*1. *diſt.*40.*c.*12. *Non cathedra facit ſacerdotem, ſed ſacerdos cathedram; non locus ſanctificat hominem ſed homo locum; non omnis ſacerdos ſanctus, ſed omnis ſanctus ſacerdos:* The chayre maketh not a Biſhop, but a Biſhop the chayre; the place doth not ſanctifie the man, but the man the place; euery Prieſt is not holy, but hee that is holy is a Prieſt. Wherefore where there is no epiſcopall chayre by ſucceſſion, holines of life and ſyncerity of doctrine may erect an Apoſtolike chayre.

Here wanteth nothing but the ſeale, I meane the blood of Martyrs giuen in teſtimonie of this and other points of our faith.

Bl. *Philpot* thus anſwereth to the argument of ſucceſſion: that it is no infallible note of the Church; for there may be a ſucceſſion of Biſhops where is no Church, as at Antioche, Ieruſalem: But if you put to ſucceſſion of Biſhops ſucceſſion of doctrine withall, as it was in *Auguſtines* time when he vſed this argument againſt the Donatiſts, it is a good proofe. *Obiect.* Why? will you not haue the Church to be certaine? by whom then will you be iudged? *Anſwer.* I denie not, but that the Church is certaine, but not neceſſarilie tyed to one place longer then it abideth in the word,by which all controuerſies ought to be iudged,*Sic Philpot* pag.1825.

Bl. *Bradford* being preſſed with this argument, that he could not goe vpward and ſhew a ſucceſſion of Biſhops,as they could,he might make a leap downward,but vpward he could not goe: maketh this anſwere. 1. The miniſterie of Gods word, and miniſters be an eſſentiall point: but to tranſlate this,ſaith he,to the outward glorious ſucceſſion of Biſhops,is a plaine ſubtletie.

2. S.*Stephen*, Acts.7. being accuſed to teach newe and falſe doctrine, goeth not vpwards to proue his faith, but beginneth at *Abraham*, and ſo goeth downwards till *Iſaias* time, and the captiuitie: from whence he maketh a great leap vntill the time he was in, which was about 400. yeares: On this ſort can we proue our faith,and ſo can you neuer do yours.*ſic Bradford* pag.1614. col.1.

The fourth Note, of Vnitie.

21.Error.

OVr aduerſaries doe ſtand much vpon Vnitie; which they thinke is the glorie of their Church: they doe embrace vnitie amongſt themſelues,and all ioyne in obedience to their head.Their vnitie alſo is ſeene,ſay they, in the wonderfull conſent of all their writers in matters of Religion: and the notable agreement and concord in the decrees of their Popes and Councels.But as for vs, and our Church,they ſay,it is full of rents,ſchiſmes and diuiſions.*Bellarm.cap.9.*

Firſt of the vnitie of their Church,and then of the vnitie of ours. Their vnitie, they ſay,is partly ſeene in their obedience, and louiug ſocietie and fellowſhip, partly in their Religion and doctrine.

Firſt, for their concord and loue one toward another: we will take ſome paines, a little to decipher it.About the yeare of the Lord 900.there was pretie ſport amongſt the Popes,nine of them one after another. *Stephen* the ſixt abrogated all his predeceſſor *Formoſus* decrees: and not content with that, he tooke vp his bodie which was buried, and cut two fingers of his right hand off, and commanded his bodie to be buried againe. After him ſucceeded Pope *Rhomanus*, *Theodorus* the ſecond,*Iohn* the tenth,who ratified and confirmed the doings of *Formoſus*.After them followed Pope *Sergius*, who diſanulling all their actes, tooke vp againe the bodie of *Formoſus*, cut off his head, and commaunded his bodie to be throwne into Tiber the great riuer in Rome. Was not heere great amitie and loue,thinke you,amongſt the Popes? *ex Polychron.*

Another notable example of their vnitie we haue in Pope *Vrbanus* time the 6. againſt whom ſtood vppe a contrarie Pope in Fraunce named *Clement*: it is worth the noting, what coyle theſe two Popes kepte: betweene whom many battles were fought, many thouſands ſlaine. Pope *Vrbanus* beheaded fiue Cardinals together after long torments. Biſhop *Aquilonenſis*, becauſe he did ride no faſter, was had in ſuſpition, and ſlaine and cut in peeces by *Vrbans* ſouldiers, at his commandement. Behold heere I pray you the vnitie of theſe Catholikes.

Theoderic. Niem.de ſchiſmat.

Ex paralip. Abbat.Vrſp.

We will adioyne one other example, no longer ſince then in King *Henrie* the eights time. The Duke of Bourbon being the leader of the Emperors armie, laide ſiege to Rome,and ſacked it: the Souldiers brake in vpon the Pope,which was *Clement* the ſeuenth being at Maſſe,ſlew diuers of the Prieſts, and one Cardinall called *Sanctorum quatuor*: they laide ſiege to the Caſtle of S.Angell, ſo long till the Pope yeelded himſelfe. The ſouldiors daylie that lay at the ſiege, made ieſtes of the Pope: ſomtimes they had one riding like the Pope with a whore behind him,ſomtimes he bleſſed, ſomtimes he curſed;ſomtimes with one voice they would call him Antichriſt.See here is their Catholike obedience to their chiefe Biſhop. Thus much concerning their vnitie and concord in life.

Let vs likewiſe take a view of their vnitie in doctrine. We heard before how Pope *Stephen* and *Sergius* aboliſhed the decrees of *Formoſus*: how then ſaith the Ieſuite,that the decrees of Popes doe conſent togither?The Councell of Baſill,and Conſtance before that decreed,that the Pope ſhould be ſubiect to generall Councels: but this Canon was afterwarde reuerſed,and now generally the Papiſts hold the contrarie,that the Pope is aboue Councels.

Let vs ſee the conſent of their writers: *Bellarmin.lib.*1.*de verbo.cap.*12. maintaineth againſt *Lyranus*,*Driedo*,*Genebrard*,and others, that *Iudith* was in *Manaſſes* time. Againſt *Alphonſus de Caſtro*, that heretikes are no members of the Church, *Lib.*3.*de Eccleſ.cap.*4. Againſt *Iohannes de turre cremata*, that faith is not neceſſarie to make one a member of the Church, *Lib.*3.*de Eccleſ.cap.*10. And euery where the Ieſuite taketh great libertie to confute and controll other his fellow Papiſtes: belike hauing found out ſome ſtarting holes, that they either knew not,or were aſhamed to creepe into, as the Ieſuite dooth: ſee more of their diſſentions in opinion, *Tetraſtyl. Papiſt. pillar*.4.

But (ſaith he) we denie not but that we haue deſſentions, but they are not in materiall points, but in ſuch things as appertaine not to faith. I maruaile, he bluſheth not thus to ſay, himſelfe knowing the contrarie.Is it not a ſubſtantiall point and belonging to faith,to know which bookes are canonicall Scripture, which are not? but in this queſtion they doe much diſagree. *Caietanus* the Cardinall ſaith,that we muſt acknowledge no Scripture,but that which was either written or approoued by the Apoſtles. But ***Catharinus*** a Papiſt doth reiect that opinion. ***Hugo Cardinalis, Arias Montanus***, doe hold no bookes of the old Teſtament to be Canonicall, which are written onely in Greeke: the Papiſts now generally hold the contrarie. ***Ex Whitacher.*** 1. ***contr. c. quæſt. cap.*** 6. ***Bellarmine*** ſaith, that all thoſe opinions, which the Church holdeth, as articles or precepts of faith, were deliuered by the Apoſtles: and that the Church muſt not now ſeeke for new reuelations, but content her ſelfe with the Apoſtolike traditions and doctrine, ***de Scriptur. lib.*** 4. ***c.*** 9. Out of the which words it doth neceſſarily follow, that the Church is not now to found any new article of faith: but this generally is denied by the Papiſts: and ***Stapleton*** an Engliſh Papiſt, is not aſhamed to ſay, that the Church may adde more bookes to the Canonicall Scripture, by her abſolute authoritie.

Further, to beleeue that the Virgin ***Mary*** was without ſinne, yea conceiued without originall ſinne, is now amongſt the Papiſts receiued for an article of faith: and therefore in Paris none are admitted to be Doctors of Diuinitie, which doe not firſt confirme this article by their oth. Yet this was a great queſtion between the Scotiſts & Thomiſts, and a great & hot contention aroſe about this controuerſie, ***anno*** 1476. betweene the Dominicke Friers, who affirmed that ſhe was conceiued in ſinne, and the Franciſcanes, that held the contrarie. But theſe Franciſcanes had the vpper hand, and foure of the other order were condemned and burned for it at Berne: And yet for all this our aduerſaries will ſay ſtill, that they varie not in matters of faith. Thus we haue ſeene what is to be thought of Popiſh vnitie.

Fox Caſpar. Peucer. Chro. lib. 5.

Now to anſwer briefly to their falſe accuſation, whereby they charge vs with manifold ſchiſmes and diſſentions: yea ***Bellarmine*** is not aſhamed to ſay, that an hundred ſeuerall ſects are ſprung vp amongſt vs, ***cap.*** 10. ***lib.*** 4. ***de Eccleſ.***

1 We ſay with S. ***Paul, Oportet hæreſes eſſe***, 1. Cor. 11. there muſt be hereſies and diuiſions in the Church. And it is a ſigne we haue the trueth, when the diuell goeth about by ſchiſmes and contentions to hinder the preaching thereof. Wee anſwere to you, as ***Auguſtine*** did to the Pagans: ***Non proferant nobis quaſi concordiam ſuam: hoſtem quippe, quem patimur, illi non patiuntur:*** Let them not boaſt of their concord, and caſt in our teeth the diſſention of Chriſtians: the enemie aſſaulteth not them as he doth vs: ***Quid ibi lucri eſt, quia litigant, vel damni ſi non litigant:*** The diuell ſhall get nothing if they ſhould diſagree, nor loſe any thing by their agreement: for he hath ſure hold enough of them alreadie, conſenting all in Idolatrie. But amongſt Chriſtians he laboureth to hinder the trueth by diſcord, becauſe he cannot otherwiſe withdraw them from the true religion. Hearken now (ô ye Papiſts) if you conſent together, it is in euill: ſo long it pleaſeth the diuell well enough: he ſhould deſtroy his owne kingdome in ſowing diſſention amongſt you, for you fight for him. He vſeth to caſt fire brands amongſt good Chriſtians, to withſtand by this meanes the proceeding of the Goſpell.

2 It is a great ſlaunder, that there are ſo many diuiſions amongſt vs: an hundred ſaith the Ieſuite, but he ſhall neuer proue ten. He might haue bethought himſelfe of a full hundred of ſects amongſt his owne darlings the Monks and Friers, as maſter ***Fox*** hath truly gathered the number, pag. 260. See more ***Tetraſt. papiſt.*** 4. ***pil.*** where you ſhall finde three hundred diuers opinions and diuiſions among Papiſts. And whereas ***Bellarmine*** taketh vpon him, to prooue the Proteſtants guiltie of twentie ſeuerall hereſies, ***cap.*** 9. I haue reſerued the confutation thereof to another place in the treatiſe of the Pillars of Papiſtrie annexed to this booke: where in the ſecond pillar, par. 3. I haue anſwered the Ieſuites obiections of hereſie, and repaied them with fortie hereſies more, more properly incident to their Church, then his twentie are into ours.

3 Thoſe few ſchiſmes and diſſentions, which we haue (and yet too many, we muſt needs confeſſe) are not about points of faith, and articles of Religion: but concerning ſome things belonging to diſcipline and Church gouernment; which matters we deny not, but haue been ſomewhat too hotly and egarly followed of ſome amongſt vs: but God bee thanked, this contention hath not been purſued by fire or death, as the Franciſcanes did perſecute the poore Dominickes: nor yet to the pronouncing of each other heretikes, as ***Eugenius*** your Pope was condemned as an heretike in the Councell of Baſil.

Now, that it may appeare what vnitie is in the popiſh Church, I will giue an inſtance in their head, I meane the Popes, and that out of their owne Canons.

Whereas then diuers of them haue decreed, not to tranſgreſſe the decrees of their predeceſſors, as ***Decr. p.*** 2. ***cauſ.*** 25. ***quæſt.*** 1. ***cap.*** 7. ***Zozimus: Contra ſtatuta patrum condere, vel mutare aliquid, nec huius quidem ſedis poteſt authoritas:*** No not this See hath authoritie to chaunge the decrees of the fathers. And, ***qu.*** 2. ***cap.*** 4. ***Gregor. Si ea deſtruerem, quæ antecesſores, &c. non conſtructor, ſed euerſor eſſe comprobarer:*** If I ſhould reuerſe, what our predeceſſors haue decreed, I ſhould not be a builder vp, but a puller downe. And not onely the Canons of Religion, but other Ciuill conſtitutions of their predeceſſors ought to be kept: ***quæſt.*** 25. ***cap.*** 16. ***Leo*** 4. ***Quod patres ſiue in ſanctis canonib. ſiue in humanis affixere legibus, &c.*** We muſt not tranſgreſſe, whatſoeuer our fathers haue fixed either in the ſacred Canons,or other humane lawes. Yet notwithſtanding theſe conſtitutions,the Popes themſelues haue one diſſolued anothers decrees, both in ciuill and religious matters.

Concerning ciuill and outward matters: *Clemens* 5.reuerſeth *Bonifacius* 8.his Conſtitution,as touching taxes and impoſitions laid vpon the Church, *Clem.lib.3.tit.17.cap.1. Ioannes* 22.*Extrau. tit.9.cap.1.* reuerſeth the conſtitution of *Clemens* 5.which he made againſt Iuſtings and Tournaments.The ſame *Clemens* abrogateth the conſtitutions of *Benedict*.11.againſt the preaching Friers, *Clem.lib.3.tit.7.cap.1. Benedict*.11.likewiſe correcteth the decrees of *Boniface* the 8.as touching the immunities of the preaching Friers,*Extrau.com.lib.5.tit.7.cap.1. Bonifac*.8.reuoketh whatſoeuer *Celeſtinus* had decreed,*Extrau.Ioann.tit*.7. And thus one of them is ſtill euen with another. *Bened*.11.reſtoreth the Cardinals, whom *Bonif*.8.had depoſed and condemned. *Extrau.comm.lib.5. tit.4.cap.1. Ioann*.22.checketh the decrees of *Gregor*.10.and *Bonifac*.8.as touching the reſeruation of benefices.

The like agreement is found amongſt them in matters of religion. *Iohann*.22.determineth againſt *Nichol*.4.that Chriſt was no begger, but had a propertie in thoſe things he had, *Extr.Ioan. tit.14.cap.4.* The ſame *Ioan*.22.diſſolueth the ſect of the Fratricelles confirmed by *Celeſtinus*, *Extr. Ioann.tit.7.* The ſame Pope ratifieth the ſect of the Beguines diſſolued by *Clem.5.Extrau.commun. lib.3.tit.9.cap.1.*

If ſuch be the vnitie of their heads,as we haue ſeene,one of them ſtill oppoſing himſelfe againſt another,*Iohn* againſt *Clement*,*Clement* againſt *Benedict*,*Benedict* againſt *Boniface*,*Boniface* againſt *Celeſtine*, and they all againſt their predeceſſors,*Zoſimus*,*Gregorie*,*Leo*,*&c.* what ſhall we thinke of the reſt of the body,if the head be thus diuided? And this is the vnitie of the Popiſh Church,which they doe ſo much bragge of.

Laſtly,let vs adde the ſeale of our doctrine: Maſter *Bradford* ſaith,that vnitie is no ſure note of the Church: for the Idolatrous Iſraelites might haue pretended this argument for themſelues, *Brad*.pag.1622.

Maſter *Latimer* martyr ſaith, that a deforme diſagreement is better in the Church,ſo Chriſt bee preached, then vniforme ignorance agreeing in Idolatrie, alleaging *Hieromes* example, whoſe tranſlation of the Bible cauſed diſſention in a Chriſtian congregation: yet *Hierome* ſaith,*Sed ego in tali opere nec eorum inuidentiam pertimeſco,nec ſcripturæ veritatem poſcentibus denegabo:* But neither I (ſaith he) will feare their enuie in ſo profitable a worke, nor yet withhold the truth of the Scripture from thoſe which deſire it, *Hieron.prolog ſup.Canonic.epiſtol. Sic Latimer.epiſt. ad D.Ed.Baynton.pag.*1750.

Roger Holland alſo thus teſtifieth: As for the vnitie which is in the popiſh Church, what is it elſe,but treaſon,murder,poyſoning one another,idolatrie,ſuperſtition? What vnitie was there in your Church, when there was three Popes at once? where was your head of vnitie, when you had a woman Pope? *Fox* pag.2040.

The fifth Note: of the power of working Miracles.

22. Error. THis they affirme both to bee neceſſarie in the Church,to haue power to worke miracles, for the confirmation of the faith,when there is any extraordinarie chaunge or innouation of religion,and that it is a ſufficient note to deſcribe the Church: for it cannot bee (ſay they) but that, whereſoeuer this power is found,there ſhould be the true Church.

And hereupon they take occaſion to extoll the miracles of their Church: beginning at the Apoſtles time, and ſo in euery age they take vpon them to ſhew, that their Church neuer wanted thoſe that were endued with this power,*Bellarm.cap.*14.

We anſwere: Firſt, the gift of miracles doth no more prooue that to be the true Church where they are wrought,then they to bee holy men and elected of God, that doe them. The Magicians wrought many ſtraunge things in Egypt, contending a great while with *Moſes*: Antichriſt ſhall come working with ſignes and wonders,2.Theſſal.2. Therefore this proueth not a Church. The like ſtraunge wonders and miracles are to bee ſeene among the Turks, amongſt whom their religious profeſſors doe many ſtraunge things both aliue and dead: as witneſſeth *Captibus Septemcaſtrenſ.de Turcar.morib.c.*14. The like things to bee done in Dania ſome 300.yeere ſince, reporteth *Saxo Grammaticus*: and not long ſince in Gothia,*Olaus Magnus*. Wherefore miracles make no probation of a Church.

Firſt *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that theſe were falſe miracles,and but forged,and onely to the eye, and in outward appearance,as Antichriſt is ſaid to come with lying wonders: or elſe ſuch things as though they ſeemed ſtrange to men,yet were not ſo in their owne nature,as the fetching down of fire from heauen,&c.which things Sathan can eaſily performe. We replie, firſt they are called lying wonders,not that they are done in ſhew onely,and haue no ſuch thing indeed, but becauſe they are wrought to confirme lies,and diſcredit the truth. Secondly, your miracles are very like to be ſuch, both wrought by the power of the diuell, and ſome of them but iugling feates of couſoners. Thirdly, yet a wicked man may haue power to worke miracles, not in ſhew, but verely and indeede, as to caſt out diuels, and to doe it in the name and power of Chriſt; and yet bee none of Chriſts diſciples, Matth.7.22. And it is confeſſed in your owne Decrees, *par.2.cauſ.1.quæſt.1.* that *Magi Pharaonis faciebant ſimilia Moyſi,* that *Pharao* his Magicians did like things to *Moſes.* And a writer of your owne ſaith: *Miracula Deo & diabolo, Chriſto & Antichriſto communia:* That miracles are common to God and the diuell, to Chriſt and Antichriſt, *Eſpenſ.in 2.Timoth.p.93.c.* The miracles then of Chriſt and Antichriſt, of the true and falſe Prophet differ not herein, that the one are in truth, the other in ſhew: but firſt in reſpect of the power; ſecondly, of the end: for the Saints of God worke by his power; the other by the power of Sathan, whom God doth oftentimes reſtraine, as the Magicians were not able to doe the like, when *Moſes* turned the duſt into lice, Exod.8.19. And therefore *Nicodemus* ſaith to Chriſt, Ioh.3.1. *No man can do theſe works,* that is, ſuch great workes, *as thou doeſt, vnleſſe God were with him.* Secondly, Chriſt and his Apoſtles by their miracles ſought the glorie of God, and the good of men, in conuerting of their ſoules and healing of their bodies: ſo Sathan worketh not, but onely to deceiue men, and confirme lyes, as *Origen* ſheweth, *lib.1.cont.Celſum.* And ſuch are moſt of popiſh miracles, deuiſed for the maintenance of Idolatrie and ſuperſtitious worſhip.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* bringeth in this diſtinction, that miracles doe demonſtrate the Church, not *quoad euidentiam & certitudinem rei,* in reſpect of the euidence or certaintie of the things, *ſed quoad euidentiam credibilitatis,* but doe ſhew onely the certaintie of credibilitie: His meaning is, that by miracles we may geſſe by all likelihood, which is the Church, but not certainly know it, *Bellarm.lib.4.de Eccleſ.cap.14.*

Anſ. 1. We haue then the Ieſuites owne confeſſion, that the power of miracles is no certaine, but a coniecturall note of the Church: what marke or note then call you that, whereby a thing cannot certainly be diſcerned? 2. We ſay, that many times we cannot ſo much as coniecture of the Church by miracles, which may bee done without the Church, as the miracles which Antichriſt ſhall worke.

Heare alſo your owne authoritie, *Decr.par.2.cauſ.1 qu.1.c.56. Præter vnitatem, & qui facit miracula nihil eſt: in vnitate erat populus Iſrael & non faciebat miracula; præter vnitatem erant Magi Pharaonis, & faciebant ſimilia Moyſi:* He that worketh miracles without the vnitie of the Church, doth nothing: the Iſraelites were in the vnitie of the Church, and did no miracles; the Magicians of *Pharao* were out of the Church, and yet did like things to *Moſes: Ergo,* true miracles ſuch as *Moſes* wrought, may bee done without the Church, and ſo conſequently they prooue not the Church.

Secondly, concerning your miracles we anſwer, that they are either fables, and old wiues tales, and no credit to bee giuen vnto them; or elſe they are one of thoſe two ſorts, whereof *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh: *Remoueantur iſta vel mendacia fallacium hominum, vel portenta mendacium ſpirituum:* Away with thoſe miracles, which are either couſoning tricks of deceitfull men, or wonders of lying ſpirits.

De vnitat. Eccleſ.cap.26.

Firſt, Monkiſh fables are not a whit daintie with our Romiſh Catholikes, their Legends are full of them: As that of *Berinus,* how being in the middeſt of the ſea ſailing into France, hauing forgotten ſomewhat at home, went backe walking vpon the ſea, and came to them againe, hauing not one thread of his garment wet. Many like tales are reported of *Aldelmus* Abbot of Malmeſburie, as how he cauſed an infant at Rome of nine daies old to ſpeake, to cleere *Sergius* the Pope, who was thought to bee his father: how he drew along a great piece of timber, that went to the making of the Church at Malmesburie. Such good ſtuffe alſo they haue of *Iohn* of Beuerlie, of *Egwine* Abbot of Eueſham, who when he had locked his feete in fetters, and caſt the key into the ſea, afterward a fiſh brought the key againe into the ſhip where he was ſayling. Reade Maſter *Fox* pag.125. All theſe and a thouſand more are but Monkiſh fables and dreames, whatſoeuer the Ieſuite maketh of them. And what elſe is that fabulous diſcourſe of theirs of the liues of the Saints, which they call, *Legenda aurea,* the golden Legend, but a dunghill of lyes? containing ſuch monſtrous fictions, and Monkiſh tales, as the better ſort amongſt them are aſhamed of. Hereof long agoe complained *Petrus Abbot Cluniacenſ.lib.5. epiſt.29.* about ſome foure hundred yeere ſince, *Noſti quantum me pigeant falſa in eccleſia dei Cantica, &c.* You know how much theſe lying ſongs in the Church doe grieue me, &c. and he maketh mention of one ſonnet or hymne of *Benedict,* containing no leſſe then 24. lyes. *Lindanus* a popiſh writer maketh mention in his 3. booke, *cap.3. de interpretandis Scripturis,* of an ancient complaint of one *Agobertus* Biſhop of Lions, who ſaid he had corrected the Antiphonarie, *amputatis, quæ ſuperflua, leuia, falſa, blaſphema, phantaſtica multa videbantur,* cutting off many things that ſeemed ſuperfluous, light, falſe, blaſphemous, phantaſticall: which Biſhop (ſaith *Lindane*) if he were now aliue to ſee our Miſſals and Antiphonaries, *Deum immortalem, quo ea pingeret nomine?* Good Lord (ſaith he) how would he call them? And yet our Papiſts now a daies would make vs beleeue,that all in their Legend is as true as the Goſpell.

In fine libri ſecund.de corrupt.artib.

I will adde hereunto the teſtimonie of ***Lodouicus Vines***, of their Legend : ***Quàm indigna diuis & hominibus ſanctorum hiſtoria,quam neſcio cur auream Legendam appellent,cum ſcripta ſit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis***: How vnworthie both God and men is the ſtorie of the Saints, which I ſee no reaſon why it ſhould be called the golden Legend,being written by one that had an iron, that is, impudent face,and a leaden and lumpiſh heart. Let any reaſonable man now iudge, what wee may thinke of the miracles of their Saints.

Secondly,beſide that moſt of their miracles are forged : they all tend to an vngodly end, to eſtabliſh their groſſe ſuperſtitions ; as to prooue the reall preſence, to terrifie men with Purgatorie fire,to bring in adoration of Saints,and the worſhipping of Images,with ſuch like, as one example I will alleage in ſtead of many. The ſecond Nicen Councell which decreed moſt irreligiouſly,that Images ſhould be worſhipped,bringeth in many moſt vnſauourie tales and fables,to ratifie this their impious deuice : as in the fourth action of that Synode,a narration is brought in, how a certaine Monke was tempted with a ſpirit of vncleannes,who appearing vnto him ſaid; If thou wilt be rid of me,doe not worſhip this Image,which was the picture of the Virgin. Is it not like now,may any man thinke, that the diuell will diſſwade men from Idolatrie ? or if there bee any matter of truth in this tale,it may bee applied againſt them,that therefore the diuell was ſent to vexe this Monke, becauſe he was an Idoll worſhipper, and ſo ſoone as he began to forſake his Idolatrie, the vncleane ſpirit alſo did forſake him.

The like fiction in the ſame place is brought in of a certaine image of Chriſt, which being in a certaine Chriſtians houſe, was forgotten of him when he left the houſe,and a Iew ſucceeding in the habitation, hauing inuited other Iewes to dinner, one of them eſpied the Image in dinner while, which the other Iew affirmed he had not ſeene before : then they ranne vpon the Image all at once,and pierced it in the ſide, out of the which iſſued ſuch a ſtreame of blood, that they filled an hydria,that is,a great water-pot with it: and then they tooke counſell,to ſee whether there were any ſuch vertue in the blood,to ſprinkle ſicke folkes therewith, and many recouered thereby. The Metropolitane of the place hearing tell hereof, tooke the blood, and ſent of it in glaſſe veſſels into Aſia,Europe,Africa, requiring them by letters to keepe the fift day before the Ides of Nouember with as great ſolemnitie yeerely, as they kept the Natiuitie, in remembrance of this miracle.

How many notable lyes are here couched together ? Firſt, that the Chriſtian ſhould be ſo careleſſe to leaue ſuch a monument behind him, which he daily worſhipped. Secondly, that the Iew hauing it alwaies in his eye ſhould neuer ſee it, till it was ſpied by his gueſts. Thirdly, that blood ſhould come out of a piece of wood. Fourthly, that ſuch abundance to fill a water-pot of two or three firkins, ſuch as the Iewes vſed for their purification, as wee reade Ioh.2.ſuch ſtore of blood, as is not thought to haue iſſued out of Chriſts ſide vpon the croſſe. Fiftly, that the Iewes nothing aſtoniſhed at the ſtraungenes thereof, ſhould ſeeke to worke miracles by it. Sixtly, that of this blood ſhould be ſent to all parts of the world : whereas Chriſt gaue no charge to his Apoſtles to gather his blood and ſaue it, that fell from him vpon the croſſe ; but onely to drinke his blood ſpiritually in the Sacrament. Seuenthly, that an holy day ſhould bee erected vpon this occaſion, which the Church of Rome it ſelfe,the mother of ſuperſtition,obſerueth not,nor yet(I think)any Church beſide.

Is not here goodly ſtuffe,to proue the adoration of Images by? But leaſt any man ſhould think, that of my ſelfe I charge this Councell with forgerie, I will produce the teſtimonie of a late Pope ***Adrian*** the 6.who thus writeth in the beginning of the ſixt ***Quodlibet : Græci certè in ſua illa Iconomachia ſcriptis admodum incertis & fabuloſis rem egerunt,dæmonum ſpectris,& muliebribus ſomnijs parum verecundè abutentes***: The Grecians fighting for Images, doe prooue their matter by fabulous and vncertaine writings;abuſing the illuſions of diuels,and womens dreames without all ſhamefaſtnes,***vt legere eſt in ſynodo Nycena.2.act***.4.5. as is to bee ſeene (ſaith he) in the ſecond Nycene ſynode, the 4.and 5.action. Thus wee ſee, that both our aduerſaries doe abound with many forged and lying miracles, and the ſame brought in to eſtabliſh ſuperſtitious and damnable doctrines.

The like fabulous tales they haue of S.***Bernard***,who in one day,as ***Bellarmine*** is not aſhamed to report out of ***Gotfridus***,did giue ſight to an eleuen blind,did heale tenne maimed perſons,and 18. more that were lame, and all in one day : and (ſaith the Ieſuite) he wrought ſo many miracles beſide, as it is hard to number them, ***Bellarm.cap***.14. Thus if wee will beleeue the Ieſuite, ***Bernard*** wrought more miracles,then either Chriſt or his Apoſtles : but whether is it more reaſonable to credit ***Bellarmine*** for this matter,or ***Bernard*** himſelfe ? for he ſaith plainly,that he could worke no miracles,as ***Serm.de Benedict. Licèt non habeamus noſtra,conſolatio nobis magna eſſe debent patroni noſtri miracula :*** Although we haue no miracles of our owne,yet our patrones miracles (he meaneth ***Benedict***)

nedict)are our comfort. And againe, *Serm.1.in die aſcenſion. Quis nunc damonia eijcit, linguis loquitur, &c.* Who now a daies caſteth out diuels, ſpeaketh with tongues, &c. diuels are caſt out, when ſins are rooted out of the heart, &c. Is not this then hereticall forgerie, to faine ſo many miracles of a man, that denieth himſelfe that he hath any ſuch power?

Thirdly, it is out of doubt, that ſome of them were well practiſed with the diuell, and through his helpe could doe much. We will begin with *Dunſtane*, who cauſed a Roode to ſpeake, which was more ſtrange, then that of *Balaams* aſſe: for the aſſe had life, though ſhe had no reaſon; but this image had neither: *Polydor Virgill* thinketh little better of *Dunſtane* for this deed doing, but that he was a ſorcerer. *Fox* pag.158.

It is famous in hiſtories, how *Silueſter* the ſecond was aduaunced to the Papacie by the Diuell, and gaue himſelfe vnto him; and how, hauing ſome remorſe before his death, he confeſſed the fact before the people, and willed that his bodie ſhould be drawne of wilde horſe when he was dead, and there be buried where the horſe left it of their owne accord. How much ſuch diabolicall practiſes are fauoured by the See of Rome, may appeare by this one example, which we will now touch: In Pope *Adrians* daies, not many yeares agoe, there was a moſt abominable thing practiſed in Rome, euen vnder the Popes noſe, and by his permiſſion and ſufferance. The city of Rome being at that time grieuouſly ſcourged and puniſhed of God with the peſtilence, there was one *Demetrius* a Grecian, who with the good liking of the whole citie, to appeaſe the wrath of their gods, tooke a wilde Bull, whom with magicall inchauntments he made ſo tame, that he led him with a twine threed, and ſo ſacrificed him: And this being done, the ſicknes ſomewhat ſlaked. Call ye this the Church of God, that ſuffereth ſuch heatheniſh and abominable ſuperſtitions to be done in it? Or ſhall I take theſe men for Chriſtians, that doe allow the idolatrous and diuelliſh ſacrifices of the heathen?

Ex Iohan. Stella. Platin. Iohan. Balæo.

Ex Paul. Iouio tom.2.lib.21.

Fourthly, let vs ſee what pretie fine iugling caſts haue been wrought by the Papiſts to deceiue the people. In King *Henries* daies, there was a monſtrous Idoll called the Rood of grace, which was made ſo with wiers and engines, that one ſtanding within could make euery part of the Idoll to moue, the hands, the eyes, the mouth: if a man brought but a ſmall peece of ſiluer, it would hang downe the lip; if it were a good peece, then ſhould his iawes goe merilie: This abominable Idoll by the Lord *Cromwels* meanes was broken downe, and the engines and parts thereof ſhewed at Paules Croſſe. Such a like thing was the blood of *Hales*, which they made the people beleeue was ſome of Chriſts blood, but in the end it was found to be but the blood of a Drake, and ſhewed likewiſe at Paules Croſſe, *Fox* pag.1188. At Caleis in the Sepulchre, it was ſaid, there were three boaſts beſprinkled with blood (as it was put in writing vnder Bull and Pardon:) but the place being ſearched at King *Henries* commaundement, they found three white counters ſodred in the ſtone with the top-bone of a ſheepes taile, pag.1223. A thouſand ſuch forged deuiſes the Papiſts had, which they are not aſhamed to maintaine for ſtrange and holy miracles. By this that hath been ſhewed, it is euident (I hope) to the indifferent reader, what ſmall cauſe our aduerſaries haue, to boaſt of their miracles.

3 Now to adde ſomewhat concerning the miracles of our Church. Firſt, wee truely ſay, that our doctrine is not new nor ſtrange, and therefore they are not to call for miracles at our hands. The miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, are alſo our miracles, ſeeing that wee profeſſe the ſame doctrine, which was confirmed by thoſe miracles. And as *Iohn Baptiſt* comming before Chriſt, and teaching the people to beleeue in him that was to come, wrought no miracle, ſeeing that Chriſt was to confirme that doctrine, which *Iohn* taught concerning the Meſſia, with miracles: ſo wee comming after Chriſt, and profeſſing the ſame faith which hee taught, haue leſſe neede of miracles, ſeeing that the doctrine, which wee holde, hath alreadie been auouched by the miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. *Bellarmines* beſt anſwere is here, that *Iohn* taught nothing againſt the common and receiued doctrine, neither ſeparated himſelfe from the Prieſts.

Anſw. Both theſe are vntrue: for firſt, *Iohn* preached remiſſion of ſinnes by Chriſt, and miniſtred Baptiſme, both which were ſtrange vnto the Iewiſh Church; and againe he liued apart in the wildernes: the Scribes and Phariſees came to him, he went not to them: and he calleth them a generation of vipers; how then did *Iohn* communicate with them.

This notwithſtanding, we affirme ſtill, that miracles are not now needfull: will you heare what *Chriſoſtome* ſaith: *Iam cum nullus ſit infidelis, nulla faciendorum miraculorum nunc eſt neceſſitas; igitur, qui ſignum vel inutile, vel non ſuo tempore facit, falſus propheta eſt, &c.* Now ſeeing there are no Infidels, there is no neceſſitie of making miracles: and therefore he, which goeth about now to worke a miracle vnprofitable, and out of time, is a falſe Prophet. By this ſentence all Papiſts are falſe Prophets, that do ſo much vrge miracles. But I will further preſſe them with their own authoritie. *Nycen. ſynod.2.act.4. Tharaſius* the preſident thus ſaid, Wherefore doe not our images now a dayes worke miracles? I anſwere with the Apoſtle: *Miracula non credentibus data ſunt, &c.* Mi-

Hom.19.oper. imperfect.

racles are not giuen to thoſe, that beleeue, but to thoſe, which beleeue not. Hearken then you Romaniſts, you are conuinced of vnbeleefe if you ſeeke for miracles. Secondly, yet, the Lord be thanked, we are not deſtitute of miracles, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Modò caro cæci non aperit oculos miraculo domini, at cor cæcum aperit oculos ſermone domini*: Now, ſaith he, the blind doth not receiue his bodily ſight by the power of Chriſt, but the blind heart is lightened and illuminate through the Goſpell of Chriſt. Such miracles (the Lord be bleſſed) we can ſhew: ſinners are conuerted, afflicted conſciences are comforted; the ignorant are inſtructed; many are called by the preaching of the Goſpell.

Beſide theſe, which are daily conuerted among vs by the preaching of the Goſpell, the examples of thoſe in this place would be remembred, that being enemies to the Goſpell; yet by the mightie working of Gods ſpirit, were miraculouſlie conuerted from Poperie, euen in time of perſecution, and gaue their liues for the teſtimonie of the truth.

George Tankerſield, hauing been a Papiſt all King *Edwards* daies, in Queene *Maries* time, ſeeing the great cruelty practiſed againſt Gods Saints, began to miſlike both the Papiſts opinions and dooings, and grew into ſuch a liking of the Goſpell, that he gaue his life for the ſame. See his ſtorie, *Fox* pag. 1690. Maſter *Greene* Martyr, firſt an obſtinate Papiſt, was drawne to a loue and liking of the Goſpell by frequenting *Peter Martyrs* Lectors, and died for the ſame afterwards, *Fox* pag. 1851.

Among the reſt, the example of *Iulius Palmer* is moſt notable, and worthy eternall memorie: who all King *Edwards* daies continued an obſtinate Papiſt, refuſing either to reſort to common Prayer, or to Sermons but by compulſion, and was for Poperie expelled Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, where he was fellow: in Queene *Maries* dayes he was reſtored to his fellowſhip by the viſitors, all this while remaining a very Papiſt: Then by the conſtancie of the Martyrs and bleſſed ſeruants of God in Oxford and elſewhere dying for the truth, he began to ſettle his heart towards the truth, and by diligent reading of Scripture, and faithfull prayer being therein confirmed, he became not onely a confeſſor, but a conſtant witneſſe and Martyr of the Goſpell: See his ſtorie, *Fox* pag. 1934.

The like examples we haue of Miſtreſſe *Lewes*, which of a Papiſt in Queene *Maries* dayes became a Proteſtant: pag. 2012. and the like of *Roger Holland*: pag. 2039. both of them holy Martyrs. What greater myracles can we deſire for confirmation of the Goſpell then theſe, ſhewed in their miraculous conuerſions?

Yet if this will not content our aduerſaries, but they will ſtill crie with open mouth, and ſay, where are your miracles? Behold, to ſtop their wide and clamorous mouth, we will ſhew them alſo ſuch miracles, as they looke for, like to which they haue none. Was not that a miracle, which *Oecolampadius* reporteth to haue been done at the Martyrdome of Maſter *Hugh Spengler*: who being caſt into the water and ſo drowned, preſently all the water was coloured with blood, hee hauing receiued no wound nor hurt in his bodie before: at the which all the people were greatly amazed?

Anno 1525.

But what thinke you of that ſtrange ſigne which *George Scherrer* ſhewed at his death, who being beheaded, the body lay a pretie ſpace vpon the bellie till one might haue eaten an egge, and then turned it ſelfe vpon the backe, and croſſed the right hand ouer the left, and the right leg ouer the left: the Magiſtrates ſeeing it, hauing condemned his bodie to be burned before, being moued at the ſight hereof, cauſed it to be buried, *Fox ex Matth. Illyrico.*

It is worth the remembring, that is reported in the French ſtories of *Petrus Bergerius* a bleſſed Martyr: who was caſt into a filthie dungeon, where a theefe had lien the ſpace of eight moneths, being almoſt eaten vp with lice, and in ſuch miſerie, that he curſed his parents that bare him. This man through the teaching and the prayers of the Martyr, felt ſuch comfort in the Goſpell, that he became very patient in his affliction: and after his conuerſion this ſtrange thing was wrought vpon him; that whereas before hee was ſo full of lice, that hee might haue plucked out twelue at once betweene two of his fingers, the next day hee had not one, *Fox ex Iohan. Criſpin.* pag. 607.

Many ſuch other miraculous workes ſhewed in the life and death of the holy Martyrs, we are able to rehearſe: as that of *Zuinglius*, whoſe heart was found whole and vnburned three daies after his bodie was conſumed with fire, *ex Oſwald. Miconio*: the like whereof is conſtantly reported of bleſſed *Cranmer*, that his heart was found vnconſumed in the aſhes, his bodie being burned.

Stephen Brune Martyr at Rutiers in France 1540. could not be conſumed with the fire that was twiſe made about him, with veſſels of oyle powred vpon the faggots, ſo that the hangman in the end was faine to thruſt him thorough with his pike: *ex Iohan. Criſpin.*

Stephen Mangin Martyr burned at Meaux *anno* 1546. hauing his tongue firſt cut out, yet ſo ſpake, that he might be vnderſtood, ſaying, The Lords name be bleſſed, *Iohan. Criſpin. lib. 6.*

The like alſo is recorded of two other Martyrs, at Sanſerre, *Iohannes Fileul*, and *Iulianus Leuille*, who ſpake, their tongues being firſt taken from them, *Fox* pag.911. *ex Iohan. Criſpin:* ſo did alſo *Peter Rouſeau* Martyr at Bloys, *anno* 1556. *ex Iohan. Criſpin.* One *Faninus* an Italian Martyr was burned at Ferrara, *anno* 1550. for the truths ſake, whoſe bodie in the burning gaue an odoriferous fragrant ſmell of incomparable ſweetneſſe to all there preſent, *ex Henric. Pantal. lib.7.*

But we need not ſearch forraine ſtories for ſuch miraculous workes: God hath ſhewed his great power, and ſet forth his glorie, euen in our Engliſh Martyrs: it is crediblie teſtified, that where *Wickliffes* bones were brent ſprang vp a well, *Fox* pag.1044.

Iames Bainham in the middeſt of the flaming fire, his armes and legges being halfe conſumed, ſpake theſe words: *O ye Papiſts, behold you looke for miracles, and here now you may ſee a miracle, for in this fire I feele no more paine, then if I were in a bed of down, but it is to me as ſweet as a bed of Roſes, Fox* p.1030. What greater miracle can be looked for, then that the cruell rage of the fire ſhould be ſo ſtrangely ſlaked and mitigated, that it ſhould become not onely not grieuous, but pleaſant to the ſufferers? The like mitigation of paine, that conſtant Martyr M. *Haukes*, gaue a comfortable and chearefull ſignification of, by thriſe clapping of his hands ouer his head burning of a light fire, when euery man thought he had been dead, *Fox* pag.1592. Many ſuch examples might here be brought in: as of *Robert Samuel* Martyr, whoſe body is ſaid to haue ſhined bright like tried ſiluer in the middeſt of the fire. pag.1704. Likewiſe after the burning of *Iohn Noyes* Martyr, there was found in the aſhes one of his feete vnburned, whole with the hoſe on, vp to the anckle, *Fox* pag.2022.

Who ſeeth not now, that if miracles were to be ſtood vpon, and that thereby we would make proofe of our Church, that herein we might haue great aduantage againſt our aduerſaries? But their common anſwere is, that all theſe are fables, which we report of our Martyrs. And why I pray you, doo theſe things ſeeme incredible? May not God as well ſhew his power in theſe holy Martyrs, as he did in the auncient witneſſes of truth, that were perſecuted and put to death vnder the heathen Emperors? for Gods armes are not ſhortened, he is able to doo as great workes now, as he did then: And theſe his ſeruants died for the ſame truth, for the which the ancient Martyrs gaue their liues: Why ſhould it be more vnlikelie, that ſome of the Martyrs of our Church haue ſtood at the ſtake vntouched of the fire, as we haue heard before of *Stephen Brune*, then that *Policarpus* continued in the fire without burning, the fire hauing no power of his bodie, but was in the end thruſt through, as *Stephen Brune* alſo was ſerued, or that *Cecilia* remained a day and a night in a hot bath without hurt, as if ſhe had been in a cold place?

Why might not the Lord giue vnto *Stephen Mangin* Martyr, and others power to ſpeake, their tongues being cut out, as he did to *Romanus*, who being depriued of his tongue ſpake theſe words: *He that ſpeaketh Chriſt ſhall neuer want a tongue? Fox* pag.90.

Polycarpus before mentioned, his bodie in the middeſt of the fire gliſtered like ſiluer or golde, pag.43. Why may we not credit the like report of *Robert Samuel?* There came a moſt pleaſant ſmell from *Polycarpus* bodie, as it had been of mirrhe, or ſome pretious balme: may not this as well be true of *Faninus*, whoſe example we ſaw before? *Polycarpus* being thruſt through with a ſword, for he could not burne, there guſhed out ſuch aboundance of blood, as that the fire was quenched therewith. May we not as well beleeue, that which is reported of Biſhop *Latimer*, whoſe prayer vnto God was, that he might giue his heart blood for his truth, and ſo it came to paſſe, that in the fire, his ſides being opened by the violence thereof, the blood iſſued out abundantly, which was ſtrange to behold. *Fox* p.1740. But I will be ſparing in theſe reports: for we haue better arguments to proue our Church by, as ſhall afterward appeare.

Yet, before I leaue this place, becauſe the Ieſuite hath ſuch a ſpite at *Luther*, (hee is a great eyeſore to him) we will in a worde or two declare what ſtrange things were wrought by *Luther*. It is crediblie reported of him, that a certaine young man had bound himſelfe by obligation to the Diuell, ſealed with his blood to giue him his ſoule, ſo he might haue his wiſh and deſire ſatiſfied with money: In ſhort time he grew to great wealth: the matter being diſcloſed with much adoo to *Luther*, he calleth the congregation together, and ioyneth in prayer for this young man: and as they prayed, the obligation was caſt in at the window. This credible report of *Luthers* act, may counteruaile the lying tale of rayling *Staphylus*, whom the Ieſuite ſo much crediteth, how that *Luther* attempted to caſt a diuell out of a woman, and was in danger to be ſlaine of the diuell himſelfe, *Bellarm. cap.*16. But why ſhould it ſeeme ſtrange, that by the prayers of the congregation the diuell ſhould depart? For by two waies are vncleane ſpirits caſt out, one is by the extraordinarie gift and faith of miracles, which though it continued ſome ages after the Apoſtles, till the Goſpell was vniuerſally planted, yet we holde it generally to be ceaſed now: the other way is ordinarie by faſting and prayer, which our Sauiour preſcribeth, Matth.17.21. Whereby we doubt not, but euen in theſe dayes, when it pleaſeth God, Sathan is chaſed from the poſſeſſion of Chriſts members. And in this kind *Luther* was ſingular, who vſed to pray ſo feruently, that the teares were ſeene to fall from his eyes in his prayer: And theſe are the weapons, whereby we fight againſt Sathan, the word of God and prayer, which are more forcible, then your ſuperſtitious croſſings,

A notable and ſtrange miracle, credibly reported of Luther. Fox. pag.864.

coniurations, exorcizings, yea then your holy water, or holy water ſprinckle. The experience hereof *Origene* ſheweth, that as he was preaching of thoſe words, 1. Sam. 2. of *Anna, My heart reioyced in the Lord*, one being preſent hauing an vncleane ſpirite cried out: vpon which occaſion *Origene* further ſaid thus, *Contrarius ſpiritus exultationem noſtram in domino ferre non potuit:* The aduerſarie ſpirit cannot abide our reioycing in the Lord, &c. Theſe meanes then of the Word and prayer ſeeing *Luther* had, we may more eaſilie be perſwaded of the truth of the ſtorie.

Hom. in. 2. cap. 1. lib. Sam.

And as he was earneſt in prayer, ſo his prayers wanted not effect; for as he himſelfe confeſſed, he had obtained of God, that ſo long as he liued, the Pope ſhould not preuaile in his countrey. And is not this alſo a thing to be wondred at, that for all the Pope and Emperour ioyned together, and bent their forces againſt this ſillie poore man; yet the Lord defended him from the Lions teeth, and graunted him to end his daies in peace?

Thus it is apparant and manifeſt, that the Lord ſheweth his miraculous power many times in his Saints, to aſtoniſh the wicked: the great miracles which haue been declared in their holy martyrdomes, would fill a large volume. But theſe arguments we doe not chiefly ſtand vpon: yet thus much was not amiſſe by the way to be put in, to requite our aduerſaries withall, who doe ſo greatly magnifie and extoll their Antichriſtian Church, for their lying and fained miracles.

The ſixt Note, of the gift of Propheſying.

23. Error.

THis alſo our aduerſaries holde to be a perpetuall marke, whereby to knowe the Church: for they ſay that the true Church of God wanteth not thoſe which are endewed with the ſpirit of propheſie: And ſo they beare vs in hand, that in euery age there hath flouriſhed ſome Prophet in their Church: the firſt, that the Church ſhall alwaies haue Prophets, they would proue out of Ioel 2. I will power of my ſpirit vpon all fleſh. The ſecond, that they haue had ſuch prophets, they doe infer vpon a few forged examples, of Saint *Bernard*, and Saint *Francis*, a popiſh ſaint, and the founder of the ſuperſtitious order of the *Franciſcans*, and of ſuch others: *Bellarmine cap.* 15.

To the firſt we anſwere. 1. The propheſie of *Ioel* was accompliſhed in the apoſtles time, Act. 2. as Saint *Peter* expoundeth it, and therefore we neede not looke further for the fulfilling of it. 2. The Church of the Iewes wanted Prophets for the ſpace of foure hundred yeares and more before the comming of Chriſt: for we reade of no Prophet after *Malachy*: and the Church complaineth of this want, Pſalm. 74. verſ. 9. that they had Prophets no more: wherefore, the Church of God after the comming of Chriſt, may better ſpare this extraordinarie function of propheſying, ſeeing both Chriſt is alreadie come, who was the very ſubiect and matter of all the auncient propheſies; and we haue alſo moſt euident propheſies of the Apoſtles, Rom. 11. concerning the calling of the Iewes, 2. Theſ. 2. of Antichriſt in the Apocalypſe, of the generall eſtate and condition of the Church to the end of the world: Some of which are alreadie accompliſhed, ſome to be fulfilled in their ſeaſon: In theſe propheſies, we muſt reſt and content our ſelues, not looking for new reuelations. 3. There haue been Prophets amongſt the heathen, out of the Church of God: they alſo can bring foorth diuers old propheſies; ſo that if the iſſue lay in this point, they might as well contend to be the Church of God. *Aſtyages* dreamed that he ſaw a vine growing out of his daughter, that couered all *Aſia*: which came to paſſe in *Cyrus*. *Auguſtine* reporteth a propheſie of *Hermes Triſmegiſtus*, how that all the images and Idols of the heathen ſhould be broken downe through all *Ægypt*. The *Indians* were foretold of the *Spaniards* comming many a yeare before their arriuall in thoſe places: Their *Zemes*, that is, their deuils, which they worſhipped as Gods, told them, that there ſhould come a people with long beardes, fierce and cruell, that at one ſtroke ſhould ſtrike men oft by the middle: And all theſe things fell out afterwards to that nation accordingly.

Iuſtin. lib. 1. De ciuit. Dei lib. 8. cap. 26.

Benzo lib. 1. cap. 8.

But they will anſwere, that theſe were not true propheſies inſpired of God, but vncertaine predictions of the diuell. What will they ſay then to *Balaam*, that propheſied of Chriſt? There ſhall come a ſtarre of *Iacob* (ſaith he) Num. 24. 17. and in the ſame place, he ſaith, he heard the words of God.

The propheſies alſo of *Sibill* are wonderfull, which many yeares before the comming of Chriſt, propheſied of his incarnation, and of his paſſion, with the circumſtances thereof, as how he ſhould be crowned with thornes, that they ſhould giue him vineger to drinke, how the vaile of the temple ſhould be rent, and darknes ſhould couer the earth for three houres: and he himſelfe ſhould riſe the third day: yea ſhe ſetteth downe the very name of the Meſſiah, *Ieſus Chriſt*. Theſe propheſies came not of the diuell, for theſe myſteries, without all doubt, were not knowne to the euill ſpirits: for they were not fully reuealed to the Angels themſelues before the comming of Chriſt, Epheſ. 3. 10. Wherefore we conclude thus, that as the gift of propheſying is no ſure ſigne that they are members of the Church and elected of God, which are endued with it; as Chriſt ſaith, Mat. 7. 22. that

Aug. cont. Iudæos cap. 16. Tom. 6.

that many which had propheſied in his name, in the day of iudgement ſhould be refuſed; and *Balaam* is ſet forth as an example of a falſe prophet and wicked man, *Ep. Iude* 11: So neither is this gift an infallible marke of the Church of God, whereſoeuer it is found. Your owne canons auouch the ſame, *decr. part. 2. cauſ. 1. qu. 1. cap. 79. Prophetauit & Saul malus rex, & tunc prophetauit, cùm Dauid ſanctum perſequeretur: Saul* alſo propheſied an euill King, and at that time, when he perſecuted *Dauid*. The gift then of propheſying, as it ſheweth not him to be a member of the Church, that hath it; ſo neither that to be the Church, where it is found.

To the Second part, concerning this miraculous gift which our aduerſaries pretend to haue: we anſwer. 1. They are but fables which they bring: for if all that is reported of S. *Bernard* in his life, of his miracles, and propheſies, were true, neither S. *Paul* nor any of the Apoſtles were to be compared vnto him for number of miracles: ſuch caſting out of diuels out of men, women and children, healing of ſtrange diſeaſes, foretelling of things to come: the Goſpell almoſt hath not ſtranger things of our Sauiour Chriſt. And S. *Hierome*, who was long before *Bernards* time, ſheweth that propheſie was then ceaſed: *Prophetia domini paſſione ſignata eſt*: All propheſie is ſealed vp in the paſſion of Chriſt, *Tom. 3. ad Marcellam*.

As for S. *Francis*, you may geſſe by this, what ſpirit he was of, that preſcribing to his followers, a certaine ſtrict order of liuing, as to weare no girdle, to goe barefoot, and ſuch like, he called it *regulam euangelicam*, the rule of the Goſpell: belike making himſelfe an other Chriſt, and ſo bringing in another Goſpell: for to all Chriſts diſciples Chriſts Goſpell is ſufficient. 2. But if they haue any propheſies of credit, which they can ſhew, they are ſuch, as are reported of Pope *Silueſter* the ſecond, who had warrant from the diuell, that he ſhould not die before he ſung Maſſe in *Ieruſalem*: and ſo it came to paſſe, for hauing ſung Maſſe in a chappell ſo called, he immediatly died. Not much vnlike to this was that of King *Henry* the fourth, who ended his life in a chamber at Weſtminſter called *Ieruſalem*, as he had an old propheſie. *Edward* the fourth alſo was told, that his ſucceſſors name ſhould begin with G. which was the cauſe of *George* the Duke of *Clarence* death, his owne brother: but the diuelliſh propheſie notwithſtanding tooke place, for *Richard* Duke of *Glocester* was King after him. In like manner *Valence* the Emperour had a blind propheſie, that one ſhould raigne after him, whoſe name began with *Theod*. which made *Theodorus* to rebell againſt him: but ſo it came to paſſe in deed, that *Theodoſius* was Emperour after him. Such blinde propheſies we denie not but the popiſh Church hath had many, which as you ſee, doe cauſe murder, ſedition, and bloudſhed: but other good propheſies comming of God, we know them not to haue any.

Fox pag. 717.

3 We denie not, but that there haue liued ſome amongſt them in their Church, which in thoſe dayes were counted prophets and prophetiſſes, as *Hildegardis*, anno 1146. likewiſe *Briget*, *Catharine Senenſis*: whom *Bellarmine* reckoneth vp amongſt others that wrought miracles. chap. 14. But concerning theſe we will anſwere, as the Ieſuite doth for *Sibilla* a prophetiſſe amongſt the heathen: that ſhe propheſied as touching ſuch matters as ſhould fall out to the Church, for a teſtimony of the faith of the Chriſtians: and ſo to be counted herein a prophetiſſe of the Church rather than of the heathen. chap. 15. So we ſay, that if thoſe three aboue named were Prophetiſſes, they were of our Church, and not theirs: for they propheſied of the decay of their Church and raiſing vp of ours. *Hildegardis* firſt propheſied of the beginning of Friers, and of their deſtruction, ſaying, that in the end, when their giftes and rewards ceaſed, they ſhould goe about their houſes like hungrie and madde dogges, drawing in their necks like doues. *Bridget* propheſied of the Church of Rome, that it ſhould be as a bodie condemned of a iudge, to haue the skin flaine off, and the fleſh to be cut in peeces: *Catharine de Senis* ſpeaketh of a reformation of the Church, and ſuch a renouation of Paſtors, that the onely remembrance thereof ſaith ſhe, maketh my ſpirit to reioyce in the Lord. All theſe things we ſee now accompliſhed: the ſects of Friers in many places put downe: the Popiſh iuriſdiction caſt out, a notable reformation to be wrought in the Church: our aduerſaries (I thinke) haue not to reioyſe in theſe propheſies; neither haue any great cauſe to challenge them for their Prophets. But I will helpe them a little, and bring to their remembrance a notable Prophetiſſe of theirs in King *Henry* the eights dayes, which was one *Elizabeth barton* a Nun, commonly called the holy maide of Kent, who being inſtructed by the Friers, fayned, as though ſhe had many reuelations: ſhe propheſied, that if the King proceeded in his diuorce, then in queſtion betweene him and Queene *Katharine*, that he ſhould not be King one yeare, no not one moneth: But (God be thanked) he liued almoſt twentie yeares after that, by whom many worthie things were wrought for the good of Chriſts Church. This prophetiſſe was afterward iuſtly met withall, and worthily ſuffered for her demerits, with all her accomplices: amongſt the which, *Fiſher B.* of Rocheſter was one, who thereupon was impriſoned, and forfayted his goods to the King. If they wil brag of their Prophets, let not the holy maide of Kent be forgotten in any wiſe.

Fox pag. 260.

Fox pag. 842.

Fox pag. 155.

4 Now laſtly becauſe they ſhall not outface vs with a vaine brag of prophets: I will ſhew

what propheſies the Goſpell hath been adorned withall. Was not *Iohn Huſſe* a Prophet, who thus ſaid at his death: ***centum reuolutis annis deo reſpondebitis:*** after an hundred yeres you ſhall giue account of this your doing vnto God? Likewiſe ***Hierom*** of *Prage*, ***poſt centum annos vos omnes cito:*** I cite you all to make anſwere after an hundred yeares. Which propheſie of theirs tooke effect accordingly: for both theſe holy men ſuffred martyrdome about anno 1416. and iuſt an hundred yeares after, anno 1516. the Lord raiſed vp *Luther*, who indeed called the Pope and his doctrine to account.

Was not *Sauonarola* a Prophet, that ſaid one ſhould paſſe ouer the *Alpes* like *Cyrus*, who ſhould deſtroy all Italie? and is it not ſo come to paſſe? for neither *Cyrus*, nor whoſoeuer elſe could haue more laide waſt the popiſh Italian Church then the word of God hath done, and the liuely preaching of the Goſpel? *Walter Brute* propheſied that the temporalities ſhould be taken from the clergie for the multitude of their ſinnes: this *Walter* liued in King *Richards* dayes the ſecond. *Bilney* that conſtant Martyr and faithfull ſeruant of God propheſied, that many Preachers ſhould come after him, which ſhould preach the ſame faith that he had taught, and ſhould conuert many from their errors.

Fox pag.500.

We will come vnto neerer times: Did not Maſter *Hooper* prophecie, when taking his leaue of M. *Bullinger* at Zuricke, he ſaid thus vnto him, You ſhall be ſure (ſaith he) to heare from me, from time to time out of England: but the laſt newes of all I ſhall not be able to write, for there where I ſhall take moſt paines, you ſhall heare of me burned to aſhes? And ſo it came to paſſe, for he was burned at Glouceſter, where he was Biſhop, *Fox* pag. 1503.

Maſter *Latimer* would alwaies ſay, that the preaching of the Goſpell would coſt him his life, and he was perſwaded, he ſaid, that *Wincheſter* was kept in the tower for the ſame purpoſe. p. 1740.

Maſter *Rogers* prophecied in Queene *Maries* daies, that the Goſpell ſhould bee reſtored, and that the diſperſed Engliſh flocke ſhould bee brought againe to their former eſtate, pag. 1492. A certaine woman alſo in Exceter that died for the truth, ſpake to the like effect: who entring as it happened into S. *Peters* Church, where ſhe found a cunning Dutchman, making of new noſes to certaine Images, which had been diſfigured in King *Edwards* daies, ſaid vnto him, What a mad man art thou to make them new noſes, which within a few daies ſhall all loſe their heads: as it came indeede to paſſe, pag. 2051.

Roger Holland ſtanding in examination before bloodie *Boner*, thus boldly ſaid vnto him: This I dare be bold in God to ſpeake, which by his ſpirit I am moued to ſay, that God wil ſhorten your hand of crueltie, for after this day in this place, ſhall there not any by him (meaning *Boner*) bee put to death, pag. 2042. And after this day indeede, there was none put to death in Smithfield.

What ſhall I ſpeake of Maſter *Bradford*, who writeth thus in his epiſtle to Cambridge: You know I prophecied truly to you, before the Sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnall Goſpelling. I might here alſo inferre the propheticall praiers of the Martyrs: as how Maſter *Latimer* praied that the Goſpell might once againe be reſtored to England, and earneſtly ſued in his praiers for the preſeruation of Ladie *Elizabeth*, now our moſt gratious Queene: the which his praiers, the Lord, whoſe name eternally be bleſſed for it, in mercie to this land graciouſly granted. The like praier Maſter *Philpot* made at the ſtake for the reſtoring of the Goſpell, pag. 1831. col. 1. And, to make ſhort, the fiue laſt Martyrs burned at Canturburie, deſired God in their praiers before their martyrdome, that their blood might be the laſt that ſhould be ſhed: and ſo it was, *Fox* pag. 2053.

I alleage not theſe examples, vnto the which I could adde many beſides, to this end, as though I thought that thoſe propheticall gifts are ordinarie in the Church, or that thoſe holy Martyrs had the calling of Prophets (though it cannot bee denied, but that at ſome times, and in ſome caſes they had the ſpirit of prophecie;) or that hereby we meane to proue our Church: but to anſwere a little vnto our aduerſaries vaine, and vntrue bragges, that it may appeare to all men, with how much better right, wee might chalenge this propheticall gift in the behalfe and name of our Church.

Hitherto wee haue touched ſixe onely of the principall notes of the popiſh Church: the reſt which the Ieſuite addeth to make vp the number of fifteene, are ſuch vagrant and vncertaine notes, that I wonder, the Ieſuite for ſhame, would ſtuffe his booke with them: I will therefore only name them.

Another note therefore of *Bellarmines* Church beſide thoſe ſet downe, is ***duratio diuturna, nec vnquam interrupta***, is the the long and laſting continuance of their Church without any interruption: their Church, they ſay, hath endured 1570. yeeres and more alreadie, and is like to continue to the worlds end: but our Church is newly begun, and ſhall ſoone come to an end, ***Bellarm. lib. 4. cap. 6.***

Anſw. 1. Duration or continuance is no good argument of the Church: the heathen Idolaters could and did ſay as much for their idolatrie: As *Aſclepiades* obiected to *Romanus* (holy Martyr) Thy crucified Chriſt, ſaith he, is but a yeſterdaies God, the Gods of the Gentiles are of great antiquitie. 2. It is not true that their Church hath endured ſo long, they muſt ſtrike off almoſt 600. yeeres from their account; and yet moſt of their errors are nothing ſo old: yet if they could make vp the full number they ſpeake of, they haue not much to bragge of: The kingdome of the Sycionians, as *Auguſtine* witneſſeth, endured 950. yeeres, the Monarchie of the Aſſyrians 1300. yeeres and more; yet were they not for all this the Church of God. 3. The deſcent and pedegree of their Church hath not all this while, they ſay, been interrupted. To this we haue anſwered before, in the third note of ſucceſſion: Our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles could not ſhew a perpetuall deſcent of their Church not interrupted, yet were they the true Church. 4. Their Church ſhall endure to the end of the world: ſo ſhall Sathans kingdome waxe ſtronger towards the end: There ſhall be a generall decay of faith and charitie, Matth. 24. 12. yea and there ſhall be ſome remnant of Antichriſts kingdome euen at the comming of Chriſt: but to what end Saint *Paul* ſheweth, to bee aboliſhed with the brightnes of his comming, 2. Theſſ. 2. 8. 5. Neither is our Church, as they falſely charge vs, newly ſtart vp: but of our Church were the Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, as wee haue ſhewed: the Church of God may ſometime lie hidden in the world, and ſo hath ours. But they goe further, Our Church, they ſay, ſhall not long continue: So the heathen faced downe the Chriſtians, that their religion ſhould laſt but 365. yeeres: but it proued c[illegible]ne contrarie; for the Chriſtian faith increaſed ſtill, and Paganiſme within that compaſſe was baniſhed. As for our Church we know it ſhal continue to the worlds end, though with much trouble and perſecution, and euer after ſhall be with Chriſt.

Fox. 89.

Lib. 18. de ciuitat. dei c. 26.

Auguſt. de ciuitat. dei lib. 18. cap. 52.

Another note, which *Bellarmine* maketh the ſixt in number, is, *Conſpiratio in doctrina cum Eccleſia antiqua:* Their conſpiring in doctrine with the ancient Church, *cap. 9.* where he taketh paines to caſt vpon vs twentie ſeuerall hereſies.

Anſw. 1. For the full anſwere of this ſlaunder, I doe referre the reader to the ſecond pillar of Papiſtrie, part. 3. where it is euidently prooued, that the Papiſts (and not the Proteſtants) doe reuiue the old hereſies.

2 It may appeare, by the perpetuall allegation of *Auguſtine* and the decrees of Councels generall and prouinciall, yea and of their owne Canons, throughout this treatiſe in defence of our cauſe, that our doctrine agreeth with antiquitie, and not Papiſtrie.

Notwithſtanding as touching the Ieſuites chalenge of hereſie, where he laieth to our charge twentie ſeuerall hereſies, I haue eaſily remoued them, and requited him with fortie ſeuerall hereſies, all proued to bee in their Church: for the particular anſwere, to that place I referre the reader.

See the 2. pillar of Papiſtric, part. 3.

But now in generall it ſhall appeare by ſuch deſcriptions of heretikes, as heretofore haue been made, and by them cannot be refuſed, that not we, but they are the heretikes of theſe daies.

1 And firſt, if they will be tried by the definition of an heretike in the Ciuill law, wee will not refuſe: as *Cod. lib. 1 tit. 4. leg. 1. Gratian* and *Valentinian* thus define an heretike: *Qui patris, filij, & ſpiritus ſancti deitatem ſub pari maieſtate non credunt, hæreticorum infamiam ſuſtinere, &c.* They which doe not beleeue the deitie of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt to bee of equall maieſtie, ſhall ſuſtaine the infamie of heretikes. But we doe ſo beleeue: *Ergo*, are no heretikes. The popiſh Church is rather to be ſuſpected herein, that affirme, that Chriſt is not ἀυτόθεος, *God of himſelfe:* now if the Father be God of himſelfe, and the Sonne haue a beginning of his Godhead; then muſt there bee an inequalitie in the Godhead. See more of this afterward, *Controu. 20. part. 2. quæſt. 1.*

2 Likewiſe, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 8. leg. 2. Gratian. Valentinian. Hæreticus iudicatur, qui à minimo fidei deuiat articulo:* He is iudged an heretike, that departeth from the leaſt article of the faith. But it is an article of the faith to beleeue, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God, and ſhall not come from thence till the day of iudgement: which the Papiſts muſt needes denie, affirming Chriſts bodie to be really and corporally in the Sacrament: and ſo they muſt either make Chriſt to haue two bodies, one in heauen, another in earth; or elſe they muſt hold, that his bodie may bee in two places at once, contrarie to the nature of a bodie.

3 We will not refuſe the triall of an heretike by your owne Canons: *Decret. par. 2. cauſ. 24. quæſt. 3. cap. 28. Hæreticus eſt, qui alicuius temporalis commodi, & maximè gloriæ, principatuſque ſui gratia, falſas ac nouas opiniones gignit:* He is an heretike, that for ſome temporall commoditie, eſpecially for glorie and principalitie ſake, doth deuiſe and follow new and ſtrange opinions. But the Papiſts doe ſeeke the glorie and principalitie of the Papall See, and the commoditie thereof, and thereto hold new opinions, as that it is of neceſsitie to ſaluation to beleeue the Pope to be head of the Church; that the Pope is aboue Councels, and ſuch like: *Ergo*, they are heretikes. And to ſpeake the truth, moſt of the popiſh opinions are ſuch as either tend to aduance the pride of the Biſhop of Rome, as the doctrine of his primacie ouer other Churches, his ſuperioritie ouer Kings, Princes, and ſuch like; or elſe to make their owne purſes fat, as their opinions of their reall preſence, Maſſes propitiatorie

tiatorie for the quicke and the dead,purgatorie,pardons,pilgrimages,and ſuch other. And it was well ſaid (though merily) of *Eraſmus* to the Duke of Saxonie, who asked his iudgement of *Luther*; that he medled with two dangerous matters,that would not be touched,the Popes Crown, and the Monkes bellie.

4 Further alſo it followeth thus in your Canons as touching an heretike: *Decret.par.2.cauſ.24. quæſt.3.c.30. Qui non ad Propheticas voces, non ad Apoſtolicas literas, non ad Euangelicas authoritates, ſed ad ſeipſos recurrunt, magiſtri erroris exiſtunt,&c.* They which haue not recourſe to the Prophets, Apoſtles writings, and the Goſpels, are become the maſters of errors. And what this meaneth is expounded by Pope *Vrbane* in the ſame place,*cap.32.Quia magiſter erroris eſt,non tantum hæreticus, ſed etiam hæreſiarcha dicendus eſt*: Becauſe he is a maſter of error,he is not only an heretike, but an hereſiarch,that is,a maſter of hereſies. But the Papiſts,and not we, leaue the Propheticall,Apoſtolicall,Euangelicall writings,and runne vnto traditions, that is, to themſelues: *Ergo* they, not we, are the heretikes.

5 Likewiſe,*Decr.p.2.cauſ.16.quæſt.7.Gregor.7.* defineth, that he that ſhould graunt away to lay perſons or others,then to Prieſts,oblations and tithes, *inter maximos hæreticos non minimus habeatur*,let him bee counted not the leaſt among the greateſt heretikes. But the Pope is the man that firſt alienated the propertie of tithes, and erected impropriations, and ſo maintained them; as it may appeare in King *Henry* the thirds time,when the Biſhops of this land made ſuite to the Pope to haue impropriate benefices reſtored to the firſt vſe; at the contrarie ſuite of the Monkes, the Pope determined that they ſhould ſtand ſtill: *Ergo*,they are the heretikes.

Ex Flor.hiſtoriar. an. 1261.

6 Againe,your owne Canons allow this ſaying of S. *Hierome*,deciphering the authors of hereſie, *Decr.p.2.cauſ.24.quæſt.3.cap.33.Veteres ſcrutans hiſtorias inuenire non poſſum ſcidiſſe eccleſiam,&c.& populos ſeduxiſſe, niſi eos, qui ſacerdotes à Deo poſiti erant:* Looking ouer the ancient ſtories I cannot finde that any did make ſchiſmes in the Church, and ſeduce the people, but the Prieſts,&c. But the Papiſts ſay,that they onely haue the prieſthood, and that they are the true prieſts. If hereſie then and ſchiſme begin among the prieſts, as *Hierome* in his reading obſerued, and the Papiſts take themſelues to be the prieſts of theſe daies;then the Seminarie of hereſie is amongſt them. If it ſhall be anſwered,that *Hierome* ſpeaketh of the times before vnder the law,not ſince:the words following ſhew the contrarie,*Iſti vertuntur in laqueum tortuoſum,in omnibus locis ponentes ſcandalum:* Theſe, ſaith he, meaning the prieſts, are become ſnares,in euery place putting a ſtumbling blocke. He ſpeaketh of the time preſent and then being.

7 Or will they allow of the Maſter of Sentences definition of an heretike, who out of *Hilarie* affirmeth thoſe to be heretikes, *aliter interpretantes ſcripturas,quam dictorum virtus poſtulat; de intelligentia enim hæreſis,non de ſcriptura eſt*, which do interprete the Scripture,otherwiſe then the words are:for hereſie commeth not of the Scripture,but by the falſe vnderſtanding,*lib.4.diſt.13.C.* But the Papiſts doe thus interprete Scripture cleane beſide the text: for the probation whereof I referre the reader to the treatiſe annexed,2.pillar,part.2.*Ergo*,they are heretikes.

8 Heare alſo how one of your owne champions deſcribeth an heretike and hereſie: Hereſie is a falſe opinion defended with pertinacie cleerely repugning the word of God; *Iohn Wynrime* in his ſermon at S.*Andrewes* in Scotland,at the condēnation of M.*George Wiſehart,an.*1546.*Fox* p.1268. But many ſuch opinions the Papiſts maintaine contrarie to the Scriptures,as more at large in the place quoted before in the treatiſe annexed I haue ſhewed: *Ergo*,they are the heretikes.

Many other deſcriptions of hereſie I could alleage out of the Fathers,but theſe may ſuffice,gathered out of their owne authorities, by the which it is euident that Papiſts, not Proteſtants are heretikes.

The third note omitted, but with *Bellarmine* the eight, is *Sanctitas doctrinæ*, the holineſſe and pureneſſe of their doctrine,*cap.11.*

Anſw. I thinke theſe men will not bluſh in the end, to make a Saint of the diuell: for what more vnchaſt and vnpure religion can there be, then Poperie is? Call you that an holy religion, that canonized *Thomas Becket* for a Saint,who was a rebell and traitor to his Prince? Is that pure doctrine that calleth the mariage of Miniſters the worſt ſort of fornication? *ſic Rhemiſt.* That alloweth ſwearing and blaſpheming? One *Sanpaulinus*, for reprouing a man of ſwearing,was ſuſpected to bee a Lutheran,and thereupon examined,condemned,and burned,*Fox* pag.904. Is that an holy and perfect religion, which reprobates may attaine vnto? for the popiſh profeſsion requireth no more, then may bee found in reprobates. See a treatiſe of this ſet forth by *W.Perkins.*

Laſtly, let *Roger Holland* ſpeake, firſt a Papiſt, afterwards by Gods mercifull working an holie Martyr: He confeſſing of himſelfe in the hearing of his enemies, that while he was a Papiſt, he was giuen to carding and dicing,to riot,drunkenneſſe,all kinde of wantonneſſe, in hope of auricular confeſſion to the prieſt, and giuing him ſomewhat to doe penance for him, thinking, that hauing ſo done,he was of a cleere ground,and might returne to his old vomit againe. See his ſtorie, *Fox* pag.2040. Iudge now what a pure Religion this may be, which is a doctrine of libertie, and patrone of all licentious liuing?

The fourth note omitted, but with *Bellarmine* the ninth, is *Efficacia doctrina*, the efficacie and force of their doctrine in conuerting many vnto the faith, *cap.12.*

Anſw. 1. We graunt you that your religion is ſtrong to delude and deceiue, as all ſuperſtition is, and as S. *Paul* ſaith of Antichriſts teaching, *Whoſe comming is by the working of Sathan, with all power, &c.* 2.Theſſ.2.9.

2. We are much beholding vnto them, in affording vs ſo good an argument for our religion, which is very efficacious and forcible. Let the kingdomes of England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Dutchland, Germanie, Polonia, Denmarke, teſtifie, which ſometimes were blinded with poperie: but now (God be thanked) by the preaching of the Goſpell haue receiued great light: yea the efficacie of the Goſpell appeareth in the conuerſion of many obſtinate Papiſts to the profeſſion of the Goſpell, euen in time of perſecution, and to become conſtant Martyrs for the ſame, as hath been before declared in the fifth note of Miracles, 3.anſ. by the example of *George Tankerfield, Iulius Palmer,* Miſtreſſe *Lewes, Roger Holland, &c.*

The fifth note omitted, with *Bellarmine* the tenth, is *Sanctitas vita*, the holines of life of the authors, and profeſſors of their religion, *cap.13.*

Anſw. Goe to then, let vs ſee what holy Fathers the patrones of Poperie haue been; we will begin with their Popes: Was not Pope *Ioane* a holy woman, who hauing plaied the whore, fell in trauell in the middeſt of proceſſion? Was not Pope *Iohn* 13. another, who is ſaid to haue drunke to the diuell, to haue defloured virgins and ſtrangers; he lay with *Stephana* his fathers Concubine, and at the laſt was ſlaine in adulterie? *Silueſter* the 2. was a Coniurer and a Sorcerer, and couenanted with the diuell for his Popedome: To theſe we will ioyne *Gregorie* the 7. to make vp a meſſe, of whom *Benno* writeth, that he raiſed vp the diuell, and poyſoned ſixe Popes his predeceſſors. Many ſuch examples we may finde amongſt their pope holy fathers.

Luitprand. lib.6.

To thoſe we may ioyne other of their chiefe pillars. The Cardinall of Crema being ſent Legate into England, *Anno* 1129. in a Councel at London inueighing againſt the mariage of prieſts, ſaid it was a ſhamefull thing to riſe from the ſides of an whore, to make Chriſts bodie: who the night following, was ſhamefully taken with a notable whore, *Fox* pag.1167.

Doctor *Maillard* a great Sorboniſt in Paris, was ſo notoriouſly practiſed in the filthie acts of Buggerie and Sodomitrie, that almoſt all the children in the ſtreetes did know it: *ex Iohan Criſpin.*

And to come neerer home: that ſtout champion of Poperie, and captaine diſputer Doctor *Weſton*, was he not apprehended in adulterie, and depriued of all his ſpirituall liuings?

Fox pag.2102.

Neither were thoſe the practiſes of a few, but ſuch generally was the guiſe of their Clergie: It was one of the grieuances exhibited by the Nobilitie of Germany in the Councell at Norenberg, that the prieſts being forbidden to marrie, did goe about day and night to attempt and trie the chaſtitie of matrones, virgins, wiues, &c. pag.680. Yea, and it is ſo ſhamefull to rehearſe what filthie abominations were brought to light at the ſuppreſſion of the Abbayes here in England, which they practiſed in corners, as the Apoſtle ſaith, It is a ſhame to ſpeake of the things, which are done by them in ſecret, Epheſ.5.12. See Maſter *Bale* his preface to his booke *de actis Romanorum pontificum.* Wherefore the Ieſuite needed not, ſeeing their nakedneſſe is laid open to the view of the world, thus to boaſt of the holineſſe of their profeſſors, as to make it a note of their Church, which falleth out cleane contrarie.

The ſixt note omitted, with *Bellarmine* the fifteenth, is, ſaith he, *Confeſſio aduerſariorum*, The confeſſion of their aduerſaries. But here he is very weake in his prooues: *Caluinus vocat Bernardum pium ſcriptorem: Caluin* (ſaith the Ieſuite) calleth *Bernard* a godly writer, *cap.16.*

Anſ. Firſt, I pray you, what hath he got by *Caluins* confeſſion here? May not a man commend ſomething in one, and yet not commend all? *Caluin* commendeth *Bernard* for a godly deuout man, yet he approoueth not his iudgement in all things: godlineſſe of life is one thing; pureneſſe and ſinceritie of iudgement another. But what if he had ſimply commended *Bernard*, what is this to them? who though in many things he ſauour of ſuperſtition, yet in the moſt points is a witneſſe with vs rather then with them, as I could eaſily ſhew, if it were either needfull or conuenient in this place.

Secondly, the Ieſuite, to prooue the confeſſion of his aduerſaries, giueth but one poore inſtance of *Caluines* confeſſion, and ſuch another of *Melancthons*, which make nothing for them. But we can bring forth many confeſſions of the truth vttered by Papiſts: ſome for examples ſake I will ſet downe.

Panormitane, that mightie champion for the Pope, hauing diſputed much in the Councell of Baſil, for the preeminence of the Pope aboue generall Councels, in the end, the matter going againſt him, returning to his lodging complained with teares, that he had been compelled by his

King, to ſtriue againſt the truth, and to put his ſoule in daunger: ***ex Ænea Syluio.***

Doctor *Mollius* an Italian Martyr, being before the Cardinals of Rome examined of his doctrine, which he confirmed by Scripture, concerning Iuſtification, Free-will, Purgatorie, at the length (they being not able to conuince him) receiued this anſwere, that it was truth which he affirmed; but it was not meete for this preſent time, becauſe it could not bee taught without detriment of the Apoſtolike See.

Ex Henric. Pantal. lib. 19. anno 1543.

Doctor *Baſſinet* openly in an Oration proteſted in a great aſſemblie, that he was diſquieted in conſcience for giuing iudgement againſt thoſe which they called heretikes, becauſe he found moſt part of their opinions agreeable to Scripture, *Fox* pag. 945. col. 2.

The Biſhop of Cauaillon in France, committed the articles of the Merindolians to a certaine Doctor of Diuinitie to bee examined, who after eight daies peruſing of them, gaue his anſwere, that he found them agreeable to Scripture, pag. 949.

But amongſt all other the confeſſion of *Wincheſter* lying vpon his death-bed is worthie to bee remembred: who being put in mind by another B. of Iuſtification only by the blood of Chriſt, anſwered, that it was dangerous to open this gap to the people; yet to him, and ſuch other in his caſe it might be vttered: reported by one that was a great doer about *Wincheſter*, pag. 1788. col. 1.

I will alſo here adioyne the teſtimonie of *Eraſmus*, whom although the Ieſuite will not acknowledge wholly to bee theirs, yet he vouchſafeth to call him *ſemi-Chriſtianum*, a ſemi-Chriſtian, or halfe-Catholike: *lib. 1. de verbo Dei cap. 9.* he thus writeth to the Archbiſhop of Mentz; That many things were condemned in the bookes of *Luther* of Monkes and Diuines for hereticall, which in the bookes of *Bernard* and *Auguſtine* are read for ſound and godly.

We cannot deſire more large and ample confeſſions of our faith, then haue been made by the enemies thereof: theſe examples may ſuffice: wherefore this note better a great deale ſerueth our turne, then it maketh for the Ieſuite.

Of the iudgements of God vpon popiſh perſecutors.

TWo other of the Ieſuites notes remaine, the fourteenth, and fifteenth: The vnhappie end (ſaith he) of the enemies of their Church, and the externall happines and flouriſhing eſtate of the defenders thereof, *cap. 17. 18.*

Anſw. Firſt, more fearefull examples of Gods iudgements we ſhall not finde in any, then haue fallen vpon the perſecutors and butcherly ſlaughtermen of Gods ſeruants for the Goſpels ſake: you ſhall finde a whole treatiſe of this matter, wherein ſuch examples are gathered together, *Fox* p. 2100. Vnto that place I refer the reader, becauſe it were too long to giue particular inſtances of euery thing: yet becauſe the Ieſuite produceth certaine examples of Gods iudgements vpon *Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Caluin,* whom he ſhamefully belieth; I will take a little paine, firſt to make anſwere to his ſlaunders, and then to ſhew ſome notable examples of Gods iudgements amongſt them. Firſt, he ſaith, that *Luther*, after he had ſupped merily, and made all his gueſts ſport, died the ſame night; *Zuinglius* was ſlaine in battell; *Oecolampadius* died ſuddenly in the night; *Caluin* was conſumed of lice, and calling vpon the diuell died, *Bellar. cap. 16.*

Anſw. Firſt, in ſome of theſe reports the Ieſuite ſhamefully lieth: for *Luther* died not of a ſurfeit or drunkenneſſe, as they report, but of an old infirmitie and weaknes of ſtomacke, and not in the night, but the next morning at eight or nine a clocke: alſo hee made a moſt comfortable end, with a ſweete praier immediatly before his death, and commending his ſoule heartily into the hands of God; as *Melancthon* reporteth the manner of his death. And *Oecolampadius* died not ſuddenly, but of an old ſickneſſe he had, encreaſed with ſorrow for the death of *Zuinglius*, *Fox* pag. 873. col. 1. And as touching Maſter *Caluin*, *Bellarmine* doth too ſhamefully belie him, who as he liued, ſo died the ſeruant of God, whatſoeuer theſe children of the father of lies ſay to the contrarie: Maſter *Beza*, who hath written the ſtorie of his life and death herein deſerueth more credit, then any of your lying and railing Libellers. The like vnſauourie lie *Bolſecus Bellarmines* author, reporteth of Maſter *Caluin*, how he was confederate with one *Bruleus Oſtuno*, a poore ſtranger at Geneua, that he ſhould faine himſelfe dead, and ſhould bee raiſed vp to life by Maſter *Caluin*, and how the ſaid *Bruleus* ſo diſſembling, when *Caluin* came in, and ſaid his praiers ouer him, was found dead indeede, *Bellarm. cap. 14.* But we doe nothing marueile at the impudent ſpirit of our aduerſaries: for thus alſo they belied *Bucer*, that faithfull learned man, that he ſhould denie at his death that Chriſt the Meſſiah was come: And that all the world may know their impudencie, euen this laſt yeere, they were not aſhamed to blaze abroad in their writings, that *Beza* died a Papiſt conuerted, and that at his motion made at his death, the whole Church of Geneua was reuolted to Papiſtrie: which lying Libell is confuted by Maſter *Beza* himſelfe, and the reſt of the Miniſters of Geneua in a pamphlet publiſhed in this laſt yere 1597.

Secondly, ſome of theſe iudgements, which the Ieſuite rehearſeth, we take to bee none at all, as to be ſlaine in battaile, as *Zuinglius* was; who as a good ſhepheard gaue his life for his flocke, and would not leaue them fighting in the defence of the Goſpell: he did not goe as a Captaine to wage battaile, as ſome of your Popes, and popiſh Biſhops haue done, but as a paſtor to teach and comfort them, which your owne Canons allow: as it was decreed, *Synod. Franciſcan.* That the ſeruants of God, *propter diuinum miniſterium,* for the diuine miniſterie or ſeruice might go to warre. Neither is it to be counted a plague to die by the ſword, or of any other violent death, to him that hath liued well, as S. *Auguſtine* well ſaith: *Noli timere, non poteſt malè mori, qui bene vixerit:* Feare not, he cannot die ill, that hath liued well. And againe, *Vndecunque mors pio, bona eſt:* Death howſoeuer it commeth to a godly man, is good: *in Pſal.* 148. And further, ſaith he, Doeſt thou thinke it an euill death, to die of ſhipwracke, to be ſlaine by the ſword, torne of wilde beaſts; did not the Martyrs indure the like deaths?

Thirdly, it ſhall euen now appeare, that all theſe iudgements which the Ieſuite hath brought forth, and many more haue iuſtly fallen vpon popiſh perſecutors. And for his fiue fained examples, we are able to giue him tenne times ſo many: but it ſhall not be needfull to rehearſe ſuch a number, yet ſome I will ſet downe.

Now then in the next place, as the Ieſuite hath endeuoured, but to ſmall purpoſe, to ſingle out ſome Proteſtants, as noted with Gods iudgements: ſo I will, ſomewhat to ſatisfie the reader, requite them with the like, not referring him altogether to Maſter *Foxes* treatiſe of this matter. For as *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Noui quemadmodum ſoleat contriſtare lectorem, cùm à libro, qui gerit in manibus in alium mittitur, quem forte non habeat:* I know how it doth trouble the reader, when as he is referred from that booke he hath in his hands, to another which he hath not: and ſo he ſaith, *ſatius eſt offerre habenti, quam differre non habentem:* It is better to offer to him that hath the booke, then to defer him that hath it not, *Auguſt. lib. 2. de Baptiſ. cap.* 1. I will therefore, for their cauſe that haue not that large volume, ſort out ſome notable examples of Gods iudgements vpon perſecuting Papiſts: and becauſe they may deny them, though they be ſtrange, to be iudgements, I will together with the alleaging of them vſe theſe probations.

Firſt, the likenes of puniſhment in the old perſecuting Pagans, and in the new perſecuting Papiſts. Secondly, the confeſſion of our aduerſaries. Thirdly, the confeſſion of thoſe that were puniſhed and iudged of God. Fourthly, the prediction of the Martyrs, whom they perſecuted. Fiftly, their deſperate ends. Sixtly, the ſame iudgements fell vpon them, which they procured vpon others. Seuenthly, the extraordinarie courſe of Gods iudgements.

Firſt then, if wee ſhall finde perſecuting Papiſts to haue ſuſtained the very ſame puniſhments with the Heathen tyrants, no man can doubt, but that they were iuſtly iudged of God. *Antiochus* a miniſter of crueltie in the fift perſecution vnder *Alexander,* while he was in the execution of torments vpon one *Agapitus* for the Chriſtian faith, ſuddenly fell downe dead from his iudiciall ſeate, crying out, that his bowels within him burned with fire, *Henric. de Erford. lib. 6. cap.* 29. So at the condemnation of *Wolfgangus* a Germane Martyr, the Commendator of S. *Antonie* of Vienna ſitting for the ſpirituall Iudge, ſuddenly fell downe and died: and the Abbot of Clarilocus his aſſiſtant not long after at the cracke of gunnes fell downe and died, *anno* 1525. *Pantal.*

Againe, *Claudius* Preſident vnder *Valerian* in the eight perſecution a cruell perſecutor, was vexed of the diuell, and biting his owne tongue into many ſmall pieces died, *Fox* pag. 74. col. 2. In like manner Cardinall *Creſcentius* was vexed of the diuell, who was Preſident of the Tridentine Chapter, who ſitting vp late to write letters to the Pope, ſaw in his chamber comming toward him an huge blacke dogge with fierie eyes, and therewith ſtriken with a great feare died: vpon whoſe death the Councell was diſſolued, pag. 2107.

Maximinus that cruell tyrant was ſtriken with a moſt fearefull diſeaſe, conſuming his entrals, whereout iſſued an innumerable multitude of lice, with a moſt filthy ſtinking ſauour, that no man could abide him: his Phiſitions, becauſe they could not cure him, he commaunded to bee ſlaine, pag. 82. col. 1. In like ſort was *Minerius* plagued the perſecutor of the innocent Merindolians, whoſe bowels rotted within him being conſumed with wormes: who alſo commaunded his ſurgeon to be apprehended, that gaue him good exhortation; and he miſerably died with extreame ſtinch of the lower parts, with horrible blaſphemies, &c. pag. 913. col. 2. *Twyford* likewiſe a furious Papiſt, who ſet vp the ſtakes in Smithfield, rotted aboue the ground, ſo that no man could abide him, pag. 1218. col. 1.

Phillips the betrayer of innocent *Tyndall* died of lice. *Bale* alſo the Promooter in Queene *Maries* daies, was eaten of lice, pag. 2101. col. 1.

Maxentius that tyrant falling with his horſe from the bridge, which he did lay for *Conſtantine,* was drowned. The like iudgement befell a certaine young gentleman, an horrible blaſphemer, who being admoniſhed of his ſwearing, ſtill multiplying othes, pricked forward his horſe, being vpon the bridge: from the which the horſe ſprung aſide into the water, he crying vpon his back, Horſe and man and all to the diuell, pag. 2105. In like ſort *Iohn Vander,* a chiefe officer of Antwerpe, and a cruell perſecuter, riding to the citie in his wagon, when he was come to the bridge, the horſe ſtanding ſtill,cried out to the driuer,Ride on in a thouſand diuels names : and the horſe ſpringing beſide,he was caſt into the towne ditch, and ſo drowned. Thus we ſee,how in all reſpects as the perſecutors of the Primitiue Church were puniſhed, ſo yͤ enemies of Chriſts Church in theſe daies were recompenced. If then ſtrange kindes of death were to be counted iudgements in them,ſo are they in theſe.

Secondly,we haue our aduerſaries owne confeſſion : for the Ieſuite noteth foure iudgements of God,as I haue ſhewed before, which hee falſely affirmeth to haue fallen vpon thoſe learned Proteſtants: firſt, ſuddennes of death: ſecondly,to be vexed of the diuell : thirdly,to die blaſpheming : fourthly,to die ſecurely and merily after pots and cups, as he ſlandereth *Luther*. Three of the firſt I haue before touched, and giuen an inſtance of themſelues, that haue taſted of thoſe iudgements : and for the laſt,the Ieſuite might haue remembred how Pope *Leo* ſitting at ſupper, and very pleaſant,was ſuddenly ſtriken with a feuer,wherof he died,p.854. And for ſecure death, *Eckius*,that mightie impugner of *Luther*, might haue been thought vpon, whoſe laſt words when he died were theſe : In caſe the foure thouſand Guilders were readie,the matter were diſpatched : with the which,as it is thought,he ſhould haue purchaſed ſome preferment at Rome.

Thirdly,let vs heare their owne confeſſion that were puniſhed.King *Henry* the 2.of France hauing receiued his deadly wound at Iuſting, ſaid, he feared he was ſtriken for falſely impriſoning the poore Chriſtians,pag.2112. Likewiſe one *Baſtian* Captaine of the armie, that went againſt the Proteſtants of Luſerne,and S.*Martin*,threatning that day to doe much againſt them, and returning wounded, it was ſaid vnto him, Now it is well ſeene that their religion is better then ours,pag.967.

Fourthly,the prediction and foretelling of the Martyrs of the iudgements that followed, doe ſhew that they were ſent of God,as Maſter *Patrike Hamelton* at his death did cite the blacke Frier *Campbel*,that was his accuſer, to appeare before the moſt high God to anſwere for the innocencie of his death at a certaine day of the next moneth : immediatly before which day the Frier died, pag.975.col.2. Likewiſe, *anno* 1561. at Amboiſe in France certaine gentlemen being vniuſtly condemned to death by the Chauncellor *Oliuier*, one of them tooke of the blood of his fellowes that were beheaded, and lift his hands to heauen, and ſaid ; Lord behold the blood of thy children,thou wilt in time reuenge it : and ſhortly after the Chauncellor died in great deſpaire, *Fox* pag.2112.

Fiftly,the ſame iudgements ouertooke ſome of them, which they threatned, and had done to others : which ſheweth, that they were ſtriken of God : One *Iohn Martin* of Briqueras in France, threatned he would ſlit the Miniſters noſe ; who was himſelfe aſſaulted of a wolfe, which bit off his noſe,whereof he died mad,pag.955. Sir *Rafe Ellerker* Knight Marſhall at Calice,when *Adam Damlip* was executed,ſaid, he would not goe away before he ſaw his hart : but he himſelfe afterward was taken in a ſkirmiſh of the French,his priuie members cut off, and his hart raked out of his bellie,pag.1229. One *Landeſdale* a cruell enemie to the Goſpell, that ſuffered a poore man to die in a ditch by his houſe, was not long after caſt by his horſe into a ditch, and ſo died,*Fox* pag. 2104.

Sixtly, their deſperate and fearefull ends doe declare that Gods reuenging hand was amongſt them;as *Plankney* and *Hanington*,both fellowes of New Colledge in Oxford,drowned themſelues, and were taken vp,with their Crucifixes hanging about their neckes,pag.2104. *Clarke*,an open enemie to the Goſpell,hanged himſelfe in the tower,pag.1201.col.1. and diuers of them beſide killed themſelues : others died in deſpaire. *Guarlacus* a learned man of Louaine,and a mightie defender of Poperie, vttering moſt horrible blaſphemies in his ſicknes, cried out, that his ſinnes were greater then could be giuen : and ſo wretchedly in deſpaire ended his life, *ex epiſtol.Claudij Senarclai ad Bucer*. In like manner *Iacobus Latomus*, a mightie impugner of *Luther*,in his open Lecture in Louaine fell mad,and ſo was carried home and ſhut vp in a cloſe chamber till he died, who had nothing in his mouth, but that he was damned : *ex ead.epiſtol.* Many ſuch examples might be alleaged to this purpoſe : but theſe may ſuffice to ſhew, that their deſperate madnes of ſome in killing themſelues, of others in dying in deſpaire without all comfort, doth euidently ſhew that they were iudged of God.

Seuenthly, it may appeare by the extraordinarie meanes whereby ſome of them were puniſhed : Doctor *Whittington* Chauncellor, a perſecutor in King *Henry* the 7.daies, comming from the burning of a faithful woman,whom he had condemned,was ſlaine of a Bull,that offered to touch none of the people beſide, but comming againſt him, ranne vpon him, and toſſed him vpon his hornes,trailing his guts all along in the ſtreete,pag.775. *Burton* Bailiffe of Crowland, an earneſt defender of the Maſſe,and an enemy to the Goſpel,was poyſoned with the excrements of a crow, which flying ouer his head,as he rode by the way, let them fall vpon his noſe and beard,with the ſtinch whereof he fell into a continuall vomiting,whereof he died,pag.2100. A Frier of Mounſter,as he was in the pulpit inueighing againſt the doctrine of the Goſpell,was ſmitten with a ſudden flaſh of lightning, and ſo died: *ex Pantal.2.part,&c.* Wherefore as the Ieſuite noteth it to haue been a iudgement of God vpon *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, a fauourer of the Eutychian heretikes, that was ſmitten of lightning: ſo can it not be denied, but in like ſort this was a iudgement vpon this Frier. Thus wee ſee how little the Ieſuite hath gained by making the iudgements of God a note of the Church.

Of the externall happines of the Church, the 15. *Note.*

NOw concerning externall happineſſe and good ſucceſſe: firſt, it is no certaine note of the Church of God, which oftner is without it, then it doth enioy it: for Chriſts kingdome is not of this world. And as the Lord ſuffered his people to ſoiourne as ſtrangers, and to bee euill entreated foure hundred yeeres, from *Abrahams* time to *Moſes*: ſo is it the condition for the moſt part of the Church of God ſtill; as the Prophet *Ieremie* ſaith, *Dedit dilectam animam ſuam in manus inimicorum eius*: He hath giuen his beloued and deare heart into the hands of the enemies thereof, Ierem. 12. And S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Beneficentiſſima prouidentia omnipotens deus terrenam fælicitatem conceſſit & impijs, ne pro magno quæreretur à bonis*: Almightie God of his bountifull prouidence, hath graunted earthly felicitie to the wicked, that the godly ſhould not ſo greatly deſire it, *epiſt.*120.*ad Honorat.cap.*5. How then can that bee a note of the Church which is common to the wicked? Nay, one of your owne writers ſaith contrarie, that *Crux eſt eccleſiæ nota*, the Croſſe is a note of the Church, *Eſpenſ.in* 2.*Timoth.p.*103.*d.* And againe, *Prædixit Chriſtus labores, Pſeudochriſti proſpera*: Chriſt foretold of labour and ſorrow, the falſe Chriſts prophecied of peace and proſperitie, *pag.* 100.*g.* By this ſentence *Bellarmine* is a falſe prophet, that would haue felicitie and proſperitie a note of his Church.

Secondly, as the Ieſuite ſheweth in the examples of *Iuſtinian* the elder, and *Heraclius* the Emperour, that they proſpered in their warres till they fell to be maintainers of hereſie, then all things went backward, *cap.*18. the like examples we can produce of the euill ſucceſſe and vnhappie end of thoſe who reuolted from the Goſpell to Papiſtrie, whom God bleſſed in all their enterpriſes before: This was the King of Nauarre his caſe, father to the now French King; who after he had ſuſtained a while the cauſe of the Goſpell, was content at the length to alter his profeſſion, and ioyne with the Duke of Guize, and was ſtriken with a pellet at the ſiege of Roane, whereof he died, much repenting his reuolt. It had been happie if the ſonne in the ſame caſe had remembred his fathers fall. The like experience of Gods wrath vpon reuolters, others of meaner place haue felt: as *Henrie Smith* ſometime a profeſſor of the Goſpell, afterward at Louaine peruerted to Poperie, comming home hanged himſelfe, with his *Agnus dei* about his necke. One *Williams* a ſtudent of the inner Temple, firſt a Goſpeller, then a Papiſt, fell ſtark mad, and ſo continued, *Fox* p.2105. *Arnoldus Bomelius* a young ſtudent of the Vniuerſitie of Louaine proſpered well, ſo long as he fauoured the Goſpell: afterward being peruerted by *Tyleman* Maſter of the Popes Colledge, fell into deſpaire, and killed himſelfe with his dagger: whoſe ſtorie Maſter *Fox* hath at large, pag. 1106. Thus it doth appeare how vnhappely it fareth with popiſh reuolters, contrarie to the Ieſuites obſeruation: therefore they cannot bragge of their outward felicitie.

Thirdly, neither of late can our aduerſaries, I thinke, boaſt of ſuch good ſucceſſe of their kingdome: for ſince the reuiuing of the Goſpell in the world, the Popes Crowne and dignitie hath been much impaired, and many Princes haue withdrawne their collers and ſhoulders from vnder his yoke. And as for England (God enlarge our hearts to bee thankfull therefore) there was neuer ſeene the like continuance of peace, and abundance of temporall bleſſings, as the Goſpell hath brought with it hitherto. And I am perſwaded, were it not for our ſinnes, wee ſhould enioy many yeeres ſtill, as I truſt in God wee ſhall, if wee will humble our ſelues before God by true repentance.

Thus farre of the Ieſuites fifteene notes, whereby the popiſh Church is deciphered. Now it followeth, that we declare the infallible and moſt certaine notes of the true Church.

Of the true and infallible Notes of the Church of Chriſt.

THe outward tokens whereby the true viſible Church is diſcerned, are not many in number, as our aduerſaries doe reckon vp many: the Ieſuite no leſſe than 15. ſupplying belike in number, that which they want in waight. Neither in this place doe wee ſpeake of the vniuerſall Catholike inuiſible Church, which is beleeued and not ſeene, being an article of our faith: but of particular viſible Churches, which are diſcerned and knowne by theſe two eſſentiall markes, the true preaching of the word, and right vſe of the Sacraments: Some alſo doe adde a third, namely, Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, *Beza confeſſ.de Eccleſ.art.*7. *Hooper* vpon the Creede, *articul.*72. But this partly is comprehended in the two former; for there cannot bee hearing and preaching of the word, and the frequenting of the Sacraments, vnleſſe there bee an exerciſe of Church diſcipline: partly alſo wee ſay that it is not ſo eſſentiall a note, as the other are: for the abſence of the other make a nullitie of the Church. If the word or Sacraments in ſubſtance be corrupted, the Church alſo is defaced: but if there bee not an exact forme of diſcipline, it doth not ſtraightway ceaſe to be a Church. Wherefore we conclude, that the true preaching of the word, and right vſe of the Sacraments, are the only neceſſarie and eſſentiall notes of the Church: where theſe two are rightly vſed according to Gods word, there is a right Church, as here in England, God bee bleſſed: where they are falſely and impurely handled, there is a falſe and corrupt Church, as among the Papiſts: where they are not at all in vſe, there is no Church, as amongſt the Turkes, Iewes, and Infidels. Firſt we will examine our aduerſaries arguments, and then bring forth our owne.

The Papiſts.

*Arg.*1. *Bellarmine* thus argueth: The true notes of the Church ought to bee proper and particular, not common and generall, as theſe are: for euery ſect of heretikes doe chalenge to themſelues the right preaching of the word, and vſage of the Sacraments: *Ergo*, they are no true notes, *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Eccleſ. cap. 2.*

We anſwere: Firſt, it skilleth not how many doe lay clayme to thoſe notes: the word of God it ſelfe is a manifeſt iudge where pure doctrine is taught, and the Sacraments rightly kept according to the inſtitution. It is no matter, howſoeuer Papiſts and other heretikes doe make their brags, the Scriptures themſelues can ſoone decide this queſtion. And S. *Hierome* ſaith well to this purpoſe: *Nec ſibi blandiantur, quod videantur de ſcripturarum capitulis affirmare, quod dicunt:* Neither let them flatter themſelues, becauſe they proue their aſſertions out of Scripture: For ſo the diuel alſo alleaged Scripture: *Sed Scriptura non in legendo conſiſtunt, ſed intelligendo:* But the Scriptures conſiſt not in the reading but vnderſtanding, &c. *Cont. Luciferian.* So then although heretikes by the letter of Scripture may take vpon them to proue their Church, yet by the true ſenſe thereof they ſhall neuer. Secondly, nay rather this argument may be turned vpon the Ieſuites head: for it is therefore the more like, that theſe ſhould be the true notes of the Church, becauſe euery hereſie doth labour to proue their Church thereby: for if it were not the right coyne, they would not goe about to counterfeit it. Thirdly, I maruell they are not aſhamed to obiect, that our notes are common, ſeeing theirs are moſt common: for not onely aſſemblies of heretikes, but euen the heathen and Idolatrous Gentiles might as well proue themſelues to be the Church, by thoſe popiſh notes, of vniuerſalitie, for Idolatrie had ouerſpread the whole world; of vnitie, they all conſented to perſecute the Church of Chriſt; of antiquitie, for the worſhip of Idols continued aboue two thouſand yeares; of ſucceſſion, for the monarchie of the Aſſyrians endured 1300. yeares, their kings all this while one ſucceeding another. They had alſo Prophets, and ſuch as wrought miracles. Our aduerſaries may be now aſhamed to caſt vs in the teeth, that our notes are common, when as theirs doe well agree to the Synagogues of Sathan, and aſſemblies of Infidels.

*Argum.*2. Saith he, the note or the marke muſt be better knowne and more notorious, then the thing marked or notified by it: ſo are not theſe; for we know not which is the word of God, nor what bookes are Canonicall, and to be taken for Scripture, but by the Church, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We anſwere: the Ieſuite ſtill beggeth that which is in queſtion: a foule fault in a profeſſed diſputer: for haue we not largely proued before 1. *contr. quaſt.* 4. that the Church dependeth vpon the authoritie of the Scripture, and not contrariwiſe, and that there is no more certaine and euident and vndoubted thing in the whole world, vpon the which a man may be bold to build and ground his faith, then vpon the Scriptures? This ſure is a childiſh and ridiculous argument, to take that as graunted, which is moſt of all in controuerſie. Secondly, he committeth the ſame fault himſelfe, chap. 14. where he maketh the power of miracles a note of the Church, and yet confeſſeth, *Ex Eccleſia miracula demonſtrari:* That true miracles are demonſtrated by the Church: why then may not the word of God as well ſhew the Church, although in ſome ſenſe the Church ſhew the word? Thirdly, the Ieſuite confeſſeth, *cap.* 2. that where the Scripture is receiued, and the Church doubted of, there the Scripture declareth the Church: which is our very caſe in theſe dayes: for ſeeing our aduerſaries and we are agreed concerning the moſt of the Canonicall Scriptures, but differ about the Church, in the Ieſuites iudgement in this caſe we muſt demonſtrate the Church by the Scriptures. Fourthly, the Ieſuite miſtaketh the matter: for we doe not thus reaſon, where the Scriptures are acknowledged for the word, there is the Church; for the Iewes receiue the old Teſtament, the diuell knoweth it is the word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures; but they are neither of the Church: but where the word is faithfully preached, profeſſed, receiued, and beleeued, there is the Church.

*Argum.*3. The true notes (ſaith he) are inſeparable from the Church: it is neuer without them. But many true Churches haue wanted theſe: The Church of the Corinthians was a true Church, and yet they beleeued not the reſurrection, chap. 15. The Galathians were a true Church, and yet they held that *Moſes* law was to be obſerued together with the Goſpell. And the Corinthians likewiſe did not ſincerely obſerue the Sacraments, 1,Corinth.11. And as many true Churches haue wanted theſe notes, ſo falſe Churches may haue them: for there may be true doctrine among ſchiſmatikes, ſuch as the Donatiſts were: for ſchiſmatikes may hold all poynts of ſound doctrine, who faile in charitie rather then in faith: *Ergo*, theſe are no true ſignes, *Bellarm.ibid.*

We anſwere: firſt, this argument may with better right be returned vpon their owne head: for many true Churches haue wanted their markes: Chriſt and his Apoſtles had neither ſucceſſion from *Aaron*, nor vniuerſalitie, and yet they made the true Church. The Church of the Iewes after *Malachies* time had no Prophets, nor myracles, for the ſpace of 400. yeares before Chriſt, and yet were they the true Church, and ſo of the reſt of your notes, the Church of Chriſt hath many times wanted them. Secondly, it was not the whole Church of Corinthus that doubted of the reſurrection, but certaine falſe Apoſtles that laboured to ſeduce others, 1.Cor.15.34. Some of you (ſaith the Apoſtle) haue not the knowledge of God: he ſaith, not all. So likewiſe amongſt the Galathians there were falſe teachers, that ſtoode for the law of *Moſes*: Galath.5.9. A little leauen doth marre the whole lumpe. It was not therefore a publike doctrine in the Church, but ſecretly taught by falſe Apoſtles. Thirdly, there may be ſome error in the Church, but being not fundamentall, ſuch an one as deſtroieth faith, it doth not diſſolue the Church: as there was ſome abuſe amongſt the Corinthians in receiuing the Sacrament: but the forme and inſtitution and ſubſtance of the Sacrament was kept. Nay, yet to graunt a little more: though the error be dangerous, and of great waight and moment, and ſuch an one, as being ſtiffely maintained, would deſtroy the faith and Church too: yet if they haue fallen into it rather of ignorance, then any other cauſe, and doe not continue in it, but doe ſubmit themſelues to be reformed by the word, it ceaſeth not for all that to be a Church. So the Corinthians referred themſelues wholy and their opinions to the iudgement and determination of the Apoſtle.

To the ſecond part of the argument, that pure doctrine may be found in an impure Church.

We anſwere: firſt, the example which the Ieſuite alleageth of the Donatiſts, is nothing to his purpoſe: for the Donatiſts did not onely offend in their ſchiſme, but they held alſo ſchiſmaticall and vntrue opinions, as that the Sacraments were polluted by the Miniſters, that Baptiſme giuen by heretikes, ought to bee iterated: that the Church in the earth conſiſteth onely of the good without any mixture of euill men: that the Church was periſhed from the whole world, and remained onely amongſt them: theſe were the opinions of the Donatiſts: they had not therefore pure doctrine. *Auguſtine* doubteth not to ſay vnto a chiefe Donatiſt: *Schiſmaticus es ſacrilega diſceſſione, hareticus ſacrilego dogmate:* Thou art a ſchiſmatike, for thy ſacrilegious departure from the Church, and an heretike for thy ſacrilegious opinions, *Cont.Gaudent.lib.*3. Wherefore the Ieſuite was much ouerſeene in alleaging this example. Secondly, there are no ſchiſmatikes, which doe ſeparate themſelues from the Church, but they doe diſſent in ſome opinion, and ſo as well fayle in faith as in charitie: for what elſe ſhould moue them, to be deuided from the Church, but diuerſitie and difference of doctrine? So *Auguſtine* anſwereth *Creſconius*, who made this difference of hereſie and ſchiſme: *Hareſis*, ſaith the Donatiſt, *eſt diuerſa ſequentium ſecta, ſchiſma eadem ſequentium ſeparatio:* An hereſie is a ſect of thoſe that follow other opinions, a ſchiſme is a ſeparation of thoſe which are of one opinion. No, ſaith *Auguſtine, Nulla ſciſſio, vel ſchiſma eſt niſi diuerſum ſequantur:* There is no ſchiſme, vnleſſe they follow diuers opinions: And that ſaying of S. *Hierome* is allowed in your owne decrees, *Nullum ſchiſma, non aliquam ſibi confingit hareſim:* There is no ſchiſme, which doth not inuent ſome new hereſie: *decr.par.2.cauſ.24.qu.3.c.26.* For although a ſchiſmatike ſhould be of the ſame iudgement in all other things, yet herein hee fayleth in ſound doctrine, in that he thinketh it lawfull, to deuide himſelfe from the Church: yet the Ieſuite ſhall neuer be able to ſhew me ſuch a ſchiſmatike, which did not beſide his ſeparation, holde ſome doctrine contrarie to the Catholike truth.

Cont.Creſcon.cap.9.

Wherefore we conclude, that whereſoeuer true and ſound doctrine is taught wholy and in euery part, for the matter, though not for the manner, there is the Church: as S. *Paul* ſaith, *So Chriſt be preached, whether vnder pretence or ſincerely, I therein reioyce,* Philip.1.18.

The Proteſtants.

1 FOr the ſufficiencie of theſe notes, we would deſire no better arguments then thoſe which our aduerſaries alleaged againſt vs: for firſt our notes are proper onely to the Church, and cannot be found in any place, where the Church of God is not. Secondly, they are moſt notorious markes, and a man by the Scriptures may more eaſily know, what true doctrine is, and which are the right ſacraments, then which is the true Church. Thirdly, theſe markes cannot be abſent from the Church, but doe alwayes accompanie it, and it is no longer a true Church, then it hath thoſe markes.

*Argum.*2. We are able out of the Scriptures to proue theſe markes, which may ſtand in ſtead of many reaſons. Ioh.10. *My ſheepe heare my voyce:* Epheſ.5. *Clenſing it by the waſhing of water through the word: Ergo,* the Word and Sacraments are true notes of the Church.

Bellarmine anſwereth to the firſt place, that the hearing of the word, is not a viſible note of the Church, but a ſigne vnto euery man, whereby he may know his election. We reply againe: looke which way a man is knowne to be a member of the Church, by the ſame way the Church alſo it ſelfe is diſcerned: if the hearing of the word doe make one a ſheepe of Chriſt, then doth it alſo ſhew which is the flocke and folde of Chriſt: As I know my hand or foote to be a part of my bodie, becauſe it hath life and motion of the bodie; euen ſo the bodie is diſcerned from a carcaſe, becauſe it moueth and liueth.

To the ſecond place he anſwereth, verie ſimply: that the Apoſtle there ſheweth not, which is the Church, but what good Chriſt hath wrought for his Church. We reply againe: But the Church is beſt knowen by the benefits that Chriſt hath beſtowed vpon it, amongſt the which the Word and the Sacraments are not the leaſt: *Ergo*, by theſe the Church is knowen, and in that place by the Apoſtle deſcribed: And let the reader iudge, whether that place of the Apoſtle, where there is direct mention made of the word and ſacraments, be not fitly applied to our purpoſe, concerning the deſcription of the Church.

Arg. 3. Looke how Chriſt is knowen, ſo is his Church: but Chriſt is knowen only by the Scriptures; as hee himſelfe ſaith, Iohn 5. Search the Scriptures, for they doe teſtifie of me: *Ergo*, the true Church is to be knowen by the Scriptures: The word of God therefore is an infallible note of the Church; *argum. Bradford. epiſt. ad. Cantabrigienſ.* This argument alſo vſeth *D. Ridley* Martyr, alleadging a place out of *Chriſoſtome* to this ſenſe: In times paſt there were many wayes to knowe the Church of Chriſt by, as by good life, chaſtitie, miracles, &c. but nowe theſe things are common to heretikes: and therefore the true Church is now to be knowen, *tantummodo per ſcripturas*, onely by the Scriptures: *Hom.* 49. *in Mat. in oper. imperf.*

S. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *In ſcripturis didicimus Chriſtum, in ſcripturis didicimus eccleſiam, epiſtol.* 166. In the Scripture we doe learne Chriſt, in the Scripture let vs likewiſe learne the Church. His argument is the ſame that here we haue vſed. Looke how Chriſt is knowen, ſo is his Church: but Chriſt is onely knowen by his word: *Ergo*, ſo is his Church.

Now let vs adde the ſeale and ſtampe, which the holy Martyrs haue ſigned this doctrine with in their blood. *Richard Feurus* Martyr, who ſuffered at Lions for the truth *anno* 1554. ſaith, that the Church of God is onely to be knowen by the word of God, and the right inſtitution of the Sacraments. *Fox* page 912. *Fredericke Danuile* Martyr at Paris, being asked whether theſe two were the notes of the Church, anſwered, *That doe I beleeue, and therein will I liue and die, Fox* pag. 922. col. 2. See the confeſſion alſo of *Thomas Benet* Martyr. pag. 1039. Of *George Marſh* Martyr 1565. col. 2. Of *Bartlet Green* Martyr, The true markes of Chriſts Church, ſaith he, is the true preaching of his word, and miniſtery of the Sacraments, pag. 1852. All theſe with many others aduentured their liues, dying in the faith of that Church, which was knowen by thoſe two infallible notes. Let the Papiſts bring fourth any that durſt doe the like for their vniuerſalitie, antiquitie, and the like.

Laſt of all, for the truth and certaintie of theſe two notes of the Church, namely, the word and Sacraments, we haue the determination of the Papiſts themſelues aſſembled in Councel. *Interrelig. Caſare. cap.* 10. *Sunt Eccleſiæ veræ notæ, doctrina ſana & ſacramentorum vſus, quibus à Iudæorum & Ethnicorum cœtibus eccleſia diſiungitur, quorum vtrique & ſana doctrina, & ſacramentis noui teſtamenti carent:* The true notes of the Church are ſound doctrine, and the right vſe of the Sacraments, by the which the Church is diſtinguiſhed from the Iewiſh and heatheniſh aſſemblies, which neither haue ſound doctrine, nor the Sacraments of the new Teſtament.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, OF THE authoritie of the Church.

THe Papiſts affirme, that the authoritie of the Church conſiſteth in theſe fiue points. Firſt, in authoriſing the Scriptures, and defining which are Canonicall. Secondly, in giuing the ſenſe of the Scripture. Thirdly, in determining matters beſides Scripture. Fourthly, in making lawes and conſtitutions for the Church. Fiftly, in exerciſing of diſcipline.

Concerning the two laſt, we doe not greatly ſtand with them. We acknowledge the Church hath authoritie to make decrees and conſtitutions, but ſo, as the Apoſtles did: *Viſum eſt nobis & ſpiritui ſancto*, It ſeemed good to vs and the holy Ghoſt: the Church muſt be directed by the wiſdome of the ſpirite ſpeaking in the Scriptures.

We alſo acknowledge the holeſome power of the Church in exerciſing of holy diſcipline: but it muſt bee done in the name and power of Chriſt, 1. Cor. 5. 4. not according to the will of men.

Concerning the two firſt: we haue alreadie ſhewed, that neither the Church doth giue authoritie to the word of God, but doth take her authoritie from them: for the Scriptures are of ſufficient credit of themſelues, 1.*controu.quæſt.4.* neither that the ſenſe of Scripture dependeth vpon the interpretation of the Scripture, but that the word expoundeth it ſelfe, 1.*controu.quæſt.6.*

There remaineth therefore onely one point to be diſcuſſed of the authoritie of the Church: namely, in deciding of matters beſide the ſcriptures: which are of two ſortes, either neceſſarie appertaining to faith, or indifferent concerning ceremonies: of both theſe in their order.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE CHVRCH hath authoritie in matters of faith beſide the Scriptures.

The Papiſts.

24.Error. WE ought to take our faith and all neceſſarie things of ſaluation at the hands of our ſuperiours, *Rhemiſt. Act.* 10.*ſect.*8. In points not decided by ſcripture we muſt aske counſail of the Church, *Præfat ſect.*25. The Church is the onely pillar and ſtay to leane vnto in all doubts of doctrine, without the which there can be no certaintie nor ſecuritie: we muſt therefore beleeue it and truſt it in all things, *annot.*1, *Timoth.cap.*3.*ſect.*9. Yea it hath authoritie, ſay they, to make new articles of faith: as in the Councel of *Conſtance* it was decreed to be neceſſarie to ſaluation, to beleeue the Pope to be head of the Church. In the Councell of *Baſile* it was made an article of the faith, to beleeue that the Councell was aboue the Pope; and therefore Pope *Eugenius* in not obeying the Councell was adiudged to be an heretike. Rhemiſt.1. Tim.3.9.

*Argum.*1. Vpon theſe words in the Goſpell, Ioh.15.27. the ſpirit ſhall teſtifie of me, and you ſhall beare witnes alſo: they conclude thus: *Ergo,* the teſtimonie of the truth ioyntly conſiſteth in the holy Ghoſt and Prelates of the Church, *Rhemiſt.Ioh.*15.*ſect.*8.

We anſwere: the witnes of the ſpirit, and of the Apoſtles, is all one witnes: for the ſpirit firſt teſtifieth the truth to the Apoſtles inwardly, and the Apoſtles inſpired by the ſpirit did witnes it outwardly: ſo the Paſtors of the Church witneſſing with the ſpirit, which is not now inſpired by reuelation, but onely found in the Scriptures, are to be heard: but if the ſpirit teſtifie one thing in the word, and they teſtifie another, there we muſt leaue them.

*Argum.*2. The Church erreth not: *Ergo,* we muſt heare her in all things, *Rhemiſt.*1.*Timoth.*3.*ſect.*9. We anſwere: firſt, the Church may erre, if ſhe follow not the Scriptures; proued before, 2.*controu.quæſt.*2. Secondly, ſo long as the Church heareth Chriſts voice, we are likewiſe to heare hers: and ſo long as ſhe is preſerued from error, ſhe will not ſwarue from Chriſts precepts, neither impoſe any thing vpon her children, without the warrant of her ſpouſe.

*Argum.*3. Thou canſt proue nothing by Scripture, it is dead, it muſt haue a liuely expoſitor: *Ergo,* the Scripture ought not to be iudge in matters of faith, but the Church, *Wincheſt.*pag. 1486. *Anſwere.* The Scripture is aliue and not dead, as you ſay. *reſponſ.Roger.Mart.ibid.*

Obiect. All heretikes haue alleadged Scriptures, therefore we muſt haue a liuely expoſitor for them, *Worceſt.ibid.* *Anſwere.* Yea, it is true all heretikes haue alleadged Scripture, but they were confuted by Scripture, and by no other expoſitor, *reſponſ.Rog.Mar.ibid.*

Obiect. The letter killeth, but the ſpirit giueth life: *Ergo,* the Scriptures which are the letter cannot iudge, *ſic Boner* pag.1867. *Anſwere.* Saint *Paul* meaneth not, that the word of God in it ſelfe killeth, which is the word of life, but that the word is vnprofitable, and killeth him that is voide of the ſpirit of God: and therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, *that the Goſpell was to ſome the ſauour of life to life, and to ſome the ſauour of death, &c. Reſponſ.Philpot.Mart.ibid.*

Obiect. The word cannot be iudge of the word: *Ergo,* there muſt be another iudge beſide. *Argum.Stori* pag.1805. *Anſwere.* Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Verbum, quod locutus ſum, iudicabit in nouiſſimo die,* The word that I haue ſpoken, ſhall iudge at the laſt day: If the word ſhall iudge at the laſt day, much more it ought to iudge our doings now, *Reſponſ.Philpot.Mart ibid.*

The Proteſtants.

THat the Church hath no ſuch power to ordaine articles of faith, or impoſe matters to be beleeued neceſſarie to ſaluation not contayned, or preſcribed in the holy ſcriptures: we proue it thus, and we are ſure, that the true Church of Chriſt will neuer challenge any ſuch prerogatiue.

*Argum.*1. All truths and verities in the Scriptures are not ſo neceſſarie to ſaluation, that the ignorance thereof ſhould bring perill of damnation: *Ergo,* much leſſe are any verities out of Scripture of any ſuch neceſſitie; the firſt is manifeſt: for to know the iuſt chronologie of time or ſpace of yeares, from the beginning of the world to Chriſt, is a veritie in Scripture, yet not neceſſarie: ſo to beleeue that *Marie* continued a virgine euer after the birth of our Lord, was thought by *Baſile* to be no neceſſarie point to ſaluation, if we did holde her to haue been a virgin afore: and many ſuch other points there are in Scriptures which a man may be ignorant of without perill of ſaluation: *Ergo,* much more may we be ignorant of vnwritten verities, or rather popiſh fables. For it is not like that the Scriptures doe *abundari in ſuperfluis,* abound in ſuperfluous things, that be not neceſſarie to ſaluation, *& deficere in neceſſariys*, and be wanting in neceſſarie.

*Argum.*2. The Church hath no more authoritie then the Apoſtles, nor yet in all things ſo much: but they had no power to make articles of faith: for S. *Paul* deliuereth that which he had receiued concerning the Sacrament, he durſt not adde vnto it, as the Papiſts haue been bold to doe ſince, 1. Cor. 11. Vpon which place S. *Ambroſe* thus writeth: *Indignum dicit domino, qui aliter myſterium celebrat, quam ab eo traditum eſt: non enim poteſt deuotus eſſe, qui aliter praſumit, quàm datum eſt ab authore:* The Apoſtle ſaith, he is vnworthie of the Lord, which doth celebrate the myſterie otherwiſe then it was by him deliuered: for he hath no true deuotion, which preſumeth to doe otherwiſe, then the author preſcribed: *Ergo*, the Church may explaine and open articles of faith out of the Scriptures, but not make new. Heare of this matter alſo a writer, whom you will not refuſe: *Vincentius Lirinenſis* vpon theſe words, 1. Timoth. 6. 20. O *Timothie*, Keepe that which is committed vnto thee: *Intelligatur te exponente illuſtriùs, quod antè obſcuriùs credebatur: eadem tamen, qua didiciſti, doce, vt cùm dicas nouè, non dicas noua:* Let that be vnderſtoode more cleerely by thy expoſition, which was obſcurely beleeued before: yet teach none other things then thou haſt learned, that though you ſpeake them after a new manner, yet vtter no new things. If *Timothie* then was to bring in no new things, but onely to explaine the olde, how much leſſe the Paſtors of the Church now.

Fox.pag.677.

*Argum.*3. We proue it by the confeſſion of our aduerſaries. The fathers of *Baſile*, that concluded, it was an article of the Chriſtian faith to beleeue the ſuperioritie of the Councell, did gather it out of the ſaying of Chriſt, *dic eccleſia*, and therefore enforced it as an article. Whereby we gather, that they held, that the Church could eſtabliſh no article of faith without Scripture. *Bellarmine* likewiſe ſaith, that the Church is not now gouerned by new reuelations, but we ought to be contented with thoſe decrees, which we haue receiued from the Apoſtles: *Ergo*, as Doctor *Whitakers* doth ſtrongly conclude, the Church cannot coyne new articles of faith.

Contra. de Scrip.quæſt.6. cap.4.

*Argum.*4. If the Scriptures doe teach all neceſſarie poynts both concerning faith and manners, then hath the Church no authoritie to eſtabliſh other articles of faith beſide: but the firſt is true: for the Apoſtle ſaith, that the Scriptures *are able to make a man perfect to euery good worke:* but where perfection is, there is nothing wanting, 2. Timoth. 3. 17. *Ergo*, the Church hath no ſuch power: ſee more of this, *controu.*1. *quaſt.*7. *part.*2.

Laſtly, we haue before proued at large out of the word of God, that the Scriptures containe all things neceſſarie to ſaluation: and therefore all articles of faith muſt be deriued from thence, 1. *controu. quaſt.* 7. And ſo we conclude with *Auguſtine: Lingua ſonos, quibus inter ſe homines ſua ſenſa communicent, pacto quodam ſocietatis ſibi inſtituere poſſunt: Quibus autem ſacris diuinitati congruerent, voluntatem Dei ſequuti ſunt, qui rectè ſapuerunt: Qua omnino nunquam defuit ad ſalutem iuſtitia pietatique hominum:* Men, ſaith he, may deuiſe among themſelues what language they will vſe to expreſſe their minde: but how to ſerue God, wiſe men euer followed the will and commaundement of God, which neuer hath fayled men in all neceſſarie matters concerning righteouſnes and godlines. By this Fathers ſentence, the Scriptures which containe the will of God, containe all neceſſarie things. *Ergo*, we neede not ſeeke elſewhere.

Epiſtol.49. quæſt.2.

This truth is ſealed by the confeſſion and glorious witneſſe of the holy Martyrs, that the holy Scriptures being written by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, are the very true word of God, and therefore to be heard accordingly, as the Iudge in all controuerſies and matters of religion: this was the confeſſion of the holy Martyrs ſet forth *anno* 1554. ſubſcribed by *Iohn Hooper, Iohn Rogers, Rowland Taylour, Iohn Philpot, Iohn Bradford, Laurence Saunders*, and others, *Fox* pag. 1471.

Laſtly, we haue the authoritie of their owne Councels, *Concil. Baſilienſ. epiſtol. ſynodal.* Pope *Vrbane* is alleaged thus writing: *Sciendum eſt quia inde Romanus pontifex nouas leges condere poteſt, vnde Euangeliſta nequaquam aliquid dixerunt, &c.* Know this, that the Biſhop of Rome hath onely authoritie in this caſe to make new lawes, where the Euangeliſts and Scriptures are ſilent: But the Scriptures are not ſilent in any poynt concerning faith and manners. See the Councell of *Cauilon. can.*67. cited before *controu.*1. *quaſt.*7. *part.*2. *argum.*3. *Ergo*, neither the Church or Pope hath authoritie herein to make new lawes. And laſtly I will produce one of your owne Popes teſtimonies, *Iohn.*22. *extrau. tit.*14. *c.*5. *verſus finem. Articuli fidei in ſymbolis continentur, &c. articuli fidei habent per ſcripturam probari:* The articles of faith are conteined in the ſymboles or Creedes. Againe, the articles of faith muſt be proued by Scripture. *Ergo*, the Church can make no new article of the faith: but is bound to receiue thoſe contained in the Creede, and proued out of the Scriptures. Likewiſe *Concil. Ferraria. ſeſſ.*9. *Beſſarion* thus ſaith, *Sciatis addendi ſymbolo facultatem, non ſolùm Romana, verùm vniuerſali Eccleſia, generalique ſynodo interdictam eſſe:* Know yee that to adde to the Creede, not onely the Romane, but the vniuerſall Church and generall Synode hath no authoritie.

AN APPENDIX OR MEMBER OF THIS PART of the queſtion, whether we are to beleeue in the Church.

The Papiſts.

WE ought to beleeue and truſt the Church in all things: yea to beleeue in the Church, 25.Error. *Rhemiſt.*1.*Tim.*3.*ſect.*9. the Scripture alſo vſeth this ſpeech, to beleeue in men. *annot.in* 10. *Rom.*1.*ſect.*41.

*Argum,*1. Exod.14.31. they beleeued in God and *Moſes. Ergo.* We anſwere. Your owne vulgar text hath it, *crediderunt Deo & Moſi ſeruo eius:* they beleeued God and his ſeruant *Moſes:* that is, hauing ſeene the great power of God in the deſtruction of the Egyptians in the red ſea, according to the word of *Moſes,* they gaue credite vnto *Moſes,* which ſpake vnto them from God.

*Argum.*2. Philem verſ.5. *Hearing of thy loue and faith which thou haſt toward the Lord Ieſus and vnto all the Saints.* See, ſay they, here is faith toward the Saints.

We anſwere: there is no man, that is not peruerſly diſpoſed, but may eaſily diſtinguiſh the Apoſtles words; to attribute faith to Ieſus Chriſt, and loue to the Saints: which may appeare by the altering of the prepoſition, as they themſelues reade in their owne tranſlation, loue and faith in Ieſus Chriſt, and toward the Saints: ſo it muſt needes be thus vnderſtood, faith in Chriſt, and loue toward the Saints: this therefore is but a ſophiſticall cauill.

The Proteſtants.

THis word, *Credo,* beleeue, is taken three wayes: for there is *credere deo,* to beleeue God, that is, to truſt him in all things, *credere Deum,* to beleeue God to be, *credere in Deum,* to beleeue in God, as our creator, Lord, and redeemer. So we doe *credere eccleſiam,* we beleeue there is one holy Catholike Church: *credere eccleſia,* we doe alſo beleeue and giue credence to the Church, following the word of God: But we doe not in any wiſe *credere in eccleſiam,* beleeue in the Church.

*Argum.*1. We muſt not beleeue or put any confidence in a creature: the Church is but a creature: *Ergo:* for to beleeue in God, is onely proper to the Godhead: and therefore, Ioh.14.1. where Chriſt ſaith, ye beleeue in God, beleeue alſo in me: we doe neceſſarily out of theſe words inferre, that Chriſt is God, becauſe we are commanded to beleeue in him.

*Argum.*2. Faith is of things that are abſent and not ſeene: but the Church is preſent alwayes vpon earth, and alwayes viſible, as our aduerſaries holde: how then can it be an obiect of our faith? We cannot beleeue in that which is viſible and ſeene, for it is againſt the nature of faith.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Sciendum eſt quod eccleſiam credere, non tamen in eccleſiam credere debemus, quia eccleſia non eſt Deus ſed domus Dei: de tempore ſer,*131. We muſt know, that we are to beleeue there is a Church, not in the Church, for the Church is not God, but onely the houſe of God. Your owne decrees alſo doe approue that ſaying of S. *Auguſtine, Hom.*3. *ad Neophytos, decr.par.*3.*diſt.*4 *c.*73. *Non quomodo in Deum credimus, ſic in Eccleſiam ſanctam catholicam, quæ propterea ſancta & catholica eſt, quia certè credit in Deum: Non ergo diximus vt in Eccleſiam quaſi in Deum crederetis, ſed vt in Eccleſia ſancta conuerſantes in Deum crederetis, &c.* As we beleeue in God, ſo we doe not beleeue in the Church; which is therefore holy, becauſe it beleeueth aright in God: therefore we ſaid not, you muſt beleeue in the Church as in God, but that hauing your conuerſation in the Church, you ſhould beleeue in God. From whence we reaſon thus: that which beleeueth vpon an other is not to be beleeued vpon; but the Church beleeueth vpon God: *Ergo:* the reaſon of the propoſition is this, becauſe faith and beleefe is the laſt refuge of a Chriſtian; but beyond our beleefe in the Church there ſhould be another beleefe in God. And againe, there is but one and the ſelfe ſame obiect of faith: but now ſhould there be diuers, God the obiect of the Churches faith, and the Church the obiect of our faith.

For the confeſſion of this truth, that we ought to truſt onely in God, and not in men, and that we are bound no further to beleeue the decrees of the Church, then they are agreeable to the Scriptures: two conſtant Martyrs, *H.Voes,* and *Iohn Eſch,* gaue their liues at *Bruxelles, an.*1523.*Fox* pag.874.

THE SECOND PART OF THE QVESTION, concerning the ceremonies of the Church.

The Papiſts.

THey doe hold that the Church of God may vſe and bleſſe diuers elements and creatures for 26. Error. the ſeruice of God: as holy water to driue away diuels: the hallowing of ſalt, waxe, fire, palmes, aſhes, oyle, creame, milke, honey, *Rhemiſt.*1.*Tim.*4 *ſect.*12.& 13. Yea that the Church may borrow rites and ceremonies of the Iewes : *ibid ſect.*18. Yea by the creatures thus bleſſed, or rather coniured, they ſay, remiſſion of ſinnes is obtayned *ſect.*14.

*Argum.*1. Remiſſion of ſinnes was annexed to the oyle wherewith the ſicke were annointed, Iam.5.*Ergo*, remiſſion of ſinnes may be applyed by the like conſecrated elements, *Rhemiſt.*1.*Tim.*4. *ſect*,14.

We anſwere: Firſt, it followeth not becauſe the creature of oyle was vſed in the miraculous gift of healing and by the appointment of Chriſt, which ceremonie alſo was no longer to continue than that miraculous gift endured : it followeth not that other elements may be vſed ſo now without any ſuch warrant, and there being not the like occaſion, ſeeing all ſuch miraculous gifts are now ceaſed. Secondly, it was not the oyle whereby their ſinnes were forgiuen them, neither was it applyed to that end, it was onely a pledge vnto them of their bodily health : but the prayer of faith ſhall ſaue the ſicke, ſaith the Apoſtle, verſ.15. for God hath promiſed to heare the faithfull prayers of his children both for themſelues and others.

*Argum.*2. S.*Paul* vſed impoſition of hands, which was a ceremonie of the law vſed in conſecrating of Prieſts : *Ergo*, it is lawfull to borrow ceremonies of the Iewes.

We anſwere : It followeth not, becauſe Chriſt and the Apoſtles by the ſpirit of God retained ſome decent actions vſed in the law, therefore now the Church at her libertie may take of the Iewiſh ceremonies: this is great preſumption to thinke it is lawfull for the Church to doe whatſoeuer Chriſt and his Apoſtles did, *Fulk.*1.*Tim.*4.*ſect.*18.

*Argum.*3. They would warrant their ſuperſtitious ceremonies by S.*Pauls* example, how napkins and partlets went from his bodie, and they receiued health thereby : and the woman that came behinde Chriſt, and touched the hemme of his veſture, was healed of her diſeaſe, by that ceremonie, *argum.Fecknami.*

Anſw. Concerning the firſt example, the text ſaith, God wrought no ſmall miracles by the hand of *Paul*, Act.19.12. It was God therefore that wrought, not theſe ceremonies. And for the other, Chriſt ſaith, vertue is gon out of me : it was not then his veſture that healed the woman, but the vertue : and therefore our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith, go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole, *reſponſ.Thom.Haukes.Mart.*pag,1588.

The Proteſtants.

ALthough there be great moderation to be vſed in the ceremonies of the Church, and there is alſo ſome limitation for them : yet hath the Church greater libertie in the rites and ceremonies, which are appoynted for order and comelines ſake, then in the doctrine of faith and religion. The doctrine of ſaluation is alwayes the ſame and cannot be changed, and toucheth the conſcience: but rites and ceremonies are externall and commaunded for orders ſake : and neither are they vniuerſall, the ſame in euery Church, nor perpetuall, but are changed according to times, and as there is occaſion. Againe, the precepts of Chriſtianitie are either directly expreſſed, or neceſſarie concluded out of the Scriptures : but externall rites and ceremonies are not particularly declared in the word : there are onely certaine generall rules ſet downe, according to the which all ceremonies brought into the Church, are to be examined : As for the Sacraments of the Church, they cannot be altered, hauing a perpetuall commaundement from Chriſt : Therefore the Church cannot appoint, what, how many ceremonies ſoeuer ſhe ſhall thinke good, but according to theſe foure rules and conditions, which follow here in order.

1 All things ought to be done to the glorie of God, euen in ciuill actions, much more in things appertaining to the ſeruice of God, 1.Cor.10.31. Our aduerſaries offend againſt this rule, applying and annexing remiſſion of ſinnes to their owne inuentions and ſuperſtitious ceremonies, as vnto penance and extreme vnction, which they alſo make Sacraments : for this is greatly derogatorie to Chriſts inſtitution, who hath onely appoynted the hearing of his word, and vſe of the Sacraments, for the begetting and increaſing of faith, and by this faith onely is the death of Chriſt applyed vnto vs for the remiſſion of ſinnes.

2 All things ought to be done orderly and decently, 1.Cor.14.40. Wherefore all ridiculous, light and vnprofitable ceremonies are to bee aboliſhed : ſuch our aduerſaries haue many, as knocking, kneeling, creeping to the Croſſe, lighting candles at noone day, turning ouer of beades, and many phantaſticall geſtures they haue in their Idolatrous Maſſe, as turning, returning, looking to the Eaſt, to the Weſt: croſſing, lifting, quaffing, and ſhewing the emptie cup, with many ſuch toyes.

3 All things ought to be done without offence, 1.Cor.10.32. But to whom, that hath but a little feeling of religion, is not the abominable ſacrifice of the Maſſe offenſiue ? what good conſcience doth it not grieue, that the Prieſt ſhould create his maker, as they ſay ? ſhould offer vp the body of Chriſt in ſacrifice, and be an interceſſor as it were for his mediator, deſiring God to accept the ſacrifice of his ſonnes body ? as alſo to make it a propitiatorie ſacrifice for the quicke and the

dead? But of theſe matters we ſhall haue fitter occaſion to entreate afterward, when we come to the ſeuerall controuerſies.

4 All things ought to be done to edifiyng, 1. Cor. 14. verſ. 12. But the popiſh ceremonies are ſo farre from edifiyng, that by reaſon of their infinite rabble and number, they are a clogge vnto Chriſtians, and more burdenſome, then were the obſeruations of the Iewes: They haue hallowed fire, water, bread, aſhes, oyle, wax, flowers, branches, clay, ſpittle, ſalt, incenſe, balme, chalices, paxes, pixes, altars, corporals, ſuperaltars, altarclothes, rings, ſwords, and an infinite company beſides: doe theſe tende (thinke you) to the edification of the minde? Nay, they doe cleane deſtroy and extinguiſh all ſpirituall and internall motions, drawing the heart from the ſpirituall worſhip of God, to externall beggerly and ragged relickes and ceremonies, *Fulk. 1. Timoth. 4. ſect. 1. Beza. lib. confeſſ. de eccleſ. articul.* 18. 19. 20.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie concerning ceremonies: ***Modus colendi deum per externos ritus, & ceremonias legis, quia hac fuerunt vmbra Chriſti & myſteriorum eius, ideo adueniente veritate Euangelica euanuerunt, & illicita facta ſunt:*** The manner of worſhipping God by externall rites and ceremonies of the law, becauſe they were a ſhadowe of Chriſt, and of his myſteries, are now by the comming of the Euangelicall truth aboliſhed and made vnlawfull.

Gloſſ. ordin. de 4. Concil. primitiuæ eccleſ.

But ſuch Iewiſh ceremonies many yet are retayned in the Popiſh Church, *Colonienſ. part. 9. cap. 16.* ***Quicquid in huiuſmodi rebus ad abuſum & ſuperſtitionem ſpectat, & quo populus à Deo ad collocandam in externis rebus fiduciam, abduci poſſit, prohibemus:*** Whatſoeuer in ceremonies tendeth to abuſe and ſuperſtition, and may withdraw the people from God to truſt in externall things, we forbid. But that ſuch Iewiſh ceremonies are not to be retayned in the Church, neither that it is lawfull after the example of the Iewes to inſtitute the like ceremonies in Chriſts Church; heare further the teſtimonie of one of your owne Popes: *Innocent. 3. decr. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 47. c. 1.* ***Poſtquam vmbra legis euanuit, & illuxit veritas Euangelij, ſi mulieres poſt prolem emiſſam actura gratias Eccleſiam intrare voluerunt, eis Eccleſiarum non denegandus eſt ingreſſus:*** After that the ſhadow of the law is vaniſhed, and the truth of the Goſpell hath appeared, if women after their deliuerance will enter the Church to giue thankes, it muſt not be denied vnto them. But by the law, women could not, but after a certaine time enter into the temple: wherefore as in this ceremonie *Moſes* law bindeth not, ſo neither in the reſt. And to this purpoſe may be applied that rule in the Ciuill law: ***Cod. lib. 7. tit. 6. leg. 1. Iuſtinian. Abſurdum eſt ipſa origine rei ſublata, eius imaginem relinqui:*** It is an abſurd thing, the originall being remoued, for the image or ſhadow to be retained: But the ceremoniall law of the Iewes is remoued, and therefore there ought not ſo much, as a ſhadow thereof to remaine. Vnto theſe we will adioyne the reaſons, and iudgement of the holy Martyrs concerning Popiſh ceremonies. Theſe orders of the Church are moſt pure, which doe come moſt nigh the example of the Primitiue Church: ſo doe not the orders of the Popiſh Church, but are furtheſt off from it: *Ergo*, they are vnpure, *argum. Laurent. Saund. Mart. p.* 1494.

Boner anſwered, that the propoſition was falſe: for the Church was then in her infancie, and could not abide that perfection, which afterward was to be furniſhed with ceremonies. *Saunders* replieth, that ceremonies were inuented at the firſt, for the rude infancie and weake infirmitie of man; and therfore it was a token of greater perfection in the primitiue Church, that it had few ceremonies; and of the rudenes of the papiſticall Church, becauſe it had ſo many ceremonies, partly blaſphemous, partly vnſauorie and vnprofitable, *ibid.* And it is to too abſurd, to thinke the ſtate of any Church more pure, then the Primitiue vnder the Apoſtles: as *Gregor. Nazianzen. ad Gregor. Nyſſen. orat. 3.* ***Sanctorum patrum conſtitutiones, qui proximiores fuere Chriſto, agnoſcamus:*** Let vs receiue the conſtitutions of the Fathers, as they come nearer to Chriſt. So then as the waters neareſt the fountaines are cleareſt, ſo the times next to Chriſt pureſt.

Iohn Fortune Martyr alleadged this place of Scripture againſt popiſh ceremonies: ***All things that are not planted by my heauenly father ſhall be plucked vp by the rootes***, Mat. 15. So ſaith our Sauiour, but ſuch are popiſh ceremonies: *Ergo. Obiect.* Nay they are good and godly, neceſſarie to be vſed. *Anſwere.* But S. *Paul* calleth them weake and beggerly, and ſaith, they are bewitched, that ſeeke to be in bondage vnto them, Galath. 4. 9. *Fox.* pag. 1918.

Laſtly, in this cauſe *Rich. Gibſon* gaue his life, who refuſed to come to proceſſion, to beare taper or candle, or to receiue aſhes, or to beare palme, to receiue the pax at Maſſe, or holy water, or holy bread, or to obſerue the ceremonies and vſages of the popiſh Church, *Fox* p. 2033. col. 1. artic. obiect. 7.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER THE Church of Rome be the true Church.

THis queſtion hath two parts. Firſt, whether the Romane Church be the Catholike Church or not. Secondly, whether the Church of Rome be a true viſible Church.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE ROMANE Church be the Catholike Church.

The Papiſts.

27. Error. *Bellarmine* defining the Church, maketh this one part of the definition to be ſubiect vnto the Biſhop of Romes iuriſdiction, *lib.3. de eccleſ. cap.2.* And therefore they conclude, that they are out of the Church and no better then heretikes, that doe not acknowledge the Pope to be their chiefe Paſtor, *Caniſ. de præcept. eccleſ. cap.9.* So they make the Romane faith, and Catholike, to be all one: *Rhemiſt. annot. in* 1. *Rom. ſect.*5.

Their reaſons are none other, then we haue ſeene before, taken from vniuerſalitie, antiquitie, vnitie, vnto the which we haue alreadie anſwered, *quæſt.*3. of this controuerſie, Not.1.2.3.

The Proteſtants.

While the Church of Rome continued in the doctrine of the Apoſtles, it was a notable and famous viſible Church, and a principall part and member of the vniuerſall Catholike: but now ſince it is degenerate and fallen away from the Apoſtolike faith, from being the houſe of God, to be a Synagogue for Antichriſt, we take it not to be ſo much as a true viſible Church. But neuer was it to be counted the Catholike Church, as though all other Churches were parts and members of it: but it ſelfe onely was a part as others, and Catholike too, while it continued in the right faith: but not Catholike as hauing iuriſdiction ouer the reſt, and all to receiue this name of her.

*Argum.*1. The vniuerſall Catholike Church is ſo called, becauſe it containeth the whole number of the elect and firſt borne of God, Heb.12.23. Whereof many are now Saints in Heauen, many liuing in the earth, many yet vnborne. But all theſe were not, neither are of the Romane faith: the holy men departed knew not of theſe ſuperſtitious and prodigious vſages, which now doe raigne in the Church of Rome, nay many of them neuer heard in their life ſo much, as of the name of Rome: *Ergo.*

*Argum.*2. It is called Catholike, and vniuerſall, becauſe they that are to be ſaued, muſt belong vnto this company, and be of this Church, for without the Church there is no ſaluation: for Chriſt onely gaue himſelfe for his Church to ſanctifie it and cleanſe it, Epheſ.5.25. But all that die out of the faith of the Romane Church, doe not periſh. Nay verily, we doubt not to ſay, but that all which depart this life in the communion thereof without repentance, are barred from ſaluation, and die out of grace. You ſay, that who is out of your Church is damned; and we thinke verily on the other ſide, that if we depart from the true Church, whereon we are graffed in Gods word, we ſhould ſtand in the ſtate of damnation, *ſic Philpot. Mart. p.*1800. We are in the right faith: neither will we be our owne iudges, the Scriptures ſhall iudge vs; *Euery ſpirit that confeſſeth, that Ieſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is of God,* 1.Iohn 4.2. We beleeue aright in both the natures and all the offices of Chriſt: which you doe not; which doe greatly deface his propheticall office, in not reuerencing his word, but making it imperfect: his kingdome, in appointing him a Vicar and Vicegerent vpon earth, as though he of himſelfe were not ſufficient to gouerne: his Prieſthood, in ſetting vp another ſacrifice: *Ergo,* your ſpirit is not of God.

*Argum.*3. The Catholike Church is ſo called, becauſe it imbraceth the whole and onely doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Epheſ.2.20. But the Romane Church receiueth many things contrarie to Scripture, and addeth many things vnto it, as it ſhall appeare throughout this whole diſcourſe. *Ergo.*

The Catholike Church hath the name, becauſe it is diſperſed ouer the whole earth, Act.1.ver.8. But ſo was neuer the Romane faith, which is now profeſſed, as we haue ſhewed before, *Quæſt.*3. *de Eccleſ. Not.*2. *Ergo.* And this may further appeare out of S. *Auguſtine* thus writing to S. *Hierome, epiſt.*19. If we count it an euill thing to faſt Saturday, we ſhall condemne the Romane Church, &c. but if we count it euill, *non ieiunare Sabbato,* not to faſt Saturday, we ſhall condemne ſo many Churches of the Eaſt, *& maiorem orbis Chriſtiani partem,* and the greater part of the Chriſtian world: *Ergo,* the greater part of the Church did not receiue the ceremonies of the Romane Church, and ſo conſequently, it cannot be the Catholike Church.

We will adde the teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs: Maſter *Philpot* reaſoneth thus, the world being deuided into three parts, Aſia, Europa, Africa; two parts thereof, Aſia and Africa, profeſſing Chriſt as well as we, did neuer conſent vnto the Church of Rome: yea and moſt part of Europa doth not allow the Church of Rome; as Germanie, Denmarke, Poland, a great part of England and Zeland: *Ergo,* neither your faith nor your Church is vniuerſall or Catholike, *Fox* pag.1804.

He alleageth alſo a ſaying out of *Auguſtine, Æſtimamus fidem Catholicam à rebus præteritis, præſentibus & futuris:* We iudge the Catholike faith of that which hath been, is, and ſhall be: If then you bee able to proue that your faith and Church hath been from the beginning taught, is, and ſhall be, then may you count your ſelues Catholike, otherwiſe not.

Iulius Palmer Martyr, vſeth this reaſon: your Church of Rome is not vniuerſall, but a particular Church of ſhauelings: *Ergo*, it is not the Catholike Church, *Fox* pag. 1939. col. 1.

For this truth alſo with other, *George Marſh* gaue his life, for ſaying that the Church of Rome is not the true Catholike Church, *Fox* p. 1566. col. 1.

See alſo for this poynt your owne authoritie, *Baſilienſ. Concil. epiſtol. Synod. 3. Dicimus Romanam ſedem principalem inter alias ſedes; ſed nunquid dum partem laudatis, obliti eſtis totius: nunquid dum vnam Eccleſiam extollitis, eam quæ vniuerſalis eſt, in qua Romana continetur, prætermittitis?* We graunt, that the Roman See is the principall among others; but while you commend a part, forget not the whole: Is it reaſon, that while you aduance one Church, the vniuerſall Church, in the which the Romane is comprehended, ſhould be pretermitted?

Againe in the appendix of the ſame Councell, *Romana Eccleſia non eſt vniuerſa, ſed de vniuerſitate:* The Romane Church is not the vniuerſall Church, but of the vniuerſall Church: and *Concil. Ferrar. ſeſſ. 9. Romana Eccleſia vniuerſali Eccleſiæ inferior eſt:* The Romane Church is inferior to the vniuerſall Church. By theſe authorities it appeareth, that the Romane Church is one, the vniuerſall and Catholike another.

See alſo to this purpoſe the lawes Imperiall: *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 5. l. 15. Leo, Anthemius. Sacroſanctam huius religioſiſſimæ ciuitatis Eccleſiam, matrem noſtræ pietatis & Chriſtianorum orthodoxæ religionis omnium, honores iure ante alios reſidendi habere iudicamus, &c.* The holy Church of this moſt religious citie (meaning Conſtantinople, where *Acatius* was then Patriarke, as appeareth in the beginning of the law) the mother of our faith, and of all right beleeuing Chriſtians, we doe decree to haue this honour to haue the firſt place before all other. Here then we haue the Conſtantinopolitane Church the mother of the orthodoxall faith euery where profeſſed: and ſo by this law the Church of Rome alſo ſhall bee a daughter of that Church, and therefore not the mother or vniuerſall Church it ſelfe.

THE SECOND PART: THE CHVRCH OF Rome is not a true viſible Church.

The Papiſts.

Their arguments are as we haue heard, *queſt.* 3. of the notes of the Church, grounded vpon their ſucceſſion, miracles, gift of propheſying: anſwered ſufficiently afore, *Not.* 4. 5. 6. We neede not, nor muſt not for breuities ſake repeat the ſame things often. 28. Error.

The Proteſtants.

We deny vtterly that they are a true viſible Church of Chriſt, but an Antichriſtian Church, and an aſſembly of heretikes, and enemies to the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt.

1 That cannot be a true Church where the word of God is not truly preached, nor the Sacraments rightly adminiſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution: So are they not in the Popes Church: For the word is not ſincerely taught, but they haue added many inuentions of their owne, and doe preach contrarie Doctrines to the Scripture. The Sacraments alſo they haue not kept, for firſt they haue augmented the number: they haue made fiue more; of confirmation, orders, penance, Matrimonie, extreme vnction: beſide, the Sacraments of Chriſt they haue corrupted. In Baptiſme, beſide water, they vſe ſpittle, ſalte, oyle, Chriſme, contrarie to the inſtitution: and they lay ſuch a neceſſitie vpon this Sacrament, that all which die without it, ſay they, are damned. In the Lords Supper, they haue turned the Sacrament to a ſacrifice, made an Idoll of bread, changed the Communion into priuate Maſſes, taken the cup from the lay people, and many other abominations are committed by them: *Ergo*, neither hauing the word, nor Sacraments, according to the inſtitution, they are no true Church.

The propoſition or firſt part of this argument, as S. *Paul* Galath. 1. 8. He that preacheth otherwiſe, then the Apoſtles taught, is accurſed: yea that Church that ſo teacheth is accurſed: whether it adde to Chriſts doctrine, or detract or take away from it. And S. *Ambroſe* of taking away from Chriſts inſtitution thus ſaith: *Negat Chriſtum, qui non omnia, quæ Chriſti ſunt confitetur:* He denieth Chriſt, which doth not confeſſe and acknowledge all that Chriſt taught, *lib. 6. in Luc.* And for adding to the Scripture he thus teſtifieth, writing vpon thoſe words of our Sauiour, *Be not the ſeruants of men*, 1. Cor. 7. *Serui hominum ſunt, qui humanis ſe ſubyciunt ſuperſtitionibus:* They are the ſeruants of men, that ſubmit themſelues to humane ſuperſtitions. If they be the ſeruants of men, they are not the ſeruants of Chriſt: ſo S. *Paul* concludeth Galath. 1. 10. Thus the propoſition is ſtrengthened. But the Popiſh Church doth adde vnto the Scriptures, as it is euident in the Sacraments, wherein they vſe many rites beſide Chriſts inſtitution: It doth alſo detract, as in denying mariage to Miniſters, and the cuppe to the Laytie, both which the Scripture alloweth: *Ergo*, it is not the true Church.

*Argum.*2. They which are enemies to the true Church, and doe perſecute the members thereof, are no true viſible Church: they cannot be of that Church which they perſecute; as *Bellarmine* ſaith of *Paul:* how could he be of that Church which he with all his force oppreſſed? *de Eccleſ.lib.*3. *cap.*7. But they perſecute the Saints of God, and are moſt cruell towards them, as their conſciences beare them record. *Ergo.* So ſaith S. *Auguſt. Eſt mundus qui perſequitur, de quo Chriſtus, ſi odit vos mundus, me prius odio habuit: eſt & mundus quem perſequitur; Deus erat in Chriſto mundum reconcilians ſibi: mundus damnatus, quicquid præter eccleſiam, mundus reconciliatus eccleſia:* There is a world that perſecuteth, of the which Chriſt ſpeaketh, If the world hate you, it hated me firſt: There is an other world which it perſecuteth, of the which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, God was in Chriſt reconciling the world to himſelfe, 2.Cor.5. the reconciled world is the Church, the damned world beſide the Church: *Ergo,* by S. *Auguſtines* ſentence the perſecuting Church, ſuch as is the Church of Rome, is not the true Church.

Eſpenſ.in 2.Tim.p.203.

And yet more plainly S. *Chriſoſtome,* as he is cited by one of your owne writers, *Hom.*19.*oper. imperfect. Nunquid ouis lupum perſequitur, non potius lupus ouem, &c.* Doth the ſheepe perſecute the woolfe, and not rather the woolfe the ſheep? the ſheep eateth herbes, the woolfe deuoureth fleſh: he therefore whom thou ſeeſt to feede vpon the herbes of Scripture, is a ſheepe: *quem in ſanguine perſecutionis gaudentem, lupus:* whom to delight in bloodie perſecution, he is a woolfe. But who are they which magnifie the Scriptures, and onely feede of them, as ſufficient to ſaluation? they are not the Papiſts, who ground their faith vpon vnwritten traditions, but Proteſtants: They are not then the ſheepe: and they are knowne to bee the moſt bloodie perſecutors of theſe daies: then they are the wolues, and therefore not the Church.

*Argum.*3. The habitation of Antichriſt cannot be the Church of Chriſt; ſo is theirs: the Pope himſelfe is Antichriſt, for who elſe but hee ſitteth in the Temple, being an enemie to Chriſt? 2.Theſſ.2. Where haue you a citie in the world built vpon ſeuen hils but Rome? Apocal.17.9. But of this matter we ſhall of purpoſe intreate afterward: *Ergo,* they are not a true viſible Church. And that Rome is the ſeate of Antichriſt, it appeareth by their owne confeſſion, who by Babylon vnderſtand Rome, *Rhemiſt.annot.in* 1.*Pet.*5.13. and ſo likewiſe Apocal.17.verſ.5. But Babylon is the ſeate of Antichriſt, and Rome is Babylon: *Ergo.* They haue here commonly two euaſions: firſt, it was called Babylon in reſpect of the perſecuting Emperours, *Rhemiſt.* Secondly, becauſe that before the end of the world Antichriſt ſhall haue his ſeate there, *ſic Bellarm.* But S. *Hierome* in his time doubted not to call Rome Babylon, when as both the Heathen perſecutions were ceaſed, neither yet their Antichriſt, whom they ſay ſhall come, reuealed: as thus he writeth, *Fugite de medio Babylonis, &c. cecidit Babylon, & facta eſt habitatio dæmonum:* Flie out of the middeſt of Babylon, let euery man ſaue his owne ſoule: for Babylon is fallen and become an habitation for diuels. He exhorteth them to leaue Rome, which here he calleth Babylon.

Ad Euſtoch. & Marcell.

And that the Pope is Antichriſt, see one of their Popes authoritie, *Decr.p.*3.*diſt.*3.*c.*12.*Gregor.* They that forbid any worke to bee done vpon the Saturday, are the preachers of Antichriſt, who when he commeth ſhall commaund vpon the Saturday, as well as the Lords day, to ceaſe from all worke. But this doth the Pope, forbid labour vpon the weeke daies, making them feſtiuall and holy daies, and neceſſarily to be kept. *Ergo.*

Laſtly, for this doctrine, that the Church of Rome, as it now ſtandeth, is not the true Church of Chriſt, many holy Martyrs haue giuen their liues: *Thomas Man* Martyr, *anno* 815. for holding that the popiſh Church was not the true Church, *articul.obiect.*9. *Fox* pag.815. *Richard Feurus* Martyr at Lyons, *anno* 1554. for ſaying it was not the true Church, becauſe it was gouerned by the traditions of men, and not the word of God, pag.912.col.1.

Thomas Bennet Martyr at Exceter affirmed, that the Papiſts appertained to the vniuerſall Church, but as dead members: for you ſay and preach, that the Popes word is equall with Gods word, pag.1039.col.1.

Maſter *Saunders* Martyr, that the Romiſh religion is rauening, and wooluiſh, as it appeareth, ſaith he, in three points: Firſt, it robbeth God of his due and only honour. Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conſcience in obſcuring or rather burying Chriſt, and his office of ſaluation. Thirdly, it ſpoyleth God of his true worſhip and ſeruice in ſpirit and truth, &c. *Saunder. epiſt.ad Epiſcop.Wintonienſ.pag.*1495.

See alſo the confeſſion of *Thomas Oſmund, William Bamford, Nicholas Chamberlaine* Martyrs: That the Church of Rome was no true member of the Catholike Church of Chriſt, becauſe the faith and religion thereof was not agreeable to Gods word, pag.1602.artic.3.obiect.

Maſter *Robert Glouer* Martyr, by theſe argumentsproueth the Church of Rome not to bee the Church of Chriſt: Firſt, Chriſts Church acknowledgeth Chriſt Ieſus onely to be their head: the Church of Rome ſetteth vp the man of ſinne for their head. Secondly, Chriſts Church heareth his voyce, and is ruled by his word, neither adding to, nor taking ought from it: the Church of Rome addeth to Gods word, and runneth a whoring after their owne inuentions. Thirdly, the true Church laboureth to reſiſt the luſts and deſires of the world, the fleſh and the diuell: thoſe for the moſt part giue themſelues to all voluptuouſneſſe, ſecretly committing ſuch things, which as Saint *Paul* ſaith, it is a ſhame to ſpeake of. Fourthly, the Church of Chriſt is perſecuted: the Church of Rome doth perſecute, murder, and ſlay the ſeruants of God; *Ergo*, it is not the true Church: *plura apud Fox, pag.*1710.*col.*2.

THAT THE CHVRCH OF THE PROteſtants is a true viſible Church.

The Papiſts.

THe arguments, which our aduerſaries vſe againſt vs to prooue vs to bee no Church, drawne from antiquitie, vniuerſalitie, ſucceſſion, the power of Miracles, prophecying, and ſuch like, I haue anſwered at large before in their ſeuerall places, that I ſhall not neede to repeate them againe. But generally the ſumme of our anſwere is this, that, whereas their argument may be thus framed: That Church which hath neither antiquitie, vniuerſalitie, vnitie, ſucceſſion, &c. is no true Church: but ſuch is the Church of the Proteſtants: *Ergo*. To this argument we haue thus anſwered: firſt, denying the propoſition, and ſhewing, that neither that alwaies is a Church where theſe notes are found; and that there may be a Church where they are wanting. Secondly, wee alſo infringe the aſſumption: for moſt of theſe notes I haue declared to bee more agreeable to our Church, and rather to be found amongſt vs, then with them. But who deſireth to ſee our anſwere more fully, I referre him to the ſeuerall places before, wherein theſe things are handled.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Churches of the Proteſtants, and namely the Church of England, are true viſible Churches, and notable members of the Catholike Church, beſide the arguments drawne from the preaching of the word, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, which alwaies prooue a Church; wee will produce other reaſons, and ſuch as may perſwade our aduerſaries themſelues.

*Argum.*1. That Church which ſendeth forth Martyrs, as Chriſts faithfull ſouldiours, is the true Church: but the Church of the Proteſtants hath brought forth many Martyrs: *Ergo*.

The propoſition, I thinke, is not doubted of: for out of the Church there are no Martyrs: as S. *Cyprian* ſaith, *Qui occiſi, &c.* They which are ſlaine out of the Church, doe not winne a crowne of their faith, but a reward of their follie, *lib.*1.*epiſt.*1. Againe, the Martyrs of Chriſt are vndoubtedly ſaued, their ſoules are vnder the Altar, which is Chriſt, Apocal.6.9. And as *Origen* applieth that place of the Prophet Eſay.63.1. To them the Angels doe thus ſay and welcome them into heauen: *Quis eſt iſte qui aſcendit ex Boſra?* Who is this that aſcendeth from Bozra? that is, from the bloodie field: but there can be no ſaluation out of the Church. And further, the ſame *Origen* thus reaſoneth out of the words of our Sauiour, *I haue a baptiſme to be baptiſed with*, Luk.12.56. meaning his paſſion: *Chriſtus profuſionem ſanguinis baptiſma vocat:* Chriſt (ſaith he) calleth the ſhedding of his blood, baptiſme. But there is no kinde of true baptiſme and acceptable to God, but within the Church: *Ergo*, true martyrdome, which is a kind of baptiſme, is onely to bee found in the Church. But the propoſition needes no long proofe: I come to ſhew the aſſumption, that thoſe Saints, which out of our Church haue died for the Goſpell, were true and vnfained Martyrs.

Hom.7.in Iudic.

The ancient writers doe giue vs foure rules whereby to know and diſcerne the Martyrs of the Church: the firſt is S. *Cyprians* rule, by their ſingular patience: *Sunt qui certis artibus, &c.* There are ſome which by certaine artificiall meanes doe ſtupefie their bodies that they feele not the torments; there bee alſo ſome impotent and outragious affections, which take away the ſenſe of the bodie, &c. *ſed placidum illud & manſuetum non videmus niſi in Chriſti martyribus:* but wee finde not that quiet and meeke kinde of death, but onely in the Martyrs of Chriſt. But ſuch examples of patient death in the bleſſed Martyrs of our Church we haue many: and their patience appeareth both by their owne comfortable words and teſtimonie, by their couragious and conſtant behauiour, as alſo by the confeſſion of their enemies. Firſt for their owne teſtimonie: one *Nicholas*, or *Francis Thieſſen*, or one of them, which ſuffered for the Goſpell at Mechlin, *anno* 1545. when he felt the fire, ſaid thus; What a ſmall paine is this to bee compared to the life to come? *Fox* pag. 890. *Anne Audebert* Martyr at Orleance ſuffering vpon a Saturday, *anno* 1549. thus chearefully ſaid; I was firſt maried vpon a Saturday, and vpon a Saturday I ſhall be maried againe to Chriſt, p.903. col.1. Notable is the teſtimonie of that reuerend and godly Biſhop and Martyr B. *Farrer*, who thus ſaid to one Maſter *Richard Ihones*, who ſeemed to lament the painfulnes of his death, that if he ſaw him once to ſtirre in the paines of his burning, he ſhould then giue no credit to his doctrine: and as he ſaid, ſo being aſſiſted by Gods ſpirit he performed the ſame. But amongſt all other moſt glorious is the teſtimonie of *Iames Baynham* Martyr, who hauing his armes and legges

De duplici Martyrio.

halfe conſumed in the fire, thus cried out; Behold ô ye Papiſts, you looke for miracles, and here now may you ſee a miracle: for in this fire I feele no more paine, then if I were in a bed of downe, but it is to me as ſweete as a bed of Roſes, pag. 1030. col. 2.

Now for their conſtant and couragious behauiour, it was ſuch as became the valiant ſouldiours of Chriſt, void of all feare and doubtfulnes. Fiue conſtant Martyrs burned at Lyons, *anno* 1553. when the fire was readie to be put vnto them, they made this petition, that each might embrace and kiſſe the other, as being no whit afraid of death, pag. 906. Sixe Martyrs being burned together at Colcheſter, *an.* 1557. clapped their hands for ioy in the middeſt of the fire, that thouſands of people at the hearing thereof cried out and ſhouted, pag. 2009. *Thomas Haukes* bleſſed Martyr, in the middeſt of the fire lifted vp his hands ouer his head burning as a torch, with flaming fire, and clapped them thrice in token of great ioy, pag. 1593. Maſter *Iohn Hooper* Biſhop and Martyr behaued himſelfe in his bitter death, the fire being thrice renued, like a moſt meeke lambe of Chriſt, knocking ſtill vpon his breaſt till his arme fell off, pag. 1511. Such examples a great number might bee alleaged, of their conſtant and quiet behauiour: but theſe may ſuffice.

Their conſtancie alſo may appeare by the confeſſion of their aduerſaries. Firſt, *William Huſſon* Martyr at Roane, *anno* 1544. ſo cheerefully carried himſelfe in his death, that whereas ſome maliciouſly ſaid he had a diuell, they were of others reprooued, who ſaid, that if he had a diuell he ſhould haue fallen into deſpaire, pag. 900. A poore Martyr which ſuffered at Paris, *anno* 1549. being examined of his faith before the King *Henry* the 2. did ſo boldly anſwer for himſelf, that the King muſed much thereat: And whereas the Cardinals and Biſhops told the King, that the Lutherans did but carrie ſmoke in their mouthes, which if they were put to the fire, would vaniſh away; the King himſelfe thereupon purpoſed to be preſent to ſee the execution, where the poore Martyr in his cruell and painfull death was ſo couragious, that the beholding thereof did more aſtoniſh the King, then all the other before, pag. 903. Likewiſe that reuerend Archbiſhop and holy Martyr D. *Thomas Cranmer* did ſo manfully and valiantly endure the fire, not once mouing or ſtirring in the middeſt of the flames, that one Frier *Iohn* being ignorant of the conſtancie of Martyrs, ſaid to the Lord *Williams*, he died in deſpaire: who ſmiling onely ſo rebuked the Friers follie, pag. 1886. But enough hath been ſaid concerning the probation of this matter, namely the patience of the Martyrs, no whit inferiour to the conſtancie of the ancient Martyrs in the Primitiue Church. And thus much of the firſt rule to know a Martyr by.

The ſecond and third rules are *Bernards*, who thus writeth: *Illa mors precioſa eſt, quam commendat vita, &c.* That death is precious which a good life commendeth: but that is more precious, which a good cauſe commendeth, *Ser. paru.* 24.

Secondly, true Martyrs then are to be iudged by their holy life & innocent conuerſation: for as it is in the Pſalm 116. *Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saints,* or holy ones. They thē that haue liued an vngodly and vncleane life, vnleſſe they be conuerted and change their wayes, are no fit witneſſes of Gods truth: But ſuch the Lord appointeth for the witneſſe of his truth, that are of vnſpotted life and of a godly conuerſation. The popiſh Church hath canonized for Martyrs, ſome that were rebels and diſobedient to their Prince, as *Thomas Becket*, and S. *Hugh*: ſome that were Sorcerers and Magicians, as *Hildebrand* their Pope, and S. *Dunſtane*: ſome haue been taken for Saints amongſt them that were ſlaine in their drunkennes, as it may be ſeene, *Decr. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 45. *cap.* 1. But our Church can ſhew another kind of Martyrs, men of excellent vertuous life: as Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr, a notable example of chaſt and continent life; Biſhop *Cranmer* of innocencie, Biſhop *Hooper* of hoſpitalitie; Maſter *Latimer* of painfull and diligent preaching; *Tomkins* of continuall and feruent praier. See their ſeuerall ſtories, and I thinke they cannot name one of the Martyrs of the Goſpell of an infamous life, after they came to the knowledge of the Goſpell: and ſo is a true Martyr deſcribed, Apocal. 14. 5. *In their mouthes is no guile, &c.*

Thirdly: but this note of an innocent life is not ſufficient of it ſelfe, vnleſſe it be ioyned with the other, namely the goodnes of the cauſe; which no doubt our Martyrs had, and I ſhew it thus: Firſt, it is a good cauſe to die in defence of the true worſhip of God, againſt the falſe adoration or worſhip of Idols: but ſuch is the cauſe of the Martyrs of the Goſpel in theſe daies: *Ergo*. The propoſition is prooued by a particular induction of the ancient Martyrs both before the law, vnder the law, and ſince the law, which haue been perſecuted for this cauſe: as before the law *Laban* perſecuted *Iacob*, becauſe of his gods, Geneſ. 31. 30. And *Iacob* putteth away all the ſtrange gods in his familie, Geneſ. 35. 2. In the time of the law vnder the Iudges *Gedeon* ſhould haue bin ſlaine, for deſtroying the Altar of *Baal*, Iudg. 6. 30. Vnder the Monarchie of the Chaldeans the three children were put into the fierie fornace, becauſe they would not bow downe to the image of gold, Dan. 3. Since the time of Chriſt vnder the Romane Emperours many thouſand Chriſtians were put to death, becauſe they refuſed to worſhip the Idols of the Heathen.

Now then that our Martyrs haue died in the ſame cauſe, which is the ſecond part of the argument,

ment it may bee thus proued. Firſt, our aduerſaries themſelues cannot denie, but that they haue put many Proteſtants to death for refuſing to worſhip their images of gold, as the ſtorie of the Martyrs is full of ſuch examples. But here is their euaſion, that their images are not like the Heathen Idols, nor the worſhip of their images Idolatrie. ***Contra.*** That they are the only knowne Idolaters of this time, firſt it is cleere by the Scripture, Apocal.9.20. for there the Apoſtle and Prophet ſpeaketh of the worſhipping of Idols of gold and ſiluer, after the opening of the 7.ſeale, and the blowing of the ſixt trumpet, which muſt be by courſe of that prophecie long after the Idoll worſhip of the Heathen: ſo that the popiſh Church muſt needes thereby bee ſignified, there being no knowne nation beſide in theſe parts of the world, that worſhippeth Images. Secondly, the Iewes themſelues doe ſay, that Chriſtians worſhip Images contrarie to the law of God: as a Iew obiected to Maſter *George Wiſehart* as they ſailed together vpon the Rhene, ***Fox*** pag.1269.col.2. Wherefore it is manifeſt, that our Martyrs hauing ſtriued by death againſt the idolatrie of theſe times, haue died in the ſame cauſe, for the which the ancient Martyrs gaue their liues againſt the idolatrie of the Heathen.

Secondly, it is a good cauſe to die for the faith of Chriſt, and they are the faithfull Martyrs which hope onely to bee iuſtified by his death: Apocal.7.14. Theſe are they which haue waſhed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lambe. But in this faith haue our Martyrs died, hoping onely to finde life by faith in Chriſts blood: whereas the Papiſts ſeeke to make their robes white in the blood and merits of Saints. And againe, whereas the Apoſtle ſpeaking of the laſt times of perſecution, ſaith, ***Here is the patience of the Saints, here are they that keepe the commaundements of God, and the faith of Ieſus;*** There haue none elſe in all the world been perſecuted for the faith of Chriſt in theſe latter times, but the Proteſtants onely: the Papiſts perſecute, they are not perſecuted: and where they ſuffer, it is not for religion or the faith of Ieſus, but for treaſon, and wilfull tranſgreſſion of the Princes lawes. Thus then it is euident that our Martyrs are they in this place prophecied of, and dying in ſo good a cauſe, muſt needes be the faithfull witneſſes of God.

A fourth rule to diſcerne true Martyrs in their death, is by thoſe miraculous and ſtrange works of God declared in their martyrdome, though wee doe not alleage this either as a neceſſarie or vniuerſall note. So S. *Ambroſe* extolleth the martyrdome of S. ***Paul: De Pauli ceruice vnda lactis, &c.*** Serm.68. Out of ***Pauls*** necke being beheaded ſtreamed milke rather than blood: And no marueile if the nouriſher of the Churches abounded with milke, who ſaith (writing to the Corinthians) ***I gaue you milke to drinke, &c.*** So *Policarpus* could not bee conſumed with fire; ***Romanus*** ſpake, his tongue being cut out; ***Cecilia*** remained a day and a night in an hot bath, not being hurt. The like miracles are credibly reported to haue been ſhewed in the death of the Martyrs of the Goſpell. ***Stephen Brune*** could not be conſumed with the fire being twice renued, and though oyle were powred into it; but the hangman was conſtrained to thruſt him thorough. ***Stephen Mangin*** Martyr ſpake, his tongue being cut out. The like alſo is recorded of ***Gabriel Berandinus***, put to death for the Goſpell at Troyes, ***anno*** 1550. pag.904. See more of ſuch examples before in the 2. controuerſie, 3. queſtion, in the fift note of Miracles: but we ſtand not ſo much vpon this point. Wherefore ſhortly to conclude this argument, where true Martyrs are, there is the Church: the Proteſtants Church hath true and faithfull Martyrs, as I haue ſhewed, by their ſingular patience, holie life, their honeſt and good cauſe, and by the wonderfull workes ſhewed in their death: ***Ergo***, we are the true Church of Chriſt.

Secondly, we reaſon thus: That Church which hath been from time to time perſecuted in the world, is the Church of God: that which hath alwaies perſecuted and been filled with the blood of the Saints, is the malignant Church. But our Church for theſe foure or fiue hundred yeers hath been alwaies perſecuted; and they haue been the perſecutors. ***Ergo.***

For the probation of the aſſumption or ſecond part of the argument, we neede not much labour: for all the world knoweth how the popiſh Church continually hath perſecuted the Proteſtants, and eſpecially within theſe 50. or 60. yeeres ſince the reuiuing of the Goſpell: in which time they haue ſpilled the blood of not ſo few as an hundred thouſand of Gods Saints, if an account bee taken thereof. For in France onely in that bloodie maſſaker in the yeere 1572. there were put to the ſword in one moneth 30. thouſand Proteſtants, ***Fox*** pag.2153. And the Pope at Rome hearing tell thereof, he with his Cardinals cauſed a ſolemne proceſſion to bee made, with ſinging of ***Te Deum***, and proclaimed a yeere of Iubilee. We haue alſo for this point the confeſſion of the Rhemiſts: That Proteſtants (whom they call heretikes, as ***Paul*** of the perſecuting Iewes was counted an heretike, Act.24.14.) are put to death at Rome, and that they allow of their puniſhment in other countries, ***Rhemiſt. annot. in Apocal.***17.***ſect.***8.

Now for the truth of the firſt part of the argument, that it is the lot of the Church of God to be perſecuted in this world, the Apoſtle thus witneſſeth, Gal.4.29. ***As then he that was borne after the fleſh perſecuted him that was borne after the ſpirit, ſo is it now.*** And further, that it is a proper badge of the malignant Church to ſucke the blood of the Saints: wee reade in the Reuelation 17.6. *I ſaw the woman drunke with the blood of the Saints,&c.* In which place by the bloodthirſtie whore of Babylon is ſignified the perſecuting Antichriſt at Rome: which is ſo plaine a text to conuince the aduerſarie, that they cannot poſſibly auoyd it, though they haue found out diuers ſhifts and euaſions, and eſpecially three, but all to little purpoſe. I will ſet them downe in order.

Firſt, by this whore the Rhemiſts would vnderſtand the whole corps of all the perſecutors that haue been from the beginning of the world to the end, *Apocal.17.ſect.6.* *Contra.* But this cannot be ſo. Firſt, chap.17.verſ.1. the Angell ſaith to *Iohn, I will ſhew thee the damnation of the great whore:* ſpeaking of the time to come, not of the time paſt. Secondly, verſ.6. *She is drunken with the blood of the Martyrs of Ieſus:* which muſt of neceſſitie be vnderſtood of the perſecution ſince the manifeſtation of Ieſus to the world. Thirdly, verſ.18. *The whore is the great citie, that raigneth ouer the kingdomes of the earth:* It is a certaine citie or regiment, therefore not an vncertaine and indefinite bodie or companie.

Secondly, by the whore of Babylon the Rhemiſts vnderſtand, the terrene ſtate of the perſecuting Emperours, not the Church or eccleſiaſticall ſtate there, *annot.17.Apocal.ſect.4.* *Contra.* Firſt, the beaſt, whereon the whore ſitteth, ſignifying that great citie, which bare rule ouer the kingdomes, was and is not, chap.17.8. that is, the imperiall ſtate was remoued, when the Popes ſucceeded; yet in them was reuiued the imperiall tyrannie. And hereunto agreeth that prophecie, chap.13.11. *Another beaſt commeth out of the earth, which did all that the firſt beaſt could doe, and healed his deadly wound, and gaue life and ſpirit to the image of the beaſt,* verſ.15. This is the beaſt that was, and is not, namely the beaſtly tyrannie of the perſecuting Emperours reuiued by the cruell Popes: wherefore the whore cannot ſignifie the terrene ſtate of the Emperours, for this beaſt was and is not. Secondly, S.*Hierome* alſo thus expoundeth, ſaying to Rome, *Maledictionem,&c.* Thou maiſt by repentance eſcape that curſe threatned thee by our Sauiour in the Apocalypſe, *lib.2.aduerſ.Iouinian.* But when S.*Hierome* thus did write, the heatheniſh perſecution was ceaſed: wherefore by Babylon the imperiall ſtate is not ſignified.

Thirdly, the Rhemiſts by the beaſt, that was, and is not, doe inſinuate Antichriſt, who is not yet come (ſay they) in our daies, neither ſhall come as long as the Empire of Rome ſtandeth, *ibid.*

Contra. 1. By the ſame reaſon wee conclude that Antichriſt is alreadie come, becauſe that which letted, or hindered the reuealing of Antichriſt, as the Apoſtles ſaith, 2.Theſſ.2.6,7. namely the Romane Empire, is taken away: for nothing now remaineth of the imperiall ſoueraigntie, but onely an image thereof: firſt, the large dominion of the Empire is loſt; he beareth little ſway that is Emperour, but in his owne ſeignorie, that he hath beſide the title of the Empire. Secondly, the ſeate of the Empire is chaunged, which was at Rome, but now is no certaine place. Thirdly, then the Empire went by deſcent and ſucceſſion, now by election. Fourthly, they were called the Romane Emperours, now the Emperours of Germanie. Fiftly, then Rome and Italie were ſubiect to the Emperour, now he hath nothing to doe there: ſo that the Romane Empire is long ſince decaied and diſſolued; and vpon the diſſolution thereof Antichriſt was to be reuealed. 2. Whereas Antichriſt by their owne confeſſion muſt be the ſeuenth Regiment, fiue were then paſt in S.*Iohns* time, the Regiment of Ægypt, Canaan, Babylon, the Perſians, Greekes, the ſixt was the Romane Empire: (though theſe ſixe Regiments are better referred to the ſixe formes of gouernment among the Romanes; the Kings, Conſuls, Decemuiri, Tribuni militum, Dictators, Emperors) then the ſixt, which is the Romane Empire, being aboliſhed (for now there is no Emperour, but a King of the Romanes, and that but a bare title neither, the Emperour is of Germanie) the ſeuenth which is Antichriſt muſt needes ſucceede: wherefore Antichriſt is alreadie come. 3. S.*Hierome* thus did write in his daies, calling Rome Sodome, *epiſt.ad Lucinum.* And againe, *Dum in Babylone verſarer,& purpurata meretricis eſſem colonus,&c.* While I was in Babylon, meaning Rome, and was an inhabiter of the ſkarlet whore, &c. *præfat.ad Paulinianum.* He neither vnderſtandeth this prophecie of the time paſt, nor ſuſpendeth it for the time to come, but euen in thoſe daies ſheweth how it began to bee accompliſhed, the Heathen perſecution being then ceaſed. So then it is cleere, that Rome was not onely, neither ſhall be onely, but euen now is and hath been a great while that ſkarlet whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of the Saints: and what Saints blood haue they ſucked, but of the Proteſtants? And thus much for our ſecond argument.

Argum.3. Thirdly, the holy Apoſtle ſaith, *Euery ſpirit that confeſſeth that Ieſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is of God,* 1.Iohn 4.2. But the Church of the Proteſtants ſo confeſſeth: *Ergo,* it is of God.

Obiect. The Rhemiſts in their Annotations vpon this place ſay, that this was a note onely for thoſe times: for there are many which confeſſe that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, and yet are heretikes.

Contra. Firſt, the contrarie appeareth, for that the Apoſtle in the firſt verſe giueth a caueat to trie euery ſpirit, and afterward ſetteth downe this rule whereby to trie them: this rule then is generall for euery ſpirit. Secondly,by this rule Antichriſt is to be tried,both he that was then come, and he that ſhould come, verſ.3. *Ergo*, it was a rule alſo for afterward. Thirdly, this rule is the ſame with that confeſſion of *Peter*, *Thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing Lord*,Matth.16.18. Vpon which rocke Chriſt ſaith he would build his Church: *Ergo*, this confeſſion being the foundation of the Church,is a touchſtone for all ages. Fourthly,I will oppoſe againſt them a Synode of their owne, that maketh this rule generall for all ages: *Synod.Colonienſ.p.6.c.*15. *Fidelis diſpenſator,&c.* He is a faithfull diſpenſer,as *Iohn* witneſſeth, whoſe onely ſcope Chriſt is, and whoſe ſpirit confeſſeth that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, and as S.*Paul* doth interprete, Tit.2. that the grace of God our Sauiour hath appeared to all men, to teach vs to denie vngodly luſts,&c. in the which words the Apoſtle doth comprehend two natures in Chriſt; of the Word, in teaching vs the will of his fether; of the fleſh,in being offered for vs. Fiftly, though ſome heretikes may in word confeſſe Chriſt to bee come, yet if they detract from any of his offices, as the Papiſts doe from his Prieſthood,in making other mediators, and ſatisfactions, in that they denie that, for the which Chriſt came,they denie Chriſt. Wherefore we conclude,that ſeeing we hold the confeſſion of *Peter*,vpon the which the Church is builded, and acknowledge that Chriſt for his natures God and man, for his offices our only King,Prophet,Prieſt,and Mediatour is come in the fleſh; our ſpirit is of God, and our Church the true Church of Chriſt.

Arg.4. Fourthly,we reaſon thus; that Church,which maintaineth no hereſie contrarie to the Scriptures,is the true church of Chriſt: but ſuch are yͤ reformed Churches of the Proteſtants. *Ergo*.

The propoſition cannot be denied,the aſſumption or ſecond part is thus prooued: They which beleeue the law and the Prophets, and all things contained in the Scriptures, cannot maintaine any hereſie: ſo doth S.*Paul* cleere himſelfe from the accuſation of hereſie, Act.24.14. But the reformed Churches beleeue all written in the Scriptures, ſubmitting themſelues to the iudgement of the word for the triall of their faith and doctrine: *Ergo*, our Church cannot bee iuſtly charged with hereſie. Beſide,I haue ſhewed before,by the ſeuerall definitions of hereſie, that it can in no ſenſe bee laid to our charge in the queſtion of the notes of the Church in this controuerſie. And againe in the other treatiſe of the pillars of Papiſtrie it is prooued at large,that the Churches of the Proteſtants hold no one opinion, in the purer ages of the Church condemned for hereſie. And though *Bellarmine* doth charge vs with twentie hereſies,he ſhall neuer be able to proue one: but into their ſinke of ſuperſtition, fortie ſeuerall hereticall ſtinking puddles doe runne downe, as in the ſame place more at large may bee ſeene. So then Proteſtants are no heretikes, nor yet their Church hereticall,and conſequently a true Church.

Argum.5. Fiftly,where the true foundation is laid,which is Ieſus Chriſt only,there is the houſe of God. But our Churches lay no other foundation beſide Ieſus Chriſt: *Ergo*. The propoſition is the Apoſtles, 1.Cor.3.11. *Other foundation can no man lay,then that which is laide, Ieſus Chriſt.* And Epheſ.2.20. *The Church is thus deſcribed to bee built vpon the foundation of the Prophets, and Apoſtles, Ieſus Chriſt being the chiefe corner ſtone.*

The aſſumption alſo is manifeſt: for that we receiue onely the Scriptures, no vnwritten traditions: we acknowledge no Mediatour,but Chriſt; no ſatisfaction for ſinne,but his blood,and in all things make him the onely foundation of our building: whereas our aduerſaries doe ioyne as fellow with Chriſt the Virgin *Mary*, as the Ieſuite in the end of all his bookes moſt blaſphemouſly doth aſcribe the honour and praiſe of his labours to Chriſt, and the bleſſed Virgin. So beſide faith onely they haue brought in merits,ſatisfactions,works of ſupererogation, and ſuch like: and they doe not condemne any doctrine of the Proteſtants more then faith onely,which in effect is to denie Chriſt onely,the obiect of faith,to be the foundation. Wherefore they laying another foundation are not the Church: and the Proteſtants by the ſame reaſon are the Church, being builded onely by faith vpon Ieſus Chriſt the onely foundation.

Thus farre then I haue by moſt euident arguments ſhewed,that the reformed Churches of the Proteſtants are the true Churches of Chriſt: firſt, for that they haue ſent forth the conſtant Martyrs as faithfull witneſſes of Chriſt. Secondly, becauſe they haue been alwaies perſecuted and kept vnder by the malignant Synagogue. Thirdly, they haue the true confeſſion of Ieſus Chriſt to be come in the fleſh,which proceedeth from the ſpirit of God. Fourthly, they can ſhew no hereſie condemned in the purer ages of the Church for hereſie, to bee maintained by our Church. Fiftly, they are founded vpon the true foundation Ieſus Chriſt, and therefore are the right buildings and true Churches of Chriſt. Many other reaſons might be alleaged, and may hereafter at better leiſure,for the demonſtration of our Church: but I will content my ſelfe with theſe for this time,and ſo proceede vnto the reſt.

THE THIRD GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING COVNCELS.

A Councell is nothing elſe but an aſſembly and gathering together of the people of God, about the affaires and buſineſſe of the Church: and they are of two ſorts, either vniuerſall in the name of the whole Church; or particular, which are either Nationall, when the learned of a whole Realme are called together; or Prouinciall, when as the Churches of one Prouince doe aſſemble into one place to conſult of Religion.

There may be two eſpeciall occaſions of Councels: the one for reſiſting and rooting out of hereſies, as the Apoſtles and elders met together, Act. 15. againſt thoſe which would haue impoſed the Iewiſh ceremonies vpon the beleeuing Gentiles. So the Councell of Nice was celebrated the yeare of the Lord 327. to confound the hereſie of ***Arrius***, who denied Chriſt, as he was God, to be equall to his Father. In the Councell of Conſtantinople, ***anno***. 383. or thereabout, the hereſie of ***Macedonius*** was condemned, which denied the holy Ghoſt to be God: In the Epheſine Councell the firſt, ***Neſtorius*** hereſie was ouerthrowne, which affirmed Chriſt to haue two perſons, ***anno*** 434. The Councell of Chalcedon was collected, ***anno*** 454. about the hereſie of ***Eutiches***, which held that there was in Chriſt but one nature after his incarnation; ſo confounding his humanitie and diuinitie together.

The other cauſe of the calling of Councels, is, to prouide and eſtabliſh holſome Lawes, decrees and conſtitutions, for the gouernment of the Church: ſo the Apoſtles called the brethren together, Act. 6. to take order for the poore. And in the Councell of Nice an vniforme order was eſtabliſhed for the celebration of Eaſter, which before had much troubled the Church.

Ex admonit. legator. ſeſsi. Concil. Trident.

Vnto theſe two cauſes of aſſembling Councels, which are ***Extirpatio hæreſis & reformatio morum***, the rooting out of hereſies, and the reformation of manners, may alſo be added a third, and that is, ***pax externa Eccleſiæ***, the externall peace of the Church, namely in compounding of controuerſies, and in working reconciliation betweene ſome principall members of the Church: As in the generall Councell of Epheſus, the matter was agreed betweene ***Zenon*** Biſhop of Cyprus, and the Patriarch of Antioch, who chalenged a prerogatiue ouer that Iland, that the Biſhops of Cyprus ſhould chuſe their owne Metropolitane: In the Councell of Chalcedon, ***action***. 11. 12. the ſtrife betweene ***Baſſianus*** and ***Stephanus*** for the Biſhopricke of Epheſus was taken vp: ***Concil. Baſilienſ.*** An order of agreement was ſet betweene the French King, and the Duke of Burgundie. ***Concil. Florentin.*** great labour made for the vniting of the Latine and Greeke Church, &c.

Ex Appendice Concil.

The queſtions betweene vs and the Papiſts concerning councels, are theſe. Firſt, whether generall Councels be abſolutely neceſſarie. Secondly, by whom they ought to be called. Thirdly, of what perſons they ought to conſiſt. Fourthly, who ſhould bee the preſident of the Councell. Fiftly, concerning the authoritie of them. Sixtly, whether they may erre or not. Seuenthly, whether they are aboue the Pope. Eightly, of the conditions to be obſerued in generall Councels: of theſe in order.

THE FIRST QVESTION CONCERNING the neceſſitie of Councels.

The aſſertion of the Papiſts.

29. Error.

THey ſeeme in words to affirme, that generall Councels are not abſolutely neceſſarie: for the Primitiue Church was without any Councell for the ſpace of 300. yeares and more: yet they hold that ſome Councels, either generall or particular, are of neceſſitie to be had, ***Bellarmine de concil. lib. 1. cap. 11.*** And yet this is to be maruelled at, that they ſhould ſo much ſtand for Councels, ſeeing they might vſe a farre more compendious way, in referring all to the determination of the Pope, whom they boldly, but very fondly affirme, that he cannot erre.

Although they ſeeme not to lay a neceſſitie vpon generall Councels, yet in truth they doe contrarie: for they allow no Councels at all, without the Popes conſent and authoritie; neither thinke it lawfull for any Nation or Prouince, to make within themſelues any innouation or change of religion. So in the aſſembly at Zuricke, *anno* 1523. For the reformation of Religion, *Faber* tooke exception againſt that meeting, affirming that it was no conuenient place, nor fit time for the diſcuſſing of ſuch matter, but rather the cognition and tractation thereof belonged to a generall Councell. *Sleid.lib.3.*

And further they hold, that what hath been decreed in a Councell, cannot be diſſolued but by the like Councell, as if the Councell of Trent were to be diſanulled, it muſt be done by the like Synod. *Bellarmine de concil. lib.3. cap.21.* Which Councell they affirme to haue been generall; and therefore another generall Councell muſt by their opinion neceſſarily be expected, before it can be reuoked.

The confeſſion of the Proteſtants.

WE doe holde that generall Councels are an holeſome meanes for the repreſſing and reforming, both of errors in Religion, and corruption in manners: and that true generall Councels ought to be much deſired, and conueniently expected: that is, ſuch a Councell, where euery man franke and free may vtter his minde without feare: an holy Councell, where euery man may goe about to ſet vp godlines, not to oppreſſe the truth. Such a Councell King *Henrie* the eight of worthie memorie in his proteſtation for the Church of England, for not comming to the Councell of the Pope, truely affirmeth, that he deſired, and craued nothing ſo oft of God: but becauſe there is no hope of any ſuch Councell, ſeeing the Pope would be the chiefe doer in it; and it is too vnreaſonable, that the ſame man ſhould be both a partie, and a iudge; we doubt not, but that it is lawfull by the word of God, for euery Prince, Duke, Lord, within his owne ſeignorie, without any further delay, or expectation, by the aduice and counſaile of the learned and godly of the land, according to Gods law, to reforme their Church.

Firſt, becauſe all delay in matters of the Church are dangerous, and inconueniences are at the firſt hand to be met withall, as we ſee, Act.6. and Act.15. immediatly, when any queſtion did ariſe, the Apoſtles aſſembled togither. In the Councell of *Baſil*, where it was decreed, that the Pope was ſubiect to the Councels, *Panormitane* a ſtiffe champion on the Popes ſide, would haue the decree ſtaied till the returne of the Princes Embaſſadors: But *Arelatenſis* that worthy Cardinall ſtepped vp, and ſhewed what danger there might be in a ſmall delay, by the example of *Hannibal*, who deferring his going but one day to Rome, was driuen cleane out of Italie, hauing been very like to haue taken the citie, if he had vſed the opportunitie. But without all controuerſie, matters of faith ought not to be delayed: which could not be auoided, if a generall Councell ſhould alwayes be waited for.

Secondly, a Prince hath the like authoritie in his dominion, as the houſeholder hath in his houſe. But euery man ought to reforme his houſe, without any further delay, aduiſement or conſultation, as *Ioſua* ſaith, I and my houſe will ſerue the Lord, 24. verſ.15. Wherefore the Prince may and ought to performe the like in his countrey.

To this purpoſe is that place fitlie applied in the ſecond pſalme: *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram:* get you learning ye that are Iudges of the earth: to what end? that they may be able to vnderſtand the diſeaſes of the ſicke Church, and to ſeeke redreſſe for the ſame within their owne Realmes. *ſic Henric. Rex, in proteſtat.*

Laſtly, we finde by experience, that the Lord hath bleſſed ſuch reformations, which haue been made by Princes in their owne territories: as that in *Zuricke anno.* 1523. at *Berne*, 1528. and the moſt happie reformation of our Church of England begun by King *Henrie* the eight, encreaſed by that moſt vertuous Prince King *Edward* the ſixt, and proſperouſly continued and eſtabliſhed by our gracious Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*.

I will adde the teſtimonie of *Auguſtine:* who anſwering to the Pelagians, which obiected that they were condemned by certaine ſingle Biſhops in their owne dioceſſe, without a Synod, he ſaith thus, *Ac ſi congregatione ſynodi opus erat, vt aperta pernicies damnaretur, quaſi nulla hæreſis aliquando, niſi ſynodi congregatione damnata ſit, &c. cont.2. Epiſtol. Pelag. lib.4. cap.12.* As though, ſaith he, a Synod or Councell were alwayes neceſſarie to condemne a knowne hereſie: Nay, we finde that more hereſies without compariſon, haue been in the ſame places condemned, where they firſt ſprang, without any ſuch neceſſitie, more ſo, then otherwiſe.

The ſame alſo hath been the iudgement of the holy Martyrs, that in reforming of religion, generall Councels are not alway to be expected. So ſaith *Richard Feurus* Martyr, in his examination, ſpeaking of the Church of *Geneua*, that albeit the Pope and the Miniſters of the Church of Rome were not called to the inſtitution of the foreſaid Church of *Geneua*; yet it followeth not, that there was no lawfull order obſerued, in eſtabliſhing that Church, *ex Iohan. Criſpin. lib.6.*

Thus alſo Biſhop *Ridley* that godly and learned Martyr. We doe not reade that Chriſt in any place hath laid ſo great a burthen vpon the members of his ſpouſe, that he hath commanded them to goe to the vniuerſall Church ; Chriſt ſendeth them, that would knowe the truth, to ſearch the Scriptures. But that all men ſhould meete togither out of all parts in the world, to define the articles of our faith, I neither finde it commanded of Chriſt, nor written in the word of God. *reſponſ. Rid. ad obiect. 6. Mar. Anton.*

See alſo the conſent of antiquitie. *Concil. Agrippinenſ. ſub Iulio.* 1. *Valerianus* a Biſhop thus ſpeaketh, *Etſi non hic omnes conſeniores apud Agrippinam conueniſſemus, ſufficeret à* 5. *Epiſcopis, Euphratem blaſphemum pronunciari:* Although all we fellow elders had not met heere in this Councell, it had been ſufficient, if fiue Biſhops had pronounced *Euphrates* a blaſphemous heretike, for denying Chriſt to be God.

Concil. Aquileienſ. Palladius an *Arrian* heretike refuſing to anſwere, ſaying he expected a generall Councell : *Ambroſe* being preſent, maketh aunſwere thus. *Ibi multitudine opus non eſſe, vbi veritas non laboraret in plurib, ſi locata eſſet in paucis:* There needed no multitude to be aſſembled, where the trueth remained with a fewe. There is no ſuch neceſſitie therefore of generall Councels.

Laſtly, I will vrge againſt them a teſtimonie of one of their Popes, *decret. part.* 2. *cauſ.* 24. *qu.* 1. *cap.* 2. *Gelaſius: Sabellius* was condemned by a Synode, neither was it neceſſarie afterward for the condemnation of his followers, ſeuerally to celebrate or ſolemnize Synodes. Wherefore Synodes are not in euery caſe neceſſarie now : we may inſiſt and reſt vpon the decrees of the auncient Synodes agreeable to Gods word.

THE SECOND QVESTION, BY WHOSE AVthoritie Councels ought to be called.

The Papiſts.

30. Error. THey doe generally hold, that generall Councels ought onely to be called and appointed by the Popes authoritie, or his aſſignment : their goodly reaſons are theſe.

Argum. 1. Councels ought to *be congregate in the name of Chriſt*, that is, by him that hath authoritie from Chriſt ſo to congregate them : Matth. 18. *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *de Concil. cap.* 12. *Anſwere*, See here is a goodly expoſition, to aſſemble in the name of Chriſt, is to aſſemble by the authoritie of the Pope : ſo belike where Chriſt ſaith, whereſoeuer two or three are gathered togither in my name, &c. Chriſt will not be preſent with them, vnleſſe we ſend vp to Rome for licence, that two or three may come togither.

Then are Councels aſſembled in Chriſts name, when they ſuffer themſelues and their actions to be gouerned by the ſpirit of God ſpeaking in the Scripture. *Bellarm.* But who ſhall be iudge, whether Councels are ruled by the word of God, for both Papiſts and Proteſtants alleage Scripture for their decrees in Councels : wherefore this point is yet left vncertaine, vnleſſe we doe refer this matter, of calling and iudging of Councels to the Pope, that hath receiued that authority from Chriſt. *Anſwere.* 1. The Scriptures themſelues ſhall be iudges, whoſe decrees are agreeable to Scripture : they neede not any ſuperiour iudge. And whatſoeuer our aduerſaries ſay for their decrees, it is certaine, the moſt of them are not grounded vpon Scripture : nay it is their doctrine, that the Scriptures containe not all things neceſſarie concerning faith and manners : this one opinion ſheweth, how well the reſt of their decrees agree with Scripture. 2. We denie, that the Pope hath receiued any ſuch authoritie from Chriſt, as ſhall afterwards appeare : I maruell then that the Ieſuite will ſtill preſſe vs with that point, that is in queſtion betweene vs.

Argum. 2. Generall Councels ſhould be appointed by them, that haue generall authoritie to command men to come to the Councell : but this authoritie ouer the whole Church neuer any Emperour had, in ſuch ample manner, as the Pope hath : *Ergo. Anſwere.* firſt, it is a great vntruth, that the Popes ſpirituall iuriſdiction which he falſely challengeth, was at any time greater than the Emperours dominion; for *Conſtantine* ruled ouer both the Weſt and Eaſt Churches : but the Churches of Greece were neuer, nor are not to this day ſubiect to the ſea of Rome. For Pope *Eugenius* would haue diſſolued the Councell of *Baſile* vnder this pretence, becauſe the Greekes, which ſhould come vnto the Councell for the vniting of their Church, would not paſſe the *Alpes:* but this vniting neuer went forward, *an.* 1431. Againe, if the commandement of one Emperour or Potentate be not large enough to appoint a generall Councell, as in theſe dayes it is not, it may be done by the conſent and agreement of Princes.

Argum. 3. Prouinciall Councels are aſſigned and ſummoned by Metropolitanes in their prouinces, and Nationall by Primates or Patriarches; therefore Generall Councels muſt alſo be ſummoned by the Pope ; for as the Metropolitane is to his prouince, the Biſhop to his Dioceſſe : ſo is the Pope to the vniuerſall Church. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. It followeth not, that the Pope may doe that in the vniuerſall Church, which is lawfull for the Metropolitane in his prouince, or a Biſhop in his dioceſſe: As it is no good conſequent, there may be a Monarch ouer one or two kingdomes: *Ergo*, alſo ouer al the world: for why ſhould there be one Eccleſiaſticall Prince rather ouer the vniuerſall Church, then one ciuill Magiſtrate ouer all the world?

2 We denie that it belongeth to Metropolitanes or Primates in their Prouinces to appoint prouinciall Councels, for eſtabliſhing Eccleſiaſticall lawes: but that it appertaineth of right to the Princes and Dukes in their ſeignories. Neither is the Conuocation of the Clergie in England ſummoned without the Princes authoritie: neither any decree made to ſtand in force without the royall aſſent. As for the Synodes, ſcenes, viſitations and ſuch like of Metropolitanes, Biſhops, Archdeacons in their ſeuerall iuriſdictions, they are for another end: not to enact new Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, but to ſee to the execution onely of them, which are alreadie enacted.

The Proteſtants.

WE hold it as a fond and ridiculous aſſertion, that generall Councels ſhould be ruled at the Popes becke, but that this authoritie is due, and hath been of old vnto Chriſtian Princes and Magiſtrates, and the Pope in ſo doing doth but vſurpe vpon their right.

Argum. 1. That the Pope hath not abſolute authoritie, to call, remoue, diſſolue, or eſtabliſh Councels, it is proued out of Scripture: for Act. 6. 2. the twelue Apoſtles, and not *Peter* onely, whoſe ſucceſſor the Pope doth falſely chaleng to be, called the multitude together about the election of Deacons.

Argum. 2. The Councels in times paſt were ſummoned by the Emperors, which our aduerſaries themſelues cannot denie, as the Nicen firſt, by *Conſtantine* the great: *Conſtantinopolitane* 1. by *Theodoſius* the elder. *Epheſin.* 1. by *Theodoſius* the younger: *Chalcedonenſ.* by *Martianus*. But, ſay our aduerſaries, theſe Councels were not appointed without the conſent of the Biſhops of Rome. I maruell they are not aſhamed ſo to ſay: for when *Theodoſius* called the Councell of *Chalcedon*, *Leo* then Biſhop of Rome, neither liked the time, for hee would haue had it deferred; nor the place, being deſirous to haue it in Italie: yet hee was content to obey the Emperors commaundement, and ſent his Agents to the Councell, there to appeare for him: *Epiſt.* 31. 34. *ad Martianum:* This was alleaged by *Tunſtal* and *Stokeſlie* two archpapiſts in their epiſtle to Cardinall *Poole*.

It ſeemeth therefore to be a meere forgerie, that *Gelaſius* writeth *Epiſtol, ad epiſcop. Dardania, Authoritate vt ſynodus Chalſedonenſ. fieret, ſola decreuit apoſtolica ſedes:* The Apoſtolike See by it ſole authoritie decreed, that the councell ſhould be holden at Chalcedon: for firſt *Leo* miſliked the time; *Epiſcopali ſynodo Imperator nimium breue & anguſtum tempus indixit, Epiſtol.* 13. The Emperour hath ſet too ſhort a time for the Councell. Secondly, he would haue had the Councell remooued into Italie: *Omnes ſacerdotes cum lachrimis manſuetudini veſtræ ſupplicant, vt generalem ſynodum iubeatis intra Italiam celebrari, Epiſtol. ad imperator.* 23. All the Cleargie with teares doth beſeech your clemencie, that you would commaund a generall Synode to be kept in Italie: To the ſame effect he writeth to *Theodoſius, epiſtol.* 31. and to *Pulcheria Auguſta, epiſtol.* 34. For all this ſute, the Emperour would not condeſcend to haue the Councell in Italie: but whereas he had ſummoned it to be kept at Nice, he from thence remoueth it to Chalcedon, whither alſo he ſendeth for *Leo* himſelfe to come, who excuſeth himſelfe for not comming, by reaſon of other great lets, yet ſendeth his Legats in his place, *epiſtol. Leon.* 13. It appeareth then, that *Leo* at this time wanted of his will, and was ouerruled by the Emperor, as it was good reaſon, to whom the ſoueraigne right of ſummoning Councels did onely appertaine.

Bellarmine graunteth, that theſe auncient Councels were congregate by the Emperors, yet the right was in the Pope ſtill: hee rendreth two reaſons why the Emperors authoritie was then requiſite: firſt becauſe, although it belongeth to the Pope to call Councels, yet hee cannot gather the aſſemblies in any Citie or conuenient place, without the leaue and conſent of the Lord of the ſoile: as if now a Councell ſhould be appointed by the Pope, and ſome place aſſigned for it, in Germanie, France, or Spaine, the conſent of the Lord of the citie muſt firſt be required.

Anſwere. Firſt, the matter is then come to this iſſue: the Pope cannot call a Councell, without the leaue of the ciuill Magiſtrate, but may be by him letted from his purpoſe: but the Prince may call his ſubiects together, and aske the Pope no leaue; neither is the Pope able to reſiſt his proceedings: I pray you which of theſe hath the beſt right, and the moſt Soueraigne power to congregate theſe great aſſemblies?

Secondly, if the Pope hath receiued authoritie from Chriſt, as you ſay, to proclaime and ſummon generall Councels: what reaſon is there that Chriſt ſhould waite vpon earthly gouernours, and aske their leaue, to haue his ordinance take place? Nay if Chriſt had entitled the Pope with any ſuch matter, he would both haue giuen him power ſufficient, and all helpes and meanes requiſite, to effect and accompliſh his holy, ſoueraigne, and puiſſant commiſſion.

Bellarmines ſecond reaſon, why the Emperors authoritie is not now ſo needfull, as it was then: becauſe in thoſe daies they were Lords of the world, and the Pope did ſubiect himſelfe to the Emperor,

peror, in temporall matters: But now the Pope is a temporall Prince in his owne ſeignorie, as any of the reſt are.

Anſwere. 1. Yea, but vnleſſe the Pope were a temporall Prince ouer all the Chriſtian world, as the Emperors were, the Ieſuite hath anſwered nothing: If he be a Prince in his owne Territorie, let him meddle with his owne ſubiects, to call them together at his pleaſure; but what is this to generall Councels? Secondly, doe ye then confeſſe, that the Pope was then a ſubiect to the Emperor, but ſo he is not now: that then he was no temporall Prince, as now he is? Why maſters, what iugling is this? If it be S. *Peters* patrimonie which now the Pope hath, why hath he not alwaies had right vnto it? And why ſhould the Popes now challenge more then their predeceſſors, ſeeing they would beare vs in hand, that by perpetuall ſucceſſion, euen from S. *Peter*, they can fetch the Iuriſdiction of Popes both ſpirituall and temporall?

Argum. 3. It is a good reaſon which was alleaged in the Councell of *Baſile*, that if Popes onely ſhould call Councels, there ſhould be no meanes left to withſtand a wicked and vicious Pope. Who would thinke (ſay they) that the Biſhop of Rome would congregate a Councell, for his owne correction, or depoſition?

Argum. 4. The Pope hath no more authoritie, nor, by their leaue, nothing like as *Peter* had: but he challenged not this dignitie amongſt the Apoſtles, to ſummon Councels. We reade of foure onely Councels of the Apoſtles, ſay the Fathers of Baſile (for this alſo is their argument) the firſt was for the chooſing of *Matthias*, Act. 1. congregate at the commandement of Chriſt, who inioyned them not to depart from Ieruſalem. The ſecond, Act. 6. congregate by the twelue, not *Peter* onely, for the election of Deacons. The third, which was holden as touching the taking away of Circumciſion, and other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a generall inſpiration, Act. 15.6. The fourth, wherein certaine things contained in the law are permitted, ſeemeth to be gathered by *Iames*, Act. 21.18. Vpon theſe reaſons the Councell thus concludeth: That if the Pope would reſiſt, and haue no Councell congregate; yet if the greater part of the Church doe iudge it neceſſarie to haue a Councell, the Councell may be congregate, whether the Pope will or not. *Ex Ænea Syluio, Fox* pag. 676. col. 2.

5 *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Catholicos Epiſcopos & partis Donati iuſſu imperatoris diſputando inter ſe contuliſſe. Breuicul. collation. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. That the Catholike Biſhops and the Donatiſts, did meet together to diſpute at the commaundement of the Emperour: There were in that Councell, which was at Carthage, of the Catholike Biſhops 286. and of the Donatiſts 279.

Laſtly, we haue the determination of two Popiſh Councels againſt them, *Concil. Conſt. ſeſſ.* 1. it was decreed, that the going away of the Pope ſhould be no let or ſtay, but the Councell might proceed. So Pope *Eugenius* would haue diſſolued the Councell of Baſile, but the Councell cited him to appeare by himſelfe or his Legates, vnder a great penalty.

By this it appeareth, that the Pope hath no right to call, continue, or diſſolue generall Councels.

We haue alſo their owne decrees againſt them, *decr. part.* 1. *diſt.* 15. *cap.* 1. The Nicene Councell was peracted vnder *Conſtantinus*, the ſecond generall at Conſtantinople was aſſembled vnder *Theodoſius* the elder, &c. That is by their authoritie: *& diſt.* 16. *cap.* 6. The ſixt Synode *Conſtantinus* the Emperour congregated.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF WHAT PERSONS the Councell ought to conſiſt.

The Papiſts.

31. Error. Whereas there are foure ſorts of men vſually preſent at Councels, the princes and Magiſtrates, Biſhops and inferiour Miniſters and Prieſts, and other lay people: of all theſe, Biſhops (they ſay) onely muſt haue a deciding or determining voice: Prieſts and other learned may diſpute and haue a conſultatiue voyce: Princes are there to defend the Councell, and ſee order kept; other of the Laitie may be there as officers and Miniſters, as Scribes and Notaries: but the ſuffrages and voices muſt onely be giuen by Biſhops, *Eckius loc. de concil. Bellarm. de concil. lib.* 1. *cap.* 15. Let vs ſee ſome of their reaſons.

Firſt, to teach and to feed is proper for the Paſtors onely, and to eſtabliſh and decree in Councell, is nothing elſe but to feed and teach: *Ergo*, Paſtors onely muſt rule in Councell: which none are but Biſhops: *Soli Epiſcopi paſtores ſunt* (ſaith the Ieſuite) *neque laici neque Eccleſiaſtici quicunque*: Onely Biſhops are paſtors, and none other of the Clergie beſides: And to them only, he ſaith, that is to be applied, Act. 20. Take heede to your ſelues, and the flocke, ouer the which God hath made you ouerſeers.

I anſwere. Firſt, what an abſurd ſaying is this and void of ſenſe, that the Biſhop is the onely paſtor of his Dioceſſe, and that euery Miniſter is not paſtor in his owne pariſh? Nay, if the Ieſuite would ſpeake truth, he ſhall finde that popiſh Biſhops are neither paſtors nor Doctors,for the moſt of them neither feede nor teach; and they bee not aſhamed to profeſſe it. *Anno* 1540.or thereabout, *Thomas Forret* Martyr,being found fault withall by the Biſhop of Dunkelden in Scotland,becauſe he preached ſo oft,exhorted the Biſhop againe,and wiſhed that he did preach. The Biſhop anſwered: Nay,nay,let that be, wee are not ordained to preach. And in further talke the blind blockiſh Biſhop bewraied his owne ignorance, I thanke God (ſaith he) that I neuer knew what the old and new Teſtament was. Thereupon roſe a common prouerbe in Scotland, you are like the Biſhop of Dunkelden,that knew neither the old nor new law. *Fox Martyrol.pag.*1266.

With this blind ſaying of the popiſh Biſhop,our countriemen of Rhemes alſo doe agree,which doubt not to ſay, that many which haue no gift to preach, yet for their wiſedome and gouernment,are not vnmeete to be paſtors and Biſhops, *Annot.in* 1.*Tim.*5.*ſect.*13.

2 I anſwere, the Ieſuit bewraieth his ignorance, in making no difference betweene *communis*, and *propria politia eccleſia*, the common and ſpeciall policie and office of the Church: for there are proper offices and duties,ſome of paſtors,ſome of gouernours, ſome of other miniſters: but this office to bee performed in generall Councels, is not proper to paſtors,but common to the whole Church: whereupon we denie,that it is *Proprium paſtorum munus, ſuffragia ferre in Concilijs*: It is not the proper dutie of paſtors,to giue voyces and make decrees in Councels.

3 By the Ieſuites argument, the fathers of Baſil do conclude cleane contrary out of that place, Epheſ.4.That becauſe Chriſt inſtituted not onely Apoſtles and Prophets, but paſtors and teachers for the worke of the Miniſterie, who doubteth (ſay they) but that the gouernance alſo of the Church is committed vnto others together with the Apoſtles? And hence they inferre, becauſe the worke of the Miniſterie is laid vpon the reſt of the Clergie, that therefore they ought not to be excluded from Councels.

4 That place,Act.20.vrged by the Ieſuite,is otherwiſe expounded by S.*Hierome*: *Ad vnius eccleſia ſacerdotes ita Paulus loquitur,&c.Paul* thus ſpeaketh to the Miniſters of one Church,calling them all Biſhops: whom before, verſ.17.he calleth Presbyters or Prieſts: And from this place he concludeth, that in the Apoſtles time there was no difference betweene a Biſhop and a Prieſt: *Hieron.Euagrio.*

*Argum.*2. Secondly, *Panormitane* in the Councell of Baſil thus reaſoneth for Biſhops: That they were the pillars and keyes of heauen, and therefore had onely deciding voyces. Vnto him anſwered at that time the wiſe and couragious Cardinall *Arelatenſis*, ſhewing *Auguſtines* iudgement vpon thoſe words(I will giue thee the keyes of heauen) that the iudiciall power was giuen not only to *Peter*,but alſo to the other Apoſtles,and to the whole Church,the Biſhops,the prieſts. Whereupon he inferreth, that if the prieſts haue a iudiciall power in the Church, they alſo ought to haue a determining voyce in Councels.

Thirdly,*Lodouicus* the Prothonotarie in the ſame Councell thus argued: Albeit(ſaith he)Chriſt choſe twelue Apoſtles and 70.Diſciples, notwithſtanding in the ſetting forth of the Creede,only the Apoſtles were preſent; thereby giuing example, that matters of faith did pertaine onely to the Apoſtles, and ſo conſequently to Biſhops. To him *Arelatenſis* made this anſwere: Firſt, it followed not,becauſe the Apoſtles onely are named,that they therefore onely were preſent at the ſetting forth of the Creede: for wee ſee that Princes beare the name and commendation of many actions,which are done notwithſtanding by their helpers. Secondly, *Lodouicus* cannot be ignorant(ſaith he)that there bee ſome articles in the Creede, which were not put to by the Apoſtles, but afterward by generall Councels: as that part, wherein mention is made of the holy Ghoſt, which the Councell of Lyons did adde.Thus much out of the Councell of Baſil.

The Proteſtants confeſſion.

OVr opinion grounded vpon truth and Scripture is this: that,not onely Biſhops, but all other paſtors admitted to the Councell,and the learned and diſcreet amongſt the lay men, ought to haue concluding voyces in Councell: and that rather the diſcuſſing and conſulting of matters pertaineth to the learned Diuines,the deciding to all,then contrariwiſe.

Firſt,that inferiour paſtors are to be ioyned with Biſhops and Prelates, it was amply prooued in the Councell of Baſil, of the which I haue ſo often made mention, as noble *Arelatenſis* reaſoneth thus: The dignitie of the fathers is not to be reſpected but the truth: neither will I preferre a lye of any Biſhop,be he neuer ſo rich,before a veritie or a truth of a poore prieſt. This is his firſt reaſon,that the truth ought to be receiued at any mans mouth be he neuer ſo ſimple: and therefore Prieſts as well as Biſhops are to be admitted to the Councell.

*Argum.*2. He declareth the ancient practiſe of the Church: In the Councell of Nice, where there were aſſembled 322.Biſhops, *Athanaſius* being then onely a Prieſt, withſtood the Arrians, and infringed their arguments. In the Synode of Chalcedon, there were preſent ſixe hundred prieſts,which name is common both to Biſhops and prieſts. When *Paul* Biſhop of Antioch preached

ched that Chriſt was a man of common nature: the Councell aſſembled againſt him at Antioch, where the ſaid *Paul* was condemned: neither was there any man, which did more confound the ſaid *Paul*, then one *Malchion* prieſt of Antioch, which taught Rhetorike there.

Concerning the ſecond part, that lay men alſo with prieſts ought to be admitted: firſt we haue teſtimonie out of the word of God for it. Tit. 3. 13. *For this cauſe Zenas the lawyer is ioyned as fellow in commiſſion with Apollos.* But we haue a more euident place, Act. 15. 22. *It ſeemed good to the Apoſtles and Elders with the whole Church.* Here we ſee that not onely the Elders but the whole multitude, were admitted into conſultation with the Apoſtles. To this place our aduerſaries doe thus anſwere: *Lodouicus* the Prothonotary, firſt thus raſhly and fondly gaue his verdict in the Councell of Baſil, that there was no argument to bee gathered of the Acts of the Apoſtles, whoſe examples were more to be marueiled at, then to be followed. But to this *Arelatenſis* replied, that he would ſtay himſelfe moſt vpon the Apoſtles doings: for what (ſaith he) is more comely for vs to follow, then the doctrine and cuſtomes of the Primitiue Church? And *Æneas Siluius* reporteth (who writeth of the acts of that Councell) that all men impugned this ſaying of *Lodouicus*, that the Apoſtles were not to be followed, as a baſphemie.

Wherefore the Ieſuite hath found out another anſwere; he ſaith that none but the Apoſtles gaue ſentence, the reſt onely gaue conſent, and inward liking and approbation. This cauill *Arelatenſis* met withall long before the Ieſuite was borne, in the forenamed Councell. Neither this word, ſaith he, *It ſeemed good*, ſignifieth in this place conſultation, but deciſion, and determination. And ſo it doth indeed, for ſeeing there is one word applied to them all ἔδοξε, *placuit*, it ſeemed good to the Apoſtles, Elders, and the whole multitude, why ſhould it not be taken in the one and ſelfeſame ſenſe, and after the ſame manner vnderſtood of them all?

Argum. 2. Seeing the Councell doth repreſent the whole Church, there ought to bee preſent and to giue ſentence of all ſorts and callings of men: and the rather, becauſe the matter of faith and religion is a common cauſe, and as well appertaineth to lay men as to Biſhops, it behooueth them alſo to bee preſent. And further, it were more reaſonable that Princes and temporall Magiſtrates ſhould binde their ſubiects to their lawes, without their conſent, then that eccleſiaſticall perſons ſhould lay yokes vpon Chriſtians againſt their wils, for ciuill matters are more indifferent and left to our choice, then ſpirituall are: Yet wee ſee there are no lawes enacted in our Realme but by the high court of Parliament, where alwaies ſome are appointed for the commons, euen the whole neather houſe, without whoſe conſent no act can paſſe. So it were very reaſonable, that no law ſhould be laid vpon the Church, without the generall conſent thereof.

Thirdly, *Auguſtines* iudgement wee heard before alleaged by *Arelatenſis*, that ſeeing the iudiciall power of the keyes is committed to the whole Church, to Biſhops, to Prieſts, they all ought to be entertained in generall Councels.

Laſtly, that not onely Biſhops, but other alſo of the Clergie haue determining voyces in Councell, we haue the conſent of antiquitie. In the Councell of Antioch aſſembled againſt *Samoſatenus*, the whole Synod writeth thus: *Epiſcopi, preſbyteri, & diaconi dilectiſſimis fratribus in domino ſalutem:* The Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, to our beloued brethren in the Lord, greeting. And in their epiſtle they write thus: *Neceſſarium eſt viſum, hunc reſiſtentem Deo, neque acquieſcentem veræ fidei abijci, &c.* It ſeemed neceſſarie to vs, that this fellow, enemie to God, and not obedient to the truth, to be cut off: They all both Elders and Deacons gaue conſent to his condemnation.

Aquiſgranenſ. ſub Lodouico: Cœtus venerabilium præſulum, & ſequētis ordinis religioſorum ſacerdotum ſynodaliter congregatus: The aſſemblie of the reuerend Prelates, and of the next order, of the deuout prieſts, being councellike aſſembled together, &c.

Chalcedonenſ. action. 1. *Orientales Clerici vnà cum Epiſcopis clamarunt, Flauianus in proprio loco quare non ſedet?* The Clergie of the Eaſt parts together with the Biſhops cried out, why doth not *Flauianus* ſit in his proper place? This *Flauianus* Patriarch of Conſtantinople, was diſgraced in the hereticall Councell, *Epheſin.* 2. and thruſt downe to the fift place: And therefore in this Catholike Councell, the Clergie thus cried out: then the Egyptians together with *Dioſcorus* the Eutychian heretike, cried againe, *Imperator Epiſcopos vocauit, ſynodus Epiſcoporum eſt, ſuperflui quare clamant:* The Emperour hath called the Biſhops together, the Synode conſiſteth of Biſhops, theſe fellowes are ſuperfluous. Thoſe heretikes were the firſt that tooke exception againſt the voyce of ſimple prieſts in Councell, calling them ſuperfluous.

So likewiſe in the Romane Councell vnder Pope *Hilarie*, in the laſt canon, where it was propounded, that no Biſhop ſhould appoint his ſucceſſor, but that he ſhould be elected, *Ab vniuerſis Epiſcopis & preſbyteris acclamatum eſt:* An acclamation was made by all the Biſhops and prieſts: *excitation. Eſpenſ. in* 1. *Timoth. p.* 371. *c.*

And leaſt it ſhould be ſaid, that the prieſts did not ſit as Iudges, but onely to aduiſe and diſcuſſe matters, I will anſwere them out of their owne Decrees; *Decret. p.* 1. *diſt.* 23. *c.* 1. In the Laterane Councell vnder *Nicholaus* 2. this report is made, *Conſidentibus reuerendiſſ. Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, preſbyteris,*

byteris,&c. While the reuerend Biſhops, Abbots, and Prieſts did ſit, &c. *Nicholaus* began thus, &c. they all therefore did ſit as Iudges. And yet more euidently, *diſt. 95. c. 6. Preſbyteri ab initio negotiorum iudices eſſe mandati ſunt, & intereſſe ſacerdotum concilio:* Prieſts in the beginning were appointed to bee the iudges of the affaires of the Church, and to be preſent in Councels, &c. Marke this, they muſt be preſent as iudges.

As touching alſo the preſence of graue and wiſe men of the Laitie in Councels, wee haue the practiſe and examples of former times: In the Chalcedon Councell, there were preſent 7. noble Earles, appointed as Iudges, *Anatolius, Palladius, Tacianus, Vincomalus,* with the reſt, and 10. noble Senators, *Florentius, Naurius, Protogenes,* with others.

Toletan. 6. cap. 3. Conſonam cum rege, corde & ore promulgamus ſententiam, ſimul etiam cum ſuorum optimatum, & illuſtrium virorum conſenſu ſancimus, &c. We decree our ſentence, in heart and voyce according with our Prince, and together with the conſent of his Nobles, we doe enact, &c. Here the Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuill ſtate decree in Councell together.

We haue alſo a moſt cleere teſtimonie euen of a Pope himſelfe: *Nichol. 1. epiſtol. ad Michaëlem imperatorem. Vbinam legis imperatores anteceſſores veſtros in ſynodalibus conuentibus interfuiſſe, niſi forſitan, in quibus de fide tractatum eſt, qua vniuerſalis eſt, qua omnium communis eſt, qua non ſolum ad Clericos, verùm ad laicos, & ad omnes omnino pertinet Chriſtianos?* Where, I pray you, doe you reade, that the Emperours your predeceſſors were preſent in Synodes, but where they entreated of faith, which is common to all, and doth not only concerne the Clergie, but lay-men alſo, and generally all Chriſtians? *Ergo,* of matters of faith lay men may together with ſpirituall perſons conſult in Councels.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Pope *Nicholas* is ſo to bee vnderſtood, that the Emperour may bee preſent not as a Iudge, but only as one to defend the faith by good lawes, and where need is with the ſword.

Contra. But the Emperour *Martian* ſaith otherwiſe in his oration in the Chalcedon Councell: *Nos ad confirmandam fidem, non ad oſtendendam virtutem, &c.* We by the example of *Conſtantine* thinke good to be preſent in the Synod, to confirme the faith, not to ſhew our power. But the Ieſuite ſaith, to ſhew his power, and vſe his ſword.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHO OVGHT TO be the Preſident and chiefe moderator in Councels.

The Papiſts.

32. Error.

WIth one whole conſent they all agree and hold, that the Pope onely ought to haue the chiefe place in Councels, either himſelfe in his owne perſon, or elſe his Legates and deputies for him, they reaſon thus:

1 The Pope is the chiefe paſtor of the vniuerſall Church: for vnto *Peter* only it was ſaid, *Paſce oues meas,* Feede my ſheepe, and he is called and ſaluted in Councels by the name of father: and all other both Princes and Biſhops are ſheepe in reſpect of him. *Bellar. cap. 19.*

We anſwere: firſt, in the Ieſuites argument, there is *petitio principij,* a foule fault in a good Logician, though it bee none in a Sophiſter, ſtill to begge that which is in queſtion: for yet he hath not prooued that the Pope is the vniuerſall paſtor. Secondly, that place, *Feede my ſheepe* prooueth it not: *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Redditur negationi trina trina confeſſio, ne minus amori lingua ſeruiat, quàm timori: In Iohan. tract.* 123. He recompenceth a threefold deniall, with a threefold confeſſion, leaſt that his tongue ſhould bee leſſe ſeruiceable to loue, then it was to feare. So then, by this fathers iudgement, it was no priuiledge to *Peter* to be thrice admoniſhed, but he is thereby put in minde of his thrice deniall of Chriſt. Againe, I marueile the Ieſuite can ſo ſoone forget himſelfe: for in the 15. chapter afore, he prooued by theſe words (*Feede my ſheepe*) that Biſhops onely were paſtors; and he can now turne the words to ſerue onely for the Pope. Thirdly, what great matter is it for the Pope to be called father, ſeeing he is not ignorant that all Biſhops aſſembled in Councell and other learned, are called by that name? Nay, it is no rare matter for other Biſhops to bee ſaluted by the name of Pope: as *Proſper* writing to *Auguſtine,* twice in one epiſtle calleth him, *beatiſſimum Papam,* moſt bleſſed Pope, *Tom.* 7. 4. Princes and Biſhops to the Pope are ſheepe, ſaith the Ieſuite. Firſt, for Biſhops, though he had a iuriſdiction ouer all, which will ſticke in his teeth to prooue, yet ſhall they be no more his ſheepe, then prieſts are to Biſhops, and Biſhops to their Metropolitanes, who cannot be ſaid to be their ſheepe, though they haue ſome preeminence ouer them: for *Auguſtines* rule muſt ſtand; *Nemo ſe noſtrum Epiſcopum Epiſcoporum conſtituit. de Baptiſ.* 2. 2. No man is a Biſhop of Biſhops, nor ſhepheard of ſhepheards. Secondly, for Princes he hath nothing to doe with any but thoſe in his owne Biſhopricke: and as they are his ſheepe one way, as they are taught of him; ſo he and his Cardinals are the Magiſtrates ſheepe another way, and in reſpect of the ciuill gouernment he is their ſhepheard: And both he and they, Prince and Prieſt are ſheep-fellowes, vnder Ieſus Chriſt the chiefe ſhepheard: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Tanquam vobis paſtores ſumus, ſed ſub illo paſtore vobiſcum oues ſumus. in Pſal.* 126. We are ſhepheards to you, but both you and I are ſheepe vnder that great ſhepheard.

Argum. 2. *Peter* was Preſident in the Councell of the Apoſtles, Act. 15. *Ergo*, the Pope ought to be now, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, S. *Iames* ſeemeth rather to haue been Preſident there, then S. *Peter*, and to haue determined the matter in queſtion: firſt, becauſe S. *Iames* ſpeaketh laſt, S. *Peter* firſt: and the laſt place is commonly giuen to the moderator or determiner. Secondly, S. *Iames*, when he had ſpoken, concludeth thus: verſ. 19. wherefore my ſentence is, &c. he determineth and giueth ſentence: whereas Saint *Peter* ſaith not ſo, my ſentence is, as a moderator, but rather as a perſwader and counſellor: Now therefore, why tempt ye God? &c. verſ. 10. Thirdly, it is confeſſed by our aduerſaries, that S. *Iames* was Biſhop at Ieruſalem, and therefore was moſt like to bee the chiefe, if any were, in his owne iuriſdiction.

But we affirme neither of theſe, to haue had any ſuch preeminence aboue the other, to bee the Preſident and chiefe Iudge, or to haue an ouerruling voyce: but that the matter was decided by an vniforme conſent of them all, being directed by the holy Ghoſt: *It ſeemed good to the holy Ghoſt and vs*, verſ. 28.

Secondly, though *Peter* had been Preſident then, it followeth not that the Pope ſhould be now: for we denie the Pope to bee *Peters* ſucceſſor, either in his Apoſtolike doctrine, or Apoſtolike office: as ſhall appeare when we come to that place.

Argum. 3. *Bellarmine* taketh vpon him to prooue, that the Pope was Preſident by his Legates in the eight generall Councels, and maketh a particular induction of them all.

Anſw. But this argument rather maketh for vs, as it followeth *argum.* 3. that becauſe the Pope was not Preſident in any of the eight generall Councels, therefore the Preſidentſhip belongeth not vnto him: for in ſome of them, the Pope was not preſent neither perſonally, nor by his Legates, as in the firſt of Conſtantinople, where *Nectarius* was Preſident: in ſome the Pope was reſiant in the citie, but not preſent in the Councel, as *Vigilius* was in Conſtantinople, what time the fift generall Councell was there held: in ſome of them the Popes Legates were preſent, but they had not the chiefe or Preſidents place, as in the fourth generall Councell. But ſee more hereof afterward, *argum.* 3.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe truly affirme, that the ſoueraigne Maieſtie of the Emperour and chiefe Magiſtrate, or his Legate, if he either be preſent himſelfe, or ſend, ought to be Preſident of the Councell: or elſe in their abſence, one to bee choſen and elected by the Councell for that function, as Cardinall *Arelatenſis* was choſen in the Councell of Baſil by the fathers to be moderator.

Argum. 1. Firſt, that it belongeth to the Prince, to haue this prerogatiue, it is hence prooued, becauſe he is the chiefe iudge in all matters and cauſes, both Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall: And it appeareth by the ancient practiſe of the godly Kings in Iſrael and Iuda; *Dauid* gathered a Councell together, when he brought the Arke to Ieruſalem, 1. Chron. 15. 3. where he was the chiefe doer, and director; for he appointed the Leuites their courſes, and ſet foorth a certaine fourme of thankſgiuing to be vſed, 1. Chron. 16. 4, 7. *Hezekiah* aſſembled a Councell, 2. Chron. 30. 2. where it was decreed, that the Paſſeouer ſhould be ſolemnely kept: & the poſts were ſent forth with the Kings writ or commiſſion. In *Ioſiah* his raigne there was a great aſſembly at Ieruſalem, of the Princes, the people, prieſts, and Leuites, and all from the greateſt to the ſmalleſt: where the King himſelfe was preſident and chiefe agent, reading the law before the people, 2. Chron. 34. 30, 31.

Bellarmine anſwereth. 1. Theſe are extraordinarie examples: *Dauid* and *Salomon* did deale in Eccleſiaſticall matters, not as Kings, but as Prophets.

Anſ. That *Dauid* and *Salomon* were Prophets we graunt, as by their Propheticall writings may appeare: But for the reſt of the godly Kings of Iuda, how is it likely that they were Prophets, ſeeing neither by word or writing they deliuered any prophecies? Againe, the care of religion was neither in *Dauid*, or the reſt extraordinarie or propheticall: for how can that bee extraordinarie, which was vſuall and commonly practiſed of all the religious Kings? And further, it was not the Prophets, but the Kings office to commaund their ſubiects to aſſemble together, as *Hezekiah* and *Ioſiah* did: for if it belonged to the Prophets, not to the Kings to aſſemble Councels, then *Nathan*, not *Dauid*; *Iſaia*, not *Hezekiah*; *Ieremias* the Prophet, not *Ioſias* ſhould haue called thoſe holy aſſemblies, which were ſummoned by theſe Kings. Laſtly, not onely theſe godly Kings of Iudah tooke this vpon them, but euen the King of Niniue with the conſent of his Nobles did call a faſt, Ionas 3. 7. So properly is it incident to the Emperiall Crowne to take care of religion.

Bellarmine. 2. We ſee that ſome of the Kings were puniſhed, for medling with the prieſtly affaires: for this cauſe *Vzziah* was ſtriken with leproſie, 2. Chron. 26. by this it appeareth, that it was extraordinarie in Kings to handle matters eccleſiaſticall, *Bellar. ibid. cap.* 20.

Anſ.Vzziah would haue offered incenſe vpon the Altar, which was only lawfull for the prieſt, and therefore was worthily puniſhed. Neither doe wee ſay that the Prince ought to deale with preaching of the word, adminiſtring of the Sacraments, giuing of orders, or ſuch like duties, which are properly incident to the paſtors office: But concerning theſe duties, of ſummoning Councels, and enacting eccleſiaſticall lawes, and the commaunding of all Eſtates and perſons euen in religious matters, wee affirme that thé right and power hereof, is meerely ciuill, and belongeth properly to the ciuill gouernour.

Argum.2. Secondly, we finde that the Emperours themſelues haue been preſent at Councels: as in the Nicene, *Conſtantine* the great was preſent: in the Councell of Chalcedon, *Martianus*: in the Conſtantinopolitane 3. *Conſtantinus* the Emperour: in the Conſtantinopolitane 4. *Baſilius* the Emperour was preſent. Is it to be thought that theſe noble Emperours, were at the Councels as inferiours or vnderlings? or had they not the chiefe places? then ſure they were Preſidents: for in the Councell the chiefe place belongeth to the Preſident. They might appoint a ſpeaker or prolocutor for them, as in the Parliament houſe, though the Prince bee preſent, yet the Lord Chauncellor ſpeaketh: but the chiefe power and Soueraigntie in the Councell, was in the Emperours.

Bellarmine here anſwereth by a diſtinction: *Imperator non præſidebat concilio propriè vt iudex, præſidebat ſaltem quo ad locum materialem:* The Emperour was not preſident in Councels properly as Iudge, but onely as chiefe in the place. And a little after he ſaith: *Non tam ex loco, quàm ſubſcriptione colligenda eſt præſidentia:* The Preſidentſhip is not ſo much by the place to be knowne, as by the ſubſcription: *de Concil.lib.1.cap.19.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Ieſuites diſtinction is nothing worth: for hath not alwaies the Iudge in place of iudgement the chiefeſt roome? for ſeeing the preſident or Iudge in Councels, hath the ſupreame and chiefe authoritie, and to the higheſt perſon of right belongeth the higheſt place; how can it otherwiſe be, but that to whom the chiefeſt place in Synods was aſſigned, the preſidentſhip alſo of right appertained.

Secondly, that the Emperors and in their abſence their Legates, were preſidents in Councels, not onely in reſpect of the higheſt place, but as Iudges properly: we are able to iuſtifie it by the auncient actes and monumentes of antiquitie. *Concil.Epheſin.epiſtol.ad Theodoſium, rogamus clementiam tuam, vt per literas tuas pietatis ratum eſſe iubeas, confirmeſque concilij decretum:* The Councell writeth thus to the Emperour: We beſeech your clemencie that by your godly letters you would ratifie and confirme the Decree of the Councell.

Martianus the Emperour in his oration to the fourth generall Councel of Chalcedon ſpeaketh thus: *Nos ad confirmandam fidem, non ad oſtendendam virtutem exemplo Conſtantini adeſſe ſynodo cogitauimus:* we not to ſhew our power, but to confirme the faith, haue thought good, by *Conſtantines* example, to be preſent in the Synode. To whom now (I pray you) did it belong to confirme and ratifie the actes of Councels, but to the Iudge and preſident? but this did the Emperours. *Ergo.*

In the Chalcedon Councell, *action.*1. thus we finde *Reſidentibus magnificis, & glorioſiſſimis iudicibus in medio, &c.* The moſt glorious and magnificent Iudges ſitting in the midſt, and on the left hand the reuerend Biſhops, *Paſchaſinus* and *Lucentius, Leo* the Biſhop of Romes deputies, and *Anatolius* Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople: and on the right hand, *Dioſcorus* Patriarch of Alexandria, &c. We ſee then, that the Noble men, ſupplying the Emperours place, were Iudges and preſidents in this Councell, not ſo much becauſe of their ſeate, as for their authoritie: for whereas *Paſchaſinus* and *Lucentius* tooke exception againſt *Dioſcorus*, ſaying, *Non ſedeat in Concilio, ſed audiendus intromittatur:* Let him not ſit in the Councell as iudge, but come in to be heard and iudged, yet the noble Iudges permitted it not.

3 That the Emperours were preſidents, they or their deputies in their name: we proue it not onely by their place in Councels, but by their ſubſcription. Alſo *Concil.ſub Sylueſtr.cap.*20. *Conſtantinus*, with his mother *Helena* ſubſcribed. *Toletan.*3. *Reccaredus* the King, togither with *Badda* the Queene ſubſcribed to the decrees of the Councell. *Concil.6.general. Conſtantinop. action.*18. *Conſtantinus* the Emperour ſubſcribed thus; *Subſcriptio piiſſimi & Chriſto dilecti Conſtantini imperatoris:* the ſubſcription of the moſt deuout and beloued of Chriſt *Conſtantinus* the Emperour.

Iuſtinianus the ſecond ſubſcribed to the decrees of the ſixt general Synode aſſembled in Trullo. Wherefore if the Emperours had the chiefe place in generall Councels, and the greateſt authoritie, and by their royall conſent, and ſubſcription confirmed the actes and decrees of Councels, why ſhould it be doubted that they were chiefe preſidents in Councels, and ought of right ſo to be.

Argum.3. As we haue ſhewed that Emperours or their deputies were preſidents in generall Councels; ſo with as eaſie labour can we make it plaine, that the Popes and Biſhops of Rome, were not in their owne perſons, or by their Legates, preſidents in any of the eight generall Councels.

In the firſt generall Councel Nicene, *Euſtathius* of Antioch was preſident: ſo witneſſeth *Felix* Biſhop of Rome, *epiſtol. ad Zenonem imperatorem.*

Wherefore *Bellarmine* in ſaying, that *Vitus* and *Vincentius* the Biſhop of Romes Legates, were the preſidents, doth oppoſe himſelfe againſt the teſtimonie of the Biſhop of Rome himſelfe, and giueth him the lie. Their owne decrees alſo thus teſtifie, *decr.part.1.diſt.15.c.3. Gelaſius*, That the Nicene Synode was celebrate, *Mediante Conſtantino: Conſtantinus* the Emperor being the mediator, or moderator: and *Euſtathius* was his ſpeaker or prolocutor.

*Conſtantinopol.*1. The ſecond generall Councell was celebrated vnder *Nectarius*, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, *ſic patres Chalcedon. ſynod. action.* 16.

Here *Bellarmine* confeſſeth that neither the Pope, nor his Legates were preſent, but that *Nectarius* was preſident: *Ergo*, by his owne confeſſion the Pope was not Preſident in this Councell: And whereas he ſaith the Emperor was not Preſident, it is contrarie to their owne decrees, *decr.part.1.diſt.15.c.3. Gelaſius*, who affirmeth that the ſecond generall Synode was held at Conſtantinople: *Mediante Theodoſio ſeniore: Theodoſius* the elder being mediator.

Epheſinæ ſynodo ſanctæ memoriæ Cyrillus præſedit: Cyrillus of bleſſed memorie was Preſident in the Epheſine, the third generall Councell, *ſic Leo epiſtol.*45.

Bellarmine ſaith that *Cyrillus* was the Popes Legate in this Councell. *Anſwere.*1. *Leo* before cited maketh mention of no ſuch thing. 2. The Pope did vſe to ſend Legates of his owne, and not to nominate Biſhops of the Greeke Church. 3. *Cod. lib.*1.*tit.*8.*l.*8. *Valentinian, Martian* thus teſtifie of this Synode, *Cui beatæ memoriæ Cyrillus præfuit:* Where *Cyrillus* of happie memorie was Preſident. The ſame witneſſeth *Gelaſius, decr.part.*1.*diſt.*15.*c.*3. In the Epheſine Synode, *Neſtorius* with the conſent of *Celeſtinus* was condemned, *Mediante Cyrillo, &c. Cyrillus* being the mediator or Preſident. And againe, *diſt.*16.*c.*10. The Fathers in this Councell did conclude twelue articles againſt ſo many hereſies of *Neſtorius, authore Cyrillo, Cyrill* being the author.

Gelaſius, decret. de Apocryphis, affirmeth the Councell of Chalcedon, which was the fourth generall to be celebrated, *Mediante Martiano Auguſto, & Anatolio Conſtantinopolitano:* By the mediation or Preſidentſhip of *Martianus* the Emperor, and *Anatolius* Patriarch of Conſtantinople. Yet notwithſtanding this authoritie of *Gelaſius, Bellarmine* ſtill auoucheth that the Popes Legates had the Preſidentſhip in this Councell. *Contra.*1. The Synode ſaith, *Reſidentibus magnificis iudicibus, &c.* The moſt magnificent Iudges ſitting, &c. there were ſeuen noble men by the Emperor appoynted as Iudges: but who elſe is iudge but the Preſident? 2. Theſe ſeuen Iudges ſit in the middeſt by the altar, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople and Alexandria on their right hand; *Paſchaſinus* and *Lucentius*, the Biſhop of Romes Legates, on the left hand: wherefore by their place it ſeemeth they were not Preſidents. 3. They would haue *Dioſcorus* excluded out of the Councell, but the Iudges would not permit it. 4. *Decr.part.*1.*diſt.*16.*c.*10. *Anatolius* is ſaid to be author of the 27. Canons made againſt *Eutyches*; wherefore he rather was the Preſident then the other. See alſo to this purpoſe the ſecond Nicene Councell, *action.*1. where *Tharaſius* Preſident of that Councell ſaith, *Anatolius quartæ ſynodi principem fuiſſe:* That *Anatolius* was the Prince or Preſident of the fourth Synode: *Ergo* the Popes Legates were not.

*Conſtantinopol.*2. The fift generall Councell was kept, *Præſidente ſanctiſſimo & beatiſſimo domino noſtro patriarcha Menna:* Our moſt holy and bleſſed Lord *Mennas* Patriarch of Conſtantinople being Preſident: *act.*1.2.3.& 4. Yet *Bellarmine* is not aſhamed to ſay, that not *Mennas*, but *Eutychius* his ſucceſſor was Preſident in the fift generall Councell; whereas in euery action of this Councell, which are but foure in all, there is mention onely made as before, of the Preſidentſhip of *Mennas*.

But what hath *Bellarmine* gained, if *Eutychius*, and not *Menna* was Preſident? What maketh this for the Popes Preſidentſhip? And if it be ſo, that *Vigilius* the Biſhop of Rome was at that time preſent at Conſtantinople, as the Ieſuite thinketh, why came he not to the Synode to chalenge his Preſidentſhip, but that he feared to be thruſt downe into the ſecond place, as *Illyricus* truely coniectureth, and is without cauſe chalenged by the Ieſuite of a lye, ſeeing he himſelfe confeſſeth as much in the beginning of the 19. chapter, alleaging this as a reaſon, why the Popes refuſed perſonally to be preſent, in the Greeke Synodes, becauſe the Emperor or his Legates would ſit in the Preſidents place?

*Conſtantinopol.*3. The ſixt generall Councell, *action.*1. *Præſidente pijſſimo imperatore Conſtantino*, The moſt deuout Emperor *Conſtantinus* being Preſident.

Yet notwithſtanding the words of the Councell ſtand thus, *Bellarmine* ſaith, that the Legates of *Agatho* the Biſhop of Rome had the Preſidentſhip: whereas beſide the direct teſtimonie of the Councell, as we haue heard, which maketh the Emperor *Conſtantinus* Preſident, the Legates of the Biſhop of Rome ſate vpon the left hand of the Emperor, and on the right *George* Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, and *Macarius* of Antioch, as the chiefer men.

Nicen. 2. The ſeuenth generall Councell, *Tharaſius* Patriarch of Conſtantinople, was Preſident and author of the decrees.

This is notwithſtanding denied by *Bellarmine*,that *Taraſius* was Preſident : and yet the words of the Synode are theſe : We thinke it very meete and conuenient, that the moſt holy and high paſtor and rector Preſident of the imperiall Citie of Conſtantinople,new Rome,in the beginning to propound,what matters ſhall be handled,and as it were to open a doore to the reſt: but whoſe office was it elſe, but the Preſidents to propound the queſtions, and to moderate the diſputations ? Though we need not to contend for this Synode,which was moſt erronious,groſſe and idolatrous,and not worthie to be counted amongſt the eight generall Councels, and in deed it is none of them.

Conſtantinopol. 4. The eight generall Councell, *Baſilius* the Emperor was preſent, and Preſident,for he concludeth the Councell thus,*Praſtamus omnibus qui in mente aliquid habet ambiguum, in medium exhibeat :* We giue licence to all,that haue any doubt,to bring it forth. He was then the Preſident ; whatſoeuer the Ieſuite can obiect to the contrarie.

In theſe eight generall Councels the Pope of Rome was not himſelfe perſonally preſent : what will you ſay now to a generall Councell, where the Pope was preſent in perſon, and yet not preſident.

In the Councell of Florence, *Palæologus* Emperour of Conſtantinople, and *Ioſephus* Patriarch there, alſo *Eugenius* the fourth Biſhop of Rome were preſonally preſent, with the whole ſtate Eccleſiaſticall both of the Greeke and Latine Church : yet was not *Eugenius* preſident, as may appeare by theſe arguments.

1 At their firſt meeting there was great contention about their ſeates in the Councel,the Pope would haue placed the Greekes with their Emperour on the left hand, the Latine Clergie on the right, and himſelfe to ſit in the vpper end in the midſt betweene them both : but the Emperour would not ſuffer that,ſaying,that that place was meeter for him then for the Pope: Hereupon the Pope relented, and was contented to ſit on the right ſide ouer againſt the Emperour : but if he had been preſident,that place in the midſt of right had belonged vnto him.

2 The Grecians craued leaue of their Emperour, and Patriarch, when they began to ſpeake, as *Beſſarion* doth *ſeſſ.*1.and *Marcus* Biſhop of Epheſus *ſeſſ.*3.and *ſeſſ.*23.*Iohanes Monachus* ſaith thus to *Marcus, Non ego,ſed Imperator, tibi legem imponere poteſt*, Not I, but the Emperour is to appoint you the law of diſputing : But this onely belongeth to the preſident and moderator. 3.*Seſſ.*20. *Imperator iuſſit vt iterum ſeſſio haberetur*, The Emperour commanded another ſeſſion to be kept : *Ergo*,he was preſident,and not the Pope.

*Argum.*4. Laſtly, not to heape vp many reaſons in ſo plaine a cauſe ; I will alleadge one example moſt manifeſt out of *Auguſtine:*who writeth,that in that great Councel at Carthage where the matter was diſcuſſed betweene the Catholikes and the Donatiſts, there being preſent more then 500. Biſhops of both ſides, *Marcellinus* was appointed to be moderator of that diſputation: who diuers times putteth in his ſentence in the diſputation, and laſt of all, bidding both parts to goe aſide,he writeth the ſentence definitiue,and concludeth againſt the Donatiſts, approuing the actes of the Catholike Biſhops.*hac Aug.breuicul. collation.*

THE FIFT QVESTION, WHETHER Councels may erre or not.

The Papiſts.

THey are not all agreed,what to determine of this matter : ſome affirme that Generall Councels can in no wiſe erre, although the conſent of the Pope be wanting : thus the Fathers in Baſile concluded,Who is it,ſay they, that will preferre a ſinfull man before an vndefiled Church ? But *Bellarmine* more the Popes friend then ſo,holdeth,that euen generall Councels may erre,vnleſſe they follow the inſtructions and directions of the Pope : Yea that it is not ſufficient for the Pope to call a Councell, and ſend his Legate thither, but he muſt write continually for aduertiſement from his maſter before any thing be concluded: and therefore they doubt not to ſay,that the Councell of *Baſile* erred, though it had the conſent of the Popes Legate in defining, that the Councell is aboue the Pope,becauſe he had no ſuch direction from the Pope, *Bellarmine de concil. lib.*2.*cap.*11. 33.Error.

Nay the Ieſuite goeth further, that particular Councels being approued by the pope cannot erre,*cap.*5. So they holde that the holy fathers of the cruell Inquiſition cannot erre : Yea *Panormitane* was not aſhamed to ſay openly in the Councell of *Baſile*, that he would preferre the iudgment of the Cardinals of Rome before all the world. This then is the Ieſuites opinion, that no Councels by the Pope confirmed can erre : and that a particular Councell hauing his allowance, is to be preferred before a generall without. Let vs ſee ſome of their reaſons.

1 They abuſe certaine places of Scripture for their purpoſe : as that Act.15.It ſeemed good to vs,and the holy Ghoſt : I am with you to the end of the world : He that heareth you, heareth me.

*Bellarmine cap.2.Rhemiſt.in Act.*15.8.10. ſo then thus they argue, Councels are neuer without the ſpirit of God: therefore they cannot erre. A ſilly argument, as though the ſpirit of God were at their commaundement, or were tyed to places or perſons: They muſt firſt performe the condition before they can challenge the promiſe: that is, to follow the rule of Gods word, and obediently to ſubmitte themſelues thereunto; then will God vouchſafe to be preſent. The Goſpell ſaith, that whereſoeuer two or three are gathered togither in my name, I will be preſent euen in the midſt of them: Here promiſe is made, not to thouſands or hundreds, but to two or three; and therefore by this place an aſſembly of few perſons may as well be exempted from error, as Councels: But there is a condition, *In nomine meo*, in my name, and then followeth, *in medio illorum*, in the midſt of them: if then they are not met in the Lords name, they cannot looke for the preſence of Chriſt. I pray you where was the holy Ghoſt preſent in that Councell at Rome vnder Ioh. 23. when there appeared a great Owle, which ſtared and outfaced the Pope, who bluſhing at the matter, and fuming, roſe vp and departed? At the ſight of which Owle they whiſpered one in anothers eare, that the ſpirit appeared in the likenes of an Owle: and after that in another ſeſſion the ſame Owle appeared, and could not be driuen away, vntill by throwing bats and cudgels at her, ſhe fell downe dead before them, *ex Nichol. Clemang.* In the beginning of the Councel of Conſtance after the accuſtomed hymne ſung, *Veni ſancte ſpiritus*, a bill was ſet vp with theſe words, *alijs rebus occupati, nunc adeſſe non poſſumus.* We are now otherwiſe occupied, we cannot be preſent with you. We ſee now how ſure the Papiſts are of the holy Ghoſt in their popiſh Councels.

*Argum.*2. Act.15.28. *It ſeemed good to vs and the holy Ghoſt:* As the Apoſtles might ſay, that their decrees were the decrees of the holy Ghoſt: ſo all other Councels are ſure to haue the aſſiſtance of the ſpirit: *Ergo*, they cannot erre, *Bellarm.lib.2.cap.2.*

Anſwere. Firſt, if the Councels which are now held in the Church, are as ſure not to erre as the Apoſtolicall Councels, by the ſame reaſon euery particular paſtor of the Church may haue as good a priuiledge, to be exempted from error, as the Apoſtles themſelues had; for their Councels which erred not, conſiſted of particular members likewiſe not erring. But there is not the like reaſon of the Apoſtles, and their Councels then, as there is of ours nowe: for the Apoſtles, whoſe preachings, decrees, and writings, are now, and were then to be rules of our faith, for this cauſe receiued the ſpirit of God, whereby they were aſſured to be led into all truth, Ioh. 16.13. But Councels now are not to ſet rules of our faith, neither are their decrees to be taken for Scripture: therefore there is not the like reaſon of the aſſiſtance of the ſpirite nowe in ſuch meaſure, as they had it.

*Anſw.*2. Yet we graunt that the ſpirit of God is preſent ſtill in Councels aſſembled in Chriſts name, to direct them in all things neceſſarie: ſo that they be content to be ruled by the Scriptures, as we ſee the Apoſtles grounded their decrees vpon Scripture, Act.15.16. For thus the Apoſtles concluded, that ſeeing God foretold by his Prophets, that the Gentiles ſhould be called as well as the Iewes, that they were not therefore to be clogged with Iewiſh ceremonies, ſeeing they were ordayned to be a people holy vnto God, as well as the Iewes: But if the Paſtors of the Church refuſe to heare the voice of God in the Scriptures, they are very like to be deceiued, yea, are ſure to miſſe the line of truth.

*Argum.*3. The Church cannot erre: for the Apoſtle calleth it the pillar of truth, 1. Timoth. 3. but a generall Councell repreſenteth the whole Church: *Ergo*, it cannot erre. *Bellarm.lib.2.de Concil.c.2.*

Anſw. Firſt, concerning the aſſumption or ſecond part of this argument, we graunt, that a generall Councell lawfully aſſembled in ſome ſort repreſenteth the vniuerſall Church, but is not the vniuerſall Church: but fewe Councels are ſo generall, at the which ſome of euery nationall Church are preſent, which thing ought to be in an vniuerſall Councell. And againe, a generall Councell may erre, when as notwithſtanding ſome particular members of the Church hold the truth: as in that generall aſſemblie of 400. of *Baals* prieſts in *Achabs* time, they all being in error, the Prophet *Micaiah* only was in the right.

Secondly, concerning the propoſition, firſt wee denie that the Church is abſolutely freed from error, neither doth it follow, it is the pillar, therefore cannot erre; for *Peter* erred, and yet was a pillar, Galath.2. Secondly, the Church is called a pillar, and ground of truth, not abſolutely or ſubſtantially, as though the truth ſhould be meaſured by the Church, but onely demonſtratiuely, becauſe it profeſſeth the truth, and as a golden candleſticke holdeth out the light in the world, which is not elſewhere to be found but in the Church: and it is the pillar of the truth, as it is the houſe of God, ſuffering it ſelfe to be ruled and guided by the word of God.

The Proteſtants.

WE doubt not to ſay, that Councels haue erred, and may erre, preſuming any thing beſides the warrant of Gods word, and that neither vniuerſall or particular Councels are priuiledged, much leſſe any one man, no nor the Pope, not to erre in matters of faith, otherwiſe, then following the truth of the Scriptures, for in ſo doing, they are ſure not to be deceiued.

*Argum.*1. We haue examples in the Scripture of Councels that erred, as that aſſemblie in *Achabs* daies of 400. Prophets, who were all deceiued. The Ieſuite thus anſwereth, that it was an aſſemblie of Prophets, not of Prieſts: as though Prieſts were more priuiledged from error, than Prophets. And the Ieſuite, if he be well remembred, whereas we alleaged the examples of *Dauid, Hezekiah, Ioſias*, that aſſembled Councels, he gaue vs this anſwer, that they did it as Prophets, and not as Kings: wherefore by his owne confeſſion it belongeth to Prophets as well as to prieſts to aſſemble, and be aſſembled in Councel. Secondly (ſaith he) theſe were falſe prophets, not Prophets of the Lord. We graunt ſo, and this withall, that whereſoeuer the Lords prophets and paſtors, and miniſters aſſemble, that there they will heare the Lords voyce: which the Pope in his Councels doth not. But he ſtill ſuppoſeth, that the Pope and his miniſters are Chriſts diſciples: which is an vnreaſonable ſuppoſition, ſeeing we hold him to be Antichriſt, and that the Ieſuite knoweth. Thirdly, this Councell was called by the authoritie of the King, not of the high prieſt, and therefore might erre. *Anſ.* Firſt, the holy Councels ſummoned by *Dauid*, 1. Chron. 15. 3. by *Hezekiah*, 2. Chron. 30. by *Ioſias*, 2. Chron. 34. though they were by the authoritie of the King, not the high prieſt collected, were notwithſtanding godly and lawfull Councels. Secondly, neither was it the authoritie of the high prieſt, that could priuiledge Councels from error, ſeeing they themſelues erred, as *Vrijah* the high prieſt vnder that vngodly King of Iuda *Ahaz* was a moſt groſſe idolater, 2. King. 16. 11. Wherefore the Ieſuite hath here anſwered nothing.

*Argum.*2. Such a Councell alſo was that of the Iewes, Ioh. 9. where all they were excommunicate that confeſſed Chriſt, and Mark. 14. Chriſt himſelfe was by the Councell condemned: It cannot be denied, but that this Councell erred. Let vs heare the papiſts goodly anſweres: ſome ſay that the Councell erred in a matter of fact, *de facto, non de iure,* not in a caſe of right, as whether Chriſt ſhould be put to death; As though in condemning him, they denied not that he was the Meſſiah. Other that they erred in their owne opinion, not in the ſentence giuen, for Chriſt indeed was guiltie of death, ſay they, becauſe he did beare our ſinnes: the Ieſuite findeth not much fault with this anſwere, and yet it is an open blaſphemie, as is that alſo of the Papiſts, that the Iewes had ſinned mortally, if they had not put Chriſt to death. Some of them ſay, the Councell erred not in that which was done, but in the manner of iudgement becauſe it was tumultuous and diſorderly, and done by ſuborning of falſe witneſſes: and this ſaith the Ieſuite, is *probabilis reſponſio*, a probable anſwere, ſaith he, being moſt impious and blaſphemous. And their Maſter of Sentences determineth otherwiſe: *Occidere Chriſtum fuit mala actio & peccatum:* To kill Chriſt was an euill and ſinfull action, *lib.*1. *diſt.* 48. *b.* But he dare not reſt in this anſwere, but findeth out a fourth of his owne, that the chiefe prieſts and Councels of the Iewes could not erre before the comming of Chriſt, but after hee was come, they might. A blind popiſh anſwere: for doth not Chriſt euery where impugne the traditions and decrees of the Elders, as Mark. 7. which our Sauiour ſhould not haue done belike, ſeeing the Elders before his comming could not erre: or will they ſay, that thoſe traditions were right and good before, and afterward erronious? I know not elſe what they ſhould ſay.

Diſtinct. 13. Item in Margin.

Popiſh blaſphemie.

Againe, I oppoſe againſt the Ieſuite the determination of their owne Maſter: who ſaith, *In Chriſti morte terminata eſſe Legalia omnia:* That all the Legals were determined and tooke their end in the death of Chriſt; and ſo long Circumciſion (ſaith he) was in force, *lib.*4. *Sentent. diſt.* 3. *k.* But the law and prieſthood ceaſed together: *Ergo,* till Chriſts death the prieſts ſhould bee priuiledged not to erre, if they had any ſuch priuiledge at all.

*Argum.*3. We ſee by experience that many Councels haue erred: we let paſſe thoſe which the Ieſuite himſelfe confeſſeth to haue erred, as the third Councell of *Antioch*, where *Athanaſius* was condemned, and the Arrian hereſie approued: the Councell of *Arimine*, where the ſame hereſie was furthered; the ſecond Epheſine approuing *Eutiches* hereſie: theſe Councels, though they were generall, the Papiſts confeſſe to haue erred, and they haue a tricke to ſhifte it off, but a ſillie one God knoweth. They were not approued by the Pope, ſay they: As though all veritie and knowledge in the whole earth were locked vp in the Popes breaſt.

In the Councell of *Neoceſarea* confirmed by *Leo* the fourth *can.* 7. ſecond mariage is forbidden: that the Prieſt ſhould neither giue conſent to ſecond mariage, nor be preſent at the mariage feaſt, but rather inioyne penance for ſecond mariage.

Bellarmine anſwereth, *Non prohiberi matrimonium, ſed ſolennitatem ſecundi matrimonij*, that not ſecond mariage, but the ſolemnity of ſecond mariage is forbidden; for the celebritie of mariage was once onely accuſtomed to be done in the Church (ſaith he) when as virgins were coupled in matrimonie.

Contra. 1. The Canon ſpeaketh not of any ſolemnitie in the Church, but of the feaſt at home, *Preſbyterum conuiuio ſecundarum nuptiarum intereſſe non debere*, That the Prieſt or miniſter muſt not be preſent at the ſecond mariage feaſt. Secondly, the Canon ſaith, *Quis eſt preſbyter, qui propter con-*

niuium illis conſentiat nuptijs : He is a prieſt of no worth, that for the feaſt ſake will giue his conſent to ſecond mariage. And againe, *Pracipitur ſecundis nuptijs pœnitentiam tribuere:* He is commanded to inioyne penance for ſecond mariage : not for the ſolemnitie of ſecond mariage, but for the mariage it ſelfe. It is plaine therefore, that this canon forbiddeth ſecond mariage it ſelfe. Thirdly, neither is it true which the Ieſuite ſaith, that all ſolemnitie in the Church was cut off in ſecond mariage : It was decreed indeed, *Concil.Lateran.part.9.cap.2. In ſecundis nuptijs non debet benedictio iterari :* The matrimoniall or mariage bleſſing muſt not bee iterate in ſecond mariage, becauſe it was once giuen before : yet both firſt and ſecond mariage was to bee ſolemnized in the Church, *Synod.Colonienſ.part.7.cap.43. Coniunctio coniugum in facie eccleſia peragenda :* The ioyning together of couples is to bee done in the face of the Church. He ſaith not in the firſt or ſecond mariage, but indefinitely of all.

*Toletan.*1*.can.*17*. Is qui non habet vxorem, & pro vxore concubinam habet à communione non repellatur :* He that hath not a wife, but in ſtead of his wife a concubine, is not for this cauſe to bee repelled the communion : a manifeſt error. This Councell was confirmed by *Leo*, as it may appeare canon 21. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that a concubine is here taken for a wife, *Ducta ſine dote, & externa ſolennitate*, maried without a dowrie, and any outward ſolemnitie, as *Agar* is ſaid to be *Abrahams* concubine, yet ſhe was indeed his wife : and *Keturah* likewiſe.

Contra. 1. A wife is one thing, a concubine another, *Sicut aliud libera, aliud ancilla*, as a free woman is one thing, a bond woman another : ſo ſaith *Leo* the approuer of the foreſaid Councell, as he is alleaged, *Synod.Triburienſ.cap.*38. And further he ſaith, that if a man giue his daughter to one in mariage that hath a concubine, *Non ita accipiendũ eſt, quaſi eam coniugato dederit*, It is not ſo to be taken, as if he had giuen her to one maried alreadie : *Niſi fortè illa mulier ingenua ſit facta, & dotata legitimè, & in publicis nuptijs honeſtata videatur :* Except the woman bee made free and haue her dowrie, and be receiued in mariage publikely ſolemnized. Therefore ſhe that is neither endued with dowrie, nor ſolemnely maried, is no wife, but a concubine, which cleane ouerthroweth *Bellarmines* anſwere.

2. Whereas *Bellarmine* telleth vs, that in the Ciuill law a wife maried without ſolemnitie, is called a concubine; his law here deceiueth him : for whether he will be tried for this point by the Ciuill law or Canon, they make both againſt him. As *Cod.lib.5.tit.*16*.leg.2. Antonin.* forbiddeth that a ſouldiour ſhould make a gift to his *focaria*, or *concubina*, his concubine or houſemaid: which there is taken for one that is kept without mariage. Likewiſe, *titul.*26*.l.*1*.Conſtantin.* It is lawfull for no man to keepe a concubine, *conſtante matrimonio*, as long as he is married. In the ſame ſenſe is a concubine taken in the Canon law: *Decret.p.*1*.diſt.*34*.c.6. Etſi non habetis vxores, &c.* Though you haue no wiues, yet is it not lawfull for you to haue concubines. Thus then a concubine is one, and a wife another.

3. That *Agar* was not *Abrahams* wife, but his concubine, it appeareth thus : Firſt, ſhe was not made free, but remained a bond-woman ſtill, Gen. 16. and 21. Secondly, ſhe had no dowrie, nor her ſonne any inheritance with *Iſaac*, Gen. 21.10. Thirdly, if ſhe had been *Abrahams* wife, he ſhould haue done euill in diſmiſſing of her, and ſending her away. Fourthly, the Scripture onely calleth *Sara Abrahams* wife, Gen. 16.3. the other a bond-woman, euen after ſhe had a childe by *Abraham*, Gen. 21.13. ſhe is alſo called the maide of *Sarai*, and *Sarai* her dame or miſtreſſe, Geneſ. 16.6, 9. *Sara* alſo giueth *Agar* to *Abraham*, and ſaith, *It may be I ſhall receiue a childe by her*, Geneſ. 16.2. the bond-womans childe is by right her dames and miſtreſſes according to the law, Exodus 21.4. All this prooueth that *Agar* was a concubine onely, not wife to *Abraham* in any reſpect.

As for *Keturah*, it cannot bee denied, but that ſometime the Scripture calleth her *Abrahams* wife, Geneſ. 25.1. ſometime his concubine, 1. Chron. 1.32. yet in a diuers reſpect : for ſhe was his concubine, as ſome thinke, while *Sara* liued, and his wife afterward : and the Iewes doe hold that *Keturah* and *Agar*, are all one woman. To which opinion *Hierome* ſeemeth to incline, being moued thereunto by two places of Scripture : the firſt, 1. Chron. 5.19. where beſide the Agarens, are named *Iethur* and *Naphiſh*, as enemies to Iſrael, which were the ſonnes of *Iſmael*, Geneſ. 25.15. The other is, Pſal. 83.6. where the Iſmaelites and Agarens are named as two diuers nations : but *Agar* had no more ſonnes but *Iſmael*, ſo that the Iſmaelites and Agarens muſt bee all one, vnleſſe the ſonnes of *Keturah* bee vnderſtood for Agarens, which is moſt like. But how could *Keturah* her ſonnes be named Agarens, if ſhe alſo were not *Agar*? But leauing this as a coniecture of hiſtorie, whether *Keturah* were the ſame that *Agar*, or not, it is verely to bee thought that ſhe was both a concubine and a wife, the firſt while *Sara* liued, the ſecond after her death. So whatſoeuer the Ieſuite hath ſaid, or can ſay, the Toletan Councell decreed an error.

Hieron. trad. in Geneſ. 25. & 1. Paralip. cap. 1.

In the 6. generall Synode, *Can.2.* the Councell vnder *Cyprian* which concluded that heretikes ſhould be rebaptized, is approued. *Can.72.* The mariages betweene Catholikes and heretikes are iudged to be voyd, *huiuſmodi nuptias*, ſaith the Canon, *irritas exiſtimari*, a manifeſt error, and contrarie to S. *Paul*, 1. Cor. 7.13. *Can.*12. ſpeaking of the Canons of the Apoſtles, *Can.*6. which permitteth Miniſters to dwell with their wiues, which by them is forbidden in this place, they ſay thus, *Statum eccleſiaſticum in pulchriorem ordinem prouehi volentes:* Being deſirous to reduce the eccleſiaſticall ſtate to a more beautifull and perfect order, then it was in the Apoſtles time. As though any Church ſince was purer, then the primitiue vnder the gouernment of the Apoſtles. *Can.*67. *Damnamus eos qui cuiuſcunque animalis ſanguinem aliqua arte condiunt, & ſic comedunt:* We condemne thoſe that by skill of Cookerie doe dreſſe the blood of any beaſt to be eaten. But Saint *Paul* ſaith, euery creature of God is good, and not to be refuſed, &c. 1. Tim. 4.4. Theſe and diuers ſuch erros were concluded in this generall Councell: conſented and ſubſcribed vnto by *Iuſtinian* the Emperour, the Biſhop of Rome, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and by 200. Biſhops beſide and more, as may bee ſeene *Can.*102. And approoued in the 7. generall Councell, *action*.4. where *Tharaſius* the Preſident ſpeaketh thus of the Canons of the ſixt Councell, *Scandalum eſt dubitare an ſint ſextæ ſynodi:* It is ſcandalous, or offenſiue to doubt, whether they bee the right Canons of the ſixt Synod. And *Adrian* Biſhop of Rome thus writeth to the ſame *Tharaſius*, as he is alleaged in the Decrees: I receiue the ſixt Synod with all the Canons thereof, *Decr.p.*1. *diſt.*16. *c.*5.

*Concil. Carthaginenſ.*3. *can.*47. The Apocryphall bookes of *Tobie, Iudith, Eccleſiaſticus, Sapientia,* the *Macchabees*, are made Canonicall, contrarie to the Laodicen Councell, *cap. vltim.* where all theſe bookes are reiected out of the ſacred Canon. Therefore the Councell of Carthage erred.

Bellarmine anſwereth, firſt that the Councell of Carthage is of more authoritie then the Laodicen, becauſe it is the latter, and for that it is ratified by *Leo.*4. *diſt.*20. *c.*1. and ſo is not the other.

Contra. 1. The Councels the more ancient they are and neerer the Apoſtles times, ought to bee ſo much the more had in authoritie, and not the new to bee preferred before the old: I marueile that the Ieſuite, which ſo much vrgeth antiquitie, would haue vttered ſuch a ſpeech. 2. And againe, the ſame *Leo* the 4. in the ſame place confirmeth the Laodicen Councell: and likewiſe *Felix* 4. *Decret.*2. citeth the 26. and 59. Canons of this Synod: and it is confirmed in the ſixt generall Councell, *Can.*1. and ſo is not the Councell of Carthage: as it is alſo alleaged in the Decrees, *diſtin.*16. *c.*7. Wherefore the Laodicen is to bee preferred, and the Ieſuite hath ſaid nothing.

In the ſecond Councell of Nice, *act.*5. it was concluded, that Angels and the ſoules of men haue bodies of their owne, and are circumſcriptible *& imitabiles pictura*, and may bee deſcribed by picture, and that the Angels *multoties in proprio corpore viſi*, haue often been ſeene in their owne bodies. *Action.*1. It was decreed, *Hanc eſſe veritatem vt in ſanctis eccleſijs venerandæ imagines colantur:* That in holy Churches the images of Saints ſhould be worſhipped. Yet in the Eliberin Councell it was long before determined in this wiſe, *Can.*36. *Placuit, picturas in eccleſia eſſe non decere:* It ſeemeth good to vs, that there ſhould bee no pictures at all, or images in the Church. And to this Councell ſubſcribed *Oſius* Biſhop of Corduba in Spaine, who had been preſent before in the firſt Nicene Councell, and ſubſcribed for the Biſhop of Rome: this appeareth therefore to be a manifeſt error, which was decreed concerning the adoring of Images. And to make the error more foule, being blaſphemous enough in it ſelfe, *action.*4. one *Iohannes Monachus* ſteppeth vp, and ſaith, *Imago maior eſt quam oratio*, An Image is more worth then prayer: whereas prayer is inſtituted of God, an Image is the deuice of man. And in the ſame place, the ſame ſuperſtitious and idolatrous Monke ſaith, that it were better for a man to breake his oth, *& iurantem peierare*, and to be forſworne, then to keepe his oth, *in deſtructionem imaginum*, for the pulling downe of Images. And yet for all this *Bellarmine* will not yeeld that this Councell erred.

In the Councell of Rome vnder Pope *Stephan* the 7. all the acts of *Formoſus* his predeceſſor were reuoked. And in the Councell of Rauenna vnder *Iohn* 9. Pope, *Formoſus* acts were eſtabliſhed, and *Stephans* decrees abrogate.

Bellarmine here anſwereth, that Pope *Stephen* erred onely in a matter of fact, being falſely informed, that *Formoſus* was not the lawfull Pope. *Contra.* But to reuerſe all the acts and decrees made by the Pope, ſheweth an error in iudgement alſo in one of them, either in him that firſt enacted them, or in him that after reuerſed them: As the putting of Chriſt to death, though it were a matter of fact, yet proceeded from a corrupt, blind, and reprobate iudgement. By this ſhift the Ieſuite alſo may excuſe the high prieſts from error, that put Chriſt to death.

Laſtly, in the Councell of Conſtance, they are excommunicate, that receiue the Sacrament in both kindes: the Councell of Baſil on the contrarie ſide, permitteth and giueth leaue to the Bohemians to vſe both kindes. One of theſe Councels muſt needes erre, and both of them were confirmed by the Popes: the Councell of Conſtance by *Martin* the 5. the Councell of Baſil by *Felix* 5. By this induction of many particulars we inferre and conclude, that Councels euen approued by the Pope, may and haue erred.

4. Laſtly, *Auguſtines* opinion is this, that prouinciall Councels ought to giue place to generall: *Et ipſa plenaria priora poſterioribus emendari:* And the former generall Councels muſt bee amended

mended by the latter. The Rhemiſts haue found out this ſhift, that in matters indifferent, which are to be chaunged, according to time and place, Councels may be altered, *Act.*15.*ſect.*8. But to that it is anſwered, that the word ***emendare*** ſignifieth not onely a chaunge, but a correcting of that which is amiſſe. And that clauſe of ***Auguſtines*** muſt be put in, why Councels muſt be amended: ***Si à veritate deuiatum ſit***, If they ſwarue from the truth: ***de Baptiſm.lib.***2.***cap.***3. Wherefore we conclude, that Councels may erre.

Againe, that ſaying of ***Auguſtine*** is confirmed in your owne Decrees: ***Ego ſolis eis ſcriptorum, &c.*** I haue learned, onely to thoſe writers which are called Canonicall, to attribute this honour, that I beleeue none of them to haue erred in writing, &c. ***Decr.p.***1.***diſt.***10.***c.***5. If the holy writers onely are priuiledged from error, then all other that are not Canonicall may erre, and ſo Councels among the reſt.

Laſtly, let vs put to the ſeale of this doctrine, the teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs witneſſed by their blood: M. ***Rogers*** Martyr, alleageth the authority of a learned lawyer of the Church of Rome, namely, ***Panormitane***, which ſaith that vnto a ſimple lay man, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credite to be giuen, then to a whole Councel gathered togither: vnto which ſentence, the ſaid bleſſed Martyr giueth his conſent, ***Fox***.pag.1487. Extrau.de Appel.cap. ſignificaſti.

Biſhop ***Farrar*** Martyr, was condemned for this article amongſt other, becauſe he would not ſubſcribe, that generall Councels neuer did nor can erre, ***Fox***.pag.1554.col.2.ar.4.

Biſhop ***Ridley*** alſo holy Martyr, confeſſeth that Councels gathered together of ſuch guides, and paſtors, as doe walke after the guiding of Gods word, haue a promiſe to be guided of the ſpirit into all truth, and not otherwiſe. ***Fox***.pag.1720.

THE SIXT QVESTION, CONCERNING THE AVthoritie of generall Councels, whether they may abſolutely determine without Scripture, and neceſſarily binde all men to the obedience of their Canons.

The Papiſts.

34.Error. IN words they would ſeeme to magnifie the Scripture aboue Councels: for they ſay, that the authoritie of the Scripture dependeth not in himſelfe, of Church, Pope, or Councels; but in reſpect of vs: the word of God, is the word of God, ſay they, though there be no determination of the Church: but we doe not know it ſo to be, but becauſe the Church hath ſo defined: ***Bellarmin. lib*** 2.***de con. cap.***12. Here is a goodly gloſſe, but nothing to the purpoſe: for in that they ſay the Church hath abſolute authoritie to declare and pronounce which is the word, (which indeede it hath not without teſtimonie and warrant of the word it ſelfe) by this meanes it commeth about, that much is taken for the word of God which is not: and ſo the Church doth not onely declare the word, but maketh that the word which is not.

Firſt, beſide the Apocrypha, which they make part of the word, as we haue ſhewed afore, they hold that their traditions are alſo the word of God, ***Bellarmine cap.***12. Secondly, ***Gratian*** is ſo bold to affirme that the decretall Epiſtles of the Popes are to be counted amongſt the Canonicall Scriptures, ***diſt.***19. ***can. in canonicis***, and that the Canons of Councels are of the ſame authoritie, ***diſt.***20.***can.decretales.*** And ***Greg.***1.***epiſt.***24. ſaith, he doth reuerence the foure generall Councels, as the foure Euangeliſts. Thirdly, they ſhamefully affirme, that whatſoeuer the Paſtors and prieſts doe teach in the vnitie of the Church, is the word of God, ***Rhemenſ.***1.***Theſ.***2.***ver.***12.

Firſt then they conclude, that Councels are not bound to determine according to the Scriptures, but as iudges may determine of their owne authoritie. Secondly, that all men are bound of neceſſitie to receiue the decrees of Councels, without any further tryall or examination. They reaſon thus out of Scripture.

Bellar.lib.1.de concil.cap.18. ***Argum.***1. Deut.17.12. He that harkeneth not vnto the prieſt, that man ſhall die. But marke I pray you, what goeth before, verſ.11. according to the law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the iudgement which they ſhall tell thee, ſhalt thou doe: See then, here is no abſolute iudiciall power giuen to the prieſt but according to the law of God.

Thus anſwered Maſter ***Latimer*** Martyr, to the like obiection made by Biſhop ***White:*** If any controuerſie did ariſe, they were indeed referred to the Prieſts who were to iudge, not as they would themſelues, but ***ſecundum legem Dei***, according to the law of God, ***Fox***.pag.1762.

Argum.2. The example of the Apoſtles Act.15. is as fondely alleadged, where it was decreed (ſaith the Ieſuite) that the Gentiles ſhould not be burthened with ceremonies, which, ſaith he, was not determined by the Scriptures but by the abſolute ſuffrages of the Apoſtles. Againe, their decrees were abſolutely impoſed vpon the Churches, without any further examination of the Diſciples: ***Ergo***, we are now alſo abſolutely bound to obey all decrees of Councels, ***Bellarmin. de concil.***1.18.

We anſwere: firſt, it is falſe, that this matter was determined without Scripture: for *Iames* alleageth Scripture: and *Peter* thus reaſoneth, We beleeue through the grace of God to be ſaued aſwell as they, verſ. 11. therefore what need this yoke of ceremonies? Secondly. Though there had been no Scripture, who ſeeth not that the ſpirit of God ſo ruled the Apoſtles, that their writings and holy actions ſhould ſerue for ſcripture vnto the ages following? Thirdly, the Diſciples needed not to examine their decrees, knowing that they were gouerned by the ſpirit, as they themſelues write: It ſeemed good to vs and the holy Ghoſt: yet we ſee the brethren of *Berœa* ſearched the Scripture for the truth of thoſe things, which the Apoſtles preached, Act. 17. 11. When they can proue ſuch a plenarie power and fulnes of the ſpirit in their Paſtors and Councels, as was in the Apoſtles, we will alſo beleeue them.

Argum. 3. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, if he refuſe to heare the Church, let him be vnto thee as an heathen man and publicane: *Ergo* the Church is abſolutely to be obeyed in all things, *Bellar. lib.* 1. *de concil. cap.* 18.

Anſwere: firſt, our Sauiour in this place ſpeaketh not of the Canons and decrees of the Church concerning faith: but onely preſcribeth the forme of Church diſcipline, for reformation of manners and correction of ſinne: *If thy brother treſpaſſe againſt thee, &c.* verſ. 15. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith no more then this, that Chriſtians ought to obey the ſentence of the Church in cenſuring of ſinne: but it followeth not that we ought to receiue newe articles of faith impoſed by the Church beſide Scripture. Secondly, Chriſt ſpeaketh not of euery Church abſolutely, but of a Church guided and ruled by his word, and aſſembled in his name, verſ. 20. for otherwiſe by the Ieſuites collection, our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſhould haue been as Publicanes, becauſe they obeyed not the Scribes and Phariſies, amongſt whom they cannot denie, but that the Church was at that time.

The Proteſtants.

WE do firmly beleeue that neither the Church nor Councels haue any ſuch abſolute power to determine without the holy Scriptures, either beſide or againſt them; or to bind other men to obey ſuch decrees: Neither that the true Church of God dare, or will arrogate ſuch power vnto it ſelfe: But that Councels are ordained for the diſcuſſing and deciding of doubtfull matters, according to the Scriptures and word written.

Argum. 1. If the Apoſtles preachings might be examined according to Scripture, much more the actes of all other Biſhops and paſtors. But that was lawfull in the Diſciples of *Berœa*, Act. 17. 11. which are commended for it: therfore called noble couragious Chriſtians, becauſe of this their promptnes, and diligence in ſearching out of the truth. *Ergo.*

Argum. 2. All things neceſſarie to ſaluation to be beleeued, are articles of our faith: but all ſuch articles muſt de grounded vpon the word of God: therefore nothing can be impoſed as neceſſarie to ſaluation without the word of God. Wherefore it is a blaſphemous ſaying of the Papiſts, that the Church may make new articles of faith, *Rhemenſ. annot. in* 1. *Tim.* 3. *ſect.* 9. And *Eckius* maintained the ſame point againſt *Luther*, in the diſputation at Lipſia, and brought forth a new article of faith, agreed of in the Councell of Conſtance, that it is *de neceſſitate ſalutis*, of the neceſſitie of ſaluation, to beleeue that the Pope is the head of the Church. The fathers of Baſil more modeſt then ſo, concluding that it was an article of faith to beleeue that Councels were aboue the Pope, doe vſe this reaſon: Thoſe things (ſay they) which we alleage for the ſuperioritie of generall Councels, are gathered out of the ſayings of our Sauiour Chriſt: *Ergo,* wee are all bound to obey them. Therefore we conclude, that the word of God onely written is the rule of faith, and of all things neceſſarie to bee beleeued: Rom. 10. 10. *Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word.* Councels are to explane and declare articles of faith, not to eſtabliſh new.

Martyrol. Fox pag. 848.

Martyrol. Fox pag. 677.

Argum. 3. S. *Paul* ſaith, *that if an Angell ſhould preach otherwiſe then the Apoſtles had preached,* (the ſumme of whoſe preaching is now onely to be found in their holy writings) *let him be accurſed,* Galath. 1. 8. 9. But an Angell preaching beſide Scripture, is to bee heard as ſoone, nay ſooner then a Councell aſſembled o[illegible]en decreeing any thing beſide the word of God: *Ergo,* neither is ſuch a Councell to be receiued, but rather to be iudged accurſed.

This was the faith alſo of the holy Martyrs, for the which they nothing doubted to giue their liues, that the Scriptures contained all things neceſſarie to ſaluation: neither would they receiue any decree of Church, Pope, or Councell, not agreeable to the ſame.

Firſt, Maſter *Bradford* ſaith, In teſtimonie of this faith I giue my life, *Epiſtol. ad Londinenſ. pag.* 1626.

Maſter *Philpot* holy Martyr, to *Stories* demaund, who ſaid vnto him, When as the Iudge in Weſtminſter hall giueth ſentence, doth the word giue ſentence or the Iudge? maketh this anſwer: Ciuill matters be ſubiect to ciuill men, and they haue authoritie to iudge of them: but the word of God is not ſubiect to mans iudgement, but ought to iudge all the thoughts, wiſedome, and doing of man, *Fox* pag. 1805.

Maſter ***Haukes*** Martyr, when ***Boner*** had thus ſaid to him : Ah ſir, you will haue no more then Scripture teacheth, but euen as Chriſt hath left it bare. He thus anſwered : He that teacheth me any otherwiſe, I will not beleeue him, pag. 1587. Thus wee ſee our doctrine hath been laid to the touchſtone, and tried in the fire : and neither the workmen were aſhamed, nor yet their worke burned. Wherefore it remaineth ſound and ſure, againſt the contentious brabling, and ſophiſticall cauils of all the Papiſts in the world.

Laſtly, we will heare ***Auguſtine*** ſpeake, ***Nec tu debes Ariminenſe, neque ego Nicenum tanquam præiudicaturus proferre concilium, ſcripturarum authoritatibus, &c.*** Neither muſt I alleage the Nicen Councell, nor you the Arimine, I am neither bound to the one, nor you to the other, let the matter be tried by Scripture, ***cont. Maxim. Arrianum lib. 3. cap. 14.*** By this fathers ſentence therefore, no man is bound of neceſſitie to be tied to Councels, but the Scripture onely is abſolutely to bee beleeued.

Wee haue alſo for this matter the euident teſtimonie of antiquitie, *Conſtantinus* the great thus ſpake in the Councell of Nice : ***Euangelici ſunt libri & Apoſtolici antiquorumque Prophetarum ſanctiones, qui nos erudiunt, quid de ſacra lege ſapiamus : expellentes igitur hoſtile certamen, ex verbis diuinitus inſpiratis ſolutionem quæſtionum mente capiamus :*** There are the bookes of the Goſpels, of the Apoſtles, and Prophets, which doe teach vs, what to hold in religion: therefore expelling all hoſtile and bitter contention, let vs ſeeke the ſolution of theſe queſtions out of Scripture.

Florentin. concil. ſeſſ. 3. Andreas Coloſſenſ. thus ſpeaketh in the name of the Latin Church : ***Diuino Euangelio ſupremum obtinenti locum & dignitatem, in primis nobis eſt innitendum:*** We muſt relie eſpecially vpon the holy Goſpell, as hauing the chiefe place and dignitie : Councels then muſt determine according to the Scripture, neither are we bound otherwiſe to giue eare vnto them.

The Ciuill law thus ſaith, ***Cod. lib. 1. tit. 4 leg. 3. Martian. Iuxta Apoſtolicas expoſitiones, &c.*** Thoſe things which concerning the faith were decreed in the Councell of Chalcedon by our commaundement, were defined according to the expoſitions of the Apoſtles, &c. ***Et tit. 8. leg. 4. Valentin.*** ſpeaking of the Chalcedon Councell he ſaith : ***Nihil adimens ſacroſancto ſymbolo nec adijciens:*** Adding nothing to the ſacred Creede, nor taking from it. Councels then muſt determine according to Scripture, and cannot adde new articles of faith.

So likewiſe their owne decrees teſtifie : ***Decr. p. 2. cauſ. 24. quæſt. 1. cap. 21. Non afferamus ſtateras doloſas, &c.*** Let vs not bring deceitfull waights, to waigh as we thinke good our ſelues, ſaying, this is heauie, this light: but let vs bring the waights and balance out of the Scriptures, &c. And their owne Maſter of Sentences thus ſaith : ***Ne vltra præfinitionem dei ſermo de deo ſit, forma fidei certa eſt, non ergo aliquid addendum :*** That of God beyond Gods owne warrant, wee ſhould not ſpeake : the forme of faith is certaine, and nothing to be added to it, ***lib. 1. diſt. 33. e.***

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, WHETHER Councels be aboue the Pope or not.

The Papiſts.

35. Error. THis is a matter yet not fully determined amongſt the Papiſts : neither are they all of one opinion. In the Councell of Conſtance and Baſil, it was fully concluded, that the Councell is aboue the Pope. *Gerſon* of Paris, that was alſo preſent in the Councell of Conſtance, and a great doer againſt ***Iohn Huſſe***, ſtifly maintaineth the authoritie of Councels aboue the Pope. Other Papiſts more fauourable to their new god amight, ſay, that the Pope is by right aboue the Councell, but he may (if he will) ſubmit himſelfe to the Councell. But now commeth in the ſtout Ieſuite, and ſaith with the reſt of the Schoolemen, that the Pope hath ſuch a ſoueraigntie aboue the Councell, that he cannot be ſubiect to their ſentence, though he would, ***Bellarm. de concil. lib. 2. 14.*** Yet he is in a mammering with himſelfe: for ſaith he, ***in periculo ſchiſmatis***, When there is a ſchiſme, and it is not knowne who is the true Pope ; in ſuch a caſe the Councell is aboue the Pope. Let vs examine ſome of his beſt reaſons.

Argum. 1. Now commeth in a great blaſphemie. All the names, ſaith the Ieſuite, that are giuen to Chriſt in the Scriptures, as head of the Church, are aſcribed to the Pope, as he is called ***fidelis diſpenſator***, Luk. 12. a faithfull ſteward in the Lords houſe: ***Paſtor gregis***, Ioh. 10. the ſhepheard of the flocke : *Caput corporis eccleſiæ*, Epheſ. 4. the head of his bodie the Church : ***Vir ſeu ſponſus***, Epheſ. 5. the husband or ſpouſe of the Church : All theſe titles (ſaith he) are due to the Pope : ***Ergo***, he is aboue the Church, and ſo conſequently aboue generall Councels, ***Bellar. de concil. lib. 2. 17.***

O Lord, what great blaſphemie is here, to appropriate the titles of Chriſt, to a mortall man! But goe to ***Bellarmine***, and the reſt of that packe, fill vp the meaſure of iniquitie of your forefathers : ſay with Pope ***Athanaſius***, that the people of the world are the parts of his bodie : with ***Cornelius*** the Biſhop in the Councel of Trent, the Pope being the light came into the world, and men loued darknes rather then light : with Pope ***Calixtus*** in the Councell of Rhemes, who, when he ſaw the Councell would not conſent to excommunicate the Emperour, impiouſly cried out that they had forſaken him,as Chriſt was left of his Diſciples : with *Innocentius* the third,that all things in heauen and earth,and vnder the earth doe bowe the knee vnto him : with *Otho*,no Pope but a Cardinall, that ſitting amongſt his Biſhops, blaſphemouſly applied to himſelfe the viſion of *Ezechiel*,chap. 1. reſembling the Biſhops to the foure faced beaſts, himſelfe vnto God that appeared to the Prophet in the midſt. Euen thus with the like ſpirit of blaſphemie, doe the Ieſuites crie out, that the Pope is the chiefe ſhepheard, ſteward, husband, and head of the Church vpon earth.

But wee will leaue to charge them ſo deepely with blaſphemie, which notwithſtanding they cannot auoide : let vs heare what the fathers of Baſil ſay to this point. *Bellarmine* ſaith, the Pope is the husband ; but they reaſon cleane contrarie : the Church (ſay they) is the ſpouſe of Chriſt : the Pope,make the beſt of him you can, is but a Vicar : but no man doth ſo ordaine a Vicar, that he maketh his ſpouſe ſubiect vnto him, but that the ſpouſe is alwaies thought to bee of more authoritie then the Vicar, forſomuch as ſhe is one bodie with her husband; but the Vicar is not ſo : thus haue they to the full anſwered the Ieſuite,*ex Ænea Syluio.* Better arguments they haue none for the Popes prerogatiue,then we haue ſeene.

*Argum.*2. The Pope by his ſole authoritie may congregate a generall Councell : *Ergo*, he is aboue a generall Councell.

Anſw. Firſt,to this anſwereth the Councell of Baſil,*Epiſtol.Synodal.* after this manner: by denying of the argument : *Ante Concilij congregationem Concilium non eſt,ſed vt primùm congregatum eſt, ſtatim poteſtas vniuerſalis eccleſiæ,quæ eſt immediatè à Chriſto,in ipſum transfunditur & fit ipſum Concilium ſupra Papam :* Before the gathering together of the Councell, it is as yet no Councell : but as ſoone as it is congregate,the power and authoritie of the vniuerſall Church is transfuſed into it, and ſo the Councell becommeth aboue the Pope : therefore it followeth not, that becauſe the Pope doth call it before it be a Councell,that he is aboue it,when it is called.

Secondly, we anſwere,as wee haue ſhewed in the queſtion before,that this authoritie of ſummoning Councels belongeth not to the Pope.

Other arguments vſed by our aduerſaries are anſwered to the full,by *Iohannes* Patriarch of Antioch, *opuſculo Baſil.Concil.annexo:* As firſt the Church receiueth the iuriſdiction of the keyes from the Pope : *Ergo*, it is inferiour. Secondly, Chriſt ſaid to *Peter*, *Feede my ſheepe*, the paſtor is aboue the ſheepe. Thirdly, the Pope is the head of the Church: *Ergo non licitum eſt membra ab obedientia capitis recedere :* Therefore it is not lawfull for the members to depart from the obedience of the head.

Anſ. The Patriarch anſwereth thus : to the firſt, *Petrus recepit claues ſub nomine & ſigno eccleſiæ: Peter* receiued the keyes not in his owne name,but in the name and ſignification of the Church. The Church then receiueth them not from *Peter*,but he receiued them for the Church.

To the ſecond,Chriſt in ſaying to *Peter*,*Feede my ſheepe*,gaue him power *ſuper ſingularia membra*, ouer ſome particular members,not ouer the vniuerſall Church.

To the third he frameth this anſwere : firſt, he denieth the Pope to bee head of the vniuerſall Church. Secondly,and yet he ſaith,*Si caput in humano corpore efficitur languidum,&c.* If the head in the bodie be weake and diſtempered,it is lawfull for the parts,*illud ligare & cauterizare*, to binde and cauterize it,leaſt the ſicknes of the head ſhould affect the whole bodie. And againe, he putteth this caſe : *Si Papa eſſet furioſus,& diſcurreret cum gladio,&c.* If the Pope were mad, and ſhould runne vp and downe with a drawne ſword, killing whom he met, it were lawfull for his ſubiects to take him, and binde him : *Si hæc liceret pro ſaluatione corporis,&c.* If this bee lawfull to be done by priuate men, for the health of the bodie,much more may a generall Councell repreſenting the vniuerſall Church doe it,for the health of the ſoule. Who liſt to ſee ſhall finde diuers other popiſh arguments there anſwered : *opuſcul.Iohan.Patriarch. Antiochen.*

The Proteſtants.

THat the Pope is by right, and ought to bee ſubiect to generall Councels, and that they haue authoritie to iudge,examine,ſuſpend,puniſh,and depoſe him,if there be iuſt cauſe,it is proued thus : This matter was pithily diſputed vpon by the fathers of Baſil, ſome of whoſe reaſons, it ſhall be ſufficient here to follow.

1 They proue this concluſion out of Scripture. Firſt,whereas *Panormitane* had ſaid, that the Pope was Lord of the Church : vnto him *Segonius* anſwered,that it was the moſt honourable title of the Biſhop of Rome,to be called the ſeruant of the ſeruants of God : and *Peter*,ſaith he,forbiddeth paſtors to behaue themſelues as Lords ouer the Clergie, 1.Pet.5. And if Chriſt the ſonne of God,came not to be miniſtred vnto,but to miniſter and ſerue, how then can his Vicar haue any dominion ? So was *Panormitane* anſwered.

Againe,the Diuines thus argued : Chriſt ſaith to *Peter*, *Dic eccleſiæ*, *Peter* is ſent to the Church or Councell : *Ergo*, the veritie doth remit the Biſhop of Rome to the Councell. But to this the

Ieſuite ſaith, that *Peter* was not yet entred into his office to bee chiefe Biſhop, but was as a priuate perſon. So then belike, this rule of our Sauiour Chriſt, *dic eccleſia*, tell it to the Church, did but binde *Peter*, till Chriſt were aſcended, and he receiued his Vicardome.

This cauillous anſwere the fathers of Baſil wiſely foreſaw, and preuented it: for they ſhew how *Peter* was ſubiect to Councels euen after the aſcenſion: as Act. 11. *Peter* is rebuked (ſay they) by the congregation, becauſe he went to *Cornelius*, an heathen man: as if it had not been lawfull for him to attempt any great matter without the knowledge of the congregation. But that ſeemeth to make more for the purpoſe, Galath. 2. where *Paul* rebuked *Peter* to his face, becauſe contrarie to the decree of the Councell of the Apoſtles, he did *cogere gentes Iudaizare*, he would conſtraine the Gentiles to doe like the Iewes: *Ergo, Peter* was ſubiect vnto the Councell, *ex Ænea Syluio*.

Other reaſons many were alleaged by the fathers of Baſil. Firſt, the Biſhop of Burgen: As in euery well ordered kingdome, the whole realme ſhould bee of more authoritie then the King; ſo the Church ought to be of more authoritie then the Pope, though he were prince thereof.

Argum. 2. The Diuines brought theſe arguments: The Church is the mother of the faithfull, and ſo of the Pope, if he be a faithfull man: the Pope is then the Churches ſonne, as both *Anacletus* and *Calixtus* Biſhops of Rome confeſſed: *Ergo*, how much the ſonne is inferiour to his mother, ſo much is the Church ſuperiour to the Pope. Secondly, the Pope is inferiour to Angels, he is not greater then *Iohn Baptiſt*, of whom it is ſaid, that the leaſt in the kingdome of God is greater than he: but the Angels doe reuerently accord vnto the doctrine of the Church, Epheſ. 3. 10. *Ergo*, the Pope is bound to doe the ſame, who is leſſe then the Angels. Theſe fathers thought none ſo abſurd to denie the Pope to be inferiour to Angels, and therefore labour not to proue it. Yet *Antoninus* an old Papiſt ſaith, *Non minor honor datur Papæ, quàm Angelis*: There is no leſſe honour due to the Pope, then to the Angels. Nay another ſaith (I thinke it be Pope *Paſchalis*) *Datur Epiſcopis, quod ne Angelis, vt Chriſti corpus crearent*: It is graunted to Biſhops, which is not giuen to the Angels, to create the bodie of Chriſt. But the fathers of Baſil thought not theſe men worthie the anſwere; no more doe wee, and ſo let them paſſe. Thirdly, the Pope (ſay they) being the Vicar of the Church (for he is more truly ſo called then the Vicar of Chriſt) he may bee depoſed of the Church: for a Lord may put out his Vicar at his pleaſure: *Ergo*, the Pope is vnder Councels.

Argum. 3. If the Councels might not ouerrule the Pope, there were no remedie left to reſiſt a wicked Pope: Shall we ſuffer all things, ſay they, to runne into ruine and decay with him? for it is not like, that he would congregate a Councell againſt himſelfe. To this the Ieſuite anſwereth: that there is no remedie left, but to pray to God in ſuch a caſe; who will either confound, or conuert ſuch a Pope. Here is goodly diuinitie: we know that Antichriſt ſhall at length be deſtroyed at the comming of Chriſt; but if he ſhould be let alone in the meane while, and not bee brideled, he might doe much hurt, as he hath done too much alreadie. Yet the Ieſuite confeſſeth, that a wicked Pope may be reſiſted by force and armes: and why not, I pray you, as well by peaceable meanes? theſe ſayings are contrarie, *Bellarm. cap. 19.*

So then, this is popiſh diuinitie, that be the Pope neuer ſo wicked, doe he neuer ſo much harme, he is not to be controlled of any mortall man. Such doltiſh ſchoole poynts, maintained eſpecially by begging Friers, the fathers of Baſil complained of: As that they ſhould ſay, that no man ought to iudge the high and principall ſeate; that it cannot bee iudged, either by Emperour, Clergie, King, or people. Other affirme that the Lord hath reſerued to himſelfe the depoſition of the chiefe Biſhop. Others, yet more mad, are not aſhamed to affirme, that the Biſhop of Rome, though he carrie ſoules in neuer ſo great number to hell, yet is he not ſubiect to any correction, or rebuke. For all theſe ſtrange and blaſphemous poſitions, the fathers concluded, as ye haue heard, that the Pope ought to obey generall Councels.

Decret. p. 1. diſt. 40. cap. 6.

Laſtly, I will adioyne the iudgement of *Auguſtine*, who writing in his 162. epiſtle concerning the Donatiſts, whoſe cauſe was heard and determined by the Emperours appointment at Rome before *Miltiades* then Biſhop there, and other Biſhops aſſiſtants: and yet for all this the Donatiſts would not be quiet: Thus he ſaith, *Putemus, illos iudices, qui Romæ iudicauerunt, non bonos iudices fuiſſe: Reſtabat adhuc plenarium Concilium, &c.* Put caſe (ſaith he) that the Biſhop of Rome and the reſt, iudged corruptly: there remained yet another remedie: A generall Councell might haue bin called, where the Iudges and the cauſe might further haue bin tried and examined, and their iudgement, if there were cauſe, reuerſed. Whereby it appeareth, ſay the fathers of Baſil, that not onely the ſentence of the Pope alone, but alſo the Pope with his Biſhops ioyned with him, might be made fruſtrate by a Councell. Here the Ieſuite paltereth and ſaith, that a matter determined by the Pope in a particular Councell, may bee called againe in queſtion by the Pope in a generall Councell. Firſt, what neede that, ſeeing that a particular Councell hauing the Popes authoritie, as the Ieſuite confeſſeth, cannot erre? Againe, *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Vbi cum ipſis iudicibus cauſa poſſit agitari*: In the which generall Councell, the cauſe together with the iudges, of the which *Miltiades* was one, may be tried and examined: ſo that the Pope himſelfe might bee adiudged by the Councell,

cell,and not the cauſe onely. Vpon the premiſſes wee truly and iuſtly conclude, that the Pope is, and of right ought to be ſubiect to generall Councels.

This alſo was the iudgement of the holy Martyrs: Biſhop *Cranmer* appealed from the Pope to the next generall Councell: the tenor of whoſe appeale you may finde, *Fox* pag.1882. Maſter *Latimer* alſo being vniuſtly condemned by Biſhop *White*, the Popes Commiſſioner, appealed from his ſentence to the next generall Councell which ſhould bee congregate in Chriſts name. And with this appellation the Biſhop ſeemed to bee content, contrarie to the opinion of the Ieſuite, who maketh the Pope ſupreame Iudge of generall Councels, and ſuperiour vnto them, *Fox* pag.1767.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie. In the ſixt generall Councell, *Conſtantinopol.action.*3. *Honorius* Biſhop of Rome was condemned, becauſe he was a Monothelite, affirming one will onely to be in Chriſt, and ſo conſequently but one nature. *Sergio & Honorio anathema, Pyrrho & Paulo anathema:* We hold *Sergius* and *Honorius, Pyrrhus* and *Paulus* accurſed: thoſe three were Patriarchs in Conſtantinople and held the ſame error: the Councell iudged and condemned *Honorius: Ergo,* it was greater in authoritie.

Marcellinus alſo was condemned in the Sinueſſane Councell, for offering incenſe to Idols. *Bellarmine* anſwereth firſt, that in the caſe of infidelitie ſuch as this was, the Councell may diſcuſſe the Popes caſe. *Ergo,* by his owne confeſſion in ſome caſe the Councell is aboue the Pope.

Secondly ſaith he: *Marcellinus* firſt condemned himſelfe, and after that he was iudged of the Councell.

Contra. But the matter appeareth to bee farre otherwiſe. 1. *Marcellinus* appeared foure times before the Councell: the firſt time he laid the blame vpon the Prieſts and Deacons that did forſake him: the ſecond time he asketh one of the witneſſes vpon what day he ſaw him offring incenſe, and ſo would haue denied the fact: thirdly, he extenuateth the fault, that he did not offer ſacrifice, but onely burnt the incenſe in the fire. 2. There were 72.witneſſes produced againſt him, to conuince him. 3. One *Quirinus* a Biſhop ſeeing *Marcellinus* ſo ſtiffe in his owne defence, roſe vp in the Councell and ſaid thus; *Non recedam de ſynodo,* I will not depart from the Synode, till thy heart be manifeſted, &c. and ſo *Marcellinus* at the laſt fell flat to the earth, and confeſſed his ſinne, and was condemned of the whole Councell, where were preſent 300.Biſhops, and 30. Prieſts. Wherefore the Ieſuite may be aſhamed to goe againſt ſo euident a ſtorie.

Sixtus the third was accuſed of one *Baſſus:* whereupon the Emperour *Valentinian* aſſembled a Councell, wherein he was cleered and purged: *Decr.part.2.cauſ.2.quæſt.5.c.*10.

Symmachus in a Romane Synode, *dignitate ſua expoliatus,* was depriued of his dignitie: *Decret. par.2.cauſ.2.quæſt.7.c.*41 *in gloſſa.*

Likewiſe the Church of Rome did anathematize *Dioſcorus* Pope after his death: *cauſ.24.qu.3. cap.6.* Wherefore by theſe particulars it appeareth, that Councels haue been of an higher authoritie then the Popes: we can vrge alſo their owne authorities againſt them.

*Conſtant.Concil.ſeſſ.*4.it was thus decreed, *Synodus in ſpiritu ſancto congregata generale Concilium faciens poteſtatem à Chriſto immediatè habet, cui quilibet cuiuſcunque ſtatus, etiamſi papalis exiſtit obedire tenetur:* A Synode congregate in the holy Ghoſt making a generall Councell, hath power immediatly from Chriſt, to the which euery man, of what ſtate ſoeuer, although he be the Pope, is ſubiect to obey. And *ſeſſ.*45.Pope *Martin* ratified and confirmed whatſoeuer was decreed in this Councell, *in materijs fidei,* in matters of faith: And that this was *veritas fidei catholicæ,* a veritie of the Catholike faith, to hold generall Councels to be aboue the Pope, it was concluded, *Baſilienſ. Concil.Seſſ.*33. The practiſe alſo of theſe two Councels was according to their decrees: for in the Councell of Conſtance, three factious Popes were depoſed: *Iohn.*23.*Gregorie* 12.and *Benedict.*13. and *Martinus* the 5. choſen Pope. In the Councell of Baſil *Eugenius* the 4.depoſed, and *Felix* 5. elected.

Laſtly, *Aegidius Viterbienſis,* in his oration or ſermon before the Lateran Councell, in the hearing of Pope *Iulius* the 2. ſaid thus: *Siqui forte ipſum pontificem per ſe inermem paruipendere auſi ſunt, ſynodi authoritate metuere, & vereri conſueuerunt: Nam ſi ſynodorum res geſtas repetamus, nihil illis potentius, nihil maius, nihil munitius intelligemus:* If any haue been ſo bolde, as to ſet light by the Pope, being but weake of himſelfe, yet they feared and ſtood in awe of a Councell: for if we will but call to mind the acts of Synodes, we ſhall vnderſtand that there is nothing of greater power, ſtrength, or defence then they. Here is a large confeſſion, vttered euen in the hearing of the Pope, without checke or controlement, that Councels are of greater authoritie then the Pope. And it is agreeable alſo to their owne Canons: *Decret.p.2.cauſ.2.quæſt.7.c.*35. If *Peter* were corrected by *Paul,* &c. how much more eaſily that which is confirmed by the whole Church, *Vnius Epiſcopi authoritati, &c.* ought to be preferred before one Biſhops authoritie. And, *cauſ.25.quæſt.1.c.1.Gelaſius,* euery Chriſtian ought not to bee ignorant, that what the vniuerſall Church in Synode hath aſſented vnto, *nullam magis exequi ſedem oportere,* no See ought more readily to execute, then the

Ieſuite ſaith, that *Peter* was not yet entred into his office to bee chiefe Biſhop, but was as a priuate perſon. So then belike, this rule of our Sauiour Chriſt, *dic eccleſiæ*, tell it to the Church, did but binde *Peter*, till Chriſt were aſcended, and he receiued his Vicardome.

This cauillous anſwere the fathers of Baſil wiſely foreſaw, and preuented it: for they ſhew how *Peter* was ſubiect to Councels euen after the aſcenſion: as Act. 11. *Peter* is rebuked (ſay they) by the congregation, becauſe he went to *Cornelius*, an heathen man: as if it had not been lawfull for him to attempt any great matter without the knowledge of the congregation. But that ſeemeth to make more for the purpoſe, Galath. 2. where *Paul* rebuked *Peter* to his face, becauſe contrarie to the decree of the Councell of the Apoſtles, he did *cogere gentes Iudaizare*, he would conſtraine the Gentiles to doe like the Iewes: *Ergo, Peter* was ſubiect vnto the Councell, *ex Ænea Syluio.*

Other reaſons many were alleaged by the fathers of Baſil. Firſt, the Biſhop of Burgen: As in euery well ordered kingdome, the whole realme ſhould bee of more authoritie then the King; ſo the Church ought to be of more authoritie then the Pope, though he were prince thereof.

Argum. 2. The Diuines brought theſe arguments: The Church is the mother of the faithfull, and ſo of the Pope, if he be a faithfull man: the Pope is then the Churches ſonne, as both *Anacletus* and *Calixtus* Biſhops of Rome confeſſed: *Ergo*, how much the ſonne is inferiour to his mother, ſo much is the Church ſuperiour to the Pope. Secondly, the Pope is inferiour to Angels, he is not greater then *Iohn Baptiſt*, of whom it is ſaid, that the leaſt in the kingdome of God is greater than he: but the Angels doe reuerently accord vnto the doctrine of the Church, Epheſ. 3. 10. *Ergo*, the Pope is bound to doe the ſame, who is leſſe then the Angels. Theſe fathers thought none ſo abſurd to denie the Pope to be inferiour to Angels, and therefore labour not to proue it. Yet *Antoninus* an old Papiſt ſaith, *Non minor honor datur Papæ, quàm Angelis*: There is no leſſe honour due to the Pope, then to the Angels. Nay another ſaith (I thinke it be Pope *Paſchalis*) *Datur Epiſcopis, quod ne Angelis, vt Chriſti corpus crearent*: It is graunted to Biſhops, which is not giuen to the Angels, to create the bodie of Chriſt. But the fathers of Baſil thought not theſe men worthie the anſwere; no more doe wee, and ſo let them paſſe. Thirdly, the Pope (ſay they) being the Vicar of the Church (for he is more truly ſo called then the Vicar of Chriſt) he may bee depoſed of the Church: for a Lord may put out his Vicar at his pleaſure: *Ergo*, the Pope is vnder Councels.

Argum. 3. If the Councels might not ouerrule the Pope, there were no remedie left to reſiſt a wicked Pope: Shall we ſuffer all things, ſay they, to runne into ruine and decay with him? for it is not like, that he would congregate a Councell againſt himſelfe. To this the Ieſuite anſwereth: that there is no remedie left, but to pray to God in ſuch a caſe; who will either confound, or conuert ſuch a Pope. Here is goodly diuinitie: we know that Antichriſt ſhall at length be deſtroyed at the comming of Chriſt; but if he ſhould be let alone in the meane while, and not bee brideled, he might doe much hurt, as he hath done too much alreadie. Yet the Ieſuite confeſſeth, that a wicked Pope may be reſiſted by force and armes: and why not, I pray you, as well by peaceable meanes? theſe ſayings are contrarie, *Bellarm. cap. 19.*

So then, this is popiſh diuinitie, that be the Pope neuer ſo wicked, doe he neuer ſo much harme, he is not to be controlled of any mortall man. Such doltiſh ſchoole poynts, maintained eſpecially by begging Friers, the fathers of Baſil complained of: As that they ſhould ſay, that no man ought to iudge the high and principall ſeate; that it cannot bee iudged, either by Emperour, Clergie, King, or people. Other affirme that the Lord hath reſerued to himſelfe the depoſition of the chiefe Biſhop. Others, yet more mad, are not aſhamed to affirme, that the Biſhop of Rome, though he carrie ſoules in neuer ſo great number to hell, yet is he not ſubiect to any correction, or rebuke. For all theſe ſtrange and blaſphemous poſitions, the fathers concluded, as ye haue heard, that the Pope ought to obey generall Councels.

Decret. p. 1. diſt. 40. cap. 6.

Laſtly, I will adioyne the iudgement of *Auguſtine*, who writing in his 162. epiſtle concerning the Donatiſts, whoſe cauſe was heard and determined by the Emperours appointment at Rome before *Miltiades* then Biſhop there, and other Biſhops aſſiſtants: and yet for all this the Donatiſts would not be quiet: Thus he ſaith, *Putemus, illos iudices, qui Romæ iudicauerunt, non bonos iudices fuiſſe: Reſtabat adhuc plenarium Concilium, &c.* Put caſe (ſaith he) that the Biſhop of Rome and the reſt, iudged corruptly: there remained yet another remedie: A generall Councell might haue bin called, where the Iudges and the cauſe might further haue bin tried and examined, and their iudgement, if there were cauſe, reuerſed. Whereby it appeareth, ſay the fathers of Baſil, that not onely the ſentence of the Pope alone, but alſo the Pope with his Biſhops ioyned with him, might be made fruſtrate by a Councell. Here the Ieſuite paltereth and ſaith, that a matter determined by the Pope in a particular Councell, may bee called againe in queſtion by the Pope in a generall Councell. Firſt, what neede that, ſeeing that a particular Councell hauing the Popes authoritie, as the Ieſuite confeſſeth, cannot erre? Againe, *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Vbi cum ipſis iudicibus cauſa poſſit agitari*: In the which generall Councell, the cauſe together with the iudges, of the which *Miltiades* was one, may be tried and examined: ſo that the Pope himſelfe might bee adiudged by the Councell,

cell,and not the cauſe onely. Vpon the premiſſes wee truly and iuſtly conclude, that the Pope is, and of right ought to be ſubiect to generall Councels.

This alſo was the iudgement of the holy Martyrs: Biſhop *Cranmer* appealed from the Pope to the next generall Councell: the tenor of whoſe appeale you may finde, *Fox* pag.1882. Maſter *Latimer* alſo being vniuſtly condemned by Biſhop *White*, the Popes Commiſſioner, appealed from his ſentence to the next generall Councell which ſhould bee congregate in Chriſts name. And with this appellation the Biſhop ſeemed to bee content, contrarie to the opinion of the Ieſuite, who maketh the Pope ſupreame Iudge of generall Councels, and ſuperiour vnto them, *Fox* pag.1767.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie. In the ſixt generall Councell, *Conſtantinopol.action.*3. *Honorius* Biſhop of Rome was condemned, becauſe he was a Monothelite, affirming one will onely to be in Chriſt, and ſo conſequently but one nature. *Sergio & Honorio anathema, Pyrrho & Paulo anathema:* We hold *Sergius* and *Honorius*, *Pyrrhus* and *Paulus* accurſed: thoſe three were Patriarchs in Conſtantinople and held the ſame error: the Councell iudged and condemned *Honorius*: *Ergo*, it was greater in authoritie.

Marcellinus alſo was condemned in the Sinueſſane Councell, for offering incenſe to Idols. *Bellarmine* anſwereth firſt, that in the caſe of infidelitie ſuch as this was, the Councell may diſcuſſe the Popes caſe. *Ergo*, by his owne confeſſion in ſome caſe the Councell is aboue the Pope.

Secondly ſaith he: *Marcellinus* firſt condemned himſelfe, and after that he was iudged of the Councell.

Contra. But the matter appeareth to bee farre otherwiſe. 1. *Marcellinus* appeared foure times before the Councell: the firſt time he laid the blame vpon the Prieſts and Deacons that did forſake him: the ſecond time he asketh one of the witneſſes vpon what day he ſaw him offring incenſe, and ſo would haue denied the fact: thirdly, he extenuateth the fault, that he did not offer ſacrifice, but onely burnt the incenſe in the fire. 2. There were 72. witneſſes produced againſt him, to conuince him. 3. One *Quirinus* a Biſhop ſeeing *Marcellinus* ſo ſtiffe in his owne defence, roſe vp in the Councell and ſaid thus; *Non recedam de ſynodo*, I will not depart from the Synode, till thy heart be manifeſted, &c. and ſo *Marcellinus* at the laſt fell flat to the earth, and confeſſed his ſinne, and was condemned of the whole Councell, where were preſent 300. Biſhops, and 30. Prieſts. Wherefore the Ieſuite may be aſhamed to goe againſt ſo euident a ſtorie.

Sixtus the third was accuſed of one *Baſſus*: whereupon the Emperour *Valentinian* aſſembled a Councell, wherein he was cleered and purged: *Decr.part.*2.*cauſ.*2.*quaſt.*5.*c.*10.

Symmachus in a Romane Synode, *dignitate ſua expoliatus*, was depriued of his dignitie: *Decret. par.*2.*cauſ.*2.*quaſt.*7.*c.*41.*in gloſſa.*

Likewiſe the Church of Rome did anathematize *Dioſcorus* Pope after his death: *cauſ.*24.*qu.*3. *cap.*6. Wherefore by theſe particulars it appeareth, that Councels haue been of an higher authoritie then the Popes: we can vrge alſo their owne authorities againſt them.

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THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE CONDITIONS and qualitie of generall Councels.

The Papiſts.

THeir vnreaſonable and vnequall conditions, are theſe and ſuch like, as follow.

1 That the Pope onely ſhould haue authoritie to ſummon, call, proroge, diſſolue and confirme Councels, and he onely to be the iudge, Preſident and moderator in Councels, or ſome at his appointment.

2 They will haue none to giue voices but Biſhops, and ſuch as are bound by oath of alleageance to the Pope.

3 That the Councell is not bound to determine according to Scripture, but to follow their traditions, and former decrees of Councels.

4 That no Councell is in force without the Popes aſſent, yea the Pope himſelfe (ſay they) by his ſole authoritie may abrogate and diſanull the Canons and decrees of Councels.

Theſe and ſuch other conditions the Papiſts require in their Councels: So they will be ſure, that nothing ſhall be concluded againſt them: And how vnreaſonable theſe conditions are, I haue ſhewed ſeuerally in the particular queſtions belonging to this matter.

The Proteſtants.

OVr conditions, which we would haue obſerued and kept, in generall Councels, are theſe, moſt iuſt and reaſonable:

1 That the Pope, which is a party, ſhould be no iudge: for it is vnreaſonable, that the ſame man ſhould be both a party and a iudge: and therefore he ought not to meddle with calling and appointing Councels, with ruling, or moderating them, ſeeing it is like, he would worke for his owne aduantage.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this rule, that the ſame ought not to be a partie and a iudge, may holde in priuate and inferiour iudges, but not in the chiefe iudge, *Bellarm. lib. 1. cap. 21.*

Contra. If it be iuſt that no man ſhould be iudge in his owne cauſe, the ſame rule of iuſtice ought to bind both the inferior and ſuperior iudges: ſo *Athanaſius* tooke exception againſt the Patriarch of Antioch, by whom he was depoſed, becauſe he was his enemie, and a partie; and his exception was admitted in the Chalcedon Councell, *decr. p. 2. c. 3. qu. 5. c. 15.*

Alſo Pope *Nicholas* the 1. *Epiſt. ad Michaelem Imperator.* bringeth in a ſaying of *Gelaſius* ſometime Biſhop of Rome: *Quæro, iudicium, quod prætendunt, vbinam poſſit agitari? an apud ipſos, vt ijdem ſint & teſtes & iudices? ſed tali iudicio, nec humana committi poſſunt negotia*: I aske, that courſe of iudgement, which they pretend, where ſhould it be handled? would they haue it among themſelues, to be both witneſſes and iudges? Which is not to be admitted, no not in humane affaires: *Ergo,* the Pope, by the teſtimonie of a Pope himſelfe, ought not to be both accuſer and iudge. Yea both the Ciuill and Canon law doe refuſe him as an incompetent iudge, that is a partie in the cauſe: as *Cod. lib. 2. tit. 6. leg. 6. Valentin.* That no man in the ſame cauſe, ſhould be an aduocate and a iudge; *lib. 3. tit. 5. l. 1. Gratian. Nemo in ſua cauſa iudicet,* That no man ſhould be iudge in his owne cauſe. So likewiſe their owne Canons; *decr. part. 2. cauſ. 4. qu. 4. c. 1. Fabianus*: That no man ſhould preſume to be both an accuſer and a iudge: And *c. 2. Damaſus*; The ſame parties muſt not be both accuſers and iudges. Yea and that the Pope himſelfe whom they make the ſupreame iudge ought to obſerue this rule, a preſident we haue in the Chalcedon Councell, where, when as *Paſchaſinus* and *Lucentius* the Biſhop of Romes Legates would haue *Dioſcorus* excluded out of the Councell, the iudges ſaid thus to *Lucentius, Si iudicis obtines perſonam, non vt accuſator debes perſequi:* If you take vpon you the perſon of the iudge, you cannot proſecute the matter as an accuſer. Wherefore we iuſtlie take exception againſt ſuch Councels, where the Pope taketh vpon him to be iudge, ſeeing he ought not to be a iudge in his owne cauſe.

2 That ſuch a time and place be appointed, as when and where the Churches of Chriſtendome may moſt ſafely and conueniently meete together: not at ſuch a time as *Paulus* the third called a Councell, when all Princes in Chriſtendome were occupied in great affaires: nor ſuch a place, as he then appointed at Mantua in Italie, whither Princes could not come without perill of iourney and danger of life, being penned in by the Popes garriſons. Thus Pope, or Biſhop *Leo,* (for then there were no Popes) writ to *Martianus* the Emperour, to haue the Councell remoued from Calchis to Italie, but he preuailed not. So Pope *Eugenius* would haue diſſolued the Councell at Baſile, and brought it vnder his owne noſe: but was withſtood by the Councell.

Concerning the quietnes and freenes of the place to be choſen for the Councell, the Synode of Baſile thus writeth to the Bohemians, that whereas they had complained in times paſt, that they could not haue *liberam audientiam*, a free and ſafe hearing, *iam ceſſabit*, ſay they, *omnis querela occaſio*, now all occaſion of complaint ſhall ceaſe. *Ecce iam locus & facultas plena audientiæ præbetur:* Beholde we offer vnto you both freedome of place, and libertie of hearing.

Here *Bellarmine* maketh this anſwere, that whereas *Cyprian* hath this Canon, *lib.1.epiſt.3.* That controuerſies ſhould there be tried, where they ariſe: that this is to be vnderſtoode of the particular ſuites of men, not of matters of faith, which may be in any place determined, as he ſheweth by diuers preſidents.

Contra. That ſuch a place, not for iudgement of matters of fact onely, but in deciding of points of faith ought to be choſen, to the which all parties may ſafely, and without danger reſort, both the Ciuill law and your Canons doe warrant: as firſt, *Cod.lib.3.tit.14.l.1. Conſtantin. Perſonæ miſerabiles, &c.* Miſerable and poore perſons muſt not be drawne out of their prouince. And *lib.7. titul.62.l.26. Gratian. Itineris longinquitas, &c.* The length of the iourney doth hinder appeales to be made a farre off: So alſo the decrees conſent hereunto, *p.2.cauſ.3.qu.6.c.13. Anacletus. Peregrina iudicia ſubmouenda:* That iudgements in a ſtrange countrie muſt not be admitted, *decr. Gregor. lib.1.tit.3.cap.28. Innocent.3.* That no man ſhould be called aboue two daies iourney from home, no not by the Apoſtolike letters, becauſe of expenſes, and wearines of iourney: theſe two cauſes being rendered both by the Ciuil law and Canon, why no man ought to be ſummoned a farre off, may very well ſtand, and be obſerued in congregating and calling of Councels.

3 We would haue it a free Councell, where euery man might fully vtter his minde, and that there ſhould be a ſafe conduct graunted to all to come and goe: which the Pope for all his faire promiſes is vnwilling to doe, as it was flatly denied to *Hierome* of Prage in the Councell of Conſtance; to whom it was anſwered, that he ſhould haue ſafe conduct to come, but none to goe. Neither if they ſhould giue a ſafe conduct, were they to be truſted, for it cannot be forgotten, to their perpetuall infamie, that they brake the Emperour *Sigiſmunds* ſafe conduct graunted to *Iohn Huſſe* in the Councell of Conſtance, ſaying, that faith was not to be kept with heretikes.

Concerning this poynt alſo, the libertie of ſpeech in Councels: *Conſtantinus* the Emperor thus writeth, *epiſtol ad Nicen.2. Damus vnicuique libertatem, vt ſine omni formidine ea eloquatur, quæ ſecum animo deliberauerit, quò veritas magis magiſque eluceſcat, & intrepida voce audiatur:* We giue vnto euery man liberty, to vtter without feare, what he hath deliberated in his minde, and to be heard without dread, that the truth may better appeare.

Bellarmine here anſwereth, that it is reaſonable a ſafe conduct ſhould be graunted, as was offered of late at the Councell of Trent.

Contra. In deed ſuch a ſafe conduct, as was offered to *Iohn Huſſe* by the Councell of Conſtance, as I haue ſaid, which they might breake at their pleaſure: but that ſuch a place ought to be choſen indifferently, where euery man might goe and come ſafely, one of your owne Popes thought it reaſonable, thus writing in defence of the King of Sicilie, cited and ſummoned by the Emperor: *Clementin.lib.1.tit.11.c.1. Nunquid venire debuit ad iudicem exercitu feroci ſtipatum, &c.* What ſhould he come to a iudge being garded with a fierce armie? Or to a populous place and of great power which was bent againſt him? Now if the Pope would call a Councell in Rome or in Italie, or in any other place, where he is receiued, may we not vſe the ſame defence, which Pope *Clement* did for the King of Sicilie?

4 That the matter ſhould not be left wholy to Biſhops and Prelates, but that the learned of the Clergie and Laitie beſides, ſhould giue voices, ſeeing the cauſe of religion is common and concerneth all. But moſt of all, that nothing be caried with violence or popularitie, againſt the Scriptures, but euery matter determined according to the truth thereof.

See for this matter the teſtimonie of Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, cited before queſtion 3. of this controuerſie. *Fides vniuerſalis eſt, omnium communis eſt, quæ non ſolum ad Clericos, ſed Laicos pertinet, &c.* That faith is vniuerſall, and a thing common to all, and appertaineth not onely to the Clergie, but to Lay men, and generally to all Chriſtians.

Bellarmine here anſwereth, that it is againſt the forme of all Councels, that any but Biſhops ſhould haue deciding voices in Councels.

Contra. The Ieſuite if he would ſpeake his conſcience, knoweth the contrarie: for firſt in that Councell held by the Apoſtles, whoſe authoritie was greater, then of Biſhops, Act.15. the queſtion is determined by the whole conſent of the Apoſtles and Presbyters or elders: as verſ.6. *The Apoſtles and Elders came together to looke to this matter:* and verſ.22. *It ſeemed good to the Apoſtles and Elders &c.*

So in the Chalcedon Councell there were aſſembled 630. Fathers, not all Biſhops, but many of them Prieſts, as in the firſt action, the Ægyptian heretikes tooke exception againſt the Prieſts, calling them ſuperfluous: and *Martianus* alloweth the actes of this Councell, *inſtituta à ſacerdotibus*, which were done by Prieſts aſſembled at Chalcedon, *Cod.lib.1.tit.4.leg.3.*

And S. *Hierome* ſaith, whoſe ſentence is approued, *decr.p.1.cauſ.16.qu.1.c.7.* That as the Romans had their Senate, without whoſe Councell they did nothing: *Ita & nos habemus ſenatum noſtrum, cætum Preſbyterorum:* So the Church alſo hath their Senate, the companie of Presbyters: Wherefore if Prieſts be as Senators in Councels, there is no queſtion, but they ought to haue determining voices.

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Likewiſe the nature and ſignification of the word *Michael* agreeth hereunto: for it is compounded of three Hebrue particles, as much as to ſay, one that is equall vnto God: which name in that ſenſe cannot be giuen vnto any creature.

Further, Epiſtle Iud. 9. there is mention made of *Michael* the Archangel, who ſtroue againſt the Diuel, and ſaid, the *Lord rebuke thee Sathan:* where the Apoſtle alludeth to that place of Zachar. 3.2. where the very ſame words are found: but there the Prophet calleth him *Iehouah*, that ſpake thoſe words, and here the Apoſtle calleth him *Michael:* So that in this place it muſt needes be vnderſtoode for Chriſt.

But to conclude, we denie not, but that *Michael* may be the name of ſome glorious Angell: but out of theſe places it cannot be proued. And againe, we will not ſtand with them, but that there may be degrees of excellencie amongſt the Angels, as there ſhall be amongſt the Saints: but that any one hath any ſuch ſoueraigne and commanding authoritie ouer the reſt, it is a curious and preſumptuous ſurmiſe.

Argum. 2. The Church of the old Teſtament was a figure of the Church vnder the New: but they had a high Prieſt aboue the reſt: *Ergo*, there ought to be now, *Bellarm. ibid.*

We anſwere: firſt, we graunt the high Prieſt was a figure, but neither of *Peter* nor Pope, but onely of Chriſt: for in two things did the high Prieſt reſemble Chriſt, in offering of ſacrifice (ſo hath Chriſt offered vp himſelfe. Heb. 7.27.) and in entring into the ſanctuarie to make attonement for the people: ſo Chriſt is entered into the heauens, to appeare in ſight for vs before God, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Heb. 9.24. I trow in neither of theſe the high Prieſt could be a type either of *Peter* or Pope. Yes, ſaith *Bellarmine*, *Aaron* was a figure, not of Chriſt onely, but of *Peter*, and his ſucceſſors, *cap. 9. reſp. ad 3. ration.* *Contra.* Firſt, then belike *Peter* and his ſucceſſors are prieſts after the order of *Aaron:* How then are your prieſts after *Melchiſedechs* order, as ſome of you haue blaſphemouſlie affirmed? they cannot be both after the order of *Aaron*, and of *Melchiſedech* to. Secondly, the Apoſtle thus reaſoneth, Heb. 7.12. *Where there is a chaunge of the prieſthood, there muſt bee a chaunge of the law*; and ſo conſequently, where the law is chaunged, the prieſthood muſt be likewiſe: how then can the prieſthood of *Aaron* be a patterne of the prieſthood vnder the Goſpell, the law being chaunged?

2 Neither doth it follow, becauſe there was an high prieſt in one countrey, therefore there ought to be one ouer the Churches in all countries: as the Ieſuite frameth an other argument by a compariſon: becauſe a Biſhop is ouer his dioceſſe, a Metropolitane ouer his prouince, there may be as well a Pope ouer the whole Church. For by the ſame reaſon, becauſe a Lord may be the chiefe in his ſeignorie, a Duke in his prouince, a Prince in his Kingdome, therefore there ought to be an Emperour ouer all the world: or as M. *Caluine* ſaith, becauſe one field is committed to one Husbandman to dreſſe and to till, therefore the whole world may: which were a thing impoſſible.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, it followeth rather ſtrongly on the contrarie, that if one particular Church had neede to haue one chiefe prieſt to keepe it in vnitie; much greater neede hath the whole Church to haue one principall, becauſe the whole Church is in greater daunger of ſchiſme and diuiſion, then one particular.

Contra. Firſt, the Ieſuite had ſaid ſomething, if one man were as well able to prouide for the peace of the whole Church, as for the vnitie of one: but now he is not. But the beſt way to auoide ſchiſme, is for euery countrie to be gouerned in it ſelfe: as in the Ciuill ſtate, one Monarch is better able to keepe one kingdome from rebellion, then many kingdomes: And this is the reaſon why the great Monarches were diſſolued, for that their prouinces rebelled, and withdrew their obedience from them. Secondly, there is alſo one head of the vniuerſall Church, that doth preſerue it in vnitie, Ieſus Chriſt, and therefore we neede none other: as the Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ. 4.15. *Let vs follow the truth in loue, and grow vp vnto him which is the head, that is Chriſt.*

Bellarmine ſecondly thus anſwereth Maſter *Caluins* ſimilitude: that one husbandman is not by himſelfe ſufficient, yet by his ſeruants may occupie many large fields: and ſo the Pope by his miniſters may be paſtor of the whole Church.

Contra. Yet the ſimilitude holdeth ſtill: for as it were inconuenient, that all tillage in the world, nay in one countrie, ſhould bee occupied vnder the title and intereſt of one man; for by this meanes corne might be engroſſed, prices raiſed, the common-wealth hindered: ſo was it as hurtfull for the Church to be vnder the commaund of one that foreſtalled all cauſes, and ſought aduantage to himſelfe, &c.

The Proteſtants.

THat there ought not to be any one chiefe Biſhop, Pope or prelate, to exerciſe iuriſdiction ouer the whole Church, we doe thus make it good.

Iuel. anſw. to the Apol. pag. 657.

Argum. 1. We acknowledge no head of the Church but Chriſt, neither doth the Scripture attribute this title of Maieſtie ouer the whole Church, but onely to Chriſt. If the Pope or any els be the head, the Church is his bodie, which *Bellarmine* is aſhamed to graunt yet. Pope *Athana-*

ſius doubted not to call *populos mundi, partes corporis ſui,* the people of the world, the parts of his bodie.

Againe, if he be the head, he muſt doe the duety of an head, which is, to knit and ioyne the parts together, and to giue effectuall power to euery part. Epheſ. 4.16. where the Apoſtle alludeth to the gouernment of mans body: in the which the parts receiue a double benefite from the head, the knitting and ioyning together by ſinewes, which come from the head; and ſenſe and motion alſo giuen to euery part from the head: but it were blaſphemie to thinke this of the Pope, that he giueth any influence to the Church. If they anſwere, he is but a miniſteriall head, Chriſt is the principall. We ſay againe, that although theſe things are principally wrought by the principall head, yet they muſt be done inſtrumentally, or miniſterially by the Miniſteriall head: or elſe it is but a rotten head: ſuch an one as the Woolfe found in a caruers ſhop (as you know the fable is) a goodly head, ſaith he, but without witte or braine. If Chriſt performe all the duety of the head himſelfe, then is there no other head: if the Pope doe ſomewhat that belongeth to the head, tell vs, what is it? If he will be an head and doe nothing, ſurely he muſt needes be a braineleſſe and witleſſe head.

Argum. 2. It is a dangerous and impoſſible thing to haue the charge of all Churches committed to one man: God alone is ſufficient to beare that burthen. Saint *Paul* ſaith, who is ſufficient for theſe things? No paſtor or miniſter, that is but ſet ouer one flocke or pariſh, is ſufficient to preach the word: much leſſe is any one man ſufficient to gouerne the whole Church.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, S. *Paul* ſaith of himſelfe, that he had the care of all Churches, 2. Cor. 11.28. We replie againe, firſt, then belike S. *Paul* was vniuerſall paſtor and not *Peter*. Secondly, we muſt conſider that the Apoſtles were ſent to all the world: their calling was not limited; when they had planted the Goſpell in one place, they did take care alſo for other places: but now there is no ſuch Apoſtolicall calling. Thirdly, *Paul* did not beare this burthen alone, but the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts were his coadiutors and follow-helpers.

Secondly, ſaith he, why may not the care of the whole Church be committed to one man, as well as the gouernement almoſt of the whole world was appointed by God to *Nabuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Auguſtus*; ſeeing the gouernment of the Church is eaſier then the ciuill and politike regiment?

We replie. Firſt, we neuer read of any that had dominion ouer the whole world, as the Pope challengeth to haue ouer the whole Church, which is diſperſed throughout the world. Secondly, theſe great and large Monarches are ſaid to haue been giuen of God, Dan. 2.37. Not that this large dominion and vſurpation ouer other Countreyes ſo much pleaſed God; (for the people of God the Iſraelites in their moſt flouriſhing eſtate neuer had ſuch ſoueraignty ouer other countries, but by voluntarie ſubiection, as in *Salomons* dayes, 1. King. 4.21. the Kings round about brought preſents vnto him:) but becauſe the Lord turned and vſed this their large and mighty dominion to the good of his Church: for *Cyrus* was a defender of the Church, againſt all that bare euill will thereat: and the large Empire of the Romans ſerued very commodiouſly for the propagation of the Goſpell. Thirdly, the Ieſuite ſheweth his skill, when he ſaith, that the regiment of the Church is eaſier then the gouernement of the Commonwealth: Whereas there is no greater and waightier burthen vpon earth, then is the charge of ſoules. It ſeemeth the Pope taketh his eaſe, finding the care of the Church to be ſo eaſie and pleaſant a thing: indeede as he vſeth it, it is no great matter; for he preacheth not, but giueth himſelfe to eaſe and idleneſſe and all princely pleaſures. But England hath found by experience, and ſo did that worthy and famous Prince King *Henry* the eight, that there was neuer matter ſo hardly compaſſed, as was the reformation of the Church, and the ſuppreſſion of idolatrie and ſuperſtition in this land. S. *Chryſoſtome* better knew the waightie charge of a Biſhop, then any of the Popes that preach not, or then the Ieſuite ſeemeth to vnderſtand: he writeth cleane contrary, *Eſſe difficilius Epiſcopum agere, quam regem:* That it was an harder matter to be a Biſhop, then a King, &c. And againe; The whole world hath but one Emperour, *Vnius vrbis Epiſcopus, &c.* A Biſhop is but ouer one citie, but his care is ſo much the greater, as a tempeſtuous ſea exceedeth a ſmal riuer troubled with the winde, *Hom.* 8. *in Acta.* This godly father ſheweth the vanitie of the Ieſuites argument, that an example from the Ciuill ſtate is not to be taken for Eccleſiaſticall gouernment. And how impoſſible it is for one man to manage all the buſines of the Church, one of your owne Popes thus complainingly writeth: *Bonifac.* 8. *Extrau. commun. lib.* 3. *tit.* 6. *c.* 2. *Multis arduis, quaſi torrens prægrauemur negotiis, &c.* We are ouercharged with multitude of buſines, as a brooke that runneth downe with many waters, &c. Wherefore *Auguſtine* thus ſaith, *Nemo noſtrum ſe Epiſcopum Epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut quaſi tyrannico terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem collegas ſuos adigit. de Baptiſ.* 2.2. None of vs doth count himſelfe a Biſhop ouer other Biſhops, or taketh vpon him after a commaunding manner, as tyrants vſe, to enforce his fellowes to obey. *Ergo*, by his iudgement all Biſhops are of like and equall authoritie.

*Argum.*3. The Apoſtle deſcribing the Hierarchie of the Church,ſaith,that *Chriſt hath giuen ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets,&c.* he ſaith not, he hath ordained one chiefe Biſhop. And againe,*one bodie,one ſpirit,one baptiſme,one faith:* he ſaith not,one Pope,&c.Epheſ.4.4.11.

Bellarmine anſwereth. 1. That the chiefe gouernment of the Church was committed to all the Apoſtles while they liued:but after the death of the Apoſtles,the Apoſtolike authoritie remained in *Peters* ſucceſſor onely,and ſo the Pope is ſignified in the Apoſtles,*reſp.ad argum.*2.

Contra. Firſt,why ſhould not the reſt of the Apoſtles haue power as well as *Peter*, to leaue their authoritie to their ſucceſſors, as S.*Paul* ſaith,1.Cor.9.5.*Haue wee not power,&c. as well as Cephas to leade a ſiſter a wife,&c.* As he had power equall to *Peter* in this particular, ſo in the reſt alſo. Secondly,if *Peter* left the gouernment Apoſtolicall to his ſucceſſor, what doe you thinke of S.*Iohn*, the ſuruiuor of the Apoſtles, had he alſo reſigned his Apoſtleſhip to *Peters* ſucceſſor, for he liued after *Peter?* Thirdly,there were other Sees alwaies as well counted Apoſtolicall, as Rome: *Syricius epiſtol.4.can.1. Extra conſcientiam ſedis Apoſtolica,&c.* That no man ſhould take vpon him to ordaine a Biſhop,without the knowledge of the Apoſtolike See: meaning the Primate or Metropolitane.By your Popes teſtimonie,euery Primate is Apoſtolicall.

Bellarm. 2. The Pope is comprehended in theſe words; one bodie, one ſpirit: for as the bodie is knit in one obedience to the head,ſo the Church to the Pope.

Contra. Firſt,by this reaſon the Church ſhall bee the Popes bodie, which the Ieſuite denied before. Secondly,he hath vttered a great blaſphemie: for that which the Apoſtle attributeth onely to Chriſt,*by whom all the body being coupled,&c.* Epheſ.4.16.he giueth to the Pope.

We may adioyne vnto this that hath been alleadged,certaine reaſons out of Biſhop *Longlands* Sermon,which he preached before the King: who although in his time he were a great perſecutor of the flocke of Chriſt, yet herein he held the truth: That there can be no other head or Monarch of the vniuerſall Church,but Chriſt: thus he ſheweth it: Chriſt only is the great Prophet: ſo the Angell declared vnto *Marie,Magnus vocabitur*, he ſhall be called great,Luk.1. And againe, *Propheta magnus ſurrexit inter nos*, a great Prophet is riſen amongſt vs, Luk.7. Sinne maketh a man ſmall and little, vertue and holyneſſe maketh him great. No man was euer without ſinne but Chriſt: *Ergo*, he only was the great Prophet. The Pope nor yet any mortall man, cannot forgiue ſinne, as this Biſhop doth; nor iuſtifie as he doth: neither enter into *Sancta Sanctorum* with his owne blood, as hee did: therefore no mortall man can bee this great Biſhop: *Hac ille, Fox.*pag.1100.

Let vs ſee what antiquitie ſaith,*Tharaſius* patriarch of Conſtantinople preſident of the ſeuenth generall Councell,thus writeth,*Epiſtol.ad Adrianum Papam.Nos accipientes venerandos viros legatos veſtros ad ipſam Metropolim venimus: & omnibus nobis ſedentibus,eligere nobis caput,nempe ipſum Chriſtum, viſum eſt.* We togither with your reuerend Legates came to the Metropolis or chiefe Citie of Nice,and ſitting all togither, it ſeemed good to chuſe vs an head,euen Chriſt. He acknowledgeth no head of the vniuerſall Church but Chriſt.

Laſtly,in defence of this article *Iohn Huſſe* gaue his life: *Non eſt ſcintilla apparentiæ,quod oporteat eſſe vnum caput in ſpiritualibus regens Eccleſiam:* There is no apparance or likelyhood of truth, that there ought to be one head in ſpirituall things to gouerne the Church.*Chriſtus ſine talibus capitibus monſtroſis per ſuos veraces Diſcipulos ſparſos per orbem terrarum,melius ſuam eccleſiam regulauit:* Chriſt without ſuch monſtrous heads did better gouerne his Church by his true Diſciples diſperſed ouer the world: *Articul.27.obiect. Conſtantienſ.Concil.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER PETER were the chiefe, and Prince of the Apoſtles, and aſſigned by Chriſt to be head of the Church.

The Papiſts.

37. Error. THis our aduerſaries doe ſtiffely maintaine, that he was not onely head of the Church,but of the Apoſtles alſo, *Bellarm. lib.1.de pontif.cap.*11. And the Rhemiſts doubt not to call him the chiefe and Prince of the Apoſtles,1.Cor.9.verſ.5.

*Argum.*1. We will omitte many of their waightie arguments, as out of theſe and ſuch like places: I haue prayed for thee *Peter*, that thy faith ſhould not fayle: Caſt foorth thy net into the deepe, I will make thee a Fiſher of men: *Peter* payed toll for Chriſt and himſelfe: *Peter* drew the net to the land full of great fiſh: *Peter* onely drew out his ſworde in the defence of Chriſt. *Ergo, Peter* was the Prince of the Apoſtles and head of the Church. *ex concil. Baſilien. Fox.*pag.673.

Such other goodly arguments our Rhemiſts doe make: *Peter* did excommunicate *Ananias* and *Sapphira:* he healed the ſicke by his ſhadow. *Ergo*, he was the head of the Church, *Annot.*5.*Acts ſect.*5.8.Againe,*Peters* perſon was guarded with foure quaternions of Souldiours,*Act.*12.4.

the Church prayed for him, *Ibid. ſect.*4. *Paul* nameth him *Cephas*, 1.Cor.9.5. *Ergo*, he was chiefe of the Apoſtles. Are not here goodly arguments thinke you? To theſe reaſons I neede make no other anſwer, then that which our learned countrie man doth in his Annotations. You muſt, ſaith he, bring better arguments, or elſe children will laugh you to ſcorne, *Fulk. Annot. Act.*5.*ſect.*5. Let vs ſee therefore if they haue any better.

Argum.2. They take that to be a maine inuincible place for them, Matth.16.18. Thou art *Peter*, and vpon this rocke will I builde my Church: *Ergo*, the Church is built vpon *Peter*.

To make this argument the more ſtrong, they ſet vnder it diuers props: Firſt, why did Chriſt giue *Peter* this name more then to any other of the Apoſtles, to call him *Peter*, of *Petra* a Rocke, but to ſhew that he was appoynted to be the foundation of the Church? *Bellarmine cap.*17. We anſwere, Chriſt hereby ſignified, that *Peter* ſhould be a principall pillar of his Church, as the reſt of the Apoſtles, Epheſ.2.20. He changed alſo the names of ſome other Apoſtles, as *Iames* and *Iohn* were called *Boanerges*, the ſonnes of thunder, Mark.3. Therefore this was no ſuch preeminence to *Peter*: neither is it true that *Peter* was almoſt called by no other name, for he is often in the Goſpell after this called by his old name *Simon*, Mat.16.17. and 17.25. *Fulk. Annot. in Ioh.*1.*ſect.*7. Secondly, againe (ſaith *Bellarmine*) the text is *ædificabo*, I will build my Church: but if Chriſt be here taken for the rocke, his Church was built alreadie, for many beleeued in him. But *Peter* was not made the foundation of his Church, till afterward after his reſurrection, and therefore he ſaith, I will build.

We anſwere. Firſt, it is a corrupt gloſſe, to ſay the Church of Chriſt was not builded, till after the reſurrection: for ſeeing that many beleeued before in Chriſt, and made a Church, either they muſt graunt, that the Church was without a foundation, or elſe, that the foundation was changed from Chriſt to *Peter*. Secondly, it is taken therefore for the enlarging and increaſing of the Church of God. It followeth not, becauſe Chriſt ſaith, I will build, and his Church was begun to be built alreadie, that therefore another kinde of building muſt be excogitate: no more then, becauſe Chriſt gaue his ſpirit to the Apoſtles, Matth.10.1. and againe, Ioh.20.22. and yet biddeth them ſtay at Ieruſalem till they ſhould receiue the holy Ghoſt, Acts 1.7. that therefore they ſhould looke for another holy Ghoſt, or as though they had not receiued the holy Ghoſt before. But as the ſending of the holy Ghoſt, is meant, for the increaſe and more plentifull meaſure thereof, ſo is the building of the Church here taken for the increaſe of the building.

We yet further anſwere with *Auguſtine*: *Super hanc petram, quam confeſſus es, ædificabo eccleſiam*: vpon this rocke, which thou haſt confeſſed, will I build my Church: So that in this place is meant not *Peter* to be the rocke, but either Chriſt, whom he confeſſed, or his faith, whereby he confeſſed him; which commeth all to one effect. There is no great difference, whether we ſay, the Church is builded vpon Chriſt, or faith is the foundation of the Church, for faith is an apprehenſion of Chriſt: but of the perſon of *Peter* it can no more be vnderſtood then of the reſt of the Apoſtles, who in ſome ſenſe are called the foundation of the Church, namely in reſpect of their holy Apoſtolike doctrine vpon, the which the Church is built, Epheſ.2.20.

Tract. vlt. in Iohann.

Bellarmine and the Ieſuites denie not, but here is relation alſo to the faith of *Peter*, but faith conſidered in his perſon. We anſwere: if they meane *Peters* particular faith, which was a proper adiunct to himſelfe, the vniuerſall Church cannot be built vpon that faith, ſeeing when *Peter* dyed, his faith alſo, as a proper accident to his perſon, ceaſed: if they vnderſtand that generall faith, whereby *Peter* in the name of all the reſt made this confeſſion: then they all are as well made pillars and foundations of the Church, as he, becauſe it was their generall confeſſion, *Fulk. annot. in* 16.*Matth. ſect.*8.

Let vs nowe ſee howe the holy Martyrs haue vnderſtood this place, *Thou art Peter, &c.* Firſt, *Iohn Huſſe* thus interpreteth this place: that Chriſt in ſaying, vpon this rocke, &c. did not purpoſe to build the Church vpon *Peter*, but vpon himſelfe, who is the true Rocke: for as much as Ieſus Chriſt is the onely head and foundation of euery Church, and not *Peter*, *Fox*.pag.610.*reſp. ad articul.*9.

Sir *Iohn Bortwike* Knight, condemned for the truth in Scotland, *anno*.1540. thus declareth his minde: as *Abraham* tooke his name of the multitude, which ſhould come of his ſeed, ſo *Peter* was named of the rocke; but *Abraham* was not the multitude it ſelfe, no more was *Peter* the rocke: for the Church ſhould be ſtayed vpon a weake foundation if *Peter* were the ground thereof, who being amazed and ouercome with the words of a little wench, did ſo conſtantly deny Chriſt, *Fox*. pag.1260.

Biſhop *Ridley* Martyr, agreeth in the ſame expoſition: Chriſt ſaid vnto *Peter*, vpon this rocke of thy confeſſion I will build my Church: for this beleefe that Chriſt is the ſonne of God, is the foundation of Chriſtianitie, and the foundation of the Church: Chriſts Church is not built then vpon the frailtie of man, but vpon the ſtable, and infallible word of God, *Fox*.p.1758.

See the conſent alſo of antiquitie: *Fabianus* B. of Rome, *Epiſtol*.3. *In eccleſia ſupra petram ſtatur,*

dum confeſſionis ſoliditas humiliter teneatur: In the Church, we then ſtand vpon the rocke, while we hould the ſound confeſſion of faith with humilitie.

Fabianus epiſtol.ad Zenoxem imperator. vpon theſe words: ***Tu es Petrus,*** thus writeth: ***Super iſta confeſſione ædificabo eccleſiam meam:*** I will build my Church vpon this confeſſion, and the gates of hell,&c.

Concil. Baſilienſ. oration. ad Bohemos in appendice. Super hanc petram, ſcilicet fidei, ædificabo eccleſiam: I will build my Church vpon this rocke (that is to ſay) of faith. Thus we ſee, that thoſe auncient Biſhops of Rome, and former Councels haue expounded this text, no otherwiſe, then we doe now.

S. ***Ambroſe*** is a notable witneſſe in this caſe; ***Petrus primatum confeſſionis accepit,non honoris,&c. Peter*** receiued the primacie of Confeſſion,not of honour, the primacie of faith not of order, he anſwered before the other, nay for the other Apoſtles: ***de incarnat.cap.***4. And againe,***cap.***5. ***Fides eſt Eccleſiæ fundamentum,*** Faith is the foundation of the Church: for it was not ſpoken of ***Peters*** fleſh,but of his faith,that the gates of hell ſhould not preuaile againſt him,&c.

And ***Origen*** hath an excellent place to this purpoſe: ***Tract.***1 ***in Matth. Petra eſt quiſquis,&c.*** Euery Diſciple of Chriſt,that drinketh of the ſpirituall rocke,is this ***Peter*** or rocke:for if we thinke that the Church is built vpon ***Peter*** alone, what ſhall we ſay of ***Iohn*** the ſonne of thunder,and of the reſt of the Apoſtles? ſhall we dare to ſay,that the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt ***Reter*** onely?&c. Thus theſe Fathers expound this place,not of ***Peters*** perſon,but of his faith.

Argum.3. Another place,which our aduerſaries mightily vrge, are thoſe words which follow verſ.19. I will giue vnto thee the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen; whatſoeuer thou ſhalt binde in earth,ſhall be bound in Heauen: ***Ergo,Peter*** had eſpeciall iuriſdicton giuen him more then any of the reſt,***Bellarm.cap.***12,

We anſwere. Firſt,as ***Peter*** confeſſed in the name of all the reſt, ſo this power is giuen him not onely for the reſt (as the Rhemiſts falſely charge vs,that we make ***Peter*** a proctor for others) but togither with the reſt. ***Peters*** perſon muſt be excluded: for immediatly after he deſerued for a certaine ſlip of his perſon to be called Sathan: it were an vnfit match, the ſame perſon at the ſame time to be honoured with the glorious title of the rocke of Chriſt, and to ſuſtaine ſo great a rebuke as to be called Sathan. Secondly,here is no more promiſed to ***Peter*** then vnto all the reſt of the Apoſtles,Matth.18.18. They likewiſe haue authoritie giuen them to binde and looſe;and it is performed to them all alike,Ioh.20.23.

2 By the keyes here cannot be vnderſtoode that large iuriſdiction which the Papiſts dreame of,as not onely the authoritie and chaire of doctrine,iudgement,knowledge,diſcretion betweene true and falſe doctrine, all which we graunt together with ***Peter*** to haue been giuen to all the Apoſtles beſides: But,ſay they,hereby is ſignified the height of gouernement, the power of making lawes, of calling Councels and confirming them,of ordayning Biſhops and Paſtors,finally to diſpenſe the goods of the Church ſpirituall and temporall: All this is added without ground, neither had either ***Peter*** or any of the Apoſtles this ample authoritie,no nor the Biſhops of Rome for many hundred yeeres after Chriſt. For this plenarie power of the keyes, when they ſignifie a ſoueraigne and chiefe, and ſurpaſſing power, are ſo onely giuen vnto Chriſt, and to no mortal creature: He is ſaid to haue the key of ***Dauid,*** who openeth and no man ſhutteth; who ſhutteth, and no man openeth,***Apocalyp.***3.7.***Fulk. Annot.***16.***Matth. ſect.***13.

Laſtly,I will oppoſe the iudgement of the Fathers of Baſile, who alleage out of ***Auguſtine***, that ***Peter*** receiued the keyes for the whole Church;and out of ***Ambroſe,***that when Chriſt ſaid to ***Peter, paſce oues,*** the bleſſed Apoſtle tooke not charge of them alone, ſaith he, but togither with vs, and we togither with him,***Fox.***pag.*675*.

It ſhall not be amiſſe alſo to adioyne the opinion of the holy Martyrs,concerning the true ſenſe of this place: I will giue vnto thee the keyes,&c.

Firſt, ***Thomas Benet*** Martyr, he ſaith, that as well to the reſt, as to ***Peter:*** for ***Peter*** had no more authoritie giuen him then the other Apoſtles: or elſe the Churches planted in euery kingdome by their preaching,are no Churches. S.***Paul*** alſo ſaith, vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles,Epheſ.2.20.that is,indifferently vpon them all,***Fox.***pag.1039.

Sir ***Iohn Bortwike*** confeſſor of the truth in Scotland, and condemned for the ſame; he alleageth out of ***Auguſtine,*** that ***Peter,*** when he receiued the keyes, did figurate the whole Church: for as ***Peter,***all being demaunded,anſwered for them all, thou art Chriſt; ſo he receiued this power for them all,and in the name of the reſt,***Fox.***pag.1260.ſo anſwereth alſo Maſter ***Lambert*** Martyr, alleaging to that purpoſe the authoritie of ***Cyprian: reſponſ.ad articul.***23.pag.1119.

Maſter ***Philpot*** Martyr ſaith, that ***Peter*** receiued the keyes in the name of the reſt: citing a place out of ***Auguſtine*** to that ende: ***Si hoc Petro ſolùm dictum eſt, non habet Eccleſia; ſi autem Eccleſia habet, quando claues accepit, totam Eccleſiam deſignauit:*** If it were ſaid onely to ***Peter***, then the Church hath not this power: but if the whole Church haue this power, namely to binde and looſe;

then *Peter*, when he receiued the keyes, repreſented the whole Church. 10. *tract.in Iohann.Philpot.* pag.1804.

For the meaning of this text alſo, let vs conſult with antiquitie: *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ.cap.9. ex Iſidor. Cateri Apoſtoli cum Petro par conſortium honoris & poteſtatis acceperunt:* the reſt of the Apoſtles togither with *Peter* receiued the like fellowſhip of dignitie and authoritie.

Synod.Colonienſ.ſub Adulpo: Medium 6.*cap*.1. vpon theſe words, *Tibi dabo claues,&c.* do comment thus: *quam promiſſionem non ad vnum Petrum pertinere ſed in omnes apoſtolos tranſmiſſam alio loco dicit Chriſtus vbi inſinuat, Amen dico vobis,&c.* Matth.18.18. Chriſt in ſaying to *Peter*, I will giue thee the keyes,&c. did not make that promiſe onely to *Peter*, but that it belongeth alſo to the reſt of the Apoſtles, Chriſt doth ſhew, Matth.18. *Verilie I ſay vnto you, whatſoeuer you binde in earth, ſhall be bound in Heauen,&c.* Thus alſo S. *Hierome* expoundeth this place, *lib.*1. *aduerſ. Iouinian.* But thou wilt ſay, *Super Petrum fundatur Eccleſia,&c.* The Church is founded vpon *Peter*: yet in another place, the ſame thing is done to all the Apoſtles, and all receiued the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen: *Et ex aquo ſuper eos,* and equally vpon them all the ſtrength of the Church is eſtabliſhed. So *Origene* alſo long before him interpreteth: *tract.*1.*in Matth. An verò ſoli Petro,&c.* Are the keyes of the kingdome giuen onely to *Peter*, and none of the bleſſed beſide ſhall receiue them? &c. Wherefore if this be common to the reſt, how not the other ſayings alſo, &c.

*Argum.*4. Other arguments they alleage for the primacie and preeminence of *Peter*, as Matth.10. He is named in the firſt place, *Bellarmine cap.*18. We anſwere, this myght be, becauſe *Peter* was the moſt auncient in yeares, or one of the firſt that was called: and ſo S. *Hierome* ſaith, asking the queſtion why *Peter* was preferred before *Iohn, Ætati delatum eſt, quia ſenior erat:* His age was preferred becauſe he was the elder. But howſoeuer it was, it is no great matter: for this order is not alway kept, as Galath.2. *Paul* nameth *Iames* firſt; *Iames, Cephas, Iohn,* ſaith he, verſ.9. the Ieſuites beſt ſhift is here to denie the text, ſaying; it ſhould be read, *Cephas, Iames, Iohn:* vnleſſe *Iames* be named firſt, becauſe he was Biſhop of Ieruſalem: Marke I pray you: *Ergo,* at Ieruſalem *Peter* was not before *Iames*, but next vnto him: therefore not prince of the Apoſtles. *Bellarm.c.*18.

Lib 1.aduerſ. Iouinian.

But for a more full anſwere as touching this obiection of the firſt naming of *Peter*: firſt I deny, that he is alwaies named firſt, as in the place alleaged: And againe it is euident, that the Scripture doth not perpetually obſerue the ſame order in ſuch rehearſals, as Apocal.20.19. The twelue Apoſtles are compared to twelue precious ſtones, whereof the Iaſper is the firſt, but Exod.28.20. where the twelue precious ſtones are named, which ſhould be ſet in *Aarons* breaſtplate, the Iaſper ſtone is the laſt: If the Iaſper for the dignitie thereof doe ſignifie *Peter* in the Apocalypſe, how is it placed laſt in Exodus? So then we may heere ſay with *Origene* who thus writeth of the order of the twelue Patriarches, *Sciendum eſt, quod in ſingulis locis, &c.* It is to be marked, that euery where, where the Scripture maketh mention of the Patriarches, there is great diuerſitie in the order: there is one order obſerued in their [1] natiuitie, another in their [2] going downe into Ægypt; another when they are [3] bleſſed of *Iaacob*; another when they are [4] numbred to doe any thing in the wildernes; another, when the land of [5] Canaan was deuided: after the ſame manner when the twelue Apoſtles are named, they are not alway ſet downe in the ſame order. *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that *Peter* euery where is named firſt, though the reſt be not ſet downe alwaies in one order, *cap.*18. *Contra.* So *Ruben* is the firſt named of all the Patriarches in thoſe fiue ſeuerall places noted by *Origene*. He is firſt borne, firſt entereth into Ægypt, firſt bleſſed, firſt numbred, firſt deuided: yet *Ruben* for all this was not the chiefe among the Patriarches: neither by this reaſon ſhall *Peter* be the greateſt among the Apoſtles.

Hom.17.in Geneſ.

[1] Geneſ.29.
[2] Geneſ.46.
[3] Geneſ.49.
[4] Numb.1.
[5] Ioſu.

Againe, ſay they, *Peter* ſtandeth vp in the election of *Matthias*, Acts 1. preacheth the firſt Sermon, Acts 2. Acts 15. *Peter* ſpeaketh firſt. We anſwere to the firſt: We denie not a primacie of order to haue been in *Peter*: but it followeth not, that he which ſpeaketh firſt, or giueth the firſt voyce, ſhould be the head and commaunder of the reſt. To the ſecond, we alſo graunt that *Peter* in zeale, promptnes and forwardnes, was not behinde any of the Apoſtles, but euen with the firſt: for in him was that ſaying of Chriſt verified vpon the woman: She loued much, becauſe much was forgiuen her, Luk.7. ſo was it with *Peter*, to whom Chriſt forgaue much, and therefore he loued much. To the third we anſwere, that by the Ieſuites owne confeſſion, *Iames*, who was (as they ſay) Biſhop of Ieruſalem, had the primacie there: how then can they now giue it to *Peter*? That *Iames* was the Biſhop of the Apoſtles at Ieruſalem, it is affirmed alſo by *Steuen Gardener* in his booke *de vera obedientia*, by the teſtimonie of *Euſebius*; and by Biſhop *Stokeſly* and Biſhop *Tonſtal*, out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who thus writeth: *Petrus, Iacobus, Iohannes, poſt aſſumptionem Saluatoris, quamuis ab ipſo fuerant omnibus pene prælati, tamen non ſibi vendicarunt gloriam, ſed Iacobum apoſtolorum epiſcopum ſtatuunt: Peter, Iames* and *Iohn*, after Chriſts aſcenſion into Heauen, although they were by him preferred almoſt before all other, yet they chalenged not that glorie to themſelues, but decreed *Iames* to be the chiefe of the Apoſtles: *Epiſtol. ad Reginald. Polum. Fox*, pag.1066.

There is another place, beſide theſe already alleaged, which our aduerſaries commonly obiect for the primacie of *Peter*: for that Chriſt ſhould ſay vnto him thriſe, *paſce oues meas*, feede my ſheepe, that is, rule and gouerne them.

To this anſwereth, firſt *Walter Brute* an ancient confeſſor of the truth: that Chriſt ſaid vnto him thriſe, *feede my ſheepe:* becauſe he preached chiefely vnto three Churches, and inſtructed them in the faith: namely, the Iewes, Grecians, and Romanes.

Doctor *Tonſtal* out of *Cyrillus* thus alleageth: that becauſe *Peter* had thriſe denyed Chriſt, whereby he thought, he had loſt his Apoſtleſhip, Chriſt by thriſe asking if he loued him, reſtored him to his office againe. pag. 1062. So in your decrees. *p.2.c.6.q.1.c.10.* *Peter* becauſe he denied Chriſt thriſe doth alſo confeſſe him thriſe.

Againe, S. *Iohn Borthwike* Knight condemned for the truth, ſaith, that to feede the flock of Chriſt ſignifieth not to beare rule or dominion ouer them: for in the ſame words he exhorteth all other paſtors to feede their flocke, 1. epiſt. 5. Whereby it appeareth, that either our Sauiour Chriſt gaue no ſuch authoritie to *Peter* more than to others, or that *Peter* did equally communicate that right to others. p. 1261. *reſponſ. ad articul.* 1. ſee the anſwere alſo of Maſter *Bradford* to the ſame effect, *epiſt. ad Domin. Vanam*, p. 1647.

The Proteſtants.

THat *Peter* had no ſuch iuriſdiction ouer the Apoſtles, as to be called the head and Prince of them: but that to them all indifferently were the keyes committed, and did all faithfully execute their Apoſtleſhip without any ſubiection of each to other, but ioyned the right hands of fellowſhip togither: we thus confirme it out of the holy Scripture, and neceſſarie arguments deriued out of the ſame.

Argum. 1. Epheſ. 2. 20. Apocalyp. 21. 14. The Church is ſaid to be built vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles. *Ergo*, no primacie of power amongſt the Apoſtles, they all founded the Church.

Bellarm. cap. 11. *Bellarmine* confeſſeth that in reſpect of their doctrine, there was no difference betweene *Peter* and the reſt, for they all were firſt planters of Churches, they all preached the Goſpell by reuelation: But in reſpect of gouernment, they were not equall: they had chiefe authoritie committed to them as Apoſtles and Embaſſadors of Chriſt: But *Peter*, as ordinary paſtor.

We anſwere: Firſt, by his owne confeſſion the Apoſtles had chiefe authoritie as Apoſtles, but there was no higher authoritie or power then of the Apoſtleſhip. But as they were Apoſtles they were equall (ſaith the Ieſuite:) *Ergo*, there could be no ſuperioritie; for the calling of the Apoſtles was the higheſt in the Church. See alſo your owne decrees, where that ſentence of S. *Cypriane* is allowed, *decr. part. 2. cauſ. 24. qu. 1. c.* 18. *Hoc erant vtique cæteri Apoſtoli, &c.* The reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame that *Peter* was, hauing the like fellowſhip of honour and power.

Argum. 2. To preach the Goſpell, and to haue iuriſdiction of gouernment, doe both belong to the power of the keyes: but the keyes were equally committed to all: *Ergo*, they had all equall power both to preach and to gouerne. That they all had the power of the keyes equally granted vnto them, we haue prooued before out of Matth. 18. 18.

2 *Bellarmine* himſelfe confeſſeth, that *Iames* was Biſhop and ordinarie paſtor at Ieruſalem, and ſaith with *Anſelme* and *Thomas Aquinas*, that therefore he is named firſt by Saint *Paul*, Gal. 2. *Bellarmine cap.* 19. Therefore at Ieruſalem *Peter* was to giue primacie to the ordinarie paſtor there.

If they anſwere, that Rome was then the chiefe citie, and therefore *Peter* being Biſhop of Rome was to haue the preeminence. To this we reply: that Ieruſalem was rather to be preferred in reſpect of place, which was choſen by the Lord himſelfe, to be the chiefe citie of his Church: but Rome through the tyranny and vſurpation of the Romans ouer other countries was aduanced to that dignitie, not by the election of God.

But *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that *Peter* was Biſhop of the whole Church, and ſo of Ieruſalem too. We anſwere, he now ſaith leſſe for *Peter*, then if he called him, as he was, the Apoſtle of the whole world: for it was more to be an Apoſtle than a Biſhop. Diuers were called in the Apoſtles times, *epiſcopi*, ouerſeeres, or Biſhops, that were not Apoſtles, as the paſtors of Epheſus, Acts 20. 28. Wherefore now he hath ſaid iuſt nothing: in ſeeking to aduance *Peter*, he hath diſgraced him, in pulling him downe from his high Apoſtleſhip, to the chaire of a Biſhop. See alſo your owne decrees, *part. 3. cauſ. 24. qu. 1. c. 4. in gloſſ. Vnde cum omnibus Diſcipulis &c.* Seeing that Chriſt gaue to all his Diſciples the like power of binding, and looſing, &c. Yet your owne maſter alloweth that ſaying of S. *Hierome: Habent eandem iudiciariam poteſtatem alij, &c.* The other Apoſtles had the ſame iudiciarie power, *lib. 4. diſt. 19. c.*

Argum. 3. *Peter* had no ſuperioritie ouer *Paul*, for they ioyned right hands of fellowſhip: and this allotment was made betweene them, that *Paul* ſhould be the chiefe of the Gentiles, and *Peter* of the circumciſion, Galath. 2. 9. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth. Firſt, they were ioyned as fellow-laborers in the preaching of the Goſpel: but *Peter* might for all this be greater in the office and power of gouerning. We anſwere: yea, but the text ſaith, that *Paul* only was not appointed to preach to the Gentiles, but he had the chiefe Apoſtleſhip. Now to the Apoſtleſhip belongeth, not onely the function of preaching, but the whole vſe of the keyes, and power of iuriſdiction. *Ergo:* in all reſpects S. *Paul* ouer the Gentiles had the chiefe Apoſtleſhip.

But leaſt any man ſay, that this was a humane compact amongſt themſelues, and *Paul* had his lot at *Peters* aſſignement: the text ſheweth, that the Lord himſelfe had made this diſtribution. For when they ſaw, ſaith S. *Paul*, that the Goſpell ouer the vncircumciſion was committed to me, verſ.7. So then the Apoſtles did but confirme by their conſent, that diſtribution, which they ſawe the Lord himſelfe had appointed.

Further ſaith the Ieſuite, the diuiſion was not ſo made, but that it was lawfull for *Peter* alſo to preach to the Gentiles. We anſwere, we grant it; and for *Paul* to preach to the Iewes; yet that diſtinction remained ſtill, that *Peter* was chiefe of the circumciſion, *Paul* of the vncircumciſion.

Againe ſaith he: but *Peter* had the more excellent lot, for Chriſt himſelfe firſt preached to the Iewes. We anſwere, wee deny not but that he had the firſt lot in order; for to the Iewes was the Goſpell firſt offered: but *Paul* had the larger and more glorious lot: the Church of the Iewes now decaying, and the Gentiles beginning to be planted in their roome. But howſoeuer it was, it cannot bee denied, but that *Paul* was chiefe towards the Gentiles: And therefore the Church of Rome might with better right haue deriued their authoritie from S. *Paul*, then from *Peter:* both of them they cannot make patrons of their See: ſeeing by their owne rules the Pope cannot be ſucceſſor to them both.

Heare alſo how notablie to our purpoſe S. *Ambroſe* expoundeth this place, writing vpon this verſe, Galath.2.9. *Petrum ſolum nominat, &c.* He nameth onely *Peter*, and compareth him with himſelfe; becauſe he had receiued the primacie to found the Church, and himſelfe was likewiſe elected to haue the primacie in founding the Churches of the Gentiles: yet ſo that both *Peter* might preach to the Gentiles, and *Paul* to the Iewes, if there were cauſe: for both of them is found to haue done both: and yet it is knowne that full authoritie was giuen to *Peter* in preaching to the Iewes, and full authoritie to *Paul* in preaching to the Gentiles.

Further, out of the ſame place, Galath.2.11. another thing commeth to be obſerued: that *Peter* was rebuked of *Paul*, and in ſuch ſort, that it appeareth there was no great inequalitie between them: for he doth it to his face openly, before all men, and at Antioch, in *Peters* owne Biſhoprick, as they ſay: Can it be now thought that *Paul* was any thing inferiour to *Peter?*

Cap.15.

Bellarmine and the Ieſuites anſwere, that the Pope may bee rebuked of an inferiour, and ought to take it patiently, if it be done in zeale and loue.

Anſ. Firſt, we doe not ſimply thus conclude, becauſe *Paul* reprehended *Peter*, therefore he was not his ſuperiour, but becauſe of the manner, as we ſhewed: it was done in ſuch ſort, ſo plainly, ſo openly, without any ſubmiſſion or crauing of pardon, that there can appeare no inequalitie at all betweene them. Secondly, although they ſeeme here to graunt, that the Pope may bee rebuked, yet is it otherwiſe in their Canon law, which ſaith, that though the Pope doe leade innumerable ſoules to hell, no mortal man may preſume to reproue his faults, *par.1.diſt.4.c.Si Papa. Fulk. annot. in Galath.2.ſect.8.* And howſoeuer the Ieſuite counteth this a light argument, both *Hierome* and *Ambroſe* doe enforce it, and your owne decrees allow it, *par.2.cauſ.2.quaeſt.7.c.33. Hierome* ſaith: *Paul* doth reprehend *Peter*, becauſe he knew himſelfe not to be vnequall. And in the gloſſe Saint *Ambroſe* is thus alleaged: Which of them durſt reſiſt *Peter*, to whom the Lord gaue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, *niſi alius talis*, but ſuch an other that knew himſelfe, by the confidence of his election, not to be vnequall.

This place in the ſecond to the Galathians is much vrged by ſome of the Papiſts themſelues againſt *Peters* ſupremacie; for S. *Paul* ſaying, that as the Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion was committed to *Peter*, ſo the Apoſtleſhip of the Gentiles was giuen to him: hereby ſheweth, that he knew no primacie of *Peter* ouer the Apoſtles, or the whole world, but only among the Iewes. This alſo manifeſtly appeareth, for that *Peter*, being ſent for by *Cornelius* a Gentile, durſt not goe to him without a ſpeciall viſion from God, Act.10. thereby declaring, that he had no ſuch primacie giuen him ouer the Gentiles: *Hac Tonſtall. in Concion. p.*1062.

Maſter *Lambert* Martyr groundeth diuers arguments out of this chapter 2. to the Galathians, that *Peter* was not ſuperiour to S. *Paul:* firſt, they ioyned with him the right hand of fellowſhip: *Ergo*, he was their equall and fellow. Secondly, *Iames* is named before *Peter*, which S. *Paul* would not haue done, who loued order, if there had been any ſuch preeminence in *Peter*. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* reproued Saint *Peter* to his face, which he would not haue done, except he had knowne himſelfe equall to *Peter*. And as *Peter* was here reproued by his fellow Apoſtle, ſo was he blamed generally of them of the Circumciſion, who contended againſt him, Act.11.2. And yet *Peter* did not alleage any preeminence or authoritie, or charge them with diſobedience, for rebuking him: *Lambert* pag. 1120.

Maſter *Tindal* holy Martyr goeth further, and ſheweth, that if there were any oddes or inequalitie at all, Saint *Paul* rather was of higher authoritie, then Saint *Peter*; becauſe he laboured and preached more than the reſt, 1. Corinth. 15. 10. and ſuffered more for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, 2. Cor. 11. 23.

Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr diſproroueth the ſupremacie of *Peter* ouer the Apoſtles by this argument: The Apoſtles at Ieruſalem ſent *Peter* and *Iohn* to Samaria, to confirme them in the Goſpell, Act. 8. 14. *Ergo*, he was not their chiefe or head: for it had been an vnmannerly part for the members, to ſend their head in Embaſſage: *Brad. in epiſtol. ad Domin. Vanam. p.* 1647.

Iohannes Patriarch of Antioch, *opuſcul. in appendice Concil. Baſilienſ.* enforceth the ſame argument: *Apoſtoli miſerunt ad Samaritanos Petrum & Iohannem; at maior eſt qui mittit, minor, qui mittitur:* The Apoſtles ſent *Peter* and *Iohn* to the Samaritanes: but he that ſendeth is the greater, he that is ſent the leſſe. *Ergo.* It may bee obiected, *Petrus miſſus eſt conſilio, non authoritate: Peter* was ſent by their counſaile and aduice, not commaundement or authoritie: he anſwereth, that not *Peter* alone was ſent, but *Iohn* alſo. So then, as *Iohn* was ſent, in [illegible]e manner was *Peter*: the one had no greater preeminence then the other in this Embaſſage.

Argum. 4. Laſtly, what reaſon was there, why Chriſt ſhould giue the ſupremacie to *Peter* ouer the reſt? Chriſt was no acceptor of perſons: if he had been, *Iohn* ſhould haue been preferred, whom he loued moſt. If deſerts bee weighed, I thinke *Peter* deſerued no more then the reſt of his fellowes: Nay I thinke the wiſedome of the ſpirit, foreſeeing the queſtions that ſhould afterward ariſe in the Church about *Peter*, hath ſo diſpoſed, that this Apoſtles infirmities both in number more and weight greater then any of the reſt, ſhould be euidently ſet forth in Scripture. We will briefly runne them ouer, not to derogate from the bleſſed memorie of ſo excellent an Apoſtle; but a little to ſtay and bridle the prepoſterous zeale of our aduerſaries, who doe aſcribe more vnto him, then euer he would haue challenged to himſelfe.

To let paſſe the ſmaller ſlips and ſcapes of this Apoſtle, as his raſhneſſe in aduenturing beyond his ſtrength, to walke vpon the ſea, Matth. 14. Secondly, his vnaduiſed ſpeech in the mountaine, Matth. 17. *Let vs make three Tabernacles.* Thirdly, his ignorance, Matth. 19. in ſaying to Chriſt, *how often ſhall I forgiue my brother? till ſeuen times?* Fourthly, his impatiencie, as in drawing out his ſword and cutting off *Malchus* eare. Fiftly, his timorouſneſſe in flying from Chriſt at his apprehenſion. Sixtly, his curioſitie, Iohn. 21. in asking concerning *Iohn, What ſhall this man doe?* To let paſſe theſe as common infirmities: there are foure great faults which *Peter* fell into, much amplified, and ſtood vpon by the fathers.

1 He dehorted our Sauiour from his paſſion with theſe words, *Maſter, fauour thy ſelfe*, Mat. 16. and was therefore called Sathan, an aduerſarie to the death of Chriſt, and ſo to the redemption of man. *Auguſtine* chargeth him with great forgetfulnes, hauing made ſo notable a confeſſion of Chriſt before, and noteth him for ſome ſparkes of diſtruſt and infidelitie: *Ille Petrus, qui iam eum confeſſus fuerat filium Dei, timuit, ne ſicut filius hominis moreretur, in Pſal.* 138. The ſame *Peter* (ſaith he) which a little before had confeſſed him to be the Sonne of God, feared leaſt he ſhould die and periſh as a man.

2 In promiſing raſhly not to denie Chriſt, yea vnto death, whereas Chriſt had foretolde him of his fall before, *Auguſtine* noteth great preſumption: *Petrus ex egregio præſumptore creber negator effectus, Epiſt.* 120. *cap.* 14. *Peter* of a great preſumer, is become a deſperate denier. And hereof thus your owne decrees, *par.* 2. *cauſ.* 6. *quæſt.* 1. *cap.* 10. *Petrus lapſus eſt, &c. Peter* did fall, becauſe he preſumed of himſelfe, ſaying, *Though other bee offended in thee, yet not I.* But *Origen* goeth further,

Tract. 25. in Math. *Non ſolum inconſideratè, ſed penè etiam impiè, &c. Peter* ſaid not onely vnaduiſedly, but almoſt impiouſly, *Though all men be offended, &c.*

3 The third great ſinne was committed by *Peter*, in denying of Chriſt, and that thrice, yea with an oth, at the inſtance of a maiden, and in a very ſhort while, before the cocke crew twice, Mark. 14. 72. The Ieſuite anſwereth, that this was no hinderance to *Peters* primacie, but a furtherance and a confirmation of it. But whether it were a let to his primacie or not, let all men iudge, ſeeing it had been ſufficient to haue hindered his ſaluation, and deſtroyed his faith, without the great mercie of God.

Let vs heare *Auguſtines* iudgement of *Peters* fall. Some man may excuſe *Peter*, and ſay, that he did nothing, but as Chriſt forewarned him. What then (ſaith he) if *Peter* therefore did not amiſſe,

Expoſit. in Pſal. 140. becauſe his fall was foretold by Chriſt: *Rectè etiam fecit Iudas, qui tradidit dominum, quia & hoc prædixerat dominus?* Then *Iudas* did well too (ſaith he) in betraying of Chriſt, for this alſo Chriſt ſhewed afore? But ſome againe may ſay: he denied not Chriſt, for he ſaid he knew not the man:

Tract. in Iohann. 66. *Quaſi vero* (ſaith he) *qui hominem Chriſtum negat, non Chriſtum neget:* As though he that denieth the man Chriſt, doth not flatly denie Chriſt. Chriſt alſo taketh away all doubts (ſaith he) when he thus ſaid to ***Peter, The cocke ſhall not crow till thou haſt denied me thrice*** : he ſaith not, till thou haſt denied the man, but me. Againe, *Ipſe potius redarguit defenſores ſuos* : ***Peter*** himſelfe doth confute his maintainers and defenders : ***Agnouit planè peccatum ſuum infirmitas Petri*** : ***Peters*** owne conſcience gaue him that he had ſinned, for he went out and wept bitterly. But if by this meanes his primacie was confirmed, he had occaſion to reioyce, and not to weepe. Yea he wept bitterly, his ſinne was very great : how then dare one of your ſect ſay with a blaſphemous mouth, ***Petrus non fidem Chriſti, ſed Chriſtum ſalua fide negauit*** : ***Peter*** denied not the faith of Chriſt, but his faith remaining ſafe and ſound, he denied Chriſt? The ancient writers durſt not ſo extenuate ***Peters*** fall, no nor ***Peter*** himſelfe, that wept full ſore, as theſe men preſume to doe. For firſt ***Origen*** thus amplifieth ***Peters*** fall, *Non ad modicum derelictus, &c.* ***Peter*** was not a little forſaken, to denie once, but he was abundantly forſaken, to denie thrice : firſt he denied him before all ; and againe he denied him not ſimply, but with an oth : thirdly, not onely with an oth, but with a ſpeciall denotation, I know not the man : *Tract.35.in Math.*

Copus. vide Iuel. pag 665. defenſ. Apolog.

S. ***Ambroſe*** goeth further, *Hexemer.lib.5.c.24.* ***Peter*** before the cocke crew falleth ; yea the third time he falleth, that you may know that it was not a ſlip only of his ſpeech, but that he was troubled in minde.

S. ***Hierome*** alſo thus writeth : *de Vincul. Petri ad Euſtoch.* What ſhall I doe, I haue denied my Lord and maſter? neither, as ſome thinke, haue I onely denied the man : I haue denied him to whom I ſaid, thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God : I haue denied him whom I ſaw walking vpon the waters ; whom I heard with his call raiſing vp the dead ; whom I ſaw with ***Moſes*** and ***Elias, &c.***

And your owne decrees : *Decret.part.2.cauſ.11.quæſt.3.cap.85.* The Lord ſaid not to ***Peter***, thou ſhalt denie thee to my diſciple, but thou ſhalt denie me : wherefore he denied him, when he denied himſelfe to bee his diſciple : and what did he elſe but denie himſelfe to bee a Chriſtian? Such then and of this nature and qualitie was the fall and deniall of ***Peter***, howſoeuer our aduerſaries goe about to ſeeke colours and defence for it.

4 The laſt fault noted in ***Peter*** was that, for the which he is reprooued of ***Paul***, Galath.2. Tuſh (ſaith ***Bellarmine***) it was a very ſmall and light offence. Yea, was it ſo ſmall a fault to conſtraine the Gentiles to doe like the Iewes? for this was the point, as S. ***Paul*** writeth, Galath.2.14. And ***Auguſtine*** ſaith, ***Petrus non obiurgatus à Paulo fuit, quòd ſeruabat conſuetudinem Iudæorum, in qua natus & educatus fuit, ſed quòd eam gentibus imponere volebat*** : *Expoſit. ad Galat.* ***Peter*** was not rebuked of ***Paul***, becauſe he kept the cuſtome of the Iewes, wherein he was brought vp, but becauſe he would lay it vpon the Gentiles. Was this ***leuiſſimum peccatum***, a ſmall tranſgreſſion? Saint ***Paul*** ſhould greatly haue been to blame, for rebuking ***Peter*** openly, and ſo plainly for ſo ſmall an offence, and ſhould haue done againſt his owne rule, Galath.6.1. But ***Peter*** did it of a good minde (ſaith ***Bellarmine***.) Yea did? then he was worthie to bee excuſed, not worthie of blame, as S. ***Paul*** writeth. He might alſo doe it ignorantly and vnwittingly (ſaith he.) How can that be, ſeeing he was one that made the decree, Act.15. That no yoke ſhould be layd vpon the Gentiles, other then there expreſſed ; and now contrarie to that decree, he conſtraineth the Gentiles, ***Iudaizare***, to play the Iewes. Theſe things doe not hang together.

Bellar. cap. 28.

The Rhemiſts ſay, that it was not an error in doctrine or iudgement here reproued in ***Peter***, but a default onely in conuerſation : ***annot.Galat.2.verſ.11.ſect.9.***

Contra. 1. One of your owne Biſhops ***Gelaſius***, ***tom. de Anathemat. Vinculo***, is of a contrarie opinion, ***Sanctus Petrus primus, &c.*** Holy ***Peter***, the firſt of the Apoſtles, thinking that the grace of the new teſtament ſhould be ſo preached, that he depart not from the inſtitutions of the old law, did ſomething diſſemblingly, &c. and therefore his fellow Apoſtle doth worthily rebuke him. It was then an error in ***Peters*** thought and iudgement.

S. ***Ambroſe in 2. ad Galat.*** If ***Peter*** had diſſembled onely, it had been no error, &c. But this was the cauſe of the reprehenſion : ***Peter*** did not onely ſeparate himſelfe from thoſe with whom he had liued Gentile like, but he compelled them to play the Iewes alſo ; ſo that the Gentiles were ignorant which was the trueſt way. And your owne gloſſe ſaith, ***Decr.p.2.cauſ.2.quæſt.7.c.39. Par eſt à fide exorbitare, &c.*** It is all one to goe aſide from the faith, and by example or word to turne others from the faith : ***Ergo***, this in ***Peter*** was an error in faith.

I will now conclude out of ***Auguſtine***, as he alleageth out of ***Cyprian*** : ***Nec Petrus, cum ſecum Paulus de circumciſione diſceptaret, poſtmodum vendicauit ſibi aliquid inſolenter, vt diceret ſe primatum tenere*** : ***de Baptiſ.2.2.*** Howſoeuer it was, ***Peter***, when ***Paul*** reaſoned thus with him, did not ſtand vpon his pantofles, and chalenge any primacie to himſelfe. But it is very like, if there had been any ſuch primacie in ***Peter*** of power and iuriſdiction, (a primacie of order we grant, as ***Cyprian*** in that place calleth ***Peter, primum***, the firſt) that this ſharpe reprehenſion of ***Paul*** ſhould either haue bin ſpared, or elſe not done in that vehement manner.

It ſhall not be out of the way in this place, to ſee the iudgement of certaine Papiſts of great account

count in their time, contrary to the opinion now receiued in the Popes Church.

Thus the Biſhop of Wincheſter reaſoneth in his booke *de vera obedientia:* The ſcholler ought not to be aboue the maſter: how could then *Peter* take that vpon him to bee chiefe, which Chriſt his maſter did ſo conſtantly refuſe?

That *Peter* was *primus*, that is, firſt and chiefe in number of them which confeſſed Chriſt, it can not be denied: for firſt he confeſſed, firſt he taught the Iewes: firſt he ſtood in defence of the veritie, and was the firſt prolocutor among them. A primacie of order wee graunt, but not a primacie of rule and dominion: he was firſt in order, but it followeth not therefore that he was the chiefe in dignitie: As it is no good reaſon, Paris is nominate the firſt of all Vniuerſities: *Ergo*, they are ſubiect to it.

Biſhop *Tonſtal* alſo in a certaine ſermon, vſeth theſe and ſuch like arguments againſt the ſupremacie of *Peter*. *Peters* perſon (ſaith he) could not bee the rocke of the Church: for then wee ſhould put another foundation of the Church, than Chriſt; which were contrarie to Saint *Paul: No man may put any other foundation, then that which is put alreadie, which is Chriſt Ieſus*, 1. Cor. 3.

So ſaith he, in the one and twentie chapter of the Apocalypſe, the new citie and heauenly Ieruſalem, is deſcribed by the holy Ghoſt, not with one foundation of *Peter*, but with twelue foundations after the number of the Apoſtles, *plur. Fox. p.* 1062.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING *Peter* his being at Rome.

THis queſtion hath two parts: firſt, whether *Peter* were at all at Rome or not. Secondly, whether he were Biſhop of Rome.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER PETER were at Rome.

38. Error. OVr aduerſaries would ſeeme to prooue it by theſe and ſuch like arguments.

Argum. 1. Out of that place of S. *Peter* 1. 5. 13. *The Church that is at Babylon ſaluteth you:* Babylon here (ſay they) is taken for Rome, from whence *Peter* wrote his Epiſtle, *Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 2. de pontif. Rhemenſ. argum. in.* 1. *Epiſt. Petri.*

We anſwere: Firſt, it is a ſillie argument for them hereby to prooue *Peters* being at Rome: for thus much they haue gained by it, that Rome is Babylon, and ſo the ſeate of Antichriſt, Reuel. 18. Secondly, there were two Babylons, one in Syria, the other in Ægypt, from either of which Saint *Peter* might date his epiſtle: and it is moſt like that he would keepe the common and knowne name of the place, that it might bee out of doubt what Church he meant. As for the name of Babylon, to bee aſcribed to Rome, though it were ſo myſtically, yet was it not ſo called: for why might not *Paul* as well haue written his epiſtle to the Romanes vnder that name, the Church of Babylon, as *Peter* wrote from thence?

Argum. 2. Againe, they alleage that ſtorie, how *Peter* ouercame *Simon Magus* at Rome, when he would haue taken his flight into the ayre, hauing made himſelfe wings, and by the prayer of *Peter* was brought downe againe and brake his legges, and ſo dyed: whereupon *Nero* being offended with *Peter*, would haue apprehended him; who being counſailed by the Church, would haue fled from Rome: but meeting Chriſt at one of the gates, and ſaying vnto him, Whither goeſt thou Lord? And he anſwered, I come againe to be crucified. *Peter* vpon thoſe words returned backe againe, and was crucified for the teſtimonie of Ieſus, *Bellarm. cap.* 2. 3.

We anſwere: Firſt, wee denie not that *Peter* was at Rome, but ſhew onely the inſufficiencie of their arguments: and againe, we moue ſuch doubts, as by them are yet vnanſwered, as afterward ſhall bee ſhewed. Secondly, concerning this ſtorie of the victorie ouer *Simon Magus*, they that doubt of *Peters* being at Rome, may alſo doubt of this, neither of them being neceſſarie to bee beleeued as articles of faith, but probable and coniecturall, as matters of ſtorie. For ſome part of Epiſtol. 80. the ſtorie is denied by *Auguſtine*, as how *Peter* faſted vpon the Saturday, the combat betweene him and *Simon Magus*, following vpon the Lords day after: and thereupon roſe the cuſtome of the Saturday faſt among the Romanes: *Eſt quidem* (ſaith he) *hac opinio plurimorum, quamuis eam perhibeant eſſe falſam plerique Romani:* This is (ſaith he) a probable opinion of many, (concerning *Peters* faſt) yet the Romanes themſelues thinke it to be falſe.

3 That concerning Chriſts apparition to *Peter*, ſeemeth to bee moſt vnlike of all, and ſauoureth ſomewhat of the popiſh Legends. Like vnto this are the tales of S. *Chriſtopher*, how he carried Chriſt, and how S. *Gregorie* had him for one of his gueſts at his table of hoſpitalitie: Such viſions and apparitions of Chriſt are contrarie to the Scriptures, which ſay, that the heauens muſt containe him till his comming againe. *Bellarmine* anſwereth: firſt, by this meanes, wee doe *compedes*

Chriſto inijcere, wee fetter Chriſt in heauen. We anſwere, belike then heauen is a priſon, with the Ieſuite: God ſend all that are his ſuch a priſon at the length. Againe, Chriſt is no otherwiſe concluded and ſhut vp in heauen, then as it pleaſeth himſelfe, and as he hath appoynted ſo to be.

2 He obiecteth: that Chriſt appeared neere vnto the earth to *Paul*. We anſwere: Firſt, there is no ſuch thing proued out of the text, but rather the contrarie, that the voyce was heard from heauen; not neere the earth, but aboue, Act. 22. 6. Secondly, *Paul* heard a voyce only, he ſaw no man, neither he nor the companie with him, Act. 9. 7. 8. but onely a great light they ſaw ſhining from heauen, Act. 22. 6. 9. Therefore out of this place they cannot proue any ſuch apparition of Chriſt neere vnto the earth.

Your owne decrees alſo here are againſt you: *Decr. p. 3. diſt. 2. cap. 44. Corpus domini in quo reſurrexit vno loco eſſe oportet*: The bodie of our Lord, wherein he roſe, muſt bee in one place. And againe, *Donec ſeculum finiatur ſurſum eſt dominus*: As long as the world endureth, our Lord is aboue; that is, in the heauen: *Ergo*, not beneath in the earth.

Argum. 3. *Peter* died at Rome, his ſepulchre is to bee ſeene there to this day: *Ergo*, he was at Rome, *Bellarm. cap.* 3.

We anſwere: Firſt, it followeth not, if *Peter* were buried at Rome, that therefore he died there: for the tranſlation of the bones and bodies of Martyrs is no vnuſuall thing in your Church: As it followeth not, becauſe *Iohn Baptiſts* head, as you ſay, is to bee ſeene at S. *Silueſters* at Rome, that therefore he died there; ſo neither doth it follow of S. *Peter*.

2 Againe, how ſhall wee beleeue you that it is S. *Peters* ſepulchre, which is ſhewed at Rome; ſeeing you haue made ſo many mockeries alreadie, making the world beleeue, that *Peters* bodie is ſometime in one place, ſometime in another? Halfe his bodie (you ſay) is at S. *Peters* in Rome, halfe at S. *Pauls*, his head at S. *Iohn Laterane*, his neather iaw with the beard at Poicters in France, many of his bones at Triers, at Geneua part of his braine. You ſee that wee may as well doubt whether *Peters* bodie bee at Rome, as in any of theſe places. And ſuch as you ſee are our aduerſaries arguments for *Peters* being at Rome.

The Proteſtants.

Concerning *Peters* being at Rome: firſt, we doe not vtterly denie it, but onely affirme that he could not come thither ſo ſoone, as in the ſecond yeere of *Claudius*, and ſit there ſo long, namely, fiue and twentie yeeres, as they hold. Secondly, it may bee graunted that he was there, as a matter of ſtorie, not an article of faith. Thirdly, wee haue certaine doubts and arguments, about ſome circumſtances of his being there, which our aduerſaries are not able to anſwere.

Argum. 1. There is great diſagreeing amongſt the writers, concerning the time of *Peters* comming to Rome: *Oroſius* ſaith, he came thither in the beginning of *Claudius* raigne: *Hieromy* ſaith, the ſecond yeere of his raigne: other ſay, the fourth yeere: other, the thirteenth yeere: *Damaſus* would haue him come thither in *Nero* his raigne. This diſſention of writers ſheweth that the matter may be iuſtly doubted of, *Fulk. in Rom.* 16. *ſect.* 4.

Bellarmine and the Ieſuites anſwere: No more doe all agree concerning the time when the world was created, nor for the ſtorie of Chriſts life, in what time euery thing was done when he ſuffered, and ſuch like: yet it followeth not, that thoſe things were not true, becauſe there is ſome diuerſitie about the time, *Rhemiſt.* 1. *Pet.* 5. 13.

We replie: Firſt, moſt of theſe things concerning the chronologie of Scripture, though it be not neceſſarie to ſaluation, yet by diligent ſearch may bee found in Scripture. Secondly, if they can ſhew any Scripture for *Peters* being at Rome, as we haue for the other ſtories, we will beleeue it, though the time perfectly be not knowne. But ſeeing the Scripture maketh no mention at all of his being there, and the time is vncertaine, we may worthilie doubt of it, much leſſe are bound neceſſarily to beleeue it.

Argum. 2. The ſtorie of *Peters* comming to Rome in the ſecond yeere of *Claudius*, his abiding at Rome fiue and twentie yeeres, his death and martyrdome in the 14. yeere of *Nero*, and the 37. yeere after Chriſts aſcenſion: we prooue out of the Scriptures to be falſe. For *Peter* was at Ieruſalem and in thoſe quarters round about till 18. yeeres after Chriſt: for *Paul* ſaw him there three yeeres after his calling, and againe 14. yeeres after that, Galat. 2. there is 17. yeeres, and one yeere was paſt before *Pauls* conuerſion: in all 18. yeeres: adde vnto theſe the 25. yeeres of *Peters* being at Rome, that maketh 43. yeeres: and ſo *Peter* ſhould ſuffer in *Veſpaſianus* raigne, and not in the time of *Nero*.

Bellarmine and the Ieſuites anſwere: that *Peter* was at Rome ſeuen yeeres before the Councell held at Ieruſalem, Act. 15. which was in the 18. yeere after Chriſt: and that being expelled the citie by *Claudius*, with the reſt of the Iewes, he returned to Ieruſalem, and there ſpake with *Paul*, and after that went to Rome againe, and there ended his life.

This anſwere we ſhew to be very inſufficient. Firſt, Act. 15. 2. it appeareth that there was, as it were, a ſtanding and ſet Councell of the Apoſtles at Ieruſalem, of the which *Peter* was one: for the

Church thought good to ſend vp to the Apoſtles and Elders, which were at Ieruſalem. Secondly, till the 18. yeere when this Councell was held, it ſeemeth that *Peter* had laboured onely or eſpecially amongſt the Iewes, of whom there were then but few at Rome: *For* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *he that was mightie in Peter in the Apoſtleſhip ouer the circumciſion, was alſo mightie in me,* Galath. 2. 8. Therefore *Peter* was not knowne to haue laboured vntill this time but in the circumciſion. Thirdly, afterward it is more like he went to Antioch then to Rome: for after this, *Paul* rebuked *Peter* at Antioch, Gal. 2. Fourthly, theſe are but bare coniectures of our aduerſares, and craftie euaſions without Scripture: but ſeeing we appoſe them out of Scripture, it is great reaſon they ſhould likewiſe anſwere vs out of Scripture.

Laſtly, it is but *Bellarmines* coniecture, & a very fable that *Peter* went from Rome to Ieruſalem to ſpeak with *Paul*, like to that tale, which *Chriſtianus Maſſeus* hath, *Chronicor. lib.* 8. of one *Trophimus* conuerted by *Mary Magdalene*, who going to Rome to ſee *Peter*, as he ſailed, his wife being great with childe died in trauell, and was buried with her childe in a rocke: whom S. *Peter* caried to Ieruſalem, and ſhewed him the holy places, and after two yeeres returning to Rome, found his childe playing at his mothers breaſt, who being raiſed as it were out of ſleepe, told her husband, how that *Mary Magdalene* had ſhewed her the ſame holy places, which ſhe had ſeene. I marueile the Ieſuite did not ground his conceite of *Peters* going to Ieruſalem from Rome vpon this fable: which of the better ſort amongſt them is reiected, as *Eſpenſ. in* 2. *Tim. c.* 4. *p.* 183. *a.*

Argum. 3. We haue diuers other obiections alſo out of the Scriptures: as firſt, that if *Peter* were at Rome, it is not like that *Paul* would leaue him out in his ſalutation in the end of his epiſtle, Rom. 16. ſent to the brethren. Our aduerſaries anſwere but very ſimply, that at that time, when S. *Paul* wrote his epiſtle, either *Peter* was not at Rome, or elſe *Paul* might write ſome eſpeciall letters to him by himſelfe, and this epiſtle encloſed in them: ſuch goodly coniectures they haue. But I pray you what needed S. *Paul* to haue written vnto the Romanes, if S. *Peter*, ſo faithfull and vigilant a paſtor, were continually amongſt them?

S. *Ambroſe* hereof thus writeth in his Commentaries vpon the 16. to the Romanes, *Ad confirmationem Romanorum, &c.* For the confirmation of the Romanes, all theſe, whom he ſaluteth, are vnderſtood to haue been there: but it would haue made more for their confirmation, if *Peter* had been ſaluted amongſt them, if he had been there. Againe, *Ariſtobulus iſte congregator, &c.* This *Ariſtobulus*, whom the Apoſtle maketh mention of, is vnderſtoode to haue been a gatherer together of the brethren: but *Peter* was a more principall congregator of them; therefore it is like the Apoſtle would haue remembred him, as well as *Ariſtobulus*.

Other places alſo of Scripture wee haue: as Philip. 2. 20. ſpeaking of *Timothie* he ſaith, *I haue none like minded to him that will faithfully care for your matters*, Coloſſ. 4. 11. *Theſe onely are my workfellowes*, 2. Timoth. 4. 11. *onely Luke is with me*: *Ergo, Peter* all this while was not at Rome, for *Paul* would not haue left him out of the number of his fellow-helpers: at the leaſt he would not haue commended *Timothie*, though he were a worthie young man, before him. That which *Bellarmine* anſwereth, is iuſt nothing: that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh in thoſe places onely of his domeſticall helpers, which did miniſter vnto him: when S. *Paul* ſpeaketh plainly of his fellow labourers; *Theſe onely are my workefellowes to the kingdome of God*, Coloſſ. 4. 11.

Another argument doth ariſe out of S. *Pauls* words, 2. Timot. 4. 16. *At my first anſwering no man aſſiſted me*: *Ergo*, it is like that *Peter* was not then at Rome, for he would not haue forſaken *Paul*. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that he ſpeaketh onely of ſuch fauourers as he had in *Caeſars* court, that they would not make ſute for him to the Emperour. But this is a weake ſolution. Firſt, it appeareth by that which followeth, that they left him without helpe in his open Apologie or defence: they did not aſſiſt me (ſaith he) but the Lord aſſiſted me: that is, gaue me ſtrength to defend my cauſe: So that the word, aſſiſting, muſt be taken in the ſame ſenſe before, that they failed him in that, wherein God aſſiſted him, that is, in ſpeaking boldly in the defence of the truth. Secondly, it is proued by the diuers ſucceſſe that he had at his firſt and ſecond anſwering: at the firſt all left him, but at the next many were emboldened through his bonds: What to doe? More frankly to ſpeake the word, Philipp. 1. 14. *Ergo*, at the firſt they forſooke him, becauſe they were afraide to ſpeake the word.

I will for the ſenſe of this place be tried by your owne interpreters: as *Eſpenſ.* thus writeth; No man aſſiſted me, that is, as an helper both to defend me before the Prince, and to helpe the Chriſtian cauſe. And againe he complaineth, that he was forſaken of thoſe which might haue helped him: as there was a great number at that time at Rome of Chriſtians conuerted from among the Iewes, that might haue helped him. And againe, it was occaſion of great heauines to the Apoſtle, to be oppugned of ſtrangers, and not propugned by his domeſticals, but to bee bereft of all comfort, yea betrayed: *in* 2. *Timoth. cap.* 4. *pag.* 180. So then the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the domeſticals of *Caeſars* familie, but the domeſticals of the ſame faith; neither of not ſuing for him in Court, but the forſaking of the defence of the faith.

Theſe arguments, which we haue here oppoſed, are much vrged by Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr, againſt *Peters* being at Rome: As becauſe, while *Paul* was priſoner at Rome, there is no mention made, that *Peter* all that while viſited him, who at that time, they ſay, was at Rome. Againe, S. *Paul* in his epiſtle to the Romanes ſaluteth many meaner perſons, then *Peter* was: and therefore it is not like that *Peter* was then at Rome; for he among the reſt ſhould not haue been omitted, but eſpecially remembred. Theſe and other ſuch places are vrged by that holy Martyr: *epiſtol. ad Dom. Vanam. pag.* 1648.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER PETER were Biſhop of Rome.

OVr aduerſaries would gladly bring it about that *Peter* was Biſhop of Rome, there enthroniſed, and ſate in the Biſhoplike chaire many yeeres, and after left it to his ſucceſſors. 39.Error.

1 The Romane faith was firſt planted by *Peter*, for he firſt preached to the Gentiles, Act.15.7. *Ergo*, he was the firſt Biſhop.

Anſ. Firſt, that *Peter* firſt preached to the Gentiles, it is contrary to the ſtory of the Acts: for *Paul* was conuerted before *Peter* ſaw the viſion from heauen, Act.10. before which time *Peter* made a great queſtion, whether it were lawfull to preach to the Gentiles. But *Paul* immediatly after his conuerſion preached to the Gentiles, Galath.2. therefore before *Peter*. Neither is there any thing to the contrarie, Act.15.7. the Gentiles beleeued by S. *Peters* mouth, as he ſaith, but not firſt. Secondly, that *Peter* firſt preached not at Rome, it is thus gathered: becauſe it is not like that the Chriſtian faith being ſpread farre abroad, could be kept from Rome the ſpace of 12. yeeres: for ſo long it was by their account, before *Peter* came to Rome. Againe, there were diuers that dwelled at Rome, which heard the Apoſtles ſpeake diuers tongues, Act.2. being ſtrangers then and ſoiourners at Ieruſalem: and Rom.16.7. he maketh mention of *Andronicus* and *Iunia*, which were in Chriſt before him. By theſe it is moſt like that the Chriſtian faith was firſt ſowed at Rome. Thirdly, it is more like that *Paul* preached at Rome before *Peter:* for when he came to Rome, he called the Iewes together, who ſaid vnto him, that they had heard nothing concerning him by letters, or from the brethren out of Iudea, Act.28.22. But if *Peter* had been there, *Paul* no doubt ſhould haue bin knowne at the leaſt by name. The Iewes alſo ſay vnto him, We will heare of thee what thou thinkeſt: and ſome of them were perſwaded by *Paul*; ſome beleeued not. It ſeemeth by this place that yͤ Iewes in Rome had not heard of the Goſpell before. But if *Peter* had bin amongſt them, who had an eſpeciall charge of the circumciſion, he would haue had the greateſt care of the Iewes to win them to Chriſt. Fourthly, though *Peter* had firſt preached to the Romanes, it would not follow that therefore he was Biſhop there: for *Paul* firſt founded the Church of Epheſus, yet they ſay *Iohn* was firſt Biſhop there: wherefore they ſhould gaine nothing by this argument, if it were true, but that *Peter* was the firſt preacher, and conuerter of the Romanes to the faith. Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Quia Paulus magiſter, &c.* Becauſe *Paul* was appointed the maſter of the Gentiles, it became him to take care, to teach there where Chriſt had not been preached: *in* 15. *ad Rom. Ergo,* S. *Paul* preached firſt to the Romanes.

The Proteſtants.

IF we take the name of Biſhop generally for that office which hath the publike cure and charge of ſoules: in that ſenſe we deny not but *Peter* and the reſt of the Apoſtles may be called *Epiſcopi*, Biſhops, as Chriſt is called the ſhepheard and Biſhop of our ſoules, 1.Pet.2.23. But taking it ſtrictly for a Biſhop of this or that place, which is called *Epiſcopus intitulatus*, a Biſhop intituled, we denie that either *Peter* or *Paul* were Biſhops, *Fox* pag.15.

Argum. 1. *Paul* was *Apoſtolus Gentium*, the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, and *Peter* of the circumciſion: therefore it is more like that *Paul* was chiefe paſtor of the Romanes, becauſe they were of the Gentiles, and part of his charge: and vnleſſe they can prooue that *Paul* reſigned ouer his lot vnto *Peter*, that he alſo ſhould be the chiefe Apoſtle of the Gentiles, as he was of the Iewes; *Peter* ſhould haue intruded himſelfe into *Pauls* charge, not in preaching to the Gentiles, (for both *Paul* might preach to the Iewes, and *Peter* to the Gentiles) but in taking vpon him to bee the chiefe Apoſtle of the Gentiles, which was giuen before to S. *Paul*.

Argum. 2. The Rhemiſts themſelues graunt, that the Church of Rome was founded both by *Peter* and *Paul: Annot. in* 2. *Galat. ſect.* 6. Biſhop *Tunſtal* a ſtrong champion of theirs, but varying from them in this opinion, ſhewed in a letter of his to Cardinall *Poole*, how in times paſt, both *Peter* and *Paul* were counted patrones of the Church of Rome, and *principes Apoſtolorum*, the chiefe of the Apoſtles. *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Clement* was the third Biſhop after *Peter* and *Paul: Alexander* ſucceeded in the fift place after *Peter* and *Paul.*

Cornelius Biſhop of Rome, *epiſtol.* 1. thus writeth: *Romanam Eccleſiam beatiſſimi Petrus & Paulus ſuo Martyrio coronarunt:* The bleſſed Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, did crowne the Romane Church by their Martyrdome. *Gelaſius* alſo, *Decret.de ſcripturis. Petro data eſt ſocietas beatiſſimi Pauli, & pariter ſanctam Romanam Eccleſiam Deo conſecrarunt:* Vnto *Peter* bleſſed *Paul* was ioyned in ſocietie, and they together did conſecrate vnto God the Romane Church. If therefore the Biſhops of Rome challenge any preeminence of authoritie from *Peter*, they may doe it as well from *Paul:* for they both founded that Church, preached there, and both there ſuffered, *Fox* pag. 1066.

*Argum.*3. No Apoſtles were Biſhops: for they were diuers offices, Epheſ.4.11. he gaue ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome to be Paſtors and Doctors: *Ergo*, they were diuers offices, and the ſame were not Apoſtles and Paſtors or Biſhops, for both are all one. The offices were much different: Apoſtles were immediatly called of God, Biſhops and Paſtors were ordained by the Apoſtles: the Apoſtles calling was generall ouer the whole world, the Paſtors were obliged to their dioces and pariſhes and particular Churches: the office of the Apoſtles was extraordinarie, and but for a time; the calling of Paſtors was to endure euer in the Church. Wherefore it can in no wiſe bee, that the Apoſtles were Biſhops of any certaine places. *Irenæus* ſaith, that *Fundata Eccleſia beati Apoſtoli Lino officium Epiſcopatus iniungunt:* The Church of Rome once founded, the holy Apoſtles laid the charge of the Biſhopricke vpon *Linus.* Whereby it appeareth, that they onely retained their Apoſtleſhip inioyned them of Chriſt, *Tuſtal.ex Fox pag.*1066. It had therefore been contrarie to the commandement of Chriſt, who ſaid, *Ite in vniuerſum mundum*, Go into all the world: if they ſhould haue left their calling, and bound themſelues to any peculiar Church: *Ergo*, we conclude, that neither *Peter* nor *Paul* were Biſhops of Rome.

Eſpenſ.in 1.c.1 ad Timoth.

Tract.24.in Matth.

One of their owne writers hereunto beareth witneſſe, and ſheweth out of S. *Chriſoſtome* a treble difference betweene an Apoſtle and a Biſhop: *Hic ſcilicet Epiſcopus per homines vocatur, &c.* A Biſhop is called by men, is ſet ouer a certaine place, he is not alway certaine that he hath the ſpirit, &c. *Hom.*19. *in Math.* But an Apoſtle is immediatly called of God, Galat.1.1. he is ſent to preach, not to any one place, but to all Churches, as 1. Timoth.2.7. S. *Paul* ſaith, he was ordained an Apoſtle, that is, a teacher of the Gentiles. Thirdly, he is ſure he hath the ſpirit, not to erre: as in the ſame place, *I ſpeake the truth in Chriſt, I lye not.* And 1. Cor.7.40. *I thinke that I haue the ſpirit of God.* Wherefore it is euident, that the Apoſtles were no Biſhops properly ſo called: yet wee denie not, in a larger ſignification and vſe of the word, but that many which were but Biſhops were called Apoſtles: as *Theoderet* witneſſeth, They which are now called Biſhops, were in times paſt named Apoſtles: ſo *Epaphroditus* was the Apoſtle of the Philippians, *Titus* of the Cretenſians, &c. *Sed præcedente tempore, &c.* But afterward the name of Apoſtleſhip was left to thoſe which were the true Apoſtles, &c. Therefore taking the name of an Apoſtle properly, and ſo likewiſe of a Biſhop; we muſt of neceſſitie vnderſtand two diſtinct offices, not coincident, or compatible together: otherwiſe, as I haue ſhewed concerning the name of an Apoſtle, ſo the name of a Biſhop was diuerſly taken: for in one ſenſe Chriſt onely is called our Biſhop, 1. Pet.2.23. As *Origen* alſo noteth, *Proprie Epiſcopus Dominus Ieſus*, Our Lord Chriſt is properly our Biſhop. So the Apoſtles in a larger vſe of this name may bee called Biſhops: but as it is taken commonly for the ruler or ouerſeer of ſome particular Church, it can no way agree to the Apoſtles.

Fox. p.910.

Let vs ſee the iudgement of the holy Martyrs: *Iulianus Leuille* Martyr at Sanſerre in France, *anno* 1554. denieth that *Peter* was euer Pope or Biſhop of Rome.

Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr ſaith, It doth no more follow, *Peter* dyed at Rome, or *Peters* chaire was at Rome: *Ergo*, he was Biſhop there, and the ſeate of the primacie muſt needes therefore be at Rome; then this followeth, *Moſes* and *Aaron* firſt exerciſed their offices vnto their death in the wilderneſſe: *Ergo*, the wilderneſſe was the place of their prieſthood: or therefore the principalleſt place of the Iewiſh Church ſhould be in the wilderneſſe, *Epiſt.ad Dom.Vanam.* 1647.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHETHER THE Biſhop of Rome be the true ſucceſſor of S. *Peter*.

The Papiſts.

40.Error.

THey doe generally hold, that the Biſhops of Rome being lineally deſcended by ſucceſſion from *Peter*, haue the ſame primacie, Apoſtolike authoritie, and iuriſdiction ouer the whole Church, which *Peter* had, *Bellarm.lib.*2.*de pont.c.*12.

Bellarm.c.12.

They are very barren and ſcant of arguments in this place to maintaine and vphold this ſucceſſion by, and in the end the Ieſuite runneth to tradition: and at the length he thus concludeth; that it is not, *de iure diuino*, it is not neceſſarie by the law of God, that the Romane Biſhop ſhould be *Peters* ſucceſſor: but it dependeth onely vpon the ordinance of *Peter*, and is prooued by tradition, not diduced out of Scripture. That it was neceſſarie for *Peter* to haue a ſucceſſor, they ſay, it is prooued out of Scripture: which we alſo graunt, that all faithfull Paſtors and Miniſters are the Apoſtles ſucceſſors, though they haue not their plenarie and Apoſtolike power: but that the Pope ought to be and is his ſucceſſor, it ſtandeth vpon tradition.

We ſee then the grounds of their opinion; Scripture they haue none but blinde tradition: vnleſſe therefore they could bring better ſtuffe for the Papall ſucceſſion, we will not ſpend any time in confuting nothing.

Yet *Bellarmine* ſeemeth thus to reaſon: A ſucceſſion in the Church is now neceſſarie in the new Teſtament, as *Aaron* had his ſucceſſion in the old Teſtament: but there can bee no certaine ſucceſſion now ſhewed, but in the chaire of *Peter* at Rome: *Ergo*, the Biſhops of Rome are the true ſucceſſors of *Peter*. For either at Antioch muſt the ſucceſſion of *Peter* bee, or at Rome; but not at Antioch, becauſe S. *Peter* remoued from thence to Rome, and there dyed, *Bellar. cap.* 12.

Anſw. Firſt, a locall, perſonall, and lineall ſucceſſion is not now needfull, as before vnder the law: the true worſhip of God is not now tied to perſon or place, as our Sauiour ſheweth, Ioh. 4. 21. *God will be worſhipped, neither in this mountaine, nor at Ieruſalem:* and by the ſame reaſon, neither at Rome, &c. Secondly, yet a ſucceſſion of doctrine, and of faithfull paſtors wee graunt, and the Church was neuer without: ſuch as the Prophet ſpeaketh of, Eſay 59. 21. *My ſpirit, that is vpon thee, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor the mouth of thy ſeede, &c.* and in this ſenſe all faithfull Biſhops doe ſucceede the Apoſtles. *Concil. Aquiſgr. c.* 10. *Iſidor. Apoſtolis decedentibus, &c.* The Apoſtles deceaſing, Biſhops haue ſucceeded, being appointed thorough the world in the ſeates of the Apoſtles. Yea S. *Hierome* doubteth not to ſay, that not onely Biſhops, but all other faithfull Miniſters are the Apoſtles ſucceſſors: *ad Heliodor. Abſit vt de his, &c.* God forbid I ſhould iudge ſiniſterly of them, *qui Apoſtolico gradui ſuccedentes*, which ſucceeding the degree of the Apoſtles, doe conſecrate the bodie of Chriſt, &c. Thirdly, there may be ſhewed a ſucceſſion to this day in Conſtantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Epheſus, as afterward ſhal appeare, and not only at Rome. Fourthly, the death of Chriſt the chiefe Biſhop is more forcible to priuiledge Ieruſalem for the chiefe ſeate, than the death of *Peter* at Rome maketh for the preeminence of that See before Antioch.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Pope or Biſhop of Rompe neither can, is, or ought to be S. *Peters* ſucceſſor, in his high and Apoſtolike authoritie, primacie, and iuriſdiction ouer the whole Church, which *Peter* himſelfe neuer had: thus we declare it.

Argum. 1. The Pope, though he were *Peters* ſucceſſor, yet can he not receiue that from him, which he neuer had: but *Peter* had neuer any ſuch primacie of power, as wee haue ſhewed before, Queſt. 1. 2. *Ergo*, he is not herein his ſucceſſor.

Argum. 2. That primacie which *Peter* had, could not bee conueied to any other: namely, his primacie of confeſſion, which he firſt of all the Apoſtles did vtter concerning Chriſt, proceeding from faith, did adhere ſo to his perſon, that it could not be deriued to any ſucceſſor of his: for *Peters* faith was a proper adiunct to himſelfe, *Argument. Tonſtalli, Fox* p. 1066.

Againe, how can he haue the Apoſtolike authoritie being not an Apoſtle: but an Apoſtle he is not: for Chriſt only made Apoſtles, the Apoſtles did not ordaine other Apoſtles, *Argum. Nili.*

To this *Bellarmine* anſwereth, firſt by a diſtinction, that whereas three things are to be conſidered in an Apoſtle: firſt, that he be immediatly called of God, and inſpired to write Scripture: the ſecond, to be a founder of the Churches, where none were before: thirdly, that he haue authoritie ouer the whole Church. The firſt (ſaith he) agreeth not to the Pope, but the two other doe: for by the Pope many Churches haue been planted, and he hath authoritie ouer the whole Church, as *Peters* ſucceſſor, &c. *Bellar. cap.* 12. *reſp. ad obiect.* 2. *Nili.*

Anſw. Firſt, there bee other properties required in an Apoſtle beſide theſe, as I ſhewed before out of *Chryſoſtome*, whereof none agree to the Pope. Secondly, to admit theſe three conditions named by the Ieſuite, if they bee all neceſſarie to make an Apoſtle, then the Pope wanting one of them, by his confeſſion, can be no Apoſtle. Thirdly, wee denie, that either the Pope hath founded any Churches ſince the Apoſtles times, he hath peruerted many nations, conuerted none; neither are the Popes much giuen to preaching, whereby nations are begotten vnto the faith: either that he hath ſuch vniuerſall authoritie ouer the whole Church, which is the thing in queſtion. For he calling himſelfe Biſhop of Rome, and ſo fixing his chaire in a certaine place, can bee no Apoſtle: for the Apoſtles were no Biſhops of one place more then another, as I haue ſhewed, but were ſent to preach to all the world.

Secondly, he anſwereth, that not the Apoſtles, but Chriſt did conſtitute the Biſhop of Rome, to be the Apoſtolike and vniuerſall Biſhop of the whole Church.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtles were immediatly called of Chriſt; then if the Pope be of Chriſts making an Apoſtle, he muſt ſhew his immediate calling in Scripture. Secondly, *Bellarmine* forgetteth himſelfe: for a little before he ſaid that the Biſhop of Rome is *Peters* ſucceſſor; by *Peters* fact, not by the inſtitution of Chriſt.

3 He ſucceedeth not *Peter* rightly in place: for ſeeing *Peter* ſate at Antioch; why may not that Church challenge ſucceſſion, as well as Rome? Why might not alſo other Churches haue Apoſto-

like ſucceſſion,as Alexandria from *Peter* and *Marke*,Ieruſalem from *Iames*, Conſtantinople from *Andrew*?

Further,they haue no certaine ſucceſſion from *Peter*: *Tertullian* maketh *Clement* the next ſucceſſor to *Peter*. *Optatus* firſt nameth *Linus*,then *Clement*: *Irenaus* after *Peter*,placed *Linus*,and *Cletus*,and *Clement* in the fourth. What certaintie therefore can they haue of ſo vncertaine ſucceſſion? *Fulk.annot.in Rom.*16.*ſect.*4.

Fox.pag.1120.

4 It skilleth not who commeth in the place and roume of the Apoſtles:They that will be their true ſucceſſors, muſt follow their example, and walke in their ſteps, teaching their doctrine and embracing their holy vertues. Wherefore the Pope is not *Peters* right ſucceſſor, ſwaruing both from his doctrine and example. *Non ſanctorum filij ſunt,qui tenent loca ſanctorum,ſed qui exercent opera eorum:* They are not the children of the Saints, which occupie the ſame places, but they which doe their workes, *Lambert*. So *Bernard* writing to *Eugenius*, chargeth him, that in reſpect of his pompe and pride,he did rather ſucceede *Conſtantine*,then *Peter*, *Iohann.Huſſ.*pag.610.

5 All good Biſhops and Paſtors are as well the Apoſtles ſucceſſors,as the Pope; nay rather then he,being a wicked man, *Iohn Huſſ.articul.*4.*Fox*.pag.590.*Lambert* pag.1120.Nay,they haue greater and more excellent titles, then to be called the Apoſtles ſucceſſors: for thoſe that walke in obedience vnto Gods commandements, our Sauiour calleth them, his ſiſters, kinsfolkes and brethren,Matth.12.50.*Ergo*,the Pope is not the right ſucceſſor of *Peter*.

Cont.Petil.lib. 2.cap.51.

Cap.de præcept.eccleſ. artic.9.B.

Laſtly,of this matter *Auguſtine* thus writeth: *Cathedra tibi quid fecit eccleſia Romana, in qua Petrus ſedit; & in qua hodie Anaſtaſius ſedet: vel eccleſia Hieroſolymitana, in qua Iacobus ſedit, & in qua hodie Iohannes ſedet?* What hath the See of Rome done vnto thee,wherein ſometime *Peter* ſate,and where *Anaſtaſius* now ſitteth? or what hath the Church or chaire of Ieruſalem committed,where ſometime *Iames* ſate, and *Iohn* now ſitteth? In thoſe words *Auguſtine* aſcribeth as much to the ſucceſſion of other Apoſtolicall Churches, as he doth to the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of Rome. And therefore *Caniſius* craftily leaueth out the one halfe of the ſentence, concerning the Church of Ieruſalem.Neither is it true, which our aduerſaries ſay, that *Peters* See remaineth ſtill at Rome, when all other Apoſtolicall Sees are gone: for euen to this day the See of Antioch ſtandeth and hath a Patriarch: likewiſe the See of Alexandria. The See of Conſtantinople neuer wanted ſucceſſors to this day: nor the Church of Epheſus: In India and Æthiopia,there hath been alwayes a ſucceſſion in thoſe Churches planted by the Apoſtles, and is at this day, *Fulk* 2. *Theſſ.*2.*ſect.*7. Wherefore they haue no cauſe to bragge of their ſucceſſion,which is found in other places,as well as at Rome.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie: *Clement. Epiſtol.*1. *Peter* is brought in ſpeaking thus, *Hunc Epiſcopum vobis ordino,cui ſoli meæ prædicationis & doctrinæ cathedram trado.* I ordaine this mā (namely *Clement*) to be your Biſhop,to whom only I deliuer my chaire of preaching and doctrine. Alſo in the ſame Epiſtle, *Poſt me non imperitus aliquis aut indoctus, aut ignorans verbi diuini myſterium,ſuſcipiat cathedram meam:* After me, let no vnskilfull or vnlearned man, or ignorant in the word, take my chaire.In this *Clementine* Epiſtle, (which though it force not vs, becauſe we holde it forged,yet it preſſeth our aduerſaries,being of them receiued) we ſee that he onely is *Peters* ſucceſſor, who ſucceedeth him in doctrine.

Pope *Felix* alſo thus writeth *ad Petrum Antiochen. Qui participes Apoſtoli eſſe volunt, ducuntur & doctrina ipſius:* They that will be partakers of the Apoſtleſhip, muſt follow the Apoſtles doctrine. But the Pope doth not embrace the Apoſtles doctrine: *Ergo*, he is not Apoſtolike. So alſo *Symmachus*,as he is alleaged in the decrees, *decr.p.*1.*diſt.*40.*cap.*1. *Petrus hæreditatem innocentiæ miſit ad poſteros: Peter* did leaue the inheritance of innocencie to his poſteritie: the Biſhops of Rome then, hauing loſt *Peters* innocencie,are not the rightfull heires of *Peter*.

Iohn Huſſe dyed for this article with others, for ſaying, *Papa non eſt verus Petri ſucceſſor, ſi viuit moribus contrarijs Petro:* The Pope is not the true ſucceſſor of *Peter*, if he be of contrarie manners in his life to *Peter*. *Articul.*14.*obiect.Concil.Conſtantienſ.*

THE FIFT QVESTION CONCERNING the primacie of the See of Rome.

THis queſtion hath diuers parts, which muſt be handled in their order. Firſt, whether the Biſhop of Rome haue authoritie ouer other Biſhops. Secondly, whether appeales ought to be made to Rome from other countries. Thirdly, whether the Pope be ſubiect to the iudgement of any.Fourthly,whether he may be depoſed.Fiftly,what primacie he hath ouer other Churches,and how it began.Sixtly,of the titles and names giuen to the Biſhops of Rome.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE BISHOP of Rome hath authoritie ouer other Biſhops.

The Papiſts.

41.Error. THey doubt not to ſay, that the Biſhop of Rome hath authoritie and ought ſo to haue, to ordain and conſtitute Biſhops, to depriue and depoſe them, to reſtore them likewiſe to their former dignities,and this power he exerciſeth ouer the vniuerſall Church.

Bellarm.lib.2. de Rom.pont. cap.18. *Argum.*1. The Ieſuites principall argument is drawen from certaine examples: how the Biſhops of Rome haue in times paſt,conſtituted,depoſed,and reſtored ſome Biſhops in the Greeke Church,as in the Patriarchall Sees of Conſtantinople,Alexandria,Antioch: *Ergo*,he hath power ouer all Biſhops.

We anſwere. Firſt,It was not done by the abſolute authoritie of the Romane Biſhops,any ſuch conſtitution, or depoſition, though perhaps their conſent and allowance were required, as *Leo* writeth thus to *Martianus* the Emperour, about the ordayning of *Anatolius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople: Epiſtol.54. *Satis ſit, quod veſtræ pietatis auxilio & mei fauoris aſſenſu Epiſcopatum tantæ vrbis obtinuit:* It is ſufficient, that by your godly helpe and my fauourable aſſent, he hath obtayned ſo famous a Biſhopricke. Whether was greater now, the helpe and furtherance of the Emperour, or the bare aſſent of *Leo?* Secondly, we denie not but that the Pope ſometimes, what by ſufferance of others,what by his owne intruſion,hath vſurped this power ouer other Biſhops: but this ought not to make a lawe: that which is once or twiſe done by a falſe title, cannot proue the iuſtnes of the title. Thirdly, that the Biſhop of Rome hath no ſuch authoritie, it appeareth by this, that he doth not, neither of many yeares hath conſtituted or ordayned the Patriarches of the Greeke Church: they came not vp to Rome, nor yet ſent thither for their pals as other Archbiſhops here in the Weſt parts haue done, and payed full dearely for them, being made ſlaues to the beaſt of Rome.

This appeareth notably in the Councell of Florence, Seſſ.25. for it ſo falling out, that *Ioſephus* Patriarch of Conſtantinople,who was there perſonally preſent, being an aged man,and wearied with long trauell, ſuddenly dyed: whereupon the Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, dealt with the Grecians very earneſtly, *Vt nunc in ſynodo Patriarcham eligerent:* That they would chuſe them a Patriarch now in the Synode: *vt quem ſuffeceritis, nos confirmemus:* that whom you appoynt, we may confirme,ſaith the Pope.The Grecians made him this anſwere: *Se hîc Patriarcham eligere non poſſe, cum Græcis mos ſemper fuerit, in ſua eccleſia Patriarcham ſufficere, ſimulque conſecrare:* They could not chuſe their Patriarch here, ſeeing it alwayes hath been the Grecians manner to chuſe the Patriarch in his own Church,and there to conſecrate him.See then,it was denyed to the Popes face, that he had any thing to doe with electing,conſecrating,or confirming the Patriarch of Conſtantinople.

The Pope indeed doth take vpon him to this day, to make Patriarches: aſſigning to one the title of Conſtantinople; to another, the Patriarchſhip of Antioch, and ſo of the reſt; but they haue onely the bare names, without either the dignitie or iuriſdiction of thoſe places: not much vnlike to a certaine cuſtome in the Emperours Court at Conſtantinople; the wanton Courtiers to make themſelues ſport, vpon ſolemne dayes were accuſtomed, *aliquem è laicis inſignibus epiſcopalibus componere, qui perſonalem Patriarcham ageret:* To take ſome lay man,and attyre him like a Biſhop,who ſhould counterfeit the Patriarch: which abuſe was reformed, *Synod.*8.*Conſtantin.can.*16.The like diſorder was corrected in the Councell of Baſile *Seſſ.*21.*Turpem illum abuſum remouendum cenſemus, quo certis anni celebritatibus nonnulli cum mitra, baculo, ac veſtibus pontificalibus more epiſcoporum benedicunt:* We thinke good that abuſe be remoued,that ſome at certaine ſolemnities of the yeare,doe take vpon them with a Miter,a ſtaffe, and other pontificiall veſtures, as Biſhops to giue bleſſing. Much like to theſe counterfeit Patriarches and Biſhops, are the Popes Patriarches,who haue nothing beſide the name and habite of Patriarches.

*Argum.*2. The Ieſuite with the reſt doe very much vrge a certaine place of *Cyprian.Epiſtol.*3.*ad Cornelium: Non aliunde obortæ ſunt hæreſes, aut natæ ſchiſmata, quàm inde, quòd ſacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec vnus in Eccleſia ad tempus ſacerdos Chriſti vice cogitatur:* From hence ſpring hereſies and ſchiſmes, that Gods prieſt is not obeyed, and that one Prieſt or Paſtor at once in the Church in Chriſts ſtead is not acknowledged. Whereupon they would conclude, that the Pope ought to be this one chiefe Prieſt,and Paſtor in the Church: for *Cyprian* thus ſpeaking writeth to *Cornelius* Biſhop of Rome.

Anſw. We muſt vnderſtand that *Cyprian* at this time had to deale with the Nouatians, who both at Rome where *Cornelius* was, and at Carthage where *Cyprian* was Biſhop, diuiding themſelues from the Church,erected ſchiſmaticall Biſhops of their owne againſt the Catholike Biſhops: Vpon this occaſion *Cyprian* ſheweth, that there ought to be but one Biſhop, not ouer the whole vniuerſall, but in euery particular Church: for he complaineth, that this vnitie of the Prieſthood was not kept at Carthage, as well as at Rome: for thus he writeth in the ſame Epiſtle, *Epiſtol.3. Caterùm dico, dico dolens, dico prouocatus, quando Epiſcopus in locum defuncti ſubſtituitur, &c. plebi ſua in Epiſcopatu quadriennio iam probatus, toties ad leonem petitus, &c. ijs ipſis diebus quibus ad te has literas feci, ad leonem denuo poſtulatus, cum talis frater à quibuſdam deſperatis & perditis extra Eccleſiam conſtitutis impugnari videtur:* But I ſpeake it with griefe, I ſpeake it being prouoked, when a Biſhop is ſubſtitute in the place of the dead, &c. for the ſpace of foure yeares knowne and approued to his people, ſo often ſought for to be throwen to the lyons, yea and at that inſtant, when I wrote theſe letters to you, againe called for to the lyons: when ſuch a brother ſhall be impugned of certaine deſperate and damnable perſons, runnagates from the Church, &c. Who ſeeth not, that *Cyprian* here ſpeaketh of himſelfe, and not of *Cornelius*, who was Biſhop of Rome but two yeares and an halfe: and complaineth that euen in Carthage the right Paſtor and Biſhop was not obeyed? This place therefore ſerueth not at all for the primacie of the Biſhop of Rome.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Pope neither hath, nor yet ought to haue any ſuch authoritie ouer other Biſhops: but that euery one in his owne precinct and iuriſdiction, hath the chiefe charge: It is thus proued.

*Argum.*1. *Peter* was not chiefe, neither did exerciſe iuriſdiction ouer the twelue: *Ergo*, neither the Pope ought to doe ouer other Biſhops. The antecedent or firſt part is thus confirmed. The heauenly Ieruſalem, which is the Church of God, is deſcribed Apocal.21. not with one foundation onely of *Peter*, but with twelue foundations after the number of the Apoſtles: *argument. Tun-*
Fox pag.1062. *ſtalli.* To this purpoſe alſo he alleageth a ſaying out of *Hierome contra Iouinian.* All the Apoſtles receiued the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: and vpon them all indifferently and equally, is the ſtrength of the Church grounded and eſtabliſhed, *Fox.*pag.1066.

*Argum.*2. Till the yeare of the Lord 340. there was no reſpect had to the Church of Rome; but euery Church was ruled by their owne gouernment: afterward followed the Councell of Nice, wherein was decreed, that the whole Church ſhould be deuided into foure circuites or precincts; ouer the which there were foure Metropolitanes or Patriarches ſet: firſt the Biſhop of Rome: next the Biſhop of Alexandria: the third was the Biſhop of Antioch: the fourth the Biſhop of Ieruſalem: and not long after came in the Biſhop of Conſtantinople in the roume of the Biſhop of Antioch. All theſe had equall authoritie in their prouinces, and one was not to deale within anothers charge: *Ergo*, the Biſhop of Rome had not then the iuriſdiction ouer the whole Church, *argument. Nili. plura Fox.*pag.9.

*Argum.*3. We will adioyne the teſtimonie of the fathers of Baſile, which were all of the Popiſh ſect: what haue the Biſhops been in our dayes, ſay they, but onely ſhadowes? might they not haue been called ſhepheards without ſheepe? what had they more then their Miters and their ſtaffe, when they could determine nothing ouer their ſubiects? Verely in the primitiue Church, the
Fox pag.679. Biſhops had the greateſt power and authoritie: but now it was come to that poynt, that they exceeded the common ſort of prieſts onely in their habite and reuenewes. What plainer teſtimonie can we haue, then from the Papiſts themſelues?

We haue alſo the conſent of all antiquitie, the decrees of the eight generall Councels, that the Biſhop of Rome hath no ſuch preeminence or predominant power ouer his fellow Biſhops.

Concil. Nicen.1.can.6. Honos ſuus cuique ſeruetur eccleſiæ, &c. To euery Church be reſerued the honor and dignitie thereof, let the old cuſtome in Lybia, Egypt, Pentapolis, take place, *Ita vt Alexandrinus Epiſcopus horum omnium habeat poteſtatem, quia & vrbis Romæ Epiſcopo parilis mos eſt:* So that the Biſhop of Alexandria haue the iuriſdiction ouer all theſe Prouinces, becauſe the like vſe or manner remaineth to the Biſhop of Rome; that is, the Biſhop of Alexandria ſhall haue authoritie ouer his confines, as the Biſhop of Rome ouer his: not as *Bellarmine* doth odly expound it, let the Biſhop of Alexandria rule his prouince, becauſe the Biſhop of Rome hath the like cuſtome ouer the ſame prouince of Egypt, Libia, &c. for this were, *idem per idem*, to proue the ſame by the ſame: and the Canon ſaith, *parilis mos*, the like vſe: *Ergo*, Alexandria hath the like authoritie. But if Rome were aboue the See of Alexandria, their iuriſdiction ſhould not be like, but vnlike. And againe, let euery Church haue it owne honor. But if Rome were the commander of the reſt, the honor ſhould be onely reſerued to it, and to no Church beſide.

*Conſtantinopol.*1. the 2. general. Can.2. the former Canon of Nice is ratified.

*Epheſin.*3. general. Can.8. it was decreed, after that *Zenon* Biſhop of Cyprus had complained of the vſurpation of the Patriarch of Antioch, affirming, that they within the Iland did alwayes chuſe their owne Metropolitane, and that neither the Biſhop of Antioch, *nec alius quiſpiam*, nor any other did euer ordaine there: it was decreed, that Cyprus ſhould be exempt from the iuriſdiction of Antioch, or of any other Sea; and ſhould chuſe their Metropolitane themſelues: *Ergo*, much leſſe was Cyprus ſubiect to the See of Rome.

Chalcedonenſ. the 4. generall, action.16. they determine, the Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, *Eiſdem primatibus honoris dignum:* To be worthie of the ſame primacie of honor, which the Biſhop of Rome hath: This was decreed, though *Paſchaſinus*, and *Lucinus* the Popes Legates earneſtly withſtood it. And further in the ſame place, the matter was thus in that Councell diſcuſſed: *Sedi ſenioris Romæ, propter imperium ciuitatis illius, &c.* Vnto the See of the older Rome, becauſe it was the imperiall Citie, the Fathers did giue priuiledges: And by the ſame reaſon the 150. Fathers aſſembled in Conſtantinople being moued, *Æqua ſanctiſſimæ ſedi nouæ Romæ, &c.* Did aſcribe equall priuiledges to the moſt holy See of new Rome; thinking it reaſonable, that the Citie, which was adorned both with the imperiall ſeate, and Senate, ſhould enioy equall priuiledges with olde Rome, and in Eccleſiaſticall affaires to haue maieſtie as well as the other, and to be ſecond after the other. Out of the actes of this Councell three things may be gathered: Firſt, that both in this Synode, and in the ſecond generall Councell of Conſtantinople equall priuiledges were giuen to the See of Conſtantinople, with Rome. Secondly, that notwithſtanding, Rome for antiquitie ſake had the firſt place. Thirdly, that theſe two Patriarchall Sees had thoſe priuiledges by reaſon of the imperiall dignitie; contrarie to that, which *Bellarmine* beareth vs in hand, that Rome had the primacie ouer other Churches from Chriſt, and not from *Cæſar.c.*17. And yet beſide the authoritie of this Councell, in the Trullane the ſixt generall, Can.38. it was thus decreed: *Siqua ciuitas à regia poteſtate innouata &c.* If any Citie in reſpect of the ciuill ſtate be innouated and exalted by the princely power, that the order alſo of Eccleſiaſticall matters ſhould follow, that is, it ſhould be chiefe alſo in Eccleſiaſticall affaires, as in ciuill: wherefore it is euident, that olde Rome enioyed her priuiledges by the benefite of the Empire.

*Conſtantinop.*2. the 5. generall, action.1. the ſynode ſpeaking of *Leo* Biſhop of Rome, and *Cyrillus* of Alexandria, ſaith thus, *Qui æqualiter, ab hac ſynodo, pro ſtatu orthodoxæ fidei honorati ſunt:* Whom this ſynode honoreth alike, becauſe of the right faith: the ſynode giueth like honour to the Biſhops of Rome and Alexandria.

*Conſtantinop.*3. the 6. generall, which is alſo the Trullane. Can.36. *Decernimus vt thronus Conſtantinopol. æqualia priuilegia cum antiquæ Romæ throno obtineat:* We decree that the See of Conſtantinople enioy equall priuileges with the ancient See of Rome.

Concil. the 7. generall, action 2. *Adrianus* the Biſhop of Rome writeth to *Tharaſius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, giuing him this ſtile, *Dilecto fratri Tharaſio, vniuerſali Patriarchæ:* To my beloued brother *Tharaſius*, vniuerſall Patriarch. We ſee then that the Biſhop of Conſtantinople had both the like ſtile and authoritie, which the Biſhop of Rome had.

*Conſtantinop.*4. the 8. generall, Can.21. *Definimus, qui patriarchalibus ſedibus præſunt, omni honore dignos iudicandos:* We define, that the preſidents of the patriarchall Sees are worthie all honor: and then are reckoned vp, firſt Rome, then Conſtantinople; after theſe Alexandria, Antioch, Ieruſalem: ſo that the See of Rome is but patriarchall, as the reſt: a primacie onely of order it hath, to be named before the reſt.

Thus we haue the conſent of the 8. generall Councels, to the which *Auguſtine* agreeth, *Habet* De Baptiſ. lib. 2.cap.2. *omnis Epiſcopus*, ſaith he, *pro licentia libertatis & poteſtatis ſuæ arbitrium proprium, tanquam iudicari ab alio non poſſit, quomodo nec ipſe poteſt alium iudicare, ſed expectemus vniuerſi iudicium domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti:* Euery Biſhop is priuiledged by his owne authoritie to follow his owne iudgement, neither is ſubiect to the iudgement of other Biſhops, as he is not to iudge them, but they all muſt be referred to the iudgement of Chriſt. See then in this place *Auguſtine* ſetteth Biſhops in the higheſt roume in the Church, and ſaith, they haue no iudge aboue them but Chriſt.

Of this iudgement alſo were the holy Martyrs: that the Biſhop of Rome had no ſuch ſoueraignty ouer other Biſhops. *Thomas Benet* Martyr affirmed, that the Pope of Rome was but Biſhop ouer his owne dioceſſe, and that he had no further power, *Fox*.pag.1039.

M. *Philpot* telleth *Boner*, that by the word of God, the Pope hath no more authoritie, then the Biſhop of London hath, *Fox* pag.1811. And he ſheweth further, how that *Cyprian* called the Biſhop of Rome his fellow Biſhop.p.1804.

The ſentence of theſe holy Martyrs ſealed with their blood, is of greater waight then many arguments: and by thoſe that loue the truth, ought much to be reuerenced, and had in great regard.

Now laſtly we will obiect againſt them the Imperiall conſtitutions, together with their owne Canons: for the firſt, *Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*5.*l.*6. *Honor. Theodoſ. Vrbs Conſtantinopolitan. veteris Romæ prærogatiua lætatur:* The Citie of Conſtantinople hath the prerogatiue of old Rome. And *leg.*15.*Leo, Anthem. Conſtantinop. Eccleſia mater noſtræ pietatis, &c.* The Church of Conſtantinople the mother of our faith, and of all right beleeuing Chriſtians: And in the ſame place, the priuiledge of that Church, *ante alios reſidendi*, to haue the firſt ſeate, is ratified and confirmed. And whereas *Bellarmine* vrgeth the epiſtle of *Iuſtinian* written to *Iohannes* Biſhop of Rome, where he acknowledgeth Rome to be the head of all Churches: *Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*4.*leg.*4. the ſame *Iuſtinian tit.* 20.*l.*1.

thus expoundeth himſelf, hauing giuen the ſame title of headſhip vnto Rome, ***Romam intelligimus, non ſolum veterem, ſed hanc regiam noſtram:*** By Rome we vnderſtand, not onely olde Rome, but this princely Citie alſo, ***Quæ melioribus condita eſt augurÿs:*** Which was firſt founded and built with more happie and proſperous beginnings. Thus we ſee that the Imperiall Citie of Conſtantinople by the lawes Imperiall was made equall to Rome. And their owne decrees alſo doe ratifie that Canon of the Chalcedon Councell, that Conſtantinople ſhould haue ***ſimilia priuilegia,*** like priuiledges to the Citie of Rome, ***decr.p.1.diſt.22.cap.6.***

THE SECOND PART CONCERNING APpeales to be made to Rome.

The Papiſts.

42. Error. SVch, ſay they, is the preeminent authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, that appeales may be made vnto him from all Churches in the world, and that all ought to ſtand to his ſentence and determination. For the proofe hereof they bring no Scripture, nor any ſound argument, but ſtand chiefly vpon certaine odde examples of ſome that haue appealed to Rome: which we deny not to haue been done: but our anſwere more at large is this, ***Bellar.lib.2.de pontif.cap.21.***

1. One cauſe of theſe appeales, was both for that they which were iuſtly condemned of other Churches, found greater libertie and fauour at Rome, as ***Apiarius*** did, who being condemned in the ſixt Aphricane Councell for his deteſtable conditions, found fauour with ***Zoſimus*** Biſhop of Rome, who wrote for him to the Councell to be receiued againe. No meruaile then, if licentious fellowes, hoping to finde more fauour at Rome, did appeale thither: As alſo the ambition of the Biſhops of Rome did ſomewhat helpe forward this matter, who were as readie to receiue ſuch appeales, as others were to make them.

2 Biſhop ***Tunſtall*** doth anſwere very fully to this poynt, that, although appeales were made to Rome, yet was it not for any iuriſdiction that the See had: but this was the cauſe, partly for that there were many diuiſions and part-takings in the Orientall Churches, as alſo becauſe many were infected with hereſies, from the which the Weſt and Occidentall Churches were more free; they were content to referre the cauſe many times to the Biſhop of Rome, as being a more indifferent Iudge, and not like to be partiall, being no partie in the cauſe. Neither was their ſuit to the Biſhop of Rome ſingularly, but to the whole congregation of the Biſhops of Italie and France, or of the whole Weſt, as it appeareth by the Epiſtles of ***Baſile, Tunſtal.apud Fox.1067.***

The Ieſuite alleageth the fourth & ſeuenth Canons of the Councel of Sardis, which he ſaith was a generall Councell conſiſting of 300. Biſhops: which ſaid Canons doe allow and authoriſe appeales made to the See of Rome, and there the cauſes to be determined, or by direction from the Biſhop of Rome.

Anſw.1. That ſuch Canons are to be found in the Councell which beareth the name of Sardis, we graunt: but that ſmall credite is to be giuen vnto thoſe Canons, which goe vnder the name of this Councell; we are led by theſe coniectures and likelihoods ſo to thinke. 1. ***Hoſius*** Biſhop of Corduba in Spayne was the author of theſe two Canons, who both might be partiall in behalfe of the Occidentall Patriarch of Rome: neither is much to be attributed to him, for his inconſtancie, becauſe he ſubſcribed to the Arimine Councell of the Arrians. 2. Whereas it is affirmed that there were preſent 300. Biſhops of the Weſt, and 76. of the Eaſt, Can. 21. we finde that there were of this number but 121. that ſubſcribed: for the Greeke went apart by themſelues, and it ſhould ſeeme that many Biſhops of the Latin Church departed alſo: this Canon therefore had not the conſent of the Greeke Church. 3. That there are diuers Canons forged vnder the name of this Councell, of the which it is like thoſe are, it appeareth by the preface to this Councel, where we reade thus: ***Sunt aliæ*** 40. ***regulæ, quæ per Oſium Epiſcopum Cordubenſem currunt, quæ titulantur tanquam*** 20. ***Epiſcoporum apud Sardicam, &c.*** There be beſide theſe 40. other rules, which paſſe vnder the name of ***Oſius Cordubenſ.*** which are entituled, as decreed by the Biſhops in Sardis, which the Grecians haue not, but are found onely among the Latines.

Anſw.2. We haue many decrees and Canons of better Councels, to oppoſe againſt this tumultuous conuenticle of Sardis.

Fabian Biſhop of Rome ***Epiſtol.3. Semper ibi cauſa agatur, vbi crimen admittitur:*** Let alwayes the cauſe be heard there, where the crime is committed.

Concil.Conſtantinopol.1.Can.4. Manifeſtum eſt, quod per ſingulas prouincias, prouincialis ſynodus adminiſtrare & gubernare omnia debeat: It is manifeſt, that in euery Prouince, a prouinciall Synode ought to rule and determine euery matter. Then what neede appeales to be made to Rome?

Carthaginenſ.3.Can.28. Placuit vt Epiſcopi trans mare non proficiſcantur: We thinke it good, that Biſhops ſhould not trauell ouer the ſea: that is, to make or proſecute appeales.

Mileuitan.Concil.can.22. Ad tranſmarina qui putauerit appellandum, à nullo intra Africam in communione

nione ſuſcipiatur : He that thinketh to appeale beyond the ſea, let him not be receiued to the communion within any part of Africa.

*Leo. Epiſtol.*82.*ad Anaſtaſium*, Biſhop of Theſſalonica : he reproueth the ſaid Biſhop, for citing peremptorily one *Atticus* a Biſhop to come before him, and compelling him, *iter aſperum & periculis plenum per inuias niues agere*, to take a bitter iourney, and dangerous, through ſnow, and vnknowne wayes, in ſo much that ſome of his companie periſhed by the way. As this was a fault in him; ſo hath it been in diuers Popes, that haue cauſed many in the depth of winter, with perill, yea loſſe of life, to obey their citations.

*Conſtantinopol. general.*8.*can.*26. *Liceat Epiſcopis prouocare ad Patriarcham, ſi crediderint ſe iniuſtitiam pati à Metropolitano, à quo litibus finis imponatur :* It ſhall be lawfull for the Biſhops to appeale to their Patriarch, if they be wronged by their Metropolitane, and the Patriarch ſhall end the ſtrife. There neede not then any further appeale to Rome.

The Proteſtants.

THat appeales ought not to be made to Rome, but that all matters and controuerſies may beſt be ended and determined at home, where they doe ariſe : It is thus confirmed.

1 This matter was notably handled, *anno* 420. in the ſixt Councell of Carthage, where *Auguſtine* was preſent, with *Proſper* and *Oroſius:* To this Councell Pope *Zozimus* ſent his Legate with certaine requeſts, of the which this was one, that it might be lawfull for Biſhops and prieſts to appeale from the ſentence of their Metropolitanes, and alſo of the Councell to Rome : alleaging for himſelfe a decree of the Nicene Councell. The Councell of Carthage ſent forthwith to the Patriarches of Conſtantinople, Antioch and Alexandria, for a copie of the Councell of Nice, wherein no ſuch Canon was found, that appeales ſhould be made to Rome : but the contrary ; for in the ſixt Canon of that Councell, it was found how all matters, and all perſons Eccleſiaſticall, both Biſhops and others were committed to their Metropolitanes. Vpon this decree the Councell of Carthage drew out certaine reaſons why appeales ſhould not be made to Rome : Firſt, it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but that the grace of God is as readie at hand in one prouince as in another. Secondly, there is no need to ſeeke any outlandiſh helpe : for the partie grieued may appeale to a prouinciall or generall Councell. Thirdly, it were not equall nor right to appeale from the Councell to the Biſhop of Rome : for it is not like that God will inſpire his truth vnto the Biſhop, and deny it to a multitude congregated in his name.

Fourthly, no forraine or outlandiſh iudgement can be ſo vpright or iuſt : becauſe the witneſſes cannot be preſent, being hindred by infirmitie of ſexe, age, ſicknes, by whom the truth ſhould be diſcuſſed.

Vpon theſe reaſons the Councell concluded, that neither any appeales ſhould be made to Rome : neither that Legates ſhould be ſent from Rome for deciding of matters : And this anſwere they made to *Zozimus* firſt, then to *Bonifacius* and *Celeſtinus*, that in ſhort time one ſucceeded another. And for all the Biſhop of Rome his abſolution, *Apiarius* was againe called *coram*, and brought to confeſſe his fault.

Now out of the Acts of this Councell, and their reaſons alleaged we conclude, that it is not fit, conuenient nor reaſonable, that appeales ſhould be made to Rome.

The Ieſuite anſwereth, that appeales were forbidden to be made by prieſts to Rome, not by Biſhops. This is but a vaine ſhift, for the reaſons of the Councell are generall againſt all appeales. And one of Pope *Zozimus* his requeſts, which the Councell iudged to be vnreaſonable, and therefore would not yeeld to it, was generall, that it might be lawfull for Biſhops and prieſts to appeale from the ſentence of their Metropolitanes, and alſo from the Councell to the See of Rome : the Ieſuites ſurmiſe therefore is falſe, that the Councell onely prouided againſt the appellation of prieſts to Rome, and not of Biſhops, *Concilior. tom.* 1. *Concil. Carth.* 6.

But whereas Pope *Zozimus* is charged with forgerie, for corrupting of the Canons of the Nicene Councell : *Bellarmine* doth buſilie beſtirre himſelfe to preſerue the credite of his great maſter, and ſo the reſt of that ſide, but all to little purpoſe.

Firſt, in the 20. Seſſion of the Florentine Councell, where the Biſhops of the Greeke Church were preſent with their Emperor, *Marcus* Biſhop of Epheſus affirmed that *Zozimus* had corrupted the Nicene Councell; for the copies ſent from *Cyrillus* of Alexandria, and *Proclus* Patriarch of Conſtantinople contained no ſuch thing, as was alleaged by *Zozimus*, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould be called vniuerſall, or Oecumenicall Biſhop; and ſo concludeth that the Biſhop of Rome did ſend *falſum decretum*, a falſe decree vnto the Synode. Againſt him roſe vp *Iohannes* the Prouinciall, affirming that to be falſe that was reported of *Zozimus*, and that the Greeke copies were corrupted rather, for *Athanaſius* did write to *Marcus* Biſhop of Rome for the true copie of the Nicene Councell, which the Arrians had burned at Alexandria. But *Bellarmine* himſelfe reiecteth this anſwere, as vntrue, for that *Marcus* was not then liuing, when the Arrians (*Athanaſius* being expulſed) burned the bookes : and therefore *Athanaſius* could not write to a dead man.

And againe, if *Marcus* (ſaith he) had ſent the true copies to *Athanaſius*, then the copies kept at Alexandria, would not haue varied from that, which *Zozimus* ſent afterward. Thus *Bellarmine* confuteth the allegation of the Prouinciall, *cap.*25. therefore he hath deuiſed two other eſpeciall anſwers beſide. Firſt, he ſaith, that many Canons of the Nicene Councell are wanting, and theſe cited by *Zozimus* might be ſome of them. *Contra.* It is very like, that more Canons, then are now extant, were agreed vpon in the Nicene Councell, as *Gregorie* 10. ſent to the King of Armenia for a true copie of the Nicene Councell, which was thought to be all extant in that tongue: yet the Church of Rome neuer receiued but 20. Canons, amongſt the which, that of *Zozimus* cannot be found, ſo ſaith *Stephanus* one of your Popes, *diſtinct.*16.*can.*13.

Secondly, theſe Canons cited by *Zozimus* were not extant in the Councell of Nice, but of Sardis, which were both taken for one Councell, and of like authoritie; and therefore the Canons of the one might be taken for the other.

Contra. Firſt, theſe two Councels could not be taken for one, there being at the leaſt twentie yeares betweene; nor of like authoritie, the Councell of Sardis not hauing the conſent of the Greeke Church, as I haue ſhewed. Secondly, the Canons of the Nicene which are wanting, are thought to haue been inſerted into the Councell of Antioch, not this of Sardis, as *Stephanus* thinketh, *diſt.*16.*c.*13. And therefore they had better reaſon to miſtake that Councell, rather then the other for the Nicene. Thirdly, all that the Ieſuite hath ſaid, if it were as he affirmeth, doth but excuſe the Pope from wilfull corruption of the Councell, and imputeth it to his ignorance: but I will ſpend no longer time about this matter.

*Argum.*2. We can bring the decrees of a latter Councell, then this of Carthage: for in the Councell of Baſile it was decreed, that no actions or controuerſies ſhould be brought from other countries to be pleaded at Rome, which were more then foure daies iourney diſtant from the ſaid court of Rome, a few principall matters onely excepted, *apud Fox* p.697.

*Lateranenſ. Concil. ſub Innocent.*3.*cap.*37. *Statuimus, ne quis vltra duas diætas extra ſuam dioiceſim per literas apoſtolicas ad iudicium trahi poſſit:* We ordaine, that no man ſhould be drawne by letters Apoſtolicall (he meaneth Citations from Rome) aboue two daies iourney out of his owne dioceſſe.

*Argum.*3. This alſo is flatly contrarie to the rule of the Apoſtle, that appellations ſhould be made out of the Church a farre off. Is it ſo, ſaith he, that there is not a wiſe man amongſt you, no not one that can iudge amongſt his brethren? 1. Cor. 6. 5. *Ergo*, euery Church hath wiſe men ſufficient in it, whereby their controuerſies may be ended.

4 *Auguſtine* alſo thus writeth concerning this matter, *Miltiades Epiſcopus Romanus, non ſibi vſurpauit iudicium de cauſa Ceciliani, ſed rogatus imperator iudices miſit Epiſcopos, qui cum eo ſederent, epiſt.*162. *Miltiades* Biſhop of Rome did not vſurpe or take vpon himſelfe to iudge the cauſe of *Cecilian*, but the Emperour being requeſted, ſent other Biſhops, that ſhould ſit and determine the cauſe together with him. Out of theſe words firſt we note, that it had been vſurpation and preſumption for the Biſhop of Rome to haue taken vpon him the iudgement of this matter, not belonging vnto him, vnleſſe the Emperour had committed it. Secondly, that *Miltiades* did not ſuffer other Biſhops to ſit with him, as *Bellarmine* imagineth: but he could not otherwiſe chuſe, for they were ioyned in commiſſion by the Emperour, to be iudges as well as he. Thus we ſee what ſmall ſhew or colour of title the Pope hath, to heare or receiue appeales from other countries.

Laſtly, concerning the vnlawfulnes of appeales to Rome, we haue the full conſent and determination of the Clergie of England, in King *Henry* the 8. his daies, aſſembled then in the Conuocation houſe: in the which number of them which conſented and ſubſcribed, were *Stephen Gardener, Tonſtal, Stokeſly, Boner, Heth*, and other, which were Archpapiſts in thoſe dayes, with many other: In a certaine inſtrument therefore, whereunto they ſubſcribe, they proteſt againſt the Pope, for receiuing of forraine appellations in this maner: The Popes, ſay they, doe tranſgreſſe their owne profeſſion made in their creation: for they in their creation doe make a ſolemne vow and promiſe, inuiolably to obſerue and keepe all the ordinances made in the firſt eight generall Councels: among the which it is eſpecially prouided and enacted, that all cauſes ſhall be determined in the ſame prouince where they began, *vid. plur. Fox* p.1064.

Let vs ſee both the Imperiall and pontificiall conſtitutions concerning the inhibiting of appeales to be made a farre off.

*Cod. lib.*3.*tit.*23.*leg.*3.*Diocletiane: Actor debet ſequi forum rei,* That the plaintife muſt ſue in the court of the defendant; that is, where he dwelleth. And *lib.*2.*tit.*47.*l.*2. the ſame *Dioclet. Quamcunque cauſam agendum, &c.* What cauſe ſoeuer a man hath in hand, he muſt goe to the Preſident of that prouince, where they haue their dwelling, whom he impleadeth. Thus euen by the light of nature, this Heathen Emperour could ſee what was right and reaſonable in this caſe.

The Chriſtian Emperours alſo haue decreed the ſame, as *Conſtantin. Cod. lib.*3.*tit.*14.*leg.*1.*Terminos prouinciarum non cogantur excedere:* That widowes, pupils, impotent, and ſicke perſons ſhould not bee called out of their owne prouince, no not by warrant from the Emperour. And concerning Eccleſiaſtical perſons, *Leo* and *Anthemius* enacted thus: *Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.31.Vt ſacerdotes cuiuſcunque gradus,&c.* That prieſts, of what degree ſoeuer, ſhould not bee called to forren Courts. Which law is generall for all Clergie men, of what degree ſoeuer: which taketh away the Ieſuites cauillous anſwere, that it was forbidden inferiour prieſts, but not Biſhops, to appeale to the Court of Rome.

Their owne Canons herein are agreeable to the Ciuill law: *Decret.part.2.cauſ.3.quaeſt.6.c.1.Fabianus, ibi cauſa agatur, vbi crimen admittitur:* The cauſe muſt bee handled, where the crime was committed. And *cap.2. Accuſatum non oportet alibi, quam in foro ſuo audiri:* That he which is accuſed, ſhould not elſewhere be iudged but in his owne Court. *Can.17.Sixtus, Si quis Clericus,&c.* If any Clergie man bee accuſed of what crime ſoeuer, in the ſame prouince where the partie accuſed remaineth, the action muſt bee followed. Here is no exception made of Biſhops, nor any reſeruation for the See of Rome, as in ſome other Canons may be found. Thus wee ſee that the Biſhop of Rome in arrogating to himſelfe this authoritie to receiue appeales from all the parts of the world, doth therein contrarie to the Imperiall, and Pontificiall lawes.

Let the conſtant iudgement and practiſe of the holy Martyrs alſo bee ſeene: *Iohn Huſſe* being wrongfully condemned in the Councell of Conſtance, appealeth not from them to the Pope, but to the tribunall ſeate of Chriſt, *Fox* p.611.

Biſhop *Cranmer* appealeth from the ſentence of the Pope to a generall Councel: thereby ſhewing what he thought of appeales made to Rome.

Maſter *Philpbot*, when one *Curtop* obiected, how that *Irenaeus* went vp to Rome vnto *Victor* then Biſhop there, to aske his aduice about the excommunication of certaine heretikes, and therby would proue the Popes ſupremacie, and prerogatiue in receiuing of appeales: he anſwereth, This fact (ſaith he) of *Irenaeus*, maketh no more for the ſupremacie of the Pope, then mine hath done, which was at Rome, as well as he, and might haue ſpoken with the Pope, if I had liſt, and yet I would none in England did fauour his ſupremacie more then I, &c. pag.1803.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE POPE be ſubiect to the iudgement of any.

The Papiſts.

43.Error. THe Pope neither can nor ought to be iudged either of the Emperour, or any other Secular or Eccleſiaſticall Magiſtrate, no not of any generall Councell, *Bellar.cap.26.* Nay, he ſhould doe iniurie vnto God, to ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgement of any, *Iacobat. ex Tilhemann.de pontif. Rom.err.34.*

Beſide certaine blinde Canons and conſtitutions, and a few examples grounded vpon the inſolent practiſes of Popes, they haue no other arguments either out of Scripture, or drawne from reaſon, to confirme this their vnreaſonable opinion withall.

Argum.1. Bellarmine reaſoneth thus: The Prince is not to bee iudged by the common-wealth, but is greater then his kingdome: the Pope is the prince of the Church. *Ergo.*

We anſwere: Firſt, concerning the Princes high and ſoueraigne authoritie, we will not now diſpute: wee make it not infinite, the word of God muſt bee a rule and ſquare both of Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall iudgement. Secondly, it is ſufficient for vs here to anſwere, that the Ieſuite hath ſaid nothing: for this which he aſſumeth for a reaſon, is the greateſt matter in queſtion betweene vs; and ſo great an vntruth he hath vttered, that he is conſtrained to leaue Scripture, and ſeeke helpe elſewhere. But he ſhall neuer, by any good reaſon, or ſufficient authoritie proue, that the Pope hath any ſuch princedome in the Church, as he would beare vs in hand, or as the prince hath in the common-wealth.

Argum.2. Bellarmine alleageth a decree of the Sinueſſane Councell: *Nemo vnquam iudicauit pontificem: prima ſedes non iudicabitur à quopiam:* Neuer any man iudged the Pope: the firſt ſeate ſhall not be iudged of any.

Anſ. 1. By this decree the Biſhop of Rome is no more exempted from iudgement, then all Biſhops are by that decretall of Pope *Pius* 1. *Epiſt.1.decretal. Epiſcopi à Deo ſunt iudicandi, ipſo Domino exemplum dante, quando per ſeipſum non per alium ſacerdotes ementes & vendentes eiecit è templo:* The Biſhops muſt be iudged of God: whereof the Lord himſelfe giueth vs an example, when by himſelfe and not another, he caſt out the prieſts that bought and ſold out of the temple. But *Bellarmine* here hath found out an anſwere for vs: *Epiſcopum non poſſe iudicari niſi à Deo, dico intelligi debere, in rebus dubijs & occultis:* That a Biſhop is not to bee iudged but of God, I ſay, it muſt be vnderſtoode, in ſecret and doubtfull matters, *lib.2.de Roman.pontif.cap.16.reſponſ.ad Cypriani locum:* So we anſwere concerning the Pope, that he is left to Gods iudgement, only in ſecret matters.

2. Concerning the Councell Sinueſſane, notwithſtanding thoſe words which are thruſt in in

And againe,if *Marcus* (ſaith he)had ſent the true copies to *Athanaſius*, then the copies kept at Alexandria, would not haue varied from that, which *Zozimus* ſent afterward. Thus *Bellarmine* confuteth the allegation of the Prouinciall,*cap.*25. therefore he hath deuiſed two other eſpeciall anſwers beſide. Firſt,he ſaith,that many Canons of the Nicene Councell are wanting, and theſe cited by *Zozimus* might be ſome of them. *Contra.* It is very like,that more Canons,then are now extant,were agreed vpon in the Nicene Councell, as *Gregorie* 10. ſent to the King of Armenia for a true copie of the Nicene Councell, which was thought to be all extant in that tongue : yet the Church of Rome neuer receiued but 20. Canons, amongſt the which; that of *Zozimus* cannot be found,ſo ſaith *Stephanus* one of your Popes,*diſtinct.*16.*can.*13.

Secondly,theſe Canons cited by *Zozimus* were not extant in the Councell of Nice, but of Sardis,which were both taken for one Councell,and of like authoritie;and therefore the Canons of the one might be taken for the other.

Contra. Firſt,theſe two Councels could not be taken for one, there being at the leaſt twentie yeares betweene;nor of like authoritie, the Councell of Sardis not hauing the conſent of the Greeke Church,as I haue ſhewed. Secondly, the Canons of the Nicene which are wanting, are thought to haue been inſerted into the Councell of Antioch,not this of Sardis, as *Stephanus* thinketh,*diſt.*16.*c.*13. And therefore they had better reaſon to miſtake that Councell,rather then the other for the Nicene. Thirdly, all that the Ieſuite hath ſaid, if it were as he affirmeth, doth but excuſe the Pope from wilfull corruption of the Councell, and imputeth it to his ignorance : but I will ſpend no longer time about this matter.

*Argum.*2. We can bring the decrees of a latter Councell, then this of Carthage : for in the Councell of Baſile it was decreed,that no actions or controuerſies ſhould be brought from other countries to be pleaded at Rome,which were more then foure daies iourney diſtant from the ſaid court of Rome,a few principall matters onely excepted, *apud Fox* p.697.

*Lateranenſ. Concil.ſub Innocent.*3.*cap.*37. *Statuimus,ne quis vltra duas diætas extra ſuam dioiceſim per literas apoſtolicas ad iudicium trahi poſſit:* We ordaine, that no man ſhould be drawne by letters Apoſtolicall (he meaneth Citations from Rome) aboue two daies iourney out of his owne dioceſſe.

*Argum.*3. This alſo is flatly contrarie to the rule of the Apoſtle, that appellations ſhould be made out of the Church a farre off. Is it ſo,ſaith he, that there is not a wiſe man amongſt you,no not one that can iudge amongſt his brethren? 1.Cor.6.5. *Ergo,* euery Church hath wiſe men ſufficient in it,whereby their controuerſies may be ended.

4 *Auguſtine* alſo thus writeth concerning this matter, *Miltiades Epiſcopus Romanus, non ſibi vſurpauit iudicium de cauſa Ceciliani, ſed rogatus imperator iudices miſit Epiſcopos,qui cum eo ſederent, epiſt.*162. *Miltiades* Biſhop of Rome did not vſurpe or take vpon himſelfe to iudge the cauſe of *Cecilian*,but the Emperour being requeſted,ſent other Biſhops,that ſhould ſit and determine the cauſe together with him. Out of theſe words firſt we note,that it had been vſurpation and preſumption for the Biſhop of Rome to haue taken vpon him the iudgement of this matter,not belonging vnto him,vnleſſe the Emperour had committed it. Secondly,that *Miltiades* did not ſuffer other Biſhops to ſit with him,as *Bellarmine* imagineth : but he could not otherwiſe chuſe,for they were ioyned in commiſſion by the Emperour,to be iudges as well as he. Thus we ſee what ſmall ſhew or colour of title the Pope hath,to heare or receiue appeales from other countries.

Laſtly,concerning the vnlawfulnes of appeales to Rome, we haue the full conſent and determination of the Clergie of England, in King *Henry* the 8. his daies, aſſembled then in the Conuocation houſe : in the which number of them which conſented and ſubſcribed, were *Stephen Gardener,Tonſtal,Stokeſly,Boner,Heth*, and other,which were Archpapiſts in thoſe dayes,with many other: In a certaine inſtrument therefore, whereunto they ſubſcribe, they proteſt againſt the Pope,for receiuing of forraine appellations in this maner : The Popes, ſay they, doe tranſgreſſe their owne profeſſion made in their creation : for they in their creation doe make a ſolemne vow and promiſe,inuiolably to obſerue and keepe all the ordinances made in the firſt eight generall Councels : among the which it is eſpecially prouided and enacted, that all cauſes ſhall be determined in the ſame prouince where they began,*vid.plur.Fox* p.1064.

Let vs ſee both the Imperiall and pontificiall conſtitutions concerning the inhibiting of appeales to be made a farre off.

*Cod.lib.*3.*tit.*23.*leg.*3.*Diocletiane : Actor debet ſequi forum rei,* That the plaintife muſt ſue in the court of the defendant ; that is, where he dwelleth. And *lib.*2.*tit.*47.*l.*2. the ſame *Dioclet. Quamcunque cauſam agendum,&c.* What cauſe ſoeuer a man hath in hand, he muſt goe to the Preſident of that prouince,where they haue their dwelling,whom he impleadeth. Thus euen by the light of nature, this Heathen Emperour could ſee what was right and reaſonable in this caſe.

The Chriſtian Emperours alſo haue decreed the ſame, as *Conſtantin.Cod.lib.*3.*tit.*14.*leg.*1.*Terminos prouinciarum non cogantur excedere:* That widowes, pupils, impotent, and ſicke perſons ſhould not bee called out of their owne prouince, no not by warrant from the Emperour. And concerning Eccleſiaſtical perſons, *Leo* and *Anthemius* enacted thus: *Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.31.Vt ſacerdotes cuiuſcunque gradus,&c.* That prieſts, of what degree ſoeuer, ſhould not bee called to forren Courts. Which law is generall for all Clergie men, of what degree ſoeuer: which taketh away the Ieſuites cauillous anſwere, that it was forbidden inferiour prieſts, but not Biſhops, to appeale to the Court of Rome.

Their owne Canons herein are agreeable to the Ciuill law: *Decret.part.2.cauſ.3.quaſt.6.c.1.Fabianus, ibi cauſa agatur, vbi crimen admittitur:* The cauſe muſt bee handled, where the crime was committed. And *cap.2. Accuſatum non oportet alibi, quam in foro ſuo audiri:* That he which is accuſed, ſhould not elſewhere be iudged but in his owne Court. *Can.17.Sixtus, Si quis Clericus,&c.* If any Clergie man bee accuſed of what crime ſoeuer, in the ſame prouince where the partie accuſed remaineth, the action muſt bee followed. Here is no exception made of Biſhops, nor any reſeruation for the See of Rome, as in ſome other Canons may be found. Thus wee ſee that the Biſhop of Rome in arrogating to himſelfe this authoritie to receiue appeales from all the parts of the world, doth therein contrarie to the Imperiall, and Pontificiall lawes.

Let the conſtant iudgement and practiſe of the holy Martyrs alſo bee ſeene: *Iohn Huſſe* being wrongfully condemned in the Councell of Conſtance, appealeth not from them to the Pope, but to the tribunall ſeate of Chriſt, *Fox* p.611.

Biſhop *Cranmer* appealeth from the ſentence of the Pope to a generall Councel: thereby ſhewing what he thought of appeales made to Rome.

Maſter *Philphot*, when one *Curtop* obiected, how that *Irenæus* went vp to Rome vnto *Victor* then Biſhop there, to aske his aduice about the excommunication of certaine heretikes, and therby would proue the Popes ſupremacie, and prerogatiue in receiuing of appeales: he anſwereth, This fact (ſaith he) of *Irenæus*, maketh no more for the ſupremacie of the Pope, then mine hath done, which was at Rome, as well as he, and might haue ſpoken with the Pope, if I had liſt, and yet I would none in England did fauour his ſupremacie more then I, &c. pag.1803.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE POPE be ſubiect to the iudgement of any.

The Papiſts.

THe Pope neither can nor ought to be iudged either of the Emperour, or any other Secular or 43.Error.
Eccleſiaſticall Magiſtrate, no not of any generall Councell, *Bellar.cap.26.* Nay, he ſhould doe iniurie vnto God, to ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgement of any, *Iacobat. ex Tilhemann.de pontif. Rom.err.34.*

Beſide certaine blinde Canons and conſtitutions, and a few examples grounded vpon the inſolent practiſes of Popes, they haue no other arguments either out of Scripture, or drawne from reaſon, to confirme this their vnreaſonable opinion withall.

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2. Concerning the Councell Sinueſſane, notwithſtanding thoſe words which are thruſt in in

the end of the Councel,it is certaine that *Marcellinus* Biſhop of Rome,for ſacrificing to Idols,was iudged and condemned of the Councell, as may appeare by theſe circumſtances : Firſt, *Marcellinus* was brought before the Councell,and appeared foure times, twice denying his fault, and caſting it vpon others,the third time he excuſeth his fault,that he did not ſacrifice, *Sed tantùm grana leuatis manibus ſuper prunas combuſſi :* I did onely lifting vp my hands caſt incenſe into the fire : the fourth time,he falleth flat vpon the ground confeſſing his fault,and ſaying,*Peccaui coram vobis :* I haue ſinned before you all. Secondly, there were 72.witneſſes produced againſt him; for the Councell ſaith,*In 72.comparentibus damnabitur præſul :* A Prelate muſt bee condemned by 72.witneſſes. Whereto then ſerueth this ſtreight examining,the often appearing of *Marcellinus*,and the producing of witneſſes,if he were not iudged? Thirdly,and yet the thing is made more manifeſt; in that one *Quirinus* a Biſhop ſtanding vp in the Councell, ſaid thus : *Infudiſti cor tuum pontifex malitia :* Thou haſt(O Biſhop) filled thy heart with malice : *propterea ego non recedam de ſynodo, donec purpureum cor tuum manifeſtetur :* therefore I will not riſe from the Synode, before thy ſtained heart bee made manifeſt. And then it followeth, *Ibi ergo iacentem & moram facientem damnarunt:* They condemned *Marcellinus* lying vpon the ground. How can it be denied now,but that *Marcellinus* was both rebuked and condemned in this Councell?

Argum.3. The Rhemiſts thus argue,out of that place of the Apoſtle, 2.Corint.8.5.*They gaue themſelues firſt to the Lord,then to vs :* therefore (ſay they) the principall reſpect next after God,is to be had of the Miniſters of religion,in all temporall and ſpirituall duties,*Annot.in hunc locum.*

Anſ. It is true that the Miniſters of God, teaching according to his will, as the Apoſtle here ſaith,ought of all men principally to be heard : yet this excludeth not the ſoueraigne authoritie of the Prince ouer all perſons,to whom the Apoſtle elſewhere exhorteth euery ſoule to be ſubiect, Rom.13.1.The Apoſtle then in this place ſpeaketh of ſpirituall inſtruction, not of ciuill adminiſtration.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Pope, as well as other eccleſiaſticall perſons, ought to bee, and is by right ſubiect to the iudgement and authoritie of the Emperour, King,Prince, or other ſupreame Magiſtrate, and may alſo by generall Councels be corrected and cenſured,thus it is proued.

Argum.1. *Peter* was iudged of *Paul*,Galat.2.and of him iuſtly reproued : *Ergo*,the doings of the Pope may be iudged and cenſured.

Bellarmine anſwereth,that it was not *iudicialis cenſura*, but *fraterna correptio*, it was no iudiciall cenſure,but a brotherly reprehenſion.

We replie : Firſt, publike cenſure and reprehenſion is a part of eccleſiaſticall iudgement and diſcipline,therefore *Peter* being publikely rebuked, was thereby iudged alſo of *Paul*. Secondly, the queſtion is not onely concerning publike and open iudgement, but whether it bee lawfull to call the Popes doings into queſtion, and whether his decrees are abſolutely to be receiued without any ſcanning or diſcuſſing,or making any doubt thereof: for this we hold, that it is the dutie of all Chriſtians to examine and trie the truth of all things, which they are to receiue and to beleeue,though they ſit not formally and iudicially, as in Conſiſtories,to iudge their ſpirituall paſtors : ſo the Berœans iudged of the Apoſtles doctrine : ſo may the Popes decrees bee examined and iudged. Thirdly,the Ieſuite graunteth that the Pope may bee rebuked and brotherly reproued : but the Extrauagant denieth it,*Non eſt,qui audeat dicere,domine cur facis ſic?* None dare ſay vnto him, ſir why doeſt ſo?

Argum.2. Euery ſoule muſt be ſubiect to the higher powers : *Ergo*,the Pope,Rom.13.1. *Bellarmine* anſwereth,that the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh of all ſuperiours both ſpirituall and temporall: and therefore it cannot bee concluded,that the Pope ought to obey, but he muſt bee obeyed,becauſe he is alſo a ſpirituall power.

We replie : S.*Paul* in this place ſpeaketh onely of the Ciuill Magiſtrate. Firſt, he calleth them ἄρχοντες,Princes, which is not meant of Eccleſiaſticall or Church gouernours, nor ſo taken in any place of Scripture. Secondly,they are ſaid to beare the ſword. Thirdly,tribute is paid to them: thoſe things agree not to Eccleſiaſticall gouernours : ſo the Ieſuite is anſwered.

Thus Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr ſometime anſwered to this place : Let euery ſoule (ſaith the Apoſtle) be ſubiect to the ſuperiour power: and he ſheweth what power,*qua gladium geſtet*,which beareth the ſword : which is not the ſpirituall,but the temporall power. And in the ſame place he declareth out of *Chryſoſtome*,how that Biſhops,Prophets, Apoſtles, ought to be obedient to temporall Magiſtrates,*Fox* p.1607.

Saint *Chryſoſtome* out of this place inferreth , that all men both Prieſts and Monkes, as well as temporall men, Whether thou be an Apoſtle,ſaith he,an Euangeliſt, or Prophet,&c. ought to be ſubiect to the higheſt power.

Their owne Maſter of the Sentences expoundeth this place of the ſecular power, *Sciendum eſt Apoſtolum loqui de ſeculari poteſtate,&c.lib.2.diſt.44.c.*

*Argum.*3. S.*Peter* alſo exhorteth, as the Apoſtle doth here, that they ſhould be ſubiect to euerie humane creature, 1.Pet.2.13.that is, to the temporall gouernour.

To this place, *Innocentius* 3.firſt thus anſwereth, as he is alleaged *Decret.Greg.lib.*1.*tit.*33.*c.*6. that ſpirituall perſons are not here vnderſtood: for by the ſame reaſon (the Apoſtle naming euerie humane creature, to whom they ſhould bee ſubiect) they ſhould ſubmit themſelues to euerie ſeruant.

Contra. Who ſeeth not how wilfully blinde this Pope is: for the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of euery man ſimply, but of men in authoritie: as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, *Humanæ creaturæ poteſtatem habenti:* For by that reaſon, not onely ſpirituall perſons, but temporall ſhould bee ſubiect to euerie meane perſon.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* vnderſtandeth, by euery humane creature, as well the power ſpirituall, as temporall, though a ſpeciall inſtance be giuen of the King, *cap.*29.*reſp.ad argum.*3.

Contra. I will here oppoſe againſt *Bellarmine* the contrarie iudgement of the Rhemiſts, who vpon that place Rom.13.1.thus write: S.*Paul* here (as S.*Peter* doth 1.chap.2.) expreſſely chargeth euery man to bee ſubiect to his temporall Prince. And againe, by *humane creature,* 1.Pet.2.13. they vnderſtand the temporall Magiſtrate elected by the people, in their Annotations vpon that place.

Thirdly, our Rhemiſts yeelding this place to be vnderſtood onely of the temporal Magiſtrate, yet denie that this commaundement is giuen to ſpirituall men, but affirme that the King is called moſt excelling; in reſpect of other his inferiour miniſters and officers, not in reſpect of Popes, Biſhops, Prieſts, &c.

Contra. Firſt, the Rhemiſts affirme S.*Paul*, Rom.13.and S.*Peter* in this place to haue both one meaning: but there by euery ſoule, all perſons as well ſpirituall as temporall are vnderſtood: *Ergo,* it muſt bee ſo taken here. Secondly, S.*Peter* would haue all them to bee ſubiect, to whom he writeth: but he writeth to ſpirituall Paſtors and Elders, chap.5. *Ergo,* they alſo muſt bee ſubiect, and in reſpect of them alſo is the King moſt excelling. Thirdly, they haue power ouer all euill doers to puniſh them, verſ.15. but there are ſuch in the Clergie. *Ergo.*

See alſo the conſent of antiquitie. *Marcellinus,* as we heard before, was condemned in the Sinueſſane Councell. *Sixtus* 3.being accuſed of one *Baſſus,* a Councell thereupon being aſſembled at the commaundement of *Valentinianus* the Emperour, *Cum magna examinatione per iudicium ſynodicum à* 56.*Epiſcopis purgatur:* After great examination, is purged by 56.Biſhops, by the iudgement of the Synode: *ex libr.pontificial.*

Symmachus being accuſed of *Feſtus* and *Probinus,* two Senators of Rome, aſſembled 115.Biſhops, *Et facta ſynodo purgatur à crimine:* And by the Synode is purged of the crime, *ex pontificial.*

*Concil.Ilerdenſ.decret.*3.*ex Gratiano:* Mention is made how *Leo* Biſhop of Rome in the Church of S.*Peter,* in the preſence of the Emperour *Charles,* the Clergie and the people, did purge himſelfe by his oth.

Pelagius being accuſed that he was acceſſarie to the death of *Vigilius* the Pope, did purge himſelfe vpon his oth, *ex pontificial.* So *Leo* 3.*Paſchalis* 1. *Leo* 4. were alſo purged by their oth.

The Councell of Conſtance iudged and depoſed Pope *Iohn* 23. The Councell of Baſil *Eugenius* the 4. If Popes then haue been examined in Councels, accuſed, and brought to their purgation, and condemned: then is there no queſtion, but that they are ſubiect to iudgement.

See alſo your owne decrees, *part.*2.*cauſ.*2. *quæſt.*7.*cap.*41. *Leo* 4.doth ſubmit himſelfe in theſe words to the Emperour *Lodouicus:* If we haue done any thing incompetently, &c. *Veſtro & miſſorum, &c.* we will amend it according to your iudgement, and of thoſe whom you ſend.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER THE Pope may be depoſed from his Papacie.

The Papiſts.

44. Error. SOme of them hold that the Pope ought not, neither can bee depoſed for hereſie; becauſe it is not poſſible for the Pope to fall into hereſie: *Sic Pighius.* The Ieſuite confeſſeth this to be a probable opinion: but himſelfe defendeth it not. He alleageth alſo the opinion of *Caietanus,* that the Pope may bee depoſed for manifeſt and apparant hereſie. *Bellarmines* opinion is this: that the Pope cannot be depoſed for any cauſe but hereſie: and not for all hereſie, but that which is manifeſt and apparant: neither is he then depoſed by any act of the Church, but is of himſelfe depoſed, and ceaſeth any more to bee Pope: So the Church may afterward puniſh him, but he is then no Pope, for as ſoone as he is become an heretike, his Popedome in the very act is gone from him, *Bellarm.cap.*30.

He reaſoneth thus: A manifeſt heretike is not ſo much as a member of the Church, much leſſe can he be Pope, who, they ſay, is the head of the Church: and therefore in ſuch a caſe the Pope is depoſed without any ſentence: and if afterward the Church proceede againſt him, they doe not iudge the Pope; for he had loſt his Papacie before.

We anſwere: Firſt, if a manifeſt heretike be actually depoſed, it is by the ſecret iudgement and ſentence of God: for by no other authoritie can he bee depoſed, as they hold: but before God manifeſt hereſie, and cloſe and ſecret hereſie is all one: therefore the Pope is alſo actually depoſed for ſecret hereſie, and not onely for manifeſt: And ſo ſome of the Papiſts thinke, as *Iohann. de Turre cremata.* Secondly, what call you manifeſt hereſie? or how is he knowne to bee a manifeſt heretike? Can he be an heretike before he bee conuinced? ſhall iudgement paſſe againſt him vncondemned? A murtherer is a dead man by law, yet he liueth till iudgement paſſe vpon him: ſo is the Pope being an heretike, yet Pope, till he be iudicially proceeded againſt; as a murtherer dead by right is in act yet liuing, till by law he is depriued of his life. An heretike, ſaith S. *Paul,* after two or three admonitions auoyd: that is, ſaith the Ieſuite, he is now *ipſo facto* excommunicate, before the ſentence of the Iudge. Be it ſo, but he muſt firſt be admoniſhed, and if he ſtill continue obſtinate, then he is a manifeſt heretike: ſo before the Pope can be knowne to bee a manifeſt heretike, he muſt be found obſtinate; he cannot be obſtinate, vnleſſe he refuſe to bee admoniſhed; if he bee admoniſhed, then is he iudged. Thirdly, an heretike ceaſeth not to bee a prieſt, (as they ſpeake) no not after hereſie is knowne, for manifeſt heretikes may baptiſe. The Donatiſts in *Auguſtines* time were manifeſt heretikes, and yet the Church did not baptiſe againe after them: If a manifeſt heretike ceaſe not to bee a prieſt, neither ceaſeth he to bee Pope; there is like reaſon of both: for if an heretike, becauſe he is not a member of the Church, cannot be a Pope, neither alſo can he retaine the prieſthood.

Caietan.

Laſtly, who ſeeth not what bare and friuolous ſhifts thoſe are? one ſaith, the Church may iudge the Pope, not as he is Pope, but in reſpect of his perſon: another ſaith, that they may iudge the man which was Pope, but he is then no Pope, becauſe his hereſie tooke from him the Papacie. Why maſters what iugling is here? is the Pope one thing, and the Popes perſon another? By the ſame reaſon you may ſay, that the Pope neither eateth, nor drinketh, nor ſleepeth, nor dyeth, and ſo make a God of him, becauſe it is the Popes perſon that doth all this, and not the Pope. And by this ſhift you make no difference betweene an heretike Biſhop, or heretike Prieſt, and heretike Pope: for by the ſame reaſon, none of them all ſhall be ſubiect to the iudgement of the Church: for wee may ſay, that a manifeſt heretike, whether Biſhop or Prieſt, hath loſt by that very act of falling into hereſie, his Prieſthood and Biſhopricke, and then is neither Biſhop nor Prieſt. And ſo you may conclude altogether, that neither Pope, Biſhop, nor Prieſt can bee depoſed for hereſie.

The Proteſtants.

WE doubt not to ſay, that the Pope both lawfully hath been depriued ſometime by the Emperour, ſometime by generall Councels, not onely for hereſie, but for other notable crimes, and may ſtill bee proceeded againſt by the ſame right, as well as any other Biſhop or Prelate.

1. Diuers examples we are able to bring foorth, how the Pope hath been depoſed for other crimes, beſide hereſie. Pope *Iohn* the 13. was depoſed in a generall Councell by the conſent of *Otho* the Emperour, for other matters beſide hereſie: as that he ordained Deacons in a ſtable, that he committed inceſt with two of his ſiſters, that playing at dice, he called to the diuell for helpe, that he defloured virgins, that he lay with *Stephana* his fathers concubine, likewiſe with *Rainera* and *Anna,* and her Neece: for theſe beaſtly parts and ſuch like, he was depoſed: there was no hereſie obiected againſt him. And thinke you not he was worthily vnpoped? yet the Papiſts think no: for they admit no cauſe of depriuation but hereſie. This diuelliſh Pope, through the harlots of Rome (for he was well beloued of them) recouered his Popedome againe; but at the length the Lord himſelfe diſplaced him: for in the tenth yeere of his Popedome, being found without the citie with another mans wife, he was ſo wounded of her husband, that within eight daies after he dyed, *Fox* p. 159.

Fox. pag. 160.

Boniface the 7. tooke Pope *Iohn* the 15. who was made Pope a little before, and he expelled, yet recouering the Papacie by force, he tooke him, put out his eyes, and threw him in priſon where he was famiſhed. Likewiſe was *Iohn* the 18. ſerued by *Gregorie* the 5. his eyes were thruſt out firſt, and he afterward ſlaine. I marueile how our Catholikes can excuſe theſe furious outrages of their ghoſtly fathers of Rome!

In the Councel of Brixia, *Gregorie* the 7. was depoſed, not for hereſie, but for other abominable vices: as maintaining of periurie and murthers; for following Diuinations and Dreames, Sorcerie and Necromancie, *Fox* p. 181. Pope *Iohn* the 23. depoſed in the Councell of Conſtance: *Eugenius* in the Councell at Baſil: yet neither of them for hereſie. And yet our aduerſaries would ſtill make vs beleeue, that Popes cannot be depoſed for any crime but hereſie.

2. We can haue no better argument, then from our aduerſaries themſelues. It is a ſport to ſee

what diuers opinions they hold, and doe runne as it were in a maze, not knowing which way to get out. ***Pighius*** thinketh, that the Pope cannot poſſibly fall into hereſie, and therefore for no cauſe may be depoſed. Some other thinke, that the Pope for ſecret and cloſe hereſie is actually depoſed of God, and may alſo be depoſed and iudged of the Church: thus holdeth ***Iohan. de Turre cremat. Caietanus*** is of opinion, that for manifeſt and open hereſie the Pope is both alreadie by right depoſed, and may alſo actually be depoſed of the Church. But ***Bellarmine*** confuteth all theſe. There is a fourth opinion moſt groſſe: that the Pope neither for ſecret nor open hereſie, is either alreadie of right depoſed, or may be actually depriued of the Church. Laſtly, commeth in the nice and daintie Ieſuite with his quirkes and quiddities, who ſaith, that the Pope in caſe of manifeſt hereſie, ceaſeth to bee Pope, and is euen now depoſed: and if after the Church proceede againſt him, they iudge not the Pope, for now he is no Pope. Which opinion how abſurd it is, I haue declared before.

That the Pope may be depoſed for other crimes then hereſie, beſide the practiſe of former times, as wee haue ſhewed before, wee haue alſo the decrees of Councels. The fathers of Baſil alleaged theſe places of Scripture: ***If thy eye, hand or foote offend thee, cut it off. Euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruite is caſt downe, &c.*** Alſo our Sauiour ſaith, ***Euery branch that bringeth not foorth good fruit, my father will cut off,*** Ioh. 15. ***Vnprofitable ſalt is good for nothing, but to be caſt forth, &c.*** Hence they conclude, that an offenſiue and wicked Pope, may bee depoſed and caſt forth as an vnprofitable branch: ***ex Ænea Syluio.***

Againe, the ſame Councell ſaith, ***Epiſtol. ſynodal. Concilium Conſtantienſe Benedictum propter ſchiſma: Iohannem 23. propter deformitatem vitæ depoſuit:*** The Councell of Conſtance depoſed ***Benedictus*** for ſchiſme: ***Iohn*** 23. for the deformitie of life.

But if they anſwere as they do, that this Councell of Baſil was ſchiſmaticall: (which I marueile how they can ſay, ſeeing it was congregate by the Popes authoritie) what will they ſay to the Councell of ***Lateran. ſub Iulio.*** 2. ***ſeſſ.*** 5. where it was decreed, that if the Pope were choſen by Simonie, ***vt huiuſmodi electio nulla exiſtat,*** that his election ſhould ſtand voyd as none at all, and he holden for no Pope: and that it ſhould bee lawfull for his ſubiects, ***ab obedientia eius diſcedere,*** to caſt off all obedience.

So then, the Pope may be depoſed for Simonie, which though it be there termed ***ſimoniaca hæreſis,*** the ſimoniacall hereſie, yet it is not ſo properly, but rather a fault in manners, then an error in faith.

They haue alſo this rule in their owne law, ***Extrau. commun. lib.*** 5. ***tit.*** 8. ***cap.*** 1. The Pope thus writeth againſt a certaine Biſhop whom he depoſed for his enormous life, ***Illud ſolum æſtimamus ſalubre remedium, &c.*** We count that an holeſome remedie, that where we cannot take away, ***velle,*** a mans euill will, we ſhould take away his, ***poſſe,*** his power to doe euill. Why ſhould not this rule as well take place in a wicked Pope, as in an impious Biſhop?

THE FIFT PART, CONCERNING THE ORIginall and beginning of the primacie of Rome.

The Papiſts.

THey doe boldly affirme without any ground, that the primacie of that See hath his beginning from no other but Chriſt: they are the Ieſuites owne words, ***Romani pontificis eccleſiaſticum principatum, authore Chriſto, principium accepiſſe:*** That the princely dignitie of the Biſhop of Rome, acknowledgeth no other author or beginner thereof, but Chriſt, ***Bellar. cap.*** 17. ***lib.*** 2. 45. Error.

Argum. 1. They would build the primacie of the Romane Church vpon certaine places of Scripture: as Matth. 16. Thou art ***Peter,*** and vpon this rocke will I build my Church. Luk. 22. I haue praied for thee ***Peter,*** that thy faith ſhould not faile. Ioh. 21. Chriſt ſaid to ***Peter,*** Feede my ſheepe: ***Ergo, Peter*** and ***Peters*** ſucceſſors haue their primacie from Chriſt, ***Bellarm.***

To theſe places ***Tunſtal*** and ***Stokeſly,*** two popiſh Biſhops, yet in this poynt holding the truth, did properly make anſwere in their epiſtle ſent to Cardinall ***Poole.***

To the firſt: They affirme out of the ancient expoſitors, that it is meant of the faith which was then firſt confeſſed by the mouth of ***Peter,*** and not of ***Peters*** perſon. Further, confirming out of S. ***Paul,*** that neither ***Peter,*** nor no creature beſide, could bee the foundation of the Church: for no other foundation can any man lay (ſaith the Apoſtle) beſides that which is laid, Ieſus Chriſt, 1. Cor. 3.

To the ſecond they anſwere: That Chriſt ſpeaketh onely of the fall of ***Peter,*** which he knew in his godly preſcience, giuing an inkling vnto him, that after his fall he ſhould bee conuerted and ſtrengthen his brethren: for if it were meant alſo of ***Peters*** ſucceſſors, they muſt firſt faile in faith, and after confirme their brethren.

To the third: The whole flocke of Chriſt was not committed to ***Peter*** to feede: for he himſelfe teſtifieth the contrary, exhorting all Paſtors to feede the flocke of Chriſt,which was giuen them in charge by Chriſt,as it followeth in that place: when the chiefe ſhepheard ſhall appeare,ye ſhall 1.Pet.5. receiue the incorruptible Crowne of eternall glory. He calleth not himſelfe the chiefe ſhepheard,but onely Chriſt. It is euident therefore (ſay they) that your 3. Scriptures ment nothing leſſe, then ſuch a primacie ouer all,*Fox* pag.1067.

Argum.2. There can be no time aſſigned ſince Chriſt(ſay they) when this primacie ſhould begin,nor no author named that brought it in : *Ergo*,it muſt needes be attributed to Chriſt,he muſt of neceſſitie be found the author thereof.

We anſwere : the time may be aſſigned, the authors named, when, and by whom this pretenſed and vſurped authoritie was brought in,as euen now we will ſhew.

The Proteſtants.

THat the vſurped iuriſdiction of Rome tooke not the beginning from Chriſt,nor his Apoſtles, neither was heard of for many yeeres after: we thus are able to proue it.

1 Before the Nicene Councell, which firſt deuided the regiment of the Church into foure Patriarchall ſeates : Rome had ſmall or no preeminence.So *Æneas Syluius* witneſſeth,who afterward was Pope of Rome, and called *Pius* the ſecond : *Ante Nicenum concilium ſibi quiſque viuebat,& ad Romanam eccleſiam paruus habebatur reſpectus,Epiſt.*301.Before the Nicene Councell, euery Biſhop liued to himſelfe; there was no great reſpect had to the Church of Rome. What more euident teſtimonie can we haue then of a Pope himſelfe ? Yet the Ieſuite ſaith, that it is falſe in part, which he writeth. He is ſomewhat mannerly, in making him but halfe a lyer : yet I wonder that he will confeſſe any vntruth at all in his ghoſtlie fathers words,*Bellarm.cap.*17.*lib.*2.

Secondly, in the Councell of Nice there was no primacie of power giuen to Rome ouer the whole Church : but the other Patriarches of Alexandria,Antioch,Ieruſalem, were priuiledged in like manner in their confines, as the Biſhop of Rome was in his : They had all equall authoritie giuen them in their owne prouinces: *Sic Tonſtall.Stokeſl.ad Poolum.*

Thirdly,afterward there was a certaine primacie of order graunted vnto the Patriarch of Rome aboue other Patriarches ; as to haue the firſt place, to ſit firſt, to giue his ſentence firſt. One cauſe hereof was, for that Rome was then the Emperiall and chiefe citie in all the world : this reaſon Fox.pag.9. was rendered in the Councell of Chalcedon,*Can.*28. Another cauſe thereof was,the ample priuiledges and immunities, which the Emperours endowed it withall, as *Conſtantine* the Great, and *Gratianus* the Emperour made a lawe, that all men ſhould retayne that religion,which *Damaſus* of Rome,and *Peter* Biſhop of Alexandria did hold.

A third cauſe was, the vnquiet eſtate of the Greeke Church, who often voluntarily referred their matters to the Biſhop of Rome, as being leſſe partiall and a more indifferent iudge, they themſelues being diuided and rent into ſectes. And hereupon, and other like cauſes it came about, Fox.pag.18. that the Biſhop of Rome a little ſtepped aboue his fellow Patriarches ; but yet had no ſuch preeminent authoritie,as to command them.

Fourthly, the Popes of Rome being thus tickled with vaine glorie,becauſe they were reuerenced of other Churches, many matters were committed vnto them,and their conſent required vnto the decrees of Councels, when they were abſent. Hereupon they labored euery day more and more to aduance that See, taking euery ſmall occaſion that might helpe forward their ambitious deſire, till *Anno.606.* or ſomewhat after, *Boniface* the third obtained of wicked *Phocas* the Emperour(who murthered his Maſter the Emperour *Mauritius* and his children,to come to the Empire,and was after ſlaine himſelfe of *Heraclius* that ſucceeded him)of him,I ſay,*Boniface* for him- Fox.pag.120. ſelfe and his ſucceſſors obtained,to be called vniuerſall Biſhops ouer the whole Church : and the See of Rome to haue the preeminence aboue all other Churches in the world.

Afterward in Pope *Zacharie* his time, the proud and inſolent iuriſdiction of Rome was eſtabliſhed by *Pipinus* King of France,who aſpired to the Crowne,and obtayned it by the ſaid Popes meanes, firſt depoſing *Childericus* the rightfull King, and diſpenſing with the oath which the French men had made before to *Childericus,Caluin.Inſtitut.*4.*cap.*7.*ſect.*17.

Thus then it ſufficiently appeareth, that the primacie of Rome,which it now vniuſtly challengeth ouer other Churches, is not of any ſuch antiquitie, as they would beare the world in hand, neither that it had the beginning from Chriſt : but both the time when,and the authors by whom it began,may be eaſily aſſigned.

Argum.2. We neede no better argument, to proue that the primacie of Rome hath not his originall from Chriſt, then the Ieſuites owne confeſſion. Firſt he ſaith, that it doth not depend of Chriſts iuſtitution, but *ex Petri facto*, of *Peters* fact, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould be rather *Peters* ſucceſſor, then the Biſhop of Antioch, or any other ; It is not *iure diuino*, ſaith he, by Gods law : neither is it, *ex prima inſtitutione pontificatus, quæ in Euangelio legitur*, of the firſt inſtitution whereof we reade in the Goſpell. And againe, *Romanum pontificem ſuccedere Petro,non habetur expreſſe in ſcripturis :* It is not expreſly ſet downe in Scripture, the Biſhop of Rome ſhould ſucceede

Peter: but it is grounded only vpon that tradition of *Peter.* Nay he ſaith further, that *Peter* needed not to haue choſen any particular place for ſucceſſion, and he might as well haue choſen Antioch as Rome: *Ergo,* neither is the ſucceſſion of Rome grounded vpon Scripture, neither any commandement of Chriſt: for then *Peter* could not haue had free choice to appoint his ſucceſſor where he would himſelfe, as the Ieſuite ſaith, if he had had any eſpeciall direction or commandement from Chriſt. So then, marke I pray you, they cannot proue out of Scripture, that the Biſhop of Rome ought to ſucceed *Peter* in the chiefe Biſhopricke, but onely that *Peter* had the chiefe Biſhopricke committed to him and his ſucceſſors in generall, whoſoeuer they ſhould appoint: *Ergo,* the Biſhops of Rome by their owne confeſſion can alleadge no Scripture, inſtitution, or commandement of Chriſt, for the primacie of the Church to be annexed to the See of Rome: and yet againſt their knowledge they will alleage Scripture to colour the matter withall, *Bellarm.lib.*2.*de. pontif.cap.*17.

That the iuriſdiction and primacie of Rome is not grounded vpon Scripture, but rather vpon cuſtome and continnance of time, it is thus proued by conſent of antiquitie, *Nicen.*1.*can.*6. *Quia epiſcopo Romanæ vrbis parilis mos eſt:* Let the Patriarch of Alexandria bee chiefe in his prouinces, &c. becauſe the Biſhop of Rome hath the like cuſtome or manner. And it is not to be thought, that thoſe two generall Councels of Conſtantinople, and Chalcedon, would haue made the See of Conſtantinople equall in authoritie to Rome, if the primacy of Rome had been grounded vpon Scripture.

Againe, what the cauſe is that ſome cities haue had ſpirituall iuriſdiction ouer others, we finde *Trullan.ſynod.can.*38. *Si qua ciuitas à regia poteſtate innouata eſt, quoad ciuilem & publicam formam, eccleſiaſticarum quoque rerum ordo conſequatur:* If any citie be changed or aduanced in reſpect of the ciuill eſtate, the eccleſiaſticall order or gouerment muſt follow: that is, be aduanced together with it. This reaſon was rendred, *Concil. Chalcedonenſ. action.*16, why they aduanced the See of Conſtantinople, *Rationabiliter iudicantes, imperio & Senatu vrbem ornatam, æquis ſenioris regiæ Romæ priuilegijs frui, & in eccleſiaſticis, ſicut illa, maieſtatem habere negotijs:* We thinke it reaſonable, that the citie which is adorned with the Senate and Empire ſhould haue the like priuiledges to the elder princely citie Rome, and of the like maieſtie in eccleſiaſticall buſines. By the ſame reaſon alſo was Rome aduanced at the firſt, becauſe it was the ſeat of the Empire: the beginning then of the primacie therefore was not from any commandement of Chriſt, but by the conſtitution of men.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Secundum honorum vocabula, quæ iam eccleſiæ vſus obtinuit, epiſcopatus preſbyterio maior eſt.* The office of a Biſhop is aboue the office of a Prieſt, according to the names of honour, which the Church by cuſtome hath obtained. If then the difference of thoſe two offices, both named in Scripture, did ariſe rather, and ſpring of the cuſtome of the Church, which thought it good to diſtinguiſh them for auoyding of ſchiſme, and is not grounded vpon the authoritie of Scripture: much leſſe can the Pope (whoſe neither name, nor office is expreſſed in Scripture) fetch from thence any ſhew of proofe, for his vſurped primacie.

M. *Tindal* holy Martyr, condemned for this and ſuch other articles, for ſaying that the Pope had no other authoritie from Chriſt but to preach onely: *articl.* 22. *Fox.*pag. 1251. Sir *Iohn Bortwicke* Knight, condemned for the Goſpell, thus witneſſeth: *Peter* could not giue that which he had not, as any lordly dominion, or ſuch like; but he gaue vnto his ſucceſſors that which he had, that is, carefulnes ouer the congregation, *Fox.*pag. 1263. articl. 6.

The Popes lordly ſupremacie then hath not the beginning from Chriſt, neither is warranted by Scripture.

And here will I put them in minde of their owne rule: as *Innocentius* the third hath ſet it downe: *decret. Gregor.lib.*5.*tit.*7.*cap.*12. *Oſtendat pro vocatione operationem miraculi, &c.* Let him ſhew for his calling the operation of a miracle, or ſome ſpeciall teſtimonie of Scripture. So then, if the Pope can ſhew any miracle, or ſpeciall warrant out of Scripture, for his primacie and ſuperioritie, we will beleeue him.

THE SIXT PART OF THIS QVESTION, CONCERNING the proud names, and vainglorious titles of the Pope.

The Papiſts.

Bellarmine ſetteth downe to the number of fifteene glorious names which haue been of olde 46. Error.
giuen (as he ſaith) to the biſhop of Rome, whereby his primacie ouer other Biſhops is notoouſly knowne; but the principall are theſe: He is called the Pope and chiefe father, the prince of Prieſts, or high Biſhop, the Vicar of Chriſt, the head of the Church, the Prelate of the Apoſtolike See, vniuerſall Biſhop. Theſe ſixe names or titles they do appropriate to the See of Rome. *Bellarm. de Roman.pontif.lib.*2.*cap.*31.

The Proteſtants.

WE will ſhew by Gods grace, that theſe ſixe ſeuerall titles and names aforeſaid, are either ſuch, as ought not in their ſenſe to be attributed to any Biſhop, nor any mortall man; or els were common in ancient times as well to other Biſhops as to him of Rome.

1 For the firſt name of Pope, it is deriued from the Greeke word πάππας, which in the Syracuſane language, is as much as, Father: which name was indifferently giuen to other Biſhops, which were famous in the Church for their vertue and learning: As *Cyprian, Epiphanius, Athanaſius*, were called *Papa*, Popes: *Auguſtine* ſaluteth *Aurelius* Preſident of the ſixte Councell of Carthage, by the name of Pope, *Epiſtol.77.* Fox pag.8.

Sophronius Biſhop of Ieruſalem writing to *Sergius* Patriarch of Conſtantinople, calleth him, *Papam beatiſſimum, & Papam deo honorabilem*, Moſt bleſſed and honorable Pope, *Conſtantinopol.6. action.11.* So in the ſixte Councel of Carthage, chap.4. the Synod calleth *Aurelius* Biſhop of Carthage, *Sanctum Papam*, holy Pope. *Eutiches*, who was but a Prieſt and an Abbot, is called *Pappas*, Pope, *ſynod. Conſtantinopl. ſub Flauiano.*

Bellarmine cannot deny, neither dare he for ſhame, that this name Pope hath been giuen to other Biſhops; but he hath deuiſed three ſhifts to helpe him at a pinch: firſt, ſaith he, the Biſhop of Rome onely hath vſed to be called the Pope abſolutely, and without any addition, but others with adding of their name.

Contra. The abſolute title of Pope hath been giuen alſo to others, and therefore *Bellarmines* ſurmiſe is falſe: as *Hierome* writing to *Theophilus* Biſhop of Alexandria ſaith thus, *Adnitere Papa amantiſſime & beatiſſime:* Doe your endeuour, moſt bleſſed Pope, &c. he ſaith not Pope *Theophilus*, but abſolutely moſt bleſſed Pope. *tom.3.*

Secondly, the Biſhop of Rome onely hath been called vniuerſall Pope, and no other Biſhop, *Bellarm.*

Contra. Firſt, neither hath this proude name in the better times, and purer ages of the Church, been attributed to the Biſhops of Rome, but rather by them condemned: as *Gregorie* calleth it a proude title to be named vniuerſall Pope, and reproueth *Eulogius* Biſhop of Alexandria, for ſo writing vnto him, *diſt.99.cap.5.* Secondly, yet it may be ſhewed, that after ambition ſet foote into the Church, other Patriarches haue been called by this name: as *Concil. Conſtantin.6. act.13. Cyrus* Patriarch of Alexandria calleth *Sergius* Patriarch of Conſtantinople, thrice bleſſed paſtor of paſtors, and father of fathers, the vniuerſall Patriarch: and yet *Bellarmine* without all ſhame ſaith, that this title of *Pater Patrum*, Father of Fathers was neuer giuen to any but the Pope.

Thirdly, ſaith he, the Biſhop of Rome hath been alwaies called Pope of others; but he himſelfe neuer called any other by that name.

Contra. Firſt, therein appeareth the pride of that See, that diſdained to giue vnto other Biſhops thoſe titles, which others thought them worthie of, becauſe they would appropriate them to themſelues. Secondly, yet I find, though not the Pope, yet the Church of Rome, which is the Popes See, hath giuen this title to other Biſhops: as after the death of *Fabianus*, the Presbyterie of Rome thus write to *Cypriane*, calling him moſt bleſſed, and glorious Pope, as may be ſeene in their epiſtle.

Likewiſe, thoſe two epithetes of the Pope, as to be called, *Beatiſſimus & ſanctiſſimus pater:* Moſt holy and bleſſed father, were vſed in the ſtile of other Biſhops: *Proſper* in his Epiſtle to *Auguſtine*, twiſe calleth him *Dominum beatiſſimum Papam:* Lord, moſt bleſſed Pope, *Tom.7. Hierome* calleth *Epiphanius, Beatum Papam*, Bleſſed Pope, *Ad Euſtach. Fabiol.*

This alſo was the ſtile of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, *Sanctiſſimo atque beatiſſimo Oecomenico Patriarchæ Iohanni Conſtantinopol.&c.* To the moſt holy and bleſſed vniuerſall Patriarch, *Iohn* of Conſtantinople: *Conſtantinop.5.action.1. Cornelius* Biſhop of Rome, writing to one *Rufus* a Biſhop, *Epiſt.2.* ſaith thus, *Hæc & alia, quæ neceſſaria fore cognouimus, tuæ ſanctitati nolumus denegare:* Theſe and other things which we knew to be neceſſarie, we would not denie to your holines: at this time it is a cleare caſe, that the Biſhop of Rome did not appropriate to himſelfe this title of holines.

De origine anim.2.1. De origine anim.lib.1. cap.2. *Auguſtine* writing to *Petrus* the Presbyter, or Prieſt, being no Biſhop, yet thus ſaluteth him: *Ad ſanctitatem tuam ſcripſit:* He hath written to your holines. Nay, in his booke dedicated to *Renatus* a lay man, neither Prieſt nor Biſhop, thus he writeth, *Hinc angor, quòd ſanctitati tuæ minus quàm vellem cognitus ſum:* This grieueth me, that I am not ſo well knowne to your holines as I deſire. If then theſe titles of holines and bleſſednes were not onely giuen to Biſhops, but Prieſts alſo, yea vnto lay men of vertuous and holy life; what colour or ſhew of reaſon can our aduerſaries haue, to make them proper to the Biſhop of Rome?

But if the Biſhop of Rome will haue this title of holines truely giuen vnto him, let him follow that wholſome ſaying, aſcribed to *Clement. epiſtol.1. Nemo velit dici ſanctus, antequam ſit, ſed prius ſit vt verius dicatur:* Let no man deſire to be called holy, before he be indeed, but let him firſt be holy, ly, that he may more truely ſo be called : the ſame ſentence alſo is found, *Conſtantinop.6.cap.6.*

See alſo the iudgement of *Iohn Huſſe* holy Martyr : *articul.23. Papa non debet dici ſanctiſſimus ſecundum officium, quia ſic & Rex diceretur ſanctiſſimus, &c.* The Pope ought no more to be called moſt holy becauſe of his office, then the King in reſpect of his office.

2 The ſecond name is Prince of Prieſts, or high and chiefe Biſhop : which title, if it be taken for a chiefe power, dominion, and ſoueraigntie, is proper onely to Chriſt the chiefe ſhepheard, 1.Pet.5.4. and cannot in that ſenſe agree to any man.

It was alſo decreed *Carthaginenſ.3.can.26.* in this maner, *Primæ ſedis Epiſcopus non appelletur princeps ſacerdotum aut ſummus ſacerdos, ſed tantùm primæ ſedis Epiſcopus :* Let not the Biſhop of the firſt See be called the prince of Prieſts, or chiefe Prieſt, but onely Biſhop of the firſt See.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this Canon did onely binde the Biſhops of Africa, it doth not extend to the Biſhop of Rome.

Anſw. It appeareth Can.47. that the Canons of this Councell were confirmed by *Boniface* Biſhop of Rome. For to that end the Councell determineth to write vnto him, and the reſt of the Biſhops of the weſt Church : but it is certaine, that this Councell was receiued and authorized in the ſixt generall Trullane Synode, Can.12. how then can the Biſhop of Rome be exempted from the decrees of generall Councels, which binde the whole Church, and euery part thereof? And againe, this Canon is approued in their owne decrees, *diſt.99.c.3.* how then can they refuſe it?

But if this name be vſed onely as a title of excellencie and commendation, ſo was it in times paſt aſcribed to other excellent and famous Biſhops, as *Ruffinus lib.2.cap.26.* calleth *Athanaſius, Pontificem maximum,* chiefe Biſhop : yea it was in common giuen to all Biſhops; as *Anacletus* Biſhop of Rome in his ſecond Epiſtle writeth thus : *Summi ſacerdotes, id eſt, Epiſcopi, à Deo iudicandi ſunt :* The high Prieſts, that is, Biſhops (ſaith he) are to be iudged of God. If it be taken further for the excellencie of the miniſterie of the Goſpell, and the worthy calling of Chriſtians, in this ſenſe the title of *ſummum ſacerdotium,* of the high Prieſthood, is attributed to all Miniſters Eccleſiaſticall, both Biſhops and others : ſo *Fabianus* Biſhop of Rome vſeth this name. Yea, the holy Apoſtle calleth all the people of God βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, a princely, royall, or chiefe prieſthood : *Ergo,* the Biſhop of Rome hath no eſpeciall or proper intereſt in this name.

Fox p.12.col.1

3 The third name is, to be called the Vicar of Chriſt vpon earth. Where we are to vnderſtand, that in reſpect of the ſpirituall regiment and Kingdome of Chriſt, he needeth no Vicegerent vpon earth : for, I am with you (ſaith he) to the end of the world : he himſelfe is alway preſent in power, and needeth not in that reſpect, that any man ſhould ſupplie his roume. *Petrus ſcriba Martyr. Fox* pag.906. If we doe take it for a word of office and publike adminiſtration, ſo the Magiſtrate may be called the Vicar of Chriſt, in gouerning the people according to the word of God : In which ſenſe *Eleutherius* Biſhop of Rome, writing to *Lucius* King of the Britaines, calleth him the Vicar of Chriſt; and therefore in his owne Kingdome had power out of the word of God to eſtabliſh lawes, for the gouernment of the people.

Fox pag.107.

Thus alſo writeth *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of Rome, to *Anaſtaſius* the Emperor, *titul.6. Præſtantiam veſtram velut vicarium, Deus præſidere iuſſit in terris :* God hath commaunded or appointed your worthines, as his Vicar, to be preſident in earth. So all Biſhops, Paſtors and Miniſters in ancient time were called the Vicars of Chriſt in preaching, praying, binding and looſing in the name and power of Chriſt. So *Auguſtine* ſaith, or whoſe worke elſe it is, that *Omnis antiſtes eſt Chriſti vicarius :* Euery paſtor and prelate (and not the Pope onely) is the Vicar of Chriſt.

Quæſt. ex vnoque.127.

Euſebius Biſhop of Rome teſtifieth the ſame, *Epiſtol.3. Caput Eccleſiæ Chriſtus eſt; Chriſti autem vicarij ſacerdotes ſunt, qui vice Chriſti legatione funguntur in Eccleſia :* The head of the Church is Chriſt, and the Prieſts or Miniſters are Chriſts Vicars, who in Chriſts ſtead doe performe his embaſſage in the Church. This is alſo confeſſed by our Rhemiſts, *annot. in 2.Cor.5.18.* that the Biſhops and prieſts of the Church are for Chriſt, and as his miniſters, that is, his Vicars. Nay, *Auguſtine* maketh yet a more generall vſe of this word : he ſaith that, *Homo imperium Dei habens, quaſi vicarius eius eſt :* That man by creation being made Lord of the creatures, doth therein repreſent God, and is as his Vicar vpon earth. So then, all miniſters are the Vicars of Chriſt; the ciuill Magiſtrate likewiſe, in ſome good ſenſe, may be ſo called : yea in reſpect of the creatures, man generally is vpon earth in Gods ſtead : *Ergo,* this name cannot be appropriate to the Pope of Rome.

Quæſt.106.

Iohn Huſſe holy Martyr ſaith, *articl.12. Nemo gerit vicem Petri vel Chriſti niſi ſequatur eum in moribus :* No man can be *Peters* or Chriſts Vicar vnleſſe he follow him in life and maners. The Pope therefore is not Chriſts Vicar vnleſſe he imitate Chriſts holy life, which I would he did. One of your owne Popes alſo ſaith, *Iohann.22. Extrau.lib.3.tit.2.c.5. Vicarius Chriſti ipſius actibus ſe tenetur conformare :* Chriſts Vicar muſt conforme himſelfe to Chriſts actes and example : Which ſeeing the Pope doth not, he cannot be Chriſts Vicar, or Vicegerent.

4 It is alſo too huge a name for the Pope or any mortall man to beare, to be called the head of

the vniuerſall Church; this is a name onely due vnto Chriſt, neither doe the Scriptures acknowledge any other head, but him, Epheſ. 1.22.4.15. But (ſay they) we doe not make the Pope ſuch an head, as Chriſt is, but onely a miniſteriall head ouer the militant Church vpon earth, *Rhemiſt. 1. Eph. 22.*

We anſwere: Firſt, *Ergo*, the Pope by your owne confeſſion is not head of the vniuerſall
Church, whereof the triumphant Church in heauen is a part; nor yet of Purgatorie, but onely of
1 that part which is in the earth. Secondly, the Rhemiſts confeſſe that the Church in no ſenſe can
be called the bodie of the Pope: *Ergo*, the Pope cannot be any waies the head of the vniuerſall
Church, *Annot. in 1. Epheſ.* 22. Thirdly, the Fathers of Baſile vſed this argument: The head of the
2 body being dead, the whole bodie alſo dieth; but the whole Church doth not periſh with the
Pope: *Ergo*, he is not properly the head of the Church, *Fox* pag. 675.

Further, in the ſame Councell, *Iohannes Patriarch. Antiochen. in appendic. concil.* thus reaſoneth,
Nec dici poteſt caput Miniſteriale vniuerſalis eccleſiæ, nam caput eſſe denotat praeminentiam, quam mi-
3 *niſter non habet ſupra dominam*: Neither can the Pope be ſaid to be the miniſteriall head of the vni-
uerſall Church: for to be an head argueth a preeminence, which the Miniſter hath not ouer his
Miſtreſſe.

Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. lib. 2. cap. 9. Eccleſiam cum capite ſuo Chriſto vnam conſtat eſſe perſonam: The
4 Church and Chriſt the head thereof make but one perſon. But ſo doe not the Pope and the
Church: therefore he cannot be the head thereof.

Adde vnto theſe the witneſſe of the holy Martyrs, *Iohn Huſſe articul.* 20. The Pope if he be a
5 wicked man, cannot be the head of the Church, ſeeing he is not ſo much as a member thereof: the
ſame reaſon vſeth that bleſſed Biſhop and Martyr, M. *Hooper*, examination 3. *Fox*. pag. 1507.

6 Maſter *Rogers* holy Martyr: Chriſt onely doth all in vs all, which is the true property of the
head, which is a thing, that all the Biſhops of Rome ſhall neuer doe, pag. 1486.

Vpon theſe reaſons, which I haue produced, being ſixe in number, it may be ſtrongly concluded, that the Pope in no ſenſe can be the head of Chriſts Church: which proude title ſeemeth to haue miſliked ſome of your Popes: as *Clemens* the fift, in the Councell of Vienna thus writeth, *Clementin. lib. 2. tit. 9. c. 1. Sacroſancta Romana eccleſiæ caput Chriſtus redemptor, &c.* Chriſt our redeemer is the head of the ſacred Romane Church, and the Romane Biſhop our Redeemers Vicar. So then he is onely the head of the Church that redeemed it; the Pope is but the heads Vicar, not the head it ſelfe.

If it ſhall be further obiected, that the Biſhop of Rome hath been called in times paſt, *caput Epiſcoporum*, the head of all other Biſhops: we anſwere, that it was but a title of excellencie and commendation, not of dominion and power: as London is called the head or chiefe Citie of England, yet are not other cities of the land ſubiect vnto it, or vnder the iuriſdiction thereof. But we ſhall haue occaſion more fully to diſcuſſe this matter afterward.

5 They would haue the Pope called the Prelate of the Apoſtolike See: the Rhemiſts ſay further, that the Papall dignitie is a continuall Apoſtleſhip, *Annot. 4. Epheſ. ſect. 4.*

We anſwere: Firſt, if they call thoſe Churches Apoſtolicall, whoſe firſt founders were the Apoſtles, then the See of Antioch, Alexandria, Conſtantinople, are as well Apoſtolicall as Rome.

Concil. Nicen. 2. action. 1. Retinentes locum Apoſtolicorum thronorum Orientalis dioiceſeus: They which occupie the roume of the Apoſtolike thrones of the Eaſt dioceſſe.

And this the Ieſuite denieth not, *lib. 2. de pontifice cap.* 31. But he maketh this difference: firſt, ſaith he, when we ſay the Apoſtolike See abſolutely, not adding either of Epheſus, or Antioch, the See of Rome is vnderſtoode: but the other Apoſtolike Sees are ſo called with reſtraint to the place. *Anſw.* That this is falſe which the Ieſuite ſaith, it is proued thus: *Siricius* Biſhop of Rome, *epiſtol. 4. can.* 1. decreeth thus, *Extra conſcientiam ſedis Apoſtolica, hoc eſt, primatis, nemo audeat ordinare*: Let no man ordaine (Biſhops he meaneth) without the knowledge of the Apoſtolike See, that is, ſaith he, expounding himſelfe, of the Primate of the Prouince, not vnderſtanding thereby the Biſhop of Rome, but the Primate or Metropolitane.

Coucil. Aurelianenſ. cap. 1. *Clodonaus* the King writeth thus to the Biſhops, which were 33. in number, there aſſembled, *Dominis ſanctis & Apoſtolica ſede digniſſimis*: To my holy Lords, moſt worthy of the Apoſtolike See. He calleth all their Sees Apoſtolicall according to the decree *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. cap. 9. ex Iſidor: Apoſtolis decedentibus ſucceſſerunt Epiſcopi, &c.* The Biſhops ſucceed the Apoſtles, and are placed through the world *in ſedibus Apoſtolorum*, in the Apoſtles Sees. In theſe places which I haue cited, the Apoſtolike See is named abſolutely, and yet the See of Rome not vnderſtood thereby. *Bellarmines* ſecond exception is this, that the Pope is not onely called Prelate of the Apoſtolike See, *Sed munus eius Apoſtolatus*, His office an Apoſtleſhip: ſo are not other. *Anſwere.* This is one of *Bellarmines* toyes, for ſeeing *Apoſtolicus*, and *Apoſtolatus*, are *coniugata*, and where the one is, there muſt be the other; if other Biſhops be as well Apoſtolicall as he, they haue alſo an Apoſtleſhip as well as he.

Secondly, thoſe Churches are Apoſtolicall, which hold the Apoſtolike faith: ſo is not the See of Rome Apoſtolicall, being departed and gone backe from the auncient Catholike faith: but thoſe Churches where the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt is truely preached, are indeed Apoſtolike.

Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr thus witneſſeth: it was neither for the priuiledge of the See or perſon, that the See and Biſhop of Rome were called Apoſtolike, but for the true trade of Chriſts religion taught and maintayned in that See, *Fox*.pa.1775. Thus alſo writeth *Agatho* Biſhop of Rome to *Conſtantine* the Emperour, *Væ mihi eſt, ſi veritatem Domini mei, quam Apoſtoli prædicarunt, prædicare neglexero:* Woe is vnto me, if I neglect to preach the trueth of my Lord, which the Apoſtles preached.

Thirdly, how can the Pope be an Apoſtle, or haue Apoſtolike authority, ſeeing he preacheth not at all, much leſſe to the whole world, wherein conſiſted the office of an Apoſtle? Neither can he ſhew his immediate calling from Chriſt, as all the Apoſtles could: for ſeeing he challengeth the Apoſtolike office by tradition from S. *Peter*, and not by commandement from Chriſt; he can in no wiſe be counted an Apoſtle, or his office an Apoſtleſhip: for the Apoſtles ordayned onely Euangeliſts and Paſtors, they had not authoritie to conſecrate and conſtitute new Apoſtles. Our aduerſaries for this their Apoſtleſhip, can finde nothing in Scripture, not for a thouſand yeares after Chriſt in the ancient writers, *Fulk.annot.in Epheſ.4.ſect.4.*

6 Concerning the title of vniuerſall Biſhop, it was thus decreed in the ſixte Councell of Carthage, as it is alleadged by *Gratian: Vniuerſalis autem nec Romanus pontifex appelletur:* No not the Biſhop of Rome is to be called vniuerſall. In *Gregorie* the firſt his time, *Iohn* Patriarch of Conſtantinople, obtayned of the Emperour *Mauritius* to be called vniuerſall Patriarch: but *Gregory* would not agree thereunto, calling him the forerunner of Antichriſt, that would challeng ſo proud a name, *Gregor.lib.4.Epiſtol.32.*

Diſtinct.99.

Bellarmine and other of that ſect doe anſwere, that *Gregory* found fault with this title, becauſe *Iohn* of Conſtantinople would haue been Biſhop alone, and none other to be beſide him, but all other onely to be his deputies and Vicars.

Lib.2.de pont. cap.31.

To this we reply: Firſt, *Iohn* did onely challenge a ſuperioritie ouer other Biſhops, not to be Biſhop alone; for this had been a thing impoſſible. Secondly, if *Iohn* had ſought any ſuch thing, it is not like that the Chalcedon Councel and the Emperour would haue yeelded to ſo vnreaſonable a matter as they did. Thirdly, *Eulogius* Patriarch of Alexandria doth call the ſaid *Gregory* vniuerſal Pope, which name he vtterly refuſeth: and yet *Eulogius* had no ſuch meaning to make him Biſhop or Patriarch alone, but onely to giue him a preeminence aboue the reſt.

Fox.pag.13.

Fourthly, this may appeare to be ſo by that which *Leo* writeth *Epiſtol.53*, concerning *Anatolius* Patriarch of Conſtantinople: to whom this preeminence was granted in the Chalcedon Councel. *Nimium ſuperbum eſt, vt vnius creſcat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus:* It is too proud an enterpriſe, to impugne the primacie of ſo many Metropolitanes, to increaſe the dignitie of one. *Pelagius* the ſecond thus writeth alſo againſt *Iohn* of Conſtantinople, who challenged to be called vniuerſall Biſhop: *Si ſummus patriarcha vniuerſalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur: epiſtol.1.decretal.* If the chiefe Patriarch be called vniuerſall, then the title of patriarchſhip is taken from the reſt. By theſe teſtimonies it appeareth, that theſe ambitious prelates had no meaning to ſpoyle the reſt of their Epiſcopall dignitie, but onely to haue the primacie and preeminence before them. For the title of vniuerſalitie doth onely derogate to the dignitie of Patriarches, and primacie of Metropolitanes.

This modeſt and humble Biſhop of Rome *Gregory*, of whom we ſpake before, in ſteade of the title, Vniuerſall, brought it into the Popes ſtile to be called *ſeruus ſeruorum Dei*, ſeruant to Gods ſeruants: *Ergo*, we conclude with *Gregory*, that this title, Vniuerſall, is an Antichriſtian name, and that it hath miſliked the auncient Biſhops of Rome themſelues; and how other Patriarches and Biſhops haue challenged that ambitious name and title, as well as the Popes of Rome. And it hath been acknowledged and yeelded vnto them, as *Conſtantinop. general.5. action.1.* *Iohn* Biſhop of Conſtantinople is called *Oecomenicus Patriarcha*, Oecomenicall, or vniuerſall Patriarch. *Conſtantinop.general.6.action.13.* *Cyrus* Biſhop of Alexandria writeth thus to *Sergius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople: *Ter beatiſſimo, benigno paſtori paſtorum, patri patrum, vniuerſali patriarchæ Sergio:* To the thriſe bleſſed paſtor of paſtors, and Father of Fathers, the vniuerſall Patriarch *Sergius*. And leaſt it might be ſaid that theſe Patriarches doe but dally and gloſe one with another, we finde that Pope *Adrian* writeth thus to *Tharaſius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, *Dilecto fratri vniuerſali Patriarchæ:* To my beloued brother the vniuerſall Patriarch, &c. *Nicen.2.action.2.*

We conclude therefore, that this title to be called vniuerſall Biſhop or Patriarch, neither was in times paſt, nor is now properly or of right belonging to the See of Rome.

Laſtly, ſee the iudgement of ſome Papiſts themſelues of this poynt: *Eckius* a ſtout popiſh champion ſaith thus diſputing againſt *Luther*, that *the Biſhop of Rome ought not to be called vniuerſall Biſhop, but Biſhop of the vniuerſall Church: Fox*.pag.848.

Concil. Baſilienſ. epiſtol. ſynodal. 8. *Romanus pontifex eſt vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ miniſter non dominus:* The Biſhop of Rome is a ſeruant or Miniſter of the vniuerſall Church not a Lord or Biſhop. They graunt not ſo much as *Eckius* doth. Biſhop *Longland* cutteth him yet ſhorter, ſaying, *There is no vniuerſall Biſhop but Chriſt: the Biſhop of Rome and all other Biſhops, are but vnderlings and vnworthie ſuffraganes to this Biſhop Chriſt. Fox.* pag. 1100.

THE SIXT QVESTION, WHETHER THE Pope may erre, or not.

The Papiſts.

47. Error. THey deny not but that both the Pope by himſelfe, and togither with a whole Councell, may be deceiued in matters of fact, that is, in hiſtoricall poynts, and the truth of things that are done, becauſe it dependeth of the teſtimonie and information of men; but in matters of faith and doctrine, the Pope determining with the Councell, is not ſubiect to error: yea, the Pope by himſelfe alone decreeing any thing concerning faith cannot be deceiued, *Bellarm. lib.* 4. *de pontific. cap.* 13. No nor yet in precepts of manners preſcribed to the Church by the Pope, is there any feare or danger of error, *cap.* 5. Yea, it is probable (ſaith he) that the Pope, not onely as Pope, cannot erre, but not as a priuate perſon, is it like he ſhould fall into hereſie, or holde any obſtinate opinion contrary to the faith? *cap.* 6.

Argum. 1. Luk. 22. 31. *Simon, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not.* Chriſt here praieth for *Peter*, and his ſucceſſors, that they might not at any time erre, or bee deceiued in matters of faith, *Bellarm. cap.* 3. *Rhem. annot. in Luk.* 22. *ſect.* 11.

We anſwere: Firſt, this was a particular prayer for *Peter*, that his faith ſhould not faile in that great and dangerous tentation, into the which our Sauiour foreſaw he ſhould fall: For if it were to be vnderſtood of *Peters* ſucceſſors, they alſo muſt firſt be ſifted by Sathan as *Peter* was, and denie Chriſt, and ſo being conuerted ſtrengthen their brethren: if they will vnderſtand one part of *Peters* ſucceſſors, I pray you, why not all? Secondly, our Sauiour praieth likewiſe for all his Apoſtles, that they might be ſanctified in the truth; yea for all, that ſhould beleeue by their preaching: yet is not euery Chriſtian priuiledged from all error of faith. Thirdly, after this *Peter* himſelfe erred, and was reprehended of S. *Paul.*

Argum. 2. The high Prieſts that ſate in *Moſes* chaire were priuiledged not to erre: as *Caiphas* though a wicked man, and in ſome ſort an vſurper, had ſome aſſiſtance of God for vtterance of the truth, Ioh. 11. 51. *Ergo*, much more now are the chiefe paſtors of the Church free from error, *Bellarm. cap.* 3. *Rhem. Luc.* 22. *ſect.* 11.

We anſwere: the high prieſts had no ſuch priuiledge, for ſome of them fell into ſtrange errors: *Vriah* the high prieſt ſet vp an Idolatrous Altar at the Kings commandement, 2. King. 16. *Eliaſhib* was ioyned in affinitie with *Tobiah* the Ammonite, contrarie to the law of God, Nehem. 13. 4. And concerning *Caiphas*, though at this time he ignorantly ſpake the truth, yet was he a Sadducee, and condemned Chriſt. And if *Caiphas* example proue any thing, being (as you ſay) but an vſurper of the Prieſthood, it maketh as well for vſurpers of the Papall See, that they alſo ſhould be priuiledged from error.

Bellarmine and the reſt doe much vrge that place of *Cyprian, epiſtol.* 1. *ad Cornelium: Non cogitant eos eſſe Romanos, quorum fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, ad quos perfidia habere non poſſit acceſſum:* They remember not that they are Romanes, whoſe faith is ſo commended euen by the Apoſtle himſelfe, vnto whom falſehood or vntruth can haue no acceſſe. Alſo *Euſebius* B. of Rome ſaith, *In Eccleſia Catholica extra maculam ſemper eſt Catholica ſeruata religio:* In the Catholike Church, the Catholike Religion hath alwaies been kept without ſpot.

Lucius B. of Rome alſo thus writeth, *Vt in exordio normam fidei Apoſtolicæ ab authoribus ſuis percepit, ſic illibata fine tenus manet:* As in the beginning it receiued the Apoſtolike faith from the authors thereof, ſo it remaineth vncorrupted to the end, *Epiſtol decretal.*

Anſw. Firſt, as for the teſtimonies of the Biſhops of Rome, they doe not greatly moue vs: for who ſeeth not that they might be partiall, in iudging of their owne Church? *Cyprians* teſtimonie, a welwiller of the Romane Church, though not of that Church, carrieth greater waight with it. Secondly, they all here alleaged, haue eſpeciall relation to former times, and commend the conſtancie of the Romane faith: for vntill *Cyprian* and *Lucius* time, and ſomewhat after, the Biſhops of Rome were faithfull men, impugners of hereſies, holy Martyrs: for as yet *Marcellinus* had not fallen: and therefore they could doe no leſſe, then commend their continuance in the Apoſtolike faith, during ſo many yeeres of perſecution. And for the time to come, they ſpeake not definitely as Prophets, but iudge charitably as brethren, that they hope well, that the Church of Rome, which had held out ſo long, would haue held out to the end. Thirdly, *Euſebius* ſaith, that in the Catholike Church the Catholike faith ſhall alwaies remaine: ſo then as long as the Church of

Rome was Catholike, not departing from the doctrine of the Apoſtles, they were ſure to haue the Apoſtolike faith: and thus *Cyprian* alſo and *Lucius*, with the reſt that ſo ſpeake, muſt bee vnderſtood. So a popiſh champion himſelfe teacheth vs to vnderſtand them: *Quod dicitur, Eccleſia Romana ſemper immaculata permanſit, & permanebit, intelligi debet verum, quamdiu ligabit & ſoluet iuſtè, claue non errante:* Where it is ſaid, the Church of Rome hath remained and ſhall continue vnſpotted, to make it true, we muſt vnderſtand, ſo long as it bindeth and looſeth iuſtly, the key not erring: *Iohan. Patriarch. Antiochen. opuſcul. in appendic. Concil. Baſilienſ.*

The Proteſtants.

THat the Popes and Biſhops of Rome haue not onely erred in manners, but euen in faith; and not onely priuately and perſonally as men, but publikely and iudicially as Popes; that they haue by their publike and open preaching, defence, allowance, and conſent approoued and eſtabliſhed erronious, and ſome hereticall opinions: thus wee truſt to make it plaine and euident to all men.

1 *Peter* erred: *Ergo*, the Pope may, though he were *Peters* ſucceſſor. Firſt, *Peter* erred in denying of Chriſt. The Ieſuite anſwereth: firſt, he began not yet to be the chiefe Biſhop, which he entered not into till after the reſurrection, when Chriſt ſaid vnto him, *Feede my ſheepe*, Ioh. 21. therefore all this while he might erre. A goodly anſwere: I pray you tell me, was not the Church before Chriſts paſſion, and after, built vpon the ſame rocke? I trow they cannot denie it: but *Peter* was not the rocke before, therefore not after.

If he were therefore called a rocke becauſe of his confeſſion of Chriſt, why ſhould he not then rather, ſtraight after his confeſſion, take poſſeſſion of his office, then immediatly after his deniall of Chriſt? Surely this is but a ſilly ſhift. Secondly, ſaith the Ieſuite, *Peter* failed in charitie when he denied Chriſt, not in faith, *cap.* 3. and if he failed in faith, he loſt the confeſſion of faith, and not faith it ſelfe.

We anſwere: Firſt, can a true faith then bee ſeparated from loue by your doctrine? The Apoſtles knew no ſuch faith: Saint *Iames* ſaith, it is a dead faith that is without the workes of loue, and the faith of diuels, that is, no faith, Iames 2.17.19. If then *Peters* loue failed, his faith alſo failed. Secondly, we do not ſay that *Peters* faith was loſt and vtterly extinguiſhed, for Chriſt praied for him, but whether it were an error in faith which *Peter* fell into: for it is not all one to erre in faith, or cleane to loſe faith. Thirdly, he loſt the confeſſion of faith, he denied Chriſt in word: *Ergo*, he denied the faith, howſoeuer he thought in heart: for theſe two are the principall fruites of faith, to Beleeue with the hart, and Confeſſe with the mouth, Rom. 10. and where either of theſe is wanting, there cannot bee a right faith: for he that putteth away a good conſcience, maketh ſhipwracke alſo of faith, 1. Tim. 1.19. But the Ieſuite I ſee hath a queazie ſtomacke, let him cough vp luſtily, and ſay with one of his fellowes, *Petrus non fidem Chriſti, ſed Chriſtum ſalua fide negauit:* *Peter* denied not the faith of Chriſt, but his faith remaining ſound and whole, he onely denied Chriſt. Loe, here is new popiſh diuinitie, that a man may denie Chriſt, and yet not denie the faith.

Alan.Cop.

Secondly, *Peter* erred in conſtraining the Gentiles to doe as the Iewes. *Bellarmine* ſaith, it was an error in example and conuerſation, not in faith or doctrine, *cap.* 7.

We anſwere: Firſt, in this example of *Peter* there was alſo included an error in faith: for how ſhould the Gentiles better know *Peters* iudgement, then by his example, by the which they fell into an error of faith, and were conſtrained to conforme themſelues like to the Iewes: thinking that the Iewiſh ceremonies were neceſſarie to be retained? Secondly, S. *Paul* himſelfe ſaith, they went not the right way to the truth of the Goſpell: *Ergo*, they erred from the truth of the Goſpell, and ſo in faith. Thirdly, the Diuines of Paris doe attribute to *Peter* an error in faith, *Fulk. annot.* 4. *Galat. ſect.* 9.

Thus teſtifieth alſo *Gelaſius, Tom. de anathematis vinculo. S. Petrus ſic exiſtimans noui teſtamenti gratiam prædicandam, vt à legis veteris non recederet inſtitutis, quædam per ſimulationem legitur geſſiſſe:* S. *Peter* thinking that the grace of the new Teſtament was ſo to bee preached, that he ſhould not notwithſtanding leaue the inſtitution of the old law, is read to haue committed ſomewhat by diſſimulation. It was therefore an error in opinion, which afterward the ſame *Gelaſius* calleth, *imbellis inſcitia*, his impotent vnſkilfulnes: Saint *Peter* therefore failed not onely in his examples, but in his knowledge and iudgement.

2 We can produce many examples of the Popes, which haue erred iudicially, namely, openly haue maintained errors. To let paſſe *Marcellinus*, who ſacrificed to Idols, as a ſlippe of his perſon, and he afterward repented him of his fall: yet by the way the Ieſuite is deceiued, that thinketh it probable, that the Popes particular perſon cannot fall into hereſie: here you ſee *Marcellinus* fell into Idolatrie.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that *Marcellinus* was no heretike, *Niſi actu externo ob metum mortis:* But onely in an externall act for feare of death.

Contra. That *Marcellinus* failed not only in committing of an vnlawful act, but erred in iudgement, it appeareth in the proceſſe againſt him in the Sinueſſane Councell: for thus *Marcellinus* at the firſt excuſed himſelfe, *Non Dijs ſacrificaui, ſed tantùm grana leuatis manibus ſuper prunas combuſſi:* I did not ſacrifice (ſaith he) to the Gods, but onely lifting vp my hands, burnt incenſe ouer the coales. But what is this elſe, I pray you, then to offer ſacrifice to Idols?

Liberius ſubſcribed to the Arrians, conſented to the condemnation of *Athanaſius*: as teſtifieth *Hierome*, confeſſed by *Nicholaus Cuſanus*, and *Alphonſus de caſtro*, both Papiſts, *Iuel. pag*. 164. *defenſ. Apolog.*

Lib. 6. de loc. cap. vlt.

Honorius 1. conſented to the hereſie of *Sergius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, who was a Monothelite, and held, that there were not two wils or operations in Chriſt, and ſo deſtroyed the two natures. That *Honorius* was a Monothelite, *Melchior Canus* a Papiſt confeſſeth: he was condemned for an heretike in the 6. 7. and 8. generall Synodes. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that the Councels are corrupted, or they might be deceiued in iudgement, as in a matter of fact: or that *Honorius* onely miſliked the ſpeech, to ſay there were two willes in Chriſt, and not the thing. See what poore ſhifts here be to make *Honorius* no heretike, and yet all will not be: for one of your owne Popes *Leo* 2. writing to *Conſtantinus* the Emperour, accurſed *Honorius* amongſt other Monothelite heretikes: We accurſe (ſaith he) the inuentors of this new error, *Theodorus, Cyrus, &c.* and *Honorius*, which did not lighten the Apoſtolike Church, with the doctrine of Apoſtolike tradition, but by prophane treaſon endeuoured to ſubuert the immaculate faith. Thus *Honorius* in a principal article of the faith erred, not in his priuate opinion onely, but in his publike defence.

Adrianus 2. Biſhop of Rome, whatſoeuer the Ieſuite ſaith to the contrarie, putteth all out of doubt: as it may appeare *Conſtantinop. general.* 8. *action.* 7. for he writeth thus: *Licet Honorio ab Orientalibus poſt mortem anathema ſit dictum, ſciendum tamen eſt, quia ſuper hæreſi fuerat accuſatus, propter quam ſolum licitum eſt iunioribus maiorum ſuorum motibus reſiſtere:* Although *Honorius* were accurſed or condemned of the Eaſt Church after his death, you muſt vnderſtand that he was accuſed of hereſie, for the which onely it is lawfull for the inferiours to reſiſt the doings of their ſuperiours. Here a Pope himſelfe plainly confeſſeth, that *Honorius* his predeceſſor was an heretike.

Pope *Stephen* the 6. tooke vp *Formoſus* bodie, and cut off two fingers of his right hand, and buried him againe in a lay-mans Sepulchre. Then followed *Romanus* the 1. *Theodorus* the 2. *Iohannes* the 9. and reſtored *Formoſus* with his decrees, iudging him to be lawfull Biſhop. After them commeth *Sergius* the 3. who tooke vp the bodie againe, cut off the head, and caſt it into Tyber. The Ieſuite anſwereth, that *Stephanus* and *Sergius* erred onely in a matter of fact. A goodly cloake to couer the filthineſſe of their ghoſtly fathers withall.

But by your leaue a little: doe you not hold it to be an article of faith to beleeue the Pope to bee the head of Chriſts Church? Then was it an article of faith to hold that *Formoſus* was right Pope, for at that time there was no other: *Ergo, Stephanus* and *Sergius* erred in faith, defining the contrarie.

All that you can ſay, is this: that it was not yet determined and decreed for an article of faith, ſo to beleeue: ſee, I pray you, theſe mens faith is pinned vpon Popes ſleeues. Why maſters, the rule of faith is certaine, you cannot make new articles of faith now, but onely declare and explane thoſe that are: as one of your owne Popes well ſaith; *Articuli fidei habent probari ex ſcripturis:* The articles of faith muſt be proued out of Scripture, and are contained in the *Symbole. Ioan.* 22. *Extra. tit.* 14. *cap.* 5. But doe you not thinke that theſe iolly Popes, that would rake the dead out of their graues, for their holineſſe might deſerue at Gods hand, to haue a priuiledge not to erre in faith?

Gregorius 3 *epiſtol. ad Bonifacium* thus determineth, *Virum vxore infirmitate correpta, & non valente ei debitum reddere, aliam ducere, &c.* The husband if his wife be taken with any infirmitie, ſo that ſhe cannot performe her due vnto him, may marrie another. Pope *Nicholas* 1. *de matrimon. can.* 6. decreed cleane contrarie: They that were ſound when they married, and afterward fall into any infirmitie: *ob hanc infirmitatem coniugia talium diſſolui non poſſunt:* becauſe of this infirmitie their mariage muſt not be diſſolued. One of theſe muſt needes be in error: for one ſaith, that becauſe of the infirmitie of the wife, mariage may bee diſſolued: the other ſaith contrarie. Neither doth *Bellarmine* helpe the matter, in ſaying, that *Gregorie* ſpeaketh of a continuall impotencie and weakenes of nature, and ſo the mariage was, *ex errore contractum*, contracted of error and ignorance: and ſuch kinde of mariages may lawfully bee looſed, being indeede no mariages: *Hæc ille. Contra.* But it is plaine that *Gregorie* ſpeaketh of infirmitie or ſicknes, that the wife is taken withall, *correpta*, not that was continually vpon her: and howſoeuer it is, both theſe Popes vſing the ſame word, Infirmitie, and ſo meaning the ſame thing, cannot be excuſed from contrarietie.

Nicholaus 1. *de baptiſmo decret.* 1. alloweth baptiſme made onely in the name of Chriſt, without expreſſe mention of the Trinitie: which is a manifeſt error, and contrarie to the Scripture, Math. 28. 19. *Bellarmines* anſwere is, *Eum non definiendo ſic dixiſſe, ſed vt particularem doctorem:* That he ſpake this not definitiuely,but as a particular Doctor. ***Contra.*** A weake defence : for where elſe is the Popes definite ſentence to be found,but in his decrees publiſhed to the whole world,as this is? and it is placed amongſt your owne Canons,*Decret.par.3.diſt.4.cap.24.*

*Alexander 3.Lateranenſ.concil.part.6.cap.*8.forbiddeth mariage to be made, *cum ſorore ſponſæ defunctæ,*with her ſiſter that was eſpouſed and betrothed,and is now dead.

*Benedictus part.6.cap.*27. determineth cleane contrarie : *Qui vnam ſororem deſponſauerit, ſi eam non cognouerit,poteſt aliam ſororem ſibi matrimonio copulare:* He that hath eſpouſed to himſelfe one ſiſter,if he haue not knowne her,may marrie the other ſiſter.

*Alexand.ibid.cap.*8. *Matrimonium contractum per verba de præſenti cum alio initum diſſoluendum indicat:* He iudgeth matrimonie contracted with one by words of the preſent tence,and yet made with another,to be voide. *Benedictus* determineth contrarie, *cap.*28. for the caſe is put of one *R.* that was contracted with one *Mary,*by words of the preſent tence,and nothing wanted but ſolemnization of the mariage : afterward the ſaid *R.*marieth another: If there be no other let (ſaith he) beſide this mutuall conſent and contract, *Secunda matrimonia inuiolabiliter obſeruanda iudicamus:* We giue ſentence that the ſecond mariage hold. Now one of theſe Popes, the one being ſo contrarie to the other, muſt needes be in an error.

Syluester the ſecond was a Necromancer and a Coniurer, and therefore fallen from the faith. *Bellarmine* ſaith,he was a good man,and all are fables and lyes that are tolde of him : and becauſe he was cunning in Geometrie , that ignorant age ſtraightwaies iudged him to bee giuen to Necromancie.

Thus we may take the Ieſuites word,if we will. But the ſtorie is reported by authors of better credit then *Bellarmine:* as *Iohannes Stella, Platina, Petrus Premonſtratenſ. Nauclerus, Antoninus. Fox pag.*167.

Anastaſius was a Neſtorian heretike,whoſe hereſie was this,that there are,as two natures,ſo alſo two perſons in Chriſt, *Alphonſ.de caſtro lib.*1.*de hæreſib.cap.*4.

Celestinus is reported by *Laurentius Valla* a Canon of Rome, to haue been a Neſtorian heretike,*de donation.Conſtantin.*

Now commeth in Pope *Hildebrand,* or rather *Heldebrand,* for he was a very brand of hell fire ; called *Gregory* the ſeuenth : Of whome *Benno* writeth thus : that he poyſoned ſixe Popes his predeceſſors to make himſelfe a way to the Popedome : that he was a Coniurer,a rayſer of Diuels,and in his rage he caſt the ſacrament into the fier.But ſaith *Harding* our countrey man,though vnworthily,*Benno* was his enemy,and wrote of diſpleaſure:and *Bellarmine* thinketh that ſome *Lutherane* was the author of the booke,which goeth vnder the name of *Benno,*who was Cardinal in this *Hildebrands* time. But *Benno* onely doth not thus report of him : he was openly twiſe for the ſame crimes condemned in Councell : firſt at Wormes : then after depoſed in the Councell at Brixia in Italie, and Pope *Clement* the third elected to ſucceede him. And the ſaid *Gregory* died in exile, of whome *Antoninus* reporteth, that before his death, he repented him of his inſolency ſhewed toward the Emperor *Henry* the fourth ; whom with his wife and young child bare foote, and bare legd,he had cauſed three dayes together, in extreame froſt and colde, to waite at his palace gates at *Canuſium,*before he could ſpeake with him. Yet this *Hildebrand* for all theſe inſolent, cruell, and diſhoneſt parts,is commended by our papiſts, *Harding, Bellarmine* and other,for a deuout Catholike man,who did all things of a zeale to the Church. By this you may iudge,whom our aduerſaries count a Catholike man.

Vrſpergenſ.

Fox.pag.179.
Iuel.168.
Defenſ.Aplog.

Pope *Iohn* the 22. affirmed, that the ſoules lye in a traunce till the day of iudgement,and feele neither payne nor ioye. *Harding,*and likewiſe *Bellarmine* anſwere, that this was an error, but no hereſie. Yet in the vniuerſitie of Paris,it was condemned for hereſie,as *Gerſon* writeth. Againe ſaith *Harding,* he held it onely as a priuate opinion. But *Maſſæus* ſaith, that Pope *Iohn* preached this hereſie and ſent out preachers to maintaine it. He was condemned (ſaith he) with his error by the diuines of Paris in the preſence of *Philip* the French King, before he was Pope, when he was yet but a priuate Doctor. But the contrary is proued by Biſhop *Iewel,* that he was Pope 13.yeares before *Philip* was King, *Iuel.defenſ.Apolog.*pag.667.

Pope *Iohn* the 23. denied the life to come, and the reſurrection of the bodie : And this hereſie was openly obiected againſt him in the Councell of Conſtance. *Bellarmine* and *Harding* before him, anſwere, that he was not the rightfull Pope, for there were three at that time, and therefore might erre. But *Platina* ſaith,that he was choſen at Bononia, by the conſent of all the Cardinals, *ex Iuel.*pag.671.

Laſtly, Pope *Engenius* the fourth was condemned and depoſed as an heretike in the Councell of Baſile. Where the Ieſuite hath no other anſwere,then by condemning the Couucell as Schiſmaticall,to acquite the Pope, *lib.3.de pontif.cap.*14.

By theſe examples it may appeare to the indifferent reader, that it is no rare nor impoſſible thing,for the Popes of Rome to erre,yea become playne heretikes. And as for that ſhifte of the Ieſuite,

ſuite, that they are no longer Popes, when they openly begin to teach hereſie, this is as *Alphonſus* De hæreſib. lib.1.cap.4. ſaith, *In re ſeria verbis velle iocari*, to dally with words in a ſerious and earneſt matter. And ſo euery Biſhop ſhall be as well priuiledged as the Pope, and cannot fall into hereſie: for why may we not ſay that a Biſhop, when he is knowne to be an heretike, ceaſeth to be Biſhop any longer, as the Pope is no longer Pope; and ſo as long as he remayneth Biſhop, cannot poſſiblie be an heretike? Surely this is but paltrie and beggarly ſtuffe.

Neither haue we named all the Popes, that are found to haue erred publikely, and iudicially: as *Lucius* doth allow marriages made without conſent of parents; *de raptorib.cap.cum cauſa: Euariſtus* before him defineth ſuch not to be lawfull marriages, but rather, *ſtupra & adulteria*, whoredomes and adulteries, *epiſt*.1. One of theſe two decreeing thus contrarie each to other, muſt needes be in an error. *Oldendorpius*, and *Duarenus* doe thinke that *Lucius* is in an error, and they thinke right: but *Antonius Delphinus* to iuſtifie the practiſe herein of the Popiſh Church, doth impute the error to *Euariſtus*.

Innocentius the 1. did definitiuely hold, that it was neceſſarie for infants to receiue the Communion, which is a manifeſt error: *Auguſtine* ſo writeth of him, who was in the ſame error himſelfe, *cont.Iulian.lib*.1.*cap*.2.

Innocentius againe writing to *Decentius*, affirmeth that none of the Apoſtles did preach in Italie, France, Spaine, Africa, but *Peter*, and whom he ſent, *decr.p*.1.*diſt*.11.*c*.11. which one of your owne writers ſaith is contrarie to Saint *Pauls* epiſtles, and the ſtorie of the Actes, *Eſpenc.in* 2.*Timoth.p*.177.

Nicholas the 4. did define publikely, that neither Chriſt or his Apoſtles had any thing in property, *Sext.decret.lib*.5.*tit*.12.*c*.3.

Iohn the 22. defineth this aſſertion to be hereſie, for any man to ſay, that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had nothing, *Extrau.tit*.14.*cap*.4.

And to conclude, it is a rule in their owne law: *Error cui non reſiſtitur approbari videtur*: Error, that is not reſiſted, is approued, *Extrau.Iohann.tit*.5.*c*.3. And by theſe reaſons, few of the Popes ſhall be free from error, who haue ſuffered, thorough their idle and voluptuous life, many errors and hereſies to grow vp vnder their noſe without checke.

Let vs ſee what a generall Councell hath determined of this matter, *Concil.Baſilienſ.epiſtol.ſynod*. 8. *This priuiledge, ſay they, not to erre, hath not been granted*, communi lege, *by a common or perpetuall law to any, not to the Angels, for many of them fell; not to our firſt parents, for they were deceiued: Non ſummis pontificibus, quorum nonnulli in hæreſes & errores lapſi eſſe dicuntur, & leguntur*, Not vnto the chiefe Biſhops, for many of them are read to haue fallen into error and hereſie.

The teſtimonie of the glorious Martyrs is this: Maſter *Bilney* holy Martyr, accuſed and condemned for this article with others, that he ſhould ſay, *That theſe fiue hundred yeeres there hath been no good Pope, nor in all the time paſt we can finde but fiftie; for they haue neither preached, nor liued well, &c. But till now haue borne the keyes of Simon, &c. Fox*.pag.1001.

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr: *I thinke verely that ſo long as the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles were perſecuted and martyred (he meaneth the* 30. *Biſhops of Rome, that were put to death for Chriſt,) there were good Chriſten men, and no longer*: pag.1252. If the Popes haue hardly been good Chriſten men this long time, much leſſe haue they been freed from error.

De Baptiſ.lib. 2.cap.3. Laſtly, *Auguſtine* is not a whit afraid to ſay, *Epiſcoporum literas per ſermonem ſapientiorem cuiuſlibet in ea re peritioris, & per aliorum epiſcoporum grauiorem authoritatem, & per concilia licere reprehendi, ſi in eis à veritate deuiatum ſit*. That the decrees of all Biſhops whatſoeuer (not excluding Popes) may be corrected either by the ſentence of wiſer men in that point, wherein they erred, or by the better aduiſed ſentence of other Biſhops, or by Councels may bee reuerſed, where they doe erre. *Ergo*, it is poſſible for Popes, by his iudgement, to erre.

A PART OR APPENDIX OF THIS QVESTION, whether the Church of Rome may erre or not.

The Papiſts.

48.Error. THey doe not onely affirme that the Pope cannot erre, but that the Church of Rome alſo cannot be deceiued in matters of faith, ſo long as the Apoſtolike See remaineth there, which, they ſay, is like there to remaine to the end of the world. *Bellarmin.lib*.3.*de pontif.cap* 4. Hereupon *Panormitane* doubteth not to ſay, that he would preferre the iudgement of the Cardinals of Rome, before the iudgement of the whole world: this he ſaid, ſtanding vp in the Councell of Baſile, *Fox*. pag.669. ex *Ænea Syluio*.

Argum.1. The Rhemiſts vpon thoſe words of S.*Paul*, Rom.1.5. your faith is publiſhed through the whole world, doe thus inferre: See (ſay they) the great prouidence of God in the preſeruation of the Roman common faith. In times paſt the Romane faith and Catholike all one: *Ergo*, that See cannot erre in faith.

We anſwere: they muſt proue their Romiſh faith and Popiſh religion, to be the ſame which was prayſed and commended by the Apoſtle, or elſe they gaine nothing: but that ſhall they neuer doe.

Argum.*2.** So long as the Apoſtolike See remaineth at Rome, it ſhall be preſerued from error, but that is like there to remaine till the worlds end: for it onely remaineth, when all other Apoſtolike Sees are gone: and it is very probable, that if this See could haue been ouerthrowen, it ſhould haue been done by the incurſion and inuaſion of the Gothes, Vandals, Turkes, the emulation of Princes, diuiſions and ſchiſmes of Popes themſelues: yet for all this it ſtandeth ſtill, and hath ſo continued almoſt 1600. yeeres, and ſhall ſo continue ſtill. *Ergo,* the Romane Church cannot erre. ***Bellarm.lib.2.cap.4.Rhemiſt.annot.in 2.Theſſal.2.ſect.9.

We anſwere: Firſt, it is a great vntruth, that all other Apoſtolike Sees are gone, for there is a ſucceſſion at Antioch, Alexandria, Conſtantinople, Epheſus, euen at this day. Secondly, it is falſe, that the See of Rome hath continued in that religion it now profeſſeth, which indeede is no religion, but ſuperſtition and hereſie, theſe 1600. yeeres: for firſt till *Gregories* time, which was 600. yeeres after Chriſt, none of the Popes would be called vniuerſall Biſhops: and it was more then 300. yeeres, from *Gregory* the firſt to *Sylueſter* the ſecond, when Sathan is thoughtfully to be let looſe: for he by the diuell was aduanced to the papacie: All theſe yeeres therefore you muſt ſtrike off in your account. Thirdly, that the See of Rome, which is the ſeate of Antichriſt, hath continued many yeeres, we grant: for it is the iuſt iudgement of God vpon the world, becauſe they loued not the truth, that they ſhould be deluded a long time, and deceiued by Antichriſt, and beleeue lies: ſo did S. *Paul* propheſie, 2. Theſſ. 2. 10. 11. And we grant alſo that that Antichriſtian See ſhall in ſome ſort remaine till the comming of Chriſt, whom he ſhall deſtroy with the brightnes of his appearing, as S. *Paul* ſaith. You haue gained therefore nothing by this, but that Rome is the ſeate of Antichriſt.

The Proteſtants.

It is euident and plaine, and neede not much proofe, that the Romane Church, as alſo any particular viſible Church, may not onely erre in faith, but fall cleane away into hereſie and Idolatrie, as we ſee it come to paſſe in the Church of Rome.

***Argum.*1.** The Church of Rome hath no better aſſurance of their continuance, then the Church of the Iewes had before Chriſt, no nor yet ſo great, for they were a peculiar and choſen nation. But *Iudah* fell and tranſgreſſed, and committed idolatrie in the raigne of *Ahaz* and therefore the prophet *Eſay* complaineth and ſaith, from the ſole of the foote to the head, there is nothing ſound chap. 1. verſ. 6.

Neither are they better then the Church of Epheſus was in S. *Iohns* time, who was as able (I thinke) to keepe that Church from error, as the Pope is to keepe Rome: yet the Lord threatneth to remoue his candleſticke from amongſt them, vnleſſe they did amend, Reu. 2. 5. *Ergo,* the Church of Rome may erre.

***Argum.*2.** The Pope may erre, as we haue before ſhewed: *Ergo,* the Church of Rome: for the Apoſtolike See, as they ſay, is the cauſe that no error can approch or come neere them. Therefore (me thinketh) the Ieſuite committeth a foule abſurdity, in ſaying, the Church of Rome cannot ſo much as erre perſonally, and yet they grant that the Pope may erre perſonally. So by this reaſon the body ſhould haue a greater priuiledge then the head: the Church of Rome ſhould be freer from error then the Pope, who ſhould preſerue it from error: this ſure is a great abſurditie in Popiſh diuinity, ***Bellarm.cap.*4.**

3 It is confeſſed by our aduerſaries themſelues, that the Church of Rome may erre: as the Councell at Rome vnder *Adrian* the ſecond erred, ſaith the Ieſuite, in determining *Honorius* to be an heretike, one of his predeceſſors, chap. 11.

The Councell of the Italian Biſhops at Brixia erred in condemning *Gregory* the ſeuenth, who was, if you will beleeue ***Harding,*** a vertuous and an holy man: Nay *Paulus Iouius* a popiſh Biſhop Lib.20.fine.
confeſſeth, that *Adrianus* the ſixte was made Pope, ***mira & pudenda Senatorum factioſorum ſuffragatione,*** through the ſtrange and ſhamefull ſuffrages of factious Cardinals, becauſe they preferred a ſtranger before their owne order.

But our aduerſaries haue a tricke, to ſhift off all this that hath been ſaid: They erred in a matter of fact, not in any poynt of faith. Yet they cannot ſo cloſely conuey the matter away: for *Panormitane* euen in ſuch queſtions alſo preferreth the iudgement of the Cardinals before the whole Fox.pag.669.
world, ſpeaking in the defence of ***Eugenius,*** who was chalenged in the Councell of Baſile, for the diſſolution of the Councell, which he did (ſaith *Panormitane*) with the aduice of the Cardinals: whoſe iudgement he ſo much eſteemeth in this matter, which concerned not faith, namely, for the diſſoluing of the Councell.

Appendix.Concil.Baſil.ex opuſc.Iohan.Patriarch.Conſtantinop. We reade thus, *Quod dicitur, eccleſia Romana ſemper immaculata permanſit, & permanebit, intelligi debet verum, quamdiu ligabit iuſtè,*

claue non errante. Whereas it is ſaid, the Church of Rome hath alwayes remained vnſpotted, and ſhall ſo continue ſtill, it muſt bee vnderſtood to make it true, ſo long as ſhee bindeth iuſtly, the key not erring. Their ſentence is therefore, that the Church of Rome may erre in diſpenſing of the keyes, &c.

Saint *Hierome* writing againſt *Vigilantius* ſaith, *Galliam ſolam hareſeωn monſtra non habuiſſe:* That onely France of all Churches was free from hereſie. In ſaying onely France, the Church of Rome is not excepted: and this ſaying of S. *Hierome* is approued by one of your owne writers, *Eſpenc. in* 1. *ad Timoth. p.* 383.

The ſame father alſo miſliketh a certaine cuſtome, or abuſe rather of the Romane Church, that Deacons were preferred before Prieſts, and ſaith, they did not, *rectè facere*, doe that which was right, they were therfore in an error. And this ſentence is inſerted into their owne decrees, *diſt.* 93. *cap. legimus.*

Againe, *Decr. part.* 2. *cauſ.* 35. *quaeſt.* 9. *cap.* 6. *Nicholaus, ſententia Romanæ ſedis, &c.* The ſentence of the See of Rome may be changed into a better: *Ergo,* that See may erre and be deceiued.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF THE SPIRITVALL iuriſdiction and power of the Biſhop of Rome.

THis queſtion hath two parts: the firſt, whether the Biſhop of Rome haue a coactiue and conſtraining power to make lawes to binde the conſcience, and to puniſh the tranſgreſſors. Secondly, whether other Paſtors and Biſhops haue their iuriſdiction immediatly from God, or from the Pope.

Other queſtions alſo there are, which belong to this matter, as whether the Pope bee the chiefe Iudge in controuerſies of faith, which we haue alreadie handled, entreating of the perfection and authoritie of the Scriptures: as alſo whether it be in the Pope to ſummon, diſſolue, and confirme Councels, which hath been ſufficiently declared before, in the controuerſie concerning Councels. Concerning other queſtions, as the canonizing of Saints, which they ſay appertaineth to the Pope, the election and confirmation of Biſhops, pardons and indulgences, we ſhall haue fitter occaſion to deale in them, in their ſeuerall places and controuerſies. At this time we purpoſe onely to touch theſe two poynts aforeſaid, of the Popes eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE POPE may make lawes to binde the conſcience, and puniſh the tranſgreſſors thereof iudicially.

The Papiſts.

49. Error. THat the Pope hath ſuch authoritie, to make lawes for the whole Church, which ſhall binde vnder paine of damnation, as well as the lawes of God, it is the generall opinion of the Papiſts, *Fox* 981. *articul.* 13. *& pag.* 1101. *articul. cont. Lambert.* 29. But they put in this clauſe, ſo they bee not vniuſt lawes nor contrarie to the diuine law, *Bellarm. cap.* 15. And yet they ſay that the Pope may make lawes, hauing not the authoritie nor warrant of Scripture, neither is it neceſſarie for theſe lawes to be expreſſed or diduced out of Scripture. And theſe lawes are not onely of externall rites and orders of the Church, but euen of things neceſſarie to ſaluation, *Bellarm. cap.* 15. *in reprehenſ. Caluini.* Yea he addeth further, that in matters not neceſſarie to ſaluation, he cannot be diſobeyed without deadly ſinne, and offence of conſcience, *cap.* 16. *loc.* 1. *Bulla Leonis* 10. *aduerſus Lutherum, Fox. pag.* 1283. *col.* 1.

Argum. 1. The Apoſtles preſcribed a law concerning the abſtaining from blood, things ſtrangled, and offered to Idols, concerning the which Chriſt gaue them no precept. But this law did bind the people in conſcience: for euery where the Apoſtles gaue ſtreight charge, for the keeping of the decrees, *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtles commanded no new thing, but the ſame which they themſelues were taught of Chriſt, that they ſhould take heede of offence: the Chriſtians therefore were not bound in conſcience any further to keep the decrees concerning ſuch things, then for auoyding of ſcandall and offence. Secondly, for afterward the offence being taken away, the law alſo ceaſed: and Saint *Paul* giueth libertie, notwithſtanding this law, to eate things offered to Idols, if it might be done without offence, asking no queſtion (ſaith he) for conſcience ſake, 1. Cor. 10. 27. which Epiſtle it is certaine was written after that decree of the Apoſtles, Act. 15. 29. *Ergo,* their conſciences were not hereby obliged and bound.

1 *Bellarmine* replieth to the firſt, that though the end of the Apoſtles precept was to auoide offence, yet the precept it ſelfe was as touching the not eating of things offered to Idols, ſtrangled and blood: as the end of the Morall law, as not to ſteale, not to kill, is charitie: yet the law

bindeth vs not onely to that end, but to abſtaine alſo from killing and ſtealing: *cap.*16.*reſponſ ad Caluin.loc.*5.

Contra. Bellarmine here ſheweth either his wilfull ignorance, or raſh ouerſight, making no difference betweene things indifferent, and euill of their owne nature: for to kill, to ſteale, are euill in themſelues and ſimply forbidden, and not onely for offence: to eate or not to eate, this or that, are indifferent in themſelues, and not vnlawfull but in reſpect of the offence, which followeth.

2 *Bellarmine* to the ſecond point anſwereth, that this law of the Apoſtles is now abrogated, not becauſe the offence ceaſeth, but becauſe the law vniuerſally is determined: as for example, the end of faſting is to tame the fleſh rebelling againſt the ſpirit, which reaſon ſhall ceaſe after the reſurrection, and then alſo the law of faſting ſhall no more be needfull.

Contra. Father *Robert Bellarmine* maketh here a long diſcourſe, and would ſeeme to ſay ſomewhat, and yet it proueth iuſt nothing: and if he ſay any thing, it maketh for vs: for as the law of faſting ſhall then ceaſe, when the reaſon and end thereof ſhall ceaſe: ſo this law of the Apoſtles is vniuerſally abrogate, becauſe there is no more feare or danger of offence, which was the reaſon of the making of this decree.

3 To the place alleaged out of S. *Paul* to the Corinthians, he hath theſe anſweres: firſt, that when S. *Paul* did ſo write to the Corinthians, that decree of the Apoſtles began then to bee abrogate. But he himſelfe miſliketh this anſwere, and therefore it neede no further confutation: and his reaſon is good, that the law did yet hold, becauſe the reaſon of the law, that is to auoid offence, was not yet remoued. Secondly, it may be thought, ſaith he, that as yet the decree of the Apoſtles was not come to the Corinthians, and therefore the Apoſtle ſo writeth.

Contra. Firſt, the decree was generally preſcribed to all the Gentiles conuerted to God, and not to them of Antioch onely, as *Iames* determineth, Act. 15. 19. And therefore ſeeing it concerned the Corinthians as well as other Churches, he ſpeaketh without ground, to ſay, that it was not yet deliuered to the Church of the Corinthians. Secondly, admit the Corinthians knew it not, S. *Paul* yet did know it, and therefore he would not haue written any thing contrarie to the decree which he knew, though they knew it not.

*Argum.*2. It is neceſſarie to haue ſome lawes, beſide the diuine law, for the gouernment of the Church: for the word of God is too vniuerſall, neither is ſufficient to direct euery particular action: therefore other eccleſiaſticall lawes muſt bee added: but euery good and neceſſarie law hath a coactiue and conſtraining power, and bindeth the conſcience to obedience: *Ergo*, the conſtitutions of the Popes and Councels, which are the onely eccleſiaſticall lawes, do binde the conſcience, *Bellarm.cap.*16.*lib*.4.

Anſw. Firſt, the word of God containeth all neceſſarie rules to ſaluation: wherefore all lawes of the Church concerning matters of faith, are but explanations, and interpretations of the rules of faith ſet forth in Scripture, if they be godly lawes, and ſo are not the lawes of men but of God, and doe binde the conſcience to the obſeruation thereof: as the lawes of the Church, which commaund Chriſtians to reſort to the congregation to heare Gods word, and reuerently to receiue the Sacraments, are the very ordinances and commaundements of Chriſt, who enioyned his Apoſtles to preach, and baptize, and his faithfull people to heare and to be baptized, and therefore in conſcience wee are bound to the obedience hereof. Secondly, there are other eccleſiaſticall lawes appointed for the publike order of the Church, concerning externall rites and circumſtances of perſons and place, as the houres of prayer, the forme of the Leiturgie and publike ſeruice, the times fitteſt for the celebration of the Sacraments, and ſuch like. Theſe and ſuch like conſtitutions doe not binde in conſcience abſolutely, in reſpect of the things themſelues, which are indifferent, but in regard of that contempt, and offence which might follow in the not keeping of them: contempt to our ſuperiours, whom we ought in all lawfull things to obey: offence, in grieuing the conſcience of our weake brethren. So that euen theſe conſtitutions alſo which are made according to the rules of the Goſpell, that is, vnto edification, to the glorie of God, and for auoyding of offence, doe neceſſarily binde vs in conſcience, not conſcience of the things themſelues, which are but external, but conſcience of obedienee to our Chriſtian Magiſtrates, and conſcience in taking heede of all iuſt offence: *ſic Caluin. Inſtitut.lib.*4.*cap.*10.11.

3 But we are not, God be thanked, driuen to any ſuch ſtreight, that if there be neede of any ſuch eccleſiaſticall lawes, we ſhould runne for ſuccour to the Popes beggerly decretals. (And yet ſuch Canons, as were in force amongſt them, agreeable to the rules of the Goſpell, we doe not refuſe.) But if there bee want and penurie of good lawes, euery Church hath as full authoritie, to make decrees and ordinances for the peace and order, and quiet gouernment thereof, not as the Pope of Rome hath ouer the vniuerſall Church (for that by right is none, or if it bee, it is but an vſurped power) but as the Biſhop of Rome hath in his owne Biſhoprick and dioces.

The Proteſtants.

WHat our ſentence is of this matter, it doth partly appeare by that which wee haue alreadie ſaid: that the Pope hath no power ouer the whole Church, and therefore can make no lawes to binde the conſcience or otherwiſe for the ſame, for it belongeth not to his charge. Secondly, wee ſay, that neither he, nor any eccleſiaſticall gouernment beſide, can make lawes of things neceſſarie to ſaluation, other then thoſe which are in Scripture contained. Thirdly, all eccleſiaſticall lawes made concerning externall rites, and publike order, doe not otherwiſe binde the conſcience, then in regard of our obedience due to Chriſtian Magiſtrates in lawfull things, and for auoyding of ſcandall and offence: But in reſpect of the things commaunded, ſuch lawes doe not binde: *Caluin.loc.prædicto.*

*Argum.*1. Saint *Iames* ſaith, *There is one law-giuer which is able to ſaue and to deſtroy,* chap.4.12. He therefore onely maketh lawes to binde the conſcience, that is able to ſaue and to deſtroy: but that cannot the Pope doe: *Ergo, Caluin.argum.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the lawes of men doe binde vnder paine of damnation, in as much as God is offended and diſpleaſed with their diſobedience, and ſo iudgeth them worthie of puniſhment, *cap.*20. All this we graunt, that the lawes of men being good lawes, doe binde in conſcience in reſpect of the contempt and diſobedience to higher powers, but not in reſpect of the things commanded, which in their nature are indifferent. The Ieſuite ſhould haue ſaid; that God is offended not onely for their diſobedience, but ſimply for not doing the things commaunded, which he durſt not ſay: As when the Magiſtrate for ſome profitable and politike end commaundeth vpon ſome daies abſtinence from fleſh, it is not the eating or not eating of fleſh, that ſimply diſpleaſeth and offendeth God; but the contempt of the law, and wilfull and obſtinate diſobedience to the Magiſtrate: for otherwiſe the vſe of the creature is free and indifferent.

Cap.15.lib.4. de pontif. *Arg.*2. We will beate the Ieſuite with his own ſtaffe: he ſaith not, that all lawes do bind the conſcience, but onely iuſt lawes, in the which foure conditions are required. Firſt, that they be made for ſome profitable end: ſo are not popiſh lawes which nouriſh ſuperſtition, and haue no edifying, and ſome of them doe commaund plaine idolatrie, and open impietie, as the worſhipping of Images, the adoration of the Maſſe, and ſuch like. Secondly, ſaith he, they muſt not bee contrarie to Gods law; but ſuch are many of their ordinances, yea the moſt of them. Thirdly, they muſt be made by him that hath authoritie: therefore none of the Popes lawes binde the vniuerſall Church, for it is not ſubiect to him. Fourthly, the forme and manner of impoſing ſuch lawes muſt be orderly: but their lawes are moſt diſordered, impoſed vpon the Church violently, without their conſent, or any good proceeding. Thus you ſee, euen by their owne confeſſion, their lawes cannot binde.

One thing more I muſt needes tell them of. If they would needes haue their lawes to bind men in conſcience, they ſhould haue made fewer of them: now they are ſo many, that if the breach of them were an offence of conſcience, do men what they could, they ſhould daily make ſhipwrack of their conſcience. It is a true ſaying that is reported of one *Thomas Arthur,* a good Chriſtian, it is an homely ſpeech, becauſe the matter was ſomewhat homely, yet he did hit the marke. Like as (ſaith he) croſſes were ſet vp againſt the walles of London, that no man ſhould piſſe there; and while there were but a few, men for reuerence of the croſſes, would not piſſe againſt the wall: but when in euery corner they ſet vp croſſes, men of neceſſitie were faine to piſſe vpon the wall and croſſes too. So (ſaith he) if there had been fewer lawes of the Church, they would haue been better kept: but now they are ſo many, that men cannot chuſe but breake them. Fox pag.999.

*Argum.*3. The Pope hath no power to correct the tranſgreſſors of his lawes ouer the whole Church: *Ergo,* he cannot make lawes to binde the whole Church. The argument followeth, for he that hath abſolute power to make lawes, hath alſo power to command obedience to the lawes ſo made. And your owne law ſaith, *Iuriſdictio nullius videretur momenti, ſi correctionem aliquam non haberet:* That iuriſdiction is nothing worth, that hath no conſtraining power, *Innocen.*3.*decr.Greg. lib.*1.*tit.*29.*cap.*28.

The firſt is thus prooued: the Pope indeede hath taken vpon him many times to thunder out his excommunications againſt other Churches: but it was an vſurped and tyrannicall power, and many times reſiſted, and controuled.

Fox pag.41. Pope *Victor, anno* 200. would haue excommunicate the Eaſt Churches about the keeping of Eaſter, but he was ſtaied by *Irenæus.* The Councell of Conſtance did ſend out excommunications againſt Pope *Benedict.ſeſſ.*36.

In the Councell of Baſil, Pope *Eugenius* cited Cardinall *Iulian,* with the reſt of the fathers there aſſembled, to come to Bononia, vnder great penaltie: they likewiſe cited *Eugenius* vnder the like penaltie, either to come or ſend to Baſil. *Fox* pag.668.

Pope *Leo* the 10. in his fumiſh Antichriſtian Bull, excommunicated and condemned *Luther. Luther* with better right pronounceth ſentence of excommunication againſt him, being an aduerſarie to Chriſt, in theſe words: According to the power and might, that the ſpirit of Chriſt, and efficacie of our faith can doe in theſe our writings, if you ſhall perſiſt ſtill in your furie, wee condemne you together with this Bull and all the decretall, and giue you to Sathan, to the deſtruction of the fleſh, that your ſpirit in the day of the Lord may be deliuered: in the name, which you perſecute, of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. *Fox* pag. 1286.

Thus you ſee what ſmall force there is of theſe popiſh leaden Buls, and preſumptuous excommunications: for it falleth out iuſtly by them, as the Wiſeman ſaith, *As the Sparrow and Swallow by flying eſcape, ſo the curſe cauſeleſſe ſhall not come.* Now ſeeing therefore the Pope faileth of power and ſtrength to ſee his lawes executed in the vniuerſall Church, it cannot be that his lawes ſhould vniuerſally binde.

Prou.26.2.

Laſtly, let *Auguſtine* ſpeake: he thus defineth ſinne, *Peccatum eſt dictum, factum, vel concupitum contra legem æternam Dei:* Sinne is any thing done, ſaid, or coueted againſt the law of God: therefore the tranſgreſſion ſimply of the law of man is not ſinne; but as thereby alſo the law of God is tranſgreſſed: *Ergo,* ſimply it bindeth not the conſcience: for ſinne onely bindeth and toucheth the conſcience.

Contra Fauſtum lib.22. cap.27.

We haue alſo a moſt cleere teſtimonie of a prouinciall Councell, *ſynod. Moguntin. cap.*48. which I will ſet downe whole as it ſtandeth, as very pertinent to this place: *Etſi hoc in præceptis diuinis non continetur, quod maiorum noſtrorum conſtitutiones iubent, tamen vt maioribus obediamus (ſaltem in ijs, quæ legi diuinæ non aduerſantur) diſerti iuris diuini eſt: vnde per occaſionem talium conſtitutionum tranſgreſſores grandis peccati rei ſunt, dum ex contemptu, aut cum ſcandalo charitatem violant, quorum vtrunque per ſe peccatum mortale operatur: alioqui eccleſia conſtitutiones ſuas charitati, & neceſſitati libenter ſubmittit:* Although it be not expreſſely contained in the word of God, which the conſtitutions of our fathers doe commaund: yet that wee ſhould obey our Elders, eſpecially wherein they are not contrarie to the law of God, it is the expreſſe word of God: whereupon they, which are tranſgreſſors of ſuch conſtitutions, are guiltie of a great ſinne, in ſo much as doing it of contempt and by giuing of offence, they violate charitie: for the lawes of the Church muſt ſubmit themſelues to the rules of charitie and neceſſitie. This decree ſheweth, that the Church, or the gouernours thereof, are not to commaund lawes not warranted by Gods word: and that they binde vs to obedience no otherwiſe, then in reſpect of contempt, and offence which may be giuen: which is all one with that, which we affirmed before.

We haue alſo witneſſe of both the lawes: firſt *Iuſtinian* the Emperour thus writeth: *Leges condere ſoli imperatori conceſſum eſt, &c.* It is onely lawfull for the Emperour to make lawes: *Cod. lib.*1. *tit.*17. *leg.*11. If onely for the Emperour, then the Pope hath no authoritie to make lawes.

Their owne law alſo conſenteth with vs: *Vrban* 2. in his decree as it ſtandeth *in Gratiano part.*2. *cauſ.*19. *quæſt.*2. *cap.*2. alleageth the ſame place of Scripture, which wee produce for this matter, 2. Cor. 3. *Where the ſpirit of God is, there is libertie; and if you be led by the ſpirit, you are no more vnder the law, &c. Ergo,* we are not bound in conſcience to obey humane lawes, which infringe the libertie of the ſpirit, as the ſuperſtitious pontificiall lawes doe.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that wee are freed from *Moſes* ceremoniall lawes, but not from the obedience of Prelates, *reſp. ad argum.*5.

Contra. Firſt, if we be freed from the yoke of Iewiſh ceremonies, which were inſtituted of God, and were profitable for the time, much more are we deliuered from popiſh ceremonies, which are meere humane inuentions, and had neuer any good vſe. Secondly, *Vrbanus* in the former decree inferreth the contrarie, that the libertie of the ſpirit doth exempt men from the obedience of Prelates: for he thus concludeth, after he had alleaged a certaine diſtinction, of publike law, and priuate, calling that publike, which is ordained by the gouernours of the Church; that priuate, which is written in the heart of man by the ſpirit out of the word, which is of more force then the other: and the publike (ſaith he) ought to giue place to the priuate. Then he thus reſolueth, Whoſoeuer is led by this ſpirit, though his Biſhop do gainſay, *eſt liber noſtra authoritate,* is pronounced free by our authoritie.

Againe, there is another decree of *Vrban. cauſ.*25. *quæſt.*1. *cap.*6. *Inde nouas leges condere poteſt, &c.* The Biſhop of Rome may make lawes, where the Euangeliſts and Prophets haue ſaid nothing: but where our Lord or the Apoſtles, &c. haue defined any thing, there the Romane Biſhop cannot make a new law, &c. But now many of the Popes lawes are found to commaund many things directly contrarie to the Scriptures.

Let vs adde the ſeale of the Martyrs, maſter *Bilney* Martyr: As touching the multitude of lawes S. *Auguſtine* in his time did much complaine: and *Gerſon* alſo who marueiled, that wee could by any meanes liue in ſafetie among ſo many ſnares of conſtitutions, when as our forefathers being pure before their fall, could not obſerue one onely precept. *Fox* pag. 1000.

Maſter *Lambert* Martyr: If it be true, which is written in the decrees, that lawes bee neuer confirmed, till they be approoued by the common manners of them that ſhall vſe them, then cannot the Popes lawes binde all Chriſtian men; for the Greekes and Bohemians will neuer admit them: *pag.*1116.*reſp.ad articul.*29. Whereupon we conclude, that the Pope cannot make lawes to bind the whole Church.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS QVESTION, whether all Biſhops doe receiue their eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction from the Pope.

The Papiſts.

50. Error. THey denie not but that the power of order, as they call it, which conſiſteth in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is equally diſtributed to all Biſhops; and that they, as well as the Pope, doe receiue it immediatly by their conſecration, of God: but the power both of externall iuriſdiction, which ſtandeth vpon eccleſiaſticall cenſures, conſtitutions and decrees, and internall iuriſdiction, which is exerciſed in binding and looſing, is deriued, ſay they, from the Pope to all other Biſhops.

*Argum.*1. God tooke of the ſpirit that was in *Moſes*, and diſtributed it among the ſeuentie Numb.11.16. Elders, that were choſen to beare the burthen of gouernment with *Moſes*, and to be his helpers: the Lord tooke of his ſpirit, not by diminiſhing it, but by deriuing of his vertue to the reſt: but the Pope is now in the roume and place of *Moſes* in the Church: *Ergo*, from him to the reſt is this authoritie deriued.

Anſw. Firſt, *Moſes* example was extraordinarie, he was a figure of Chriſt, not of the Pope, Deut.18.verſ.15. The Pope might with better right ſtand vpon *Aarons* example, who was high Prieſt, not lay claime to *Moſes* office, who was the Prince and Captaine of the people: for the Pope, I trow, would bee chiefe Biſhop, and not Emperour too. Secondly, the meaning is not that God deriued *Moſes* ſpirit to the reſt: but beſtowed the like gift of propheſying vpon them, as *Moſes* had: ſurely neuer any mortall man had the ſpirit in ſuch abundance, that it could bee deuided into ſeuentie portions, and one Prophet to make many. The like phraſe is vſed, 2.King.2.15. where the Prophets ſaid, that the ſpirit of *Eliah* did reſt on *Eliſha*, that is, God endued him with an excellent ſpirit of propheſying, as *Elias* had. If they will vnderſtand this place alſo of deriuing of ſpirits; how then ſhall that bee taken in the ninth verſe where *Eliſha* praieth, that his ſpirit might be doubled vpon him? If his ſpirit were deriued from *Eliah*, how could it bee doubled vpon him? how could it be multiplied and increaſed? how could he haue more then was in the fountaine or originall, ſeeing he receiued all from thence?

3 What maketh this place, I pray you, for the power of externall iuriſdiction? Here it is ſaid that God gaue of his ſpirit to ſeuentie Elders and rulers of the people, and enabled them for their office; endued them with wiſedome, and knowledge, and dexteritie in iudging of the people: this maketh nothing for their purpoſe, vnleſſe they will alſo ſay, that there is a ſecret influence of knowledge and wiſedome deriued from the Pope to al other Biſhops, whereby they are made able to execute their office. But (I trow) they will not ſay ſo: for *Alphonſus de caſtro* truly ſaith of the Popes of Rome, *Conſtat plures eorum adeo eſſe illiteratos, vt grammaticam penitus ignorent:* It is certaine that many of them were ſo vnlearned, that they hard and ſcant knew their grammar.

4 The argument followeth not from one particular countrey, as this was of the Iewes, to the vniuerſall Church: that becauſe the ſeuentie Elders receiued iuriſdiction from *Moſes* (yet that cannot be prooued out of this place; for they were Rulers before, and commanders of the people, they were now but inwardly furniſhed, and further enabled) yet it were no good reaſon, that therefore the Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters ouer the whole Church, ſhould receiue their power from one.

5 Neither doth it follow, that becauſe the Prince and ciuill Magiſtrate may beſtow ciuill offices, create Dukes, Earles, Lords, conſtitute Iudges, Deputies, Lieutenants, by his ſole authoritie; that by the ſame reaſon Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters ſhould receiue their power and office from their ſuperiours: for although the Church from ancient time hath thought it good, to make ſome inequalitie & difference in eccleſiaſticall offices for the peace of the Church; yet the ſuperiours haue not ſuch a ſoueraigne and commanding power ouer the reſt, as the Prince hath ouer his ſubiects.

*Argum.*2. If Biſhops and paſtors ſhould haue their iuriſdiction immediatly from God, and not from man, all Biſhops ſhould haue an equall iuriſdiction: but now we ſee it to be otherwiſe, that one Biſhop is ſet ouer one towne, another ouer twentie: therefore it is moſt like they haue their iuriſdiction from men, not immediatly from God: *Bellarm.argum.*4.

Anſw. 1. We doe not affirme, that the Biſhops, Paſtors and Miniſters of the Church haue their iuriſdiction, office or calling immediatly from God, as the Apoſtles, Prophets and Euangeliſts had; for ſuch callings were extraordinarie, and are now ceaſed in the Church: but that by right of their conſecration and receiuing of orders, according to the godly cuſtome & practiſe of that Church where they liue, mediately by the hands of thoſe, to whom in the name of the whole Church that care is committed: yet by the commaundement of God, they are appoynted to their ſeuerall offices and functions.

2 It followeth not, if they all haue their authoritie and power from God, that they ſhould be all of an equall degree: for we ſee that there are diuers degrees in the ciuill ſtate, there be Emperours, Kings, Dukes, all chiefe in their owne ſeignories, and all haue their calling from God; as S. *Paul* teacheth, Rom. 13.7. to ſome tribute, to ſome cuſtome, to ſome feare, to ſome honor belongeth. Here are diuers degrees, yet they are all ordained of God, verſ. 1. Yea in the ſame kingdome, immediatly by the hands of the Prince, ſome are created Earles, ſome Lords, ſome Knights, yet are their degrees vnequall. In the natural bodie the head immediatly conueyeth a ſenſitiue power to the organes of the ſight, the hearing, the taſt, and of the other ſenſes; yet are they not all of the ſame excellencie. And yet to make it more plaine; the Apoſtles, Prophets, Euangeliſts were immediatly called of God, yet were the Apoſtles in degree before the reſt: the Ieſuites argument then is not well knit togither.

3 One Biſhop (ſaith he) hath one towne, another hath twentie, &c. But this is nothing to the purpoſe; we ſpeake of the calling of Biſhops, and he of their prouinces and circuites: the largenes of their iuriſdiction, maketh not their degree higher; a Biſhop may haue a larger dioces then an Archbiſhop, as the Biſhop of Linolne hath then the Archbiſhop of Canturburie: yet, I trow, an Archbiſhop is before a Biſhop. We muſt diſtinguiſh then betweene *Epiſcopatum, & dioiceſin*, the office of a Biſhop, and his dioceſſe, his calling, and his title or dignitie: there may be a Biſhop without a dioceſſe, as a Miniſter without a charge; though neither of them be fit or conuenient: for it is contrarie to the Canon, that any man ſhould be abſolutely ordayned without a title. *Chalced. concil. can. 6.* But I ſpeake of that which is practiſed, not which ought to be. S. *Paul* ſaith, he that deſireth *Epiſcopatum*, the office of a Biſhop, &c. there was then *Epiſcopatus*, the calling of a Biſhop, though as yet no dioceſſe aſſigned, no title or dignitie annexed. So then we conclude thus: as touching the titles, dignities, honors belonging to the calling of Biſhops, as to be ſet ouer this Citie or that, this dioceſſe or another, they haue it by the donation of the Prince: as that good Emperor *Frederike* telleth Pope *Adrian* the fourth, *Quicquid regalis papatus veſter habere dignoſcitur, largitione principum donatur:* whatſoeuer princely dignitie your papacie hath, it is giuen by the liberalitie of princes.

And as for the office and iuriſdiction it ſelfe, it is not deriued from Rome, but in euery Church the ſpirituall paſtors thereof haue as full authoritie from God to ordaine and appoint Biſhops, Paſtors, Doctors, teachers, neceſſarie for the gouernment thereof, as the Biſhop of Rome hath, if he were a good Biſhop in his owne dioceſſe: therefore though we ſhould graunt the Ieſuites concluſion, that the calling of Biſhops is from men, which in our meaning we deny not; yet he hath gained nothing: for it followeth not, if from men, then from the Pope, as we haue ſhewed: and better arguments the Ieſuite hath none, then we haue ſeene.

The Proteſtants.

THat Biſhops haue not their Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction from Rome, but doe as well enioy it by right of their conſecration, election, inſtitution, in their owne precincts, circuites, prouinces, cities, townes; yea, as the Pope doth in his Biſhopricke, and by much better right, if they be good Biſhops, and louers of the truth: thus briefely it is proued.

Argum. 1. The Apoſtles had not their iuriſdiction from *Peter*, but all receiued it indifferently from Chriſt: this the Ieſuite doth not barely acknowledge, but proueth it by argument, againſt the iudgement of other Papiſts, chap. 23. *Ergo*, neither Biſhops are authoriſed from the Pope, though he were *Peters* ſucceſſor: for if he were (to grant it for diſputations ſake) he is no more to the Biſhops of the Church, then *Peter* was to the Apoſtles. If he gaue not the keyes to the Apoſtles; neither doth the Pope S. *Peters* ſucceſſor, to the Biſhops, the Apoſtles ſucceſſors: for they may with as great right challenge to be the Apoſtles ſucceſſors, as he can to be S. *Peters*.

Bellarmine anſwereth, there is great difference betweene the ſucceeding of *Peter* by the Pope, and the ſucceſſion of the other Apoſtles in Biſhops: the Pope ſucceedeth *Peter*, not as Apoſtle, but as the ordinarie paſtor of the whole Church: the other Apoſtles were not ordinarie paſtors; and therefore the Biſhops cannot properly ſucceede them, for the Apoſtles had iuriſdiction ouer the whole Church, they had power to found Churches, to write Canonicall bookes of Scripture, they had the gift of tongues, and of miracles, but Biſhops haue none of theſe. Againe, one is ſaid *ſuccedere præcedenti*, to ſucceede one that goeth before: the Biſhops then cannot be the Apoſtles ſucceſſors, becauſe they were in the Apoſtles times.

Anſwere, to the firſt part concerning *Peters* ſucceſſion: firſt, let this be remembred, that the Ieſuite confeſſeth, that the Pope doth not ſucceede *Peter, vt Apoſtolo*, as an Apoſtle: then how commeth it aboute, that the Sea of Rome is called Apoſtolicall, and the Pope chalengeth to be called Apoſtolike, and ſaith his office is *Apoſtolatus*, a very Apoſtleſhip: from whence hath he this, ſeeing he hath nothing to doe with *Peters* Apoſtleſhip? *Bellarmine,* I thinke, will here beſhrew himſelfe. Secondly, hee cannot ſucceede *Peter,* as ordinarie paſtor of the whole Church, for ſo was hee neuer; and that power which he had ouer the whole Church, as other Apoſtles had, as the Ieſuite himſelfe confeſſeth, was Apoſtolike, not paſtorall: for that commiſſion, *Goe teach all nations,* Matth.28.19. *And ye ſhall be witneſſes vnto me, to the vttermoſt parts of the earth,* Act.1.8. was giuen to all the Apoſtles, and was therefore Apoſtolicall: of any other ſuch large and generall commiſſion giuen to *Peter* alone, we reade not. Wherefore, if the Pope neither ſucceede *Peter* as Apoſtle, which *Bellarmine* graunteth, nor as generall paſtor, as we haue proued: it will be found, that he is not *Peters* right ſucceſſor at all, as in deede he is not.

To the ſecond part we anſwere: firſt, that the Apoſtles were not properly ordinarie paſtors, we eaſely graunt; for they had charge of the whole Church, and were not tyed and limited to any one certaine place: yet *Bellarmine* againſt himſelfe in this place els where confeſſeth it, that *Iames* was *paſtor & Epiſcopus,* paſtor and Biſhop of Ieruſalem, *lib.1.de pontifice,cap.26.* Yet the argument followeth not, the Apoſtles calling was extraordinarie, and they had extraordinarie giftes; therefore they could haue no ſucceſſors: for it is not neceſſarie that the ſucceſſor ſhould haue all which his predeceſſor had: the Apoſtles ſucceeded the auncient Prophets. Ioh.4.38. *You are entred into their labours,* yet was their calling diuers: yea the Apoſtles were in Chriſts ſtead, 1.Cor.5.20. yet was there more in Chriſt, then in his Apoſtles. Secondly, we ſay then, that as the Apoſtles had extraordinarie giftes, as to pen Scripture, to worke miracles, and ſo had an extraordinarie calling; ſo had they ordinarie giftes, as of teaching, exhorting, admoniſhing, yet after a more excellent manner: the Biſhops then and paſtors of the Church, though they ſucceede them not for their extraordinarie giftes, yet are properly their ſucceſſors in feeding, teaching, and inſtructing, which giftes were not ſo extraordinarie in the Apoſtles, but that they were to continue vnto their poſteritie, as the Lord ſaith by his Prophet, *My ſpirit that is vpon thee, and my words, which I haue put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor the mouth of thy ſeede, nor of thy ſeedes ſeed, from henceforth for euer,* Iſay.59.21.

Thirdly, to *Bellarmines* laſt argument we anſwere: firſt, that it cannot be ſhewed, that there were any ſuch Biſhops, as he ſpeaketh of in the Apoſtles time, ſeeing the names of *Epiſcopus* and *Preſbyter,* of Biſhop and Elder are confounded in the Apoſtles writings, as the Ieſuite elſe where confeſſeth: Againe, the ſucceſſor and predeceſſor may be both at one time, as *Valerius* Biſhop of Hippo yet liuing, appointed *Auguſtine* his ſucceſſor, and *Auguſtine* appointed *Eradius.* And if it were not ſo, that the ſucceſſor might be aſſigned in the predeceſſors life, the Pope were like to haue a colde ſuite of it: for S. *Peter,* if there be any credit in thoſe records, *Clement. epiſtol.*1. ordayned *Clement* his ſucceſſor, while he liued. *Clementem hunc Epiſcopum vobis ordino, cui ſoli meæ prædicationis & doctrinæ cathedram trado:* I ordaine this *Clement* to be your Biſhop, to whom only I leaue my chayre of doctrine; Notwithſtanding then, any thing which the Ieſuite hath yet ſaid, or is able to ſay, the Biſhops and Paſtors of Chriſts Church, doe as properly ſucceede the Apoſtles, as the Biſhop of Rome ſucceedeth *Peter;* yea with better right, vnleſſe he did embrace S. *Peters* doctrine.

*Argum.*2. The Apoſtles gaue no power or iuriſdiction to the Elders and Paſtors, whom they ordained, Act.20.28. *Take heede to the flocke, ouer the which the holy Ghoſt hath made you Biſhops or ouerſeers:* and Epheſ.4.11. *He hath giuen ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Paſtors and teachers.* So then the paſtors and teachers, though ordained by the Apoſtles, yet had their calling and office from God and not from the Apoſtles: much leſſe now can they receiue their power from any, no not from the Pope: for he is no Apoſtle, no nor Apoſtolike man, hauing left the Apoſtolike faith.

To theſe places *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that the ſpirit of God did appoint Biſhops and paſtors, but yet immediatly by the hands of the Apoſtles: And ſo God now alſo conſtituteth and ordayneth Biſhops, but immediately from the Pope, or his aſſignes.

Contra: in the giuing of orders two things are to be conſidered, the externall rite and ceremony outwardly vſed in the admittance of thoſe that are conſecrated and ſet apart for the holy functions, and the office and function it ſelfe whereto they are ordained. Concerning the externall rite and outward act, it is done and performed by men; ſuch was the impoſition of hands vſed by the Apoſtles: but if we reſpect the power and efficacie of the office it ſelfe, it is not conferred by men; but God concurreth with the Churches externall act, in enabling thoſe men to their ſpirituall office, whom the Church hath ſet apart. The Apoſtles layed on their hands in the ordaining of Biſhops or Paſtors, but their office they receiued of God: that externall rite was onely an outward teſtimonie of the Church, that ſuch men were marked and ſealed of God, for that office, as 1.Tim.4.14. *Timothy* his gift *was giuen by propheſie,* that is, by the reuelation of the ſpirit ſpeaking by the prophets, *but with laying on of the hands:* this was the outward ſigne and teſtimonie of the Church, that the ſpirit had ſet ſuch men apart. A liuely example hereof we haue, Act. 13.2. *ſeparate me, ſaith the holy Ghoſt, Barnabas and Saul to the worke, whereunto I haue called them.* Here they haue their office and euery part thereof immediately from God: then it followeth, verſ. 3. they laid on their hands. This is the outward approbation and conſent of the Church, which giueth them not their office, but onely ſealeth and confirmeth it outwardly vnto them. So ſaith S. *Paul*, 2. Tim. 1. 14. *that worthie thing, which was committed vnto thee, keepe through the holy Ghoſt, &c.* Hence we reaſon thus, that whereby men are kept, maintayned and vpheld in their eccleſiaſticall office, is the beginner and author thereof: but by the ſpirit of God are eccleſiaſticall officers preſcribed in their office and miniſterie. *Ergo.* The argument ſtill remaineth ſound and good, that if the Apoſtles gaue no power or iuriſdiction to Paſtors or Elders, but it was the ordinance of God, much leſſe hath the Pope right to doe it. Let vs ſee what antiquitie ſaith, *Auguſtine* thus writeth, *Solus Chriſtus habet authoritatem, & praeponendi nos in eccleſia ſua gubernatione, & de actu noſtro iudicandi. de baptiſ.* 2. 2. Onely Chriſt hath authoritie (ſaith he) to preferre vs to the gouernement of the Church, and to iudge of our doings: The paſtors then of the Church haue the keyes of the ſpirituall regiment from Chriſt himſelfe, not from the Pope, or any other.

Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. cap. 9. *ex Iſidoro: Apoſtolis decedentibus ſucceſſerunt Epiſcopi, qui ſunt conſtituti per totum mundum in ſedibus Apoſtolorum:* The Apoſtles being departed, Biſhops ſucceeded them, and were placed throughout the world in the Apoſtolike Sees.

Concil. Senonenſ. decret. morum. 38. It is affirmed, *Apoſtolorum ſolos Epiſcopos ſucceſſores, & ideo illis ſolam impoſitionem manuum reſeruatam:* That Biſhops are the onely ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles: and therefore to them onely is the impoſition of hands reſerued. Hereupon we inferre, that whatſoeuer Biſhops haue, they doe receiue it not from the Pope, but by reaſon of their ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles.

We want not here the teſtimonie of their owne writers: as *Franciſcus Victoria, in Relect.* 2. *de poteſtate Eccleſiae. quaeſt.* 2. *Alphonſus de caſtro, lib.* 2. *cap.* 24. Theſe Popiſh writers are of this iudgement, that both the Apoſtles, and likewiſe Biſhops haue their iuriſdiction immediately from God.

Their owne Canons alſo for this matter are againſt them: *Anacletus* ſaith, that Biſhops ſucceede the Apoſtles; *diſt.* 22. 2. *Vrbanus, Apoſtolorum locum tenent:* They are in the place of the Apoſtles, *diſt.* 68. *cap.* 6. *Innocentius*, They are the Apoſtles Vicars: *decret. Gregor. lib.* 1. *tit.* 15. *cap.* 1. And *Clemens* the 5. ſaith, They are Chriſts Legates, *Clementin. lib.* 5. *tit.* 8. *c.* 1. If Biſhops then be the ſucceſſors, and vicegerents of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; then it followeth, that from them, and not from the Pope, they haue their iuriſdiction.

This doctrine hath been ſealed by the blood of holy Martyrs. Maſter *Philpot* ſaith, by the word of God the Pope hath no more authoritie then the Biſhop of London hath; as *Peter* had no more authoritie, then euery one of the Apoſtles had, *Fox* pag. 1811.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE TEMPORALL iuriſdiction and power of the Biſhop of Rome.

THis queſtion hath two parts: firſt, whether the Pope in reſpect of any ſpirituall iuriſdiction, haue alſo the chiefe ſoueraigntie in temporall and ciuill matters; and ſo to be aboue Kings and Emperors. Secondly, whether the Pope, or any Biſhop, may be the chiefe Lord and Prince ouer any Countrie, Citie, or Prouince.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE POPE DIRECTLY or indirectly haue authoritie aboue Kings and Princes.

The Papiſts.

51. Error.
Innocent. 3. in decretal.

THe Papiſts of former times were not aſhamed to ſay, that the Pope is the Lord of the whole Church: as *Panormitane* in the Councell of Baſile, *Fox* pag. 670. Yea, Pope *Innocentius* the third ſaid, writing to the Emperor of Conſtantinople, that as the Moone receiued her light from the Sunne, ſo the imperiall dignitie did ſpring from the Pope: and that the Papall dignitie was ſeuen and fortie times greater then the imperiall: yea, Kings and Emperors are more inferior to the Pope then lead is to golde, *Gelaſius diſtinct.* 96. And *Clemens* 5. likewiſe ſaith, *Nos regis ordinarius iudex:* That he was the ordinarie iudge of the King of Sicile: *Et temporalia ſua à nobis & ſub nobis tenet:* And he holdeth his temporals of vs and vnder vs, not of the Emperor, *Clemens. lib.* 2. *tit.* 11. Thus in times paſt the arrogant Popes did chalenge power directly and ordinarilie ouer Kings and Emperors. But our later Papiſts aſhamed of their forefathers arrogancie, in words ſeeme to abate ſomewhat of their proud ſentence, but in effect ſay the ſame thing: For they confeſſe that the Emperor hath his office and calling of God, and not from the Pope: neither that the Pope directly

rectly hath any temporall iuriſdiction: but indirectly he may depoſe Kings and Princes, abrogate the lawes of Emperours, and eſtabliſh his owne: hee may take vnto himſelfe the iudgement of temporall cauſes, and cite Kings to appeare before him: Yet not directly (ſaith the Ieſuite) as he is ordinarie Iudge ouer the Biſhops and whole Clergie; yet indirectly, as hee is the chiefe ſpirituall Prince, he may do all this, if hee ſee it neceſſarie for the health of mens ſoules. And ſo in effect, by their popiſh indirect meanes, they giue him as great authoritie, as euer hee vſurped or challenged, *Bellarmine lib.5.cap.6.*

Argum.1. The Eccleſiaſticall and ciuill power do make but one bodie and ſocietie, as the ſpirit and the fleſh in man: Now the eccleſiaſticall power, which is as the ſoule and ſpirite, is the chiefe part, becauſe it is referred to a more principal end, namely the ſafetie and good of the ſoule: the other is as the fleſh to the ſpirit, and reſpecteth but a temporall end, as the outward peace and proſperitie of the common-wealth: *Ergo*, the ſpirituall power is chiefe, and may commaund the other. *Bellarmine cap.7.*

Anſw. Firſt, it is a very vnfit and vnproper ſimilitude, to compare theſe two regiments to the ſoule and the bodie: for by this meanes, as the ſpirit giueth life to the bodie, and euery part thereof, ſo the ciuill and temporall ſtate ſhoud receiue their office and calling from the Eccleſiaſticall, which the Ieſuite himſelfe denieth, and ſo directly the one ſhould rule the other: for the ſoule directly I trow, not indirectly moueth the bodie and gouerneth it. But if we wil ſpeake as the Scripture doth, we make all but one bodie: and it is the ſpirit of Chriſt, who is the head, that giueth effectuall power to euery part. Epheſ.4.15.16.

2 It is falſe, that the ciuill magiſtracie concerneth the outward and temporall commoditie onely: for vnto Princes alſo is committed the chiefe care of religion and the worſhip of God: They are to ſee true religion aduanced, yea to watch ouer Eccleſiaſticall miniſters, and to charge them to looke to their offices: the Prince is Gods miniſter, for the wealth both of the ſoules and bodies of his ſubiects: And therefore S. *Paul* exhorteth to pray for Kings and gouernours, that we may liue (not onely) a peaceable life, but in all godlineſſe and honeſtie, 1.Tim.2.2. *Ergo*, it is part of the Magiſtrates office, as to procure the peace of the people, ſo to haue a care of their godly life. Wherefore it is falſe, as the Ieſuite ſuppoſeth, that the chiefe end of the ciuill gouernment, is onely outward and temporall: *Ergo*, his argument is nothing worth.

Argum.2. *Azariah* the high Prieſt droue *Vzziah* the King out of the temple, when he would haue burned incenſe, and cauſed him to goe out of the citie and dwell apart, 2.Chron.26. *Iehoiada* likewiſe depoſed *Athalia*, 2.King.11. *Ergo*, the Pope may depoſe wicked and vngodly Princes, *Bellarm.cap.8.*

Anſw. Firſt, we deny, that there is now, or ought to be any ſuch high prieſt in the Church of God, to haue the chiefe authoritie in ſpirituall matters, as there was in the law: for he was the type and figure of Chriſt, who is our high Prieſt, and chiefe Biſhop. Secondly, theſe examples doe not excuſe the Popes tyrannie, who hath depoſed rightfull Kings and Emperours, and better then himſelfe: as Pope *Zacharie* depoſed *Childericus* the French King, and ſet vp *Pipinus*: *Gregorie* the ſeuenth ſet vp *Rodolphus* againſt *Henricus* the fourth, the Emperour. Pope *Paſchalis* the ſecond ſet vp the ſonne of the ſaid *Henricus* againſt his father. But we will anſwere more particularly to theſe examples.

To the firſt. Firſt, it was not the ſole act of *Azariah* the high Prieſt, but there were 80. prieſts that ioyned with him beſide, and they all ſpake to the King: this example therefore maketh nothing for the ſole authoritie of the Pope, who ſaith, that he may depoſe the Emperour himſelfe, without any Councell, *Innocent*.4. Secondly, they did not depoſe *Vzziah*: they onely withſtoode him according to the law of God, becauſe he vſurped the Prieſts office: ſo ought faithfull Biſhops and paſtors euen to reproue the greateſt Magiſtrates, for the manifeſt contempt, and open breach of Gods law: neither did they conſtraine the King to goe forth, before they ſaw the iudgement of God vpon him: for the text ſaith, they compelled him to goe forth, becauſe the Lord had ſmitten him, they ſaw the leproſie to riſe vp in his face, verſ.20. This therefore was the extraordinarie iudgement of God, and not of the high Prieſt. Thirdly, he was not depoſed from the kingdome, though he dwelt alone: his ſonne did execute the office onely for him, and raigned after him: for being a leper, by the law he was to dwell apart, Leuit.13.46. Here was nothing done (we ſee) by the ſole authoritie of the high Prieſt, but they had the manifeſt and direct law of God, vnto the which their Kings alſo were ſubiect.

To the ſecond example we anſwere. Firſt, *Athaliah* was a tyrant and an vſurper, and ought not to raigne, and therefore was iuſtly depoſed. Secondly, *Iehoiada* did it not by his owne power, but aſſembled the Fathers and Princes of the land, 2.Chron.22.2. He ſhewed them the young King, and they made a couenant with him. *Iehoiada* onely gaue directions (the King being now knowne vnto them) vnto the Captaines and gouernours. Thirdly, they had the flat word of God for that action, The kings ſonne muſt raigne, as the Lord hath ſaid, concerning the ſonnes of *Dauid*, *nid*, verſ.3. So when the Pope hath any ſuch warrant from God, he may doe as *Iehoiada* did.

*Argum.*3. I muſt not here forget the goodly arguments vſed by *Boniface* 8. in his decretall, for the ſuperioritie of Popes aboue Kings and Emperours: *Extrau. commun. lib.*1. *tit.*8. Firſt, Chriſt ſaid to *Peter*, *Paſce oues meas*, Feede my ſheepe: but the Emperour is one of his ſheepe: *Ergo*, he is committed to *Peter*.

Anſw. Firſt, here is a manifeſt begging of the thing in queſtion: for whatſoeuer was ſaid to *Peter*, belongeth not to the Pope. Secondly, here is a new expoſition of theſe words, *Feede my flocke*, that is, the Pope may depoſe Emperours, and excommunicate them, tread vpon their neckes, exempt their ſubiects from their fealtie, and all by vertue of theſe words. Thirdly, as Chriſt ſaid to *Peter*, *Feede my ſheepe:* ſo *Peter* ſaith to all paſtors, *Feede the flocke of Chriſt*, 1. Pet. 5. Then by the ſame reaſon all paſtors ſhould haue ſuperioritie to Kings.

2 The Apoſtles ſaid to Chriſt, behold two ſwords, it is enough ſaith Chriſt, not too much: *Ergo*, there are two ſwords in the Church, the temporall and ſpirituall, *Boniſ. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, who ſeeth not how abſurdly that place is abuſed, whereas both Chriſt anſwered, and the Apoſtles made the queſtion of two materiall ſwords, which were found in the companie. Secondly, S. *Peter* was reprooued for handling the ſword: *Ergo*, wee may better conclude, that the Pope (his ſuppoſed ſucceſſor) hath nothing to doe with the ſword. Thirdly, if theſe two ſwords prooue any thing, they make no more for the Church of Rome, then for any other Church.

3 The Apoſtle ſaith, Rom. 13. 1. The powers that be, are, *ordinata*, ordained of God: but there can bee no order, vnleſſe one ſword were vnder another: the temporall vnder the ſpirituall: *Boniſac. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, he cauilleth about the word, Ordained: for the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of any order, that the powers haue one vnder another, but of the ordinance which they haue from God. Secondly, but if they will enforce this expoſition, it maketh for the ſuperioritie of the Ciuill Magiſtrate, that beareth the temporall ſword, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh plainly, verſ.4.

4 The Apoſtle ſaith, *The ſpirituall man iudgeth all things*, 1. Cor. 2. 15. *Ergo*, the Pope iudgeth the Emperour, *Boniſ. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, the Papiſts themſelues are aſhamed of this groſſe expoſition: for the Rhemiſts in their Annotations dare not ſo expound the ſpirituall man: but he is the ſpirituall man, that is led by the ſpirit of God, which the Pope is not led by: and therefore is not ſpirituall according to the Apoſtles meaning. Secondly, Kings and Emperours, that are faithfull, and beleeue in Chriſt, are as well ſpirituall men in the Apoſtles ſenſe, as beleeuing Biſhops. Theſe and ſuch like arguments not worth rehearſing, much leſſe confutation, their ſtout champion *Boniface* vſeth in that place.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Pope, or any other perſon eccleſiaſticall, hath no manner of temporall iuriſdiction either directly or indirectly ouer Kings, Princes, Emperours, but ought of right to be ſubiect to them and their lawes: it is thus proued.

*Argum.*1. By the ſame reaſon whereby the Ieſuite proueth, that the Pope directly hath no temporall iuriſdiction, we will conclude, that neither indirectly can he haue any, and ſo none at all. Chriſt, while he liued vpon earth, tooke vpon him no temporall iuriſdiction, either directly or indirectly: he refuſed to be a King, Ioh. 6. Nay he would not be a Iudge in ciuill matters, as in deuiding the inheritance, being thereto required, Luk. 12. 13. He paied poll money, Math. 17. he did ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgement of *Pilate* an heathen Iudge. Therefore ſeeing Chriſt vſed no ſuch temporall iuriſdiction, neither can any Miniſter of Chriſt: *For the ſeruant is not aboue the maſter*; onely Antichriſt dare preſume beyond the example of Chriſt.

This argument drawne from our Sauiour Chriſt his example, is notably vrged by that good Emperour *Fredericke*, writing thus to that proud Pope *Adrian* the 4. *Cum ille noſter & veſter inſtitutor nihil ab homine rege accipiens, tamen pro ſe & Petro cenſum Caſari perſoluit, exemplum vobis dedit, vt vos ita faciatis:* Seeing Chriſt, both our founder and yours, did take nothing of the King, but paid tribute to *Caſar* for himſelfe and *Peter*, he gaue you an example to doe the like.

Bellarmines beſt anſwere in this place is, that Chriſt in refuſing to deuide the inheritance, ſignified, *Ne pontifices minutis & vilibus officijs occupentur:* That Prelates ought not to occupie themſelues in baſe and inferiour offices.

Contra. Firſt, I pray you is it ſo baſe a place to bee Iudge of inheritance? I appeale to Weſtminſter Hall, what ſubiect can haue a more honourable place, then to bee called to the ſeate of iudgement? Or if this were ſomewhat baſe, Chriſt alſo refuſed to bee a King, I trow the Ieſuite thinketh that to bee no vile or beggerly calling. Secondly, more then this, Chriſt did not onely refuſe theſe ciuill honours, but paid tribute, whereby he acknowledged his obedience, as man, to the Ciuill ſtate. We may iudge the weaknes of their cauſe, by the feeblenes of their anſweres.

*Argum.*2. The fathers of Baſil doe vrge that place of S. *Peter*, 1. Epiſt. 5. 2. againſt *Panormitane*, who had vnaduiſedly ſaid, that the Pope was Lord of the Church. But the Apoſtle ſaith, *Feede the* *flocke of Chriſt; not by conſtraint, but willingly; not as lords ouer the Lords inheritance*, verſ. 3. But the Pope contrariwiſe vſeth all forcible, conſtraining, and tyrannicall meanes, killing, ſlaying, impriſoning, depoſing thoſe that will not obey him: who calleth himſelfe chiefe Lord and Magiſtrate of the whole world: Surely this is Antichriſt, and not the Miniſter of Chriſt, or ſucceſſor of Saint *Peter*, whoſe counſell he refuſeth to follow and obey.

Argum. 3. Let but the ſtories of former times be ſearched: there we ſhall finde how wickedly and inſolently the Popes behaued themſelues towards Kings and Emperours: Pope *Alexander* cauſed *Henry* the ſecond to doe penance for *Beckets* death, and to bee diſpled of the Monkes. *Innocent* the third cauſed King *Iohn* to kiſſe the feete of the Biſhop of Canturburie his owne ſubiect. *Alexander* the third did tread vpon Emperour *Fredericke* his necke. Pope *Innocent* ſpoyled *Fredericke* the ſecond of his Empire, cauſed him to bee poyſoned, and his ſonne *Conradus* to be beheaded: and theſe Emperours were depoſed by the Popes in order, *Henricus* 4. *Henricus* 5. *Frederick* 1. *Philippus Otho* the 4. *Frederick* 2. and *Conradus* his ſonne.

It is not good, they ſay, to put a ſword into a mad mans hand: and thinke you not, that theſe Popes vſed the temporall ſword very diſcreetly, which they thus vſurped, making fooles and ſlaues of Emperours, as Pope *Adrian* did, that rebuked *Frederick* the firſt, becauſe he held his ſtirrup on the wrong ſide, and did excommunicate him, for ſetting his name before the Popes in writing? The very inſolent, diuelliſh, and Antichriſtian practiſe of this their temporall power, ſheweth from what originall it commeth, euen from the father of pride.

Laſtly, *Auguſtine* ſaith, writing vpon thoſe words, Rom. 13. *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers: Si quis putat, quia Chriſtianus eſt, non ſibi eſſe vectigal reddendum aut tributum, aut non eſſe exhibendum honorem debitum eis, qui hæc curant poteſtatibus; in magno errore eſt:* If any man thinke, becauſe he is a Chriſtian, that he is not bound to pay tribute and taxe, and yeeld due honour to the temporall powers (for of ſuch *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh) he is in a great error. If all then are ſubiect to the temporall Magiſtrate that are Chriſtians, then all Biſhops and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, yea the Pope himſelfe, if he be a Chriſtian: *Ergo*, the Emperour is not ſubiect to him.

Epiſtol. Leodienſ. contra Paſchal. 2. Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita, qui hoc omni animæ præcipit, quem à ſubiectione terrenæ poteſtatis excepit? Let euery ſoule (ſaith the Apoſtle) be ſubiect to the higher powers; he that inioyneth this to euery ſoule, whom doth he exempt from the ſubiection of the earthly power? *Ergo*, the Pope alſo is ſubiect.

Agatho Biſhop of Rome writeth thus to *Conſtantinus* the Emperour: *Secundum piiſſimam iuſſionem manſuetudinis veſtræ, pro obedientia, quam debuimus, dirigimus præſentes conſamulos noſtros:* As your clemencie hath moſt godly commaunded vs, according to the obedience which wee owe, wee haue ſent theſe our fellowe ſeruants. And againe, *Omnes nos exigui eccleſiarum præſules, veſtri Chriſtiani imperij famuli:* We all the poore prelates of Churches, ſeruants of your moſt Chriſtian Empire. Here the Pope himſelfe doth confeſſe himſelfe to be the Emperours ſeruant, and to owe him homage: what more euident teſtimonie can we haue?

Further, we haue teſtimonie of their owne law: *diſt. 8. cap. 1. Per iura regum, &c.* Temporall poſſeſſions are enioyed by the lawes of Princes: *Ergo*, the Pope holdeth his temporals of Kings, not they their kingdomes of him. *Diſtinct. 10. cap. 9. Leo* 4. thus writeth to *Lotharius* the Emperour, *Præceptis veſtris imperialibus, &c.* We promiſe and profeſſe for euer to keepe and obſerue your imperiall precepts, &c. And if any man tell you otherwiſe, *ſciatis eum pro certo mendacem*, hold him for a lyer.

Likewiſe *Gelaſius ibid. c. 11. Quis autem leges principum, &c.* Who will ſay that the lawes of princes ought to be contemned? &c.

Diſtinct. 97. Bonifac. 1. thus writeth to *Honorius* the Emperour: *Angeretur pluribus, &c.* The Mother Church would bee much grieued, if ſhe were not ſecure and aſſured of your helpe in all her cauſes, and had not preuailed in ſuppreſſing of Idols, correcting of Heretikes by your faithfulnes, &c. This *Boniface* writing with a better ſpirit, then *Bonifate* 8. whoſe goodly arguments wee ſaw before, calleth for aſſiſtance of the Emperour, euen for the redreſſe of Eccleſiaſticall matters. Thus wee ſee, that of ancient times Popes did not commaund, but were commaunded rather of Emperours; that they did not preſcribe lawes to them, but rather yeelded obedience to imperiall lawes. And a later Extrauagant decreeth, *Vt non ſint regnatæ amplius eccleſiæ Romanæ ſubiecti, quam antea, &c.* That Kings ſhould be no otherwiſe ſubiect to the Church of Rome, then they haue been in times paſt: *Clemens* 5. *Extrau. commun. lib. 5. tit. 7. cap. 2.* Wherefore the Pope doth contrary to his owne law, in challenging ſuch ſuperioritie ouer the Emperour, which of ancient time hath not been due.

Let Biſhop *Cranmer* holy Martyr put to his ſeale: By the Scripture the King is chiefe, and no forraine perſon in his owne realme aboue him: there is no ſubiect but to a King: I am a ſubiect, I owe my fidelitie to the Crowne; the Pope is contrarie to the Crowne; I cannot obey both, &c. *Fox* pag. 1874.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, WHETHER the Pope haue power to excommunicate Emperours and Kings,&c.

The Papiſts.

WE neede not ſeeke farre to know their opinion for this matter,for the continuall practiſe of Popes and popiſh Biſhops, in taking vpon them moſt arrogantly to excommunicate Emperours and Kings, doth euidently ſhew what their iudgement is. *Gregorie* 3.did excommunicate *Leo Iſaurus* Emperour of Conſtantinople,becauſe he pulled downe Images:ſo did his predeceſſor *Gregorie* 2.before him. *Gregorie* 7. did thunder out his mercileſſe curſes againſt *Henricus* 4.Emperour. *Adrian* 4.and after him *Alexander* 3.moſt wicked and inſolent Popes,did perſecute the good Emperour *Frederick*,with their cruell excommunications. *Innocent*.3.did excommunicate King *Iohn*,and interdict the whole Realme of England. And according to the Antichriſtian practiſes of their predeceſſors,the Popes that haue been of late,haue breathed out,as a vaine blaſt and bladder crack,their vniuſt excommunications againſt our renowmed Soueraigne, and moſt bleſſed of God,Queene *Elizabeth*.

Yea not onely the Popes haue thus farre preſumed,but their inferiour Biſhops haue malepartly pricked forth, by their excommunications, to buffet Princes, and pull them by the eares: As *Odo* Archbiſhop of Canturburie did ſuſpend *Edwine* the King from the Church, and *Dunſtane* afterward did inioyne King *Edgar* ſeuen yeeres penance,*Fox* pag.156. So the Biſhops threatned to excommunicate King *Henrie* the 3.vnleſſe he would expell the ſtraungers out of the land,*Fox* pag.280.Let vs ſee how theſe iolly ſtirring Prelates can iuſtifie their doings.

*Argum.*1. *Azariah* is brought forth for an example,who being chiefe Prieſt, when King *Vzziah* offered to burne incenſe in the temple vpon the Altar, conſtrained him haſtily to depart, 2.Chron.26.20.The like power why may not the Pope Biſhops haue now to excommunicate Kings?

Anſ. Firſt, it was not *Azariah* his act onely, whatſoeuer was done at this time, but there were 80.Prieſts ioyned with him,ſufficient to make a lawfull Synode or Councell. Secondly, their intent was not by violence to thruſt *Vzziah* out of the temple, but onely to admoniſh him,and reproue him for his preſumption, verſ.18. they ſaid vnto him, it pertaineth not to thee *Vzziah* to burne incenſe,&c. And this they might lawfully doe,as *Iohn Baptiſt* rebuked *Herod* for his inceſt: And as it is the part of all faithfull Biſhops,not to ſpare, in dutie and reuerence, to tell Kings and Princes their faults; ſo did *Ambroſe* deale with *Valentinian* the Emperour, *Theodoret.lib.*3.*cap.*11. *Britannio* a Scythian Biſhop with the Emperour *Valens* who was an Arrian,*Theodoret.lib.*4.*cap.*35. *Iſaachus Monachus* alſo thus ſaid to yͤ ſame Emperor going in warfare againſt the Barbarians,*Quò proficiſcere, bello ſuſcepto aduerſus Deum?* Whither goeſt thou, ſeeing thou haſt waged battell with God? *Theoderet*.4.34. He ſaid alſo further to him,*Redde Eccleſias orthodoxis:* Reſtore the Churches which thou haſt taken from them of the right faith. The Emperour thereupon bid him be apprehended,dealing with him, as *Ahab* plaied with *Micaiah* the Prophet: but he anſwered,*Non es reuerſurus,niſi eccleſias reddideris:* Thou ſhalt not returne,vnleſſe thou doe reſtore them: And ſo indeede it came to paſſe. This zeale and boldnes in good Biſhops is not to be miſliked, but much to be commended,and wiſhed in the Biſhops of our time.

3. *Azariah* conſtraineth not *Vzziah* to depart, before the leproſie appeared in his face, then was he thruſt out, for they had the expreſſe word of God ſo to do, Numb.5.2. So if the Pope had the expreſſe commaundement of God to excommunicate Kinges, and if it might appeare that they are firſt excommunicate of God,as the Lord ſet a marke of leproſie in *Vzziah*; it might be as lawfull for him ſo to do, as it was then for *Azariah*: but ſuch commandement we are ſure the Pope hath none, nor yet is he ſo acquainted with Gods ſecrets, as to know who are reiected before him.

*Argum.*2. S.*Ambroſe* example is much vrged in this caſe, who inioyned *Theodoſius* the Emperour penance, for a certaine murther and ſlaughter of the people made at his commandement, and would not admit him to receiue the Lords Supper,ſaying thus vnto him, *Iſtaſne adhuc ſtillantes iniuſtæ cædis cruore manus extendes,& ſanctiſſimi Domini corpus prehendes?* Doeſt thou ſtretch out theſe thy bloudy hands, to apprehend the moſt holy body of our Lord? *Theodoret lib.*3.17.

*Anſw.*1. *Ambroſe*, in not admitting the Emperour without repentance of that bloudy act to the Lords Supper,and in refuſing himſelfe to miniſter to him in that caſe, did not amiſſe if he had ſtayed there, hauing ſo farre the word of GOD. Ierem.15.19. *Separate mee the precious from the vile:* and 1.Timoth.5.22.*Be not partaker of other mens ſinnes.* 2. But in that he tooke vpon him by his ſole authoritie to cenſure the Emperour, and to inioyne him penance, he ſomewhat exceeded his limits: and yet, though this act might proceed (in *Ambroſe* ſo holy a Biſhop) from an extraordinary ſpirit,which I denie not; yet the Emperour is rather to be commended for his humilitie, in ſubmitting himſelfe to his order, (for it is written of him, that *Lachrymas effudit coram Eccleſia, & tempus pœnitentiæ præſcriptum impleuit*: He ſhed teares before the Church, and fulfilled the time ſet for his penance. *Ruffin.lib.2.cap.33.*) Such alſo was *Theodoſius* modeſtie, that at another time being excommunicate, *à leui homuncione*, of a light cock-braine fellow, becauſe he graunted him not that thing, which he requeſted,he would not enter into the Church, before he had bin of the ſame partie abſolued; *Theodoret lib.5.cap.37. Theodoſius* lowlineſſe therefore, and ſubmiſſion to *Ambroſe* cenſure, doth not proue the lawfulneſſe thereof, no more then his modeſtie here doth allow the inſolent fact of a ſaucie malapert prieſt. 3. Though we admit *Ambroſe* act to be lawfull, yet doth it not authoriſe the Popes vniuſt proceedings: for that cenſure was laid vpon the Emperour vpon iuſt cauſe, a haynous murther committed; but the Pope doth excommunicate Kings for well doing, as *Gregorie* the 3. did to *Leo* the Emperour, for pulling downe of images; and for the moſt part of ſtomacke, for *Gregory* the 7. had no other cauſe againſt *Henrie* the 4.nor *Alexander* the 3.againſt *Fredericke*. 4. If *Ambroſe* example proue any thing, it doth authoriſe other Biſhops as well as him of Rome, to excommunicate Emperours of themſelues.

The Proteſtants.

ALthough wee do not altogether exempt Princes from Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, for they are, though chiefe and principall, yet parts and members of the Church: yet we thinke,that againſt all other perſons, beſide the ſupreame and ſoueraigne Magiſtrate, though of neuer ſo high place, the cenſures of the Church may more ſafely and with better right be extended, and applied: as B.*Groſthead* that good Biſhop of Lincolne, hauing excommunicated a prieſt for incontinencie, becauſe after 40.dayes the Sheriffe refuſed to apprehend him, as it was his dutie, excommunicated him likewiſe, *Fox.p.285.* But as concerning excommunicating of Kings and Princes, we thinke that neither the Pope, nor any Biſhop in the world by their ſole authoritie haue power to do it.

*Argum.*1. *Paulus orari vult pro regibus malis.* 1.Timoth.2. S.*Paul* would haue vs pray for euill kings. This is our onely remedie that we haue againſt ſuch: *Nec talis à nobis repellendus eſt armis contra eum ſumptis, ſed precibus ad Deum ſumptis:* Neither is ſuch an one to be reſtrained by weapons taken vp againſt him,but prayers made vnto God for him: *Epiſtol.Leodienſ.cont.Paſchal.2.* As *Ambroſe* ſaid well, if he could there haue kept him, *Arma noſtra preces & lachrima*: Our weapons are onely teares and prayers. Againſt the ſoueraigne power no violent meane is to be vſed: *Ergo*, not excommunication.

*Argum.*2. The wiſe man ſaith, Prou.26.2.*Maledictio immerita non aduentura eſt*:A curſe cauſeleſſe or vndeſerued ſhall not come. Malach.2.*Maledictionibus veſtris benedicam*: I will bleſſe that you curſe. And their owne law ſaith, *Neminem ligare debet ſententia iniuſta*: An vniuſt ſentence bindeth not: *Et excommunicatus non poteſt excommunicare*:An excommunicate perſon cannot excommunicate. Therefore we feare not the Popes curſe or excommunication, becauſe it is vniuſt: and he excommunicateth vs, as the Phariſes did the Apoſtles, becauſe wee ſpeake in the name of Chriſt:and he himſelfe ſtandeth as an excommunicate perſon before God, being an Apoſtata and ſlidebacke from the trueth.

*Argum.*3. *Concil.Toletan.4.can.*74. It was decreed, that the Kinges of that countrie which ſhould exerciſe crueltie againſt the people, *Anathematis ſententia condemnentur*: Should be anathematized, or held accurſed.*Concil Toletan 6.can.*3. If the King ſhould violate his faith which he gaue,not to ſuffer the Iewes to infringe the Catholike faith, *Sit anathema in conſpectu Dei*: Let him bee accurſed in the ſight of God. Theſe decrees of anathematizing Kings were not made by any one or two,but in the firſt were aſſembled all the Biſhops of the prouinces of *Hiſpania*, and *Galicia*,the King *Siſcenandus* alſo himſelfe was preſent, with the chiefe of his Nobles and gaue conſent: In the ſecond there were aſſembled 52.Biſhops,the King *Chintillanus* and his Nobles. Hereby then may appeare what was the practiſe of thoſe times, that nothing ſhould bee attempted by any ſingular authoritie againſt the higheſt powers,but by conſent of all the ſtates, and in the generall Seſſion of Parliament,as it were.

Maſter *Lambert* holy Martyr, thus alſo giueth his opinion of this matter: The Pope ought not to denounce excommunications of his owne proper head and affection onely, but with the conſent of other gathered with him in Chriſts name: for ſo vſed Saint *Paul* when hee did excommunicate the man of Corinth,&c. And the ſame forme declareth the Goſpell, Matth.18. *Dic Eccleſiæ*,Tell it to the Church or congregation: ſo that ſuch excommunication ought to be done, as me thinketh,by the congregation aſſembled together with their Paſtors, whoſe aduice they ought principally to eſteeme and follow,if it be vertuous and godly:*Fox.pag.1113.reſponſ.ad articul.*24. Hence we conclude, that neither Pope nor any Biſhop by their ſole authoritie can excommunicate Princes.

Laſtly,*Epiſtol.Leodienſ.cont.Paſchal.2.*thus we reade: *Si quis vetus & nouum teſtamentum, geſtaque*

que reuoluerit, patenter inueniet, quod aut minimè aut difficilè poſſint reges excommunicari: admoneri quidem poſſunt, increpari, argui, à diſcretis viris: quia quos Chriſtus in terris rex regum vice ſua conſtituit, damnandos & ſaluandos ſuo iudicio reliquit: If any man will take paines to looke ouer the old and new Teſtament, and the acts thereof, ſhall readily finde, that Kings either hardly or not at all ought to be excommunicate: they may be admoniſhed, rebuked, aduiſed diſcreetly, and wiſely, and not elſe: for thoſe whom Chriſt the King of Kings hath ſet in his ſtead in the earth, to bee ſaued or damned, he hath reſerued it for his owne iudgement. And theſe, which did thus write, were of the popiſh Church, though herein they miſliked the practiſe of the Popes. And one of their late writers approueth the foreſaid epiſtle, and alleageth out of the ſame, how that *Gregorie* 7. called *Hildebrand*, was the firſt, contrarie to all antiquitie, that did, *ſacerdotalem lanceam contra Imperatoris diadema leuare*, lift vp the ſpirituall launce againſt the Crowne of the Emperour: *Eſpenc.* 1. *Timoth.pag.*275.*a.* The ſame author hath theſe words, *Magiſtratui collo non bello, patientia, non violentia, patiendo, non agendo reſiſtendum eſt:* The Magiſtrate muſt bee reſiſted, not by ſtroke, but yeelding the necke; by patience, not violence; by ſuffering, not practiſing: *ibid.pag.*276.*f.* Whereby he inſinuateth, that nothing ought to be attempted againſt Princes, no not by excommunicating of them, for that were to practiſe, not to be patient.

I thinke alſo, their owne Extrauagant condemneth the cruell practiſe of popiſh Prelates in enterditing of Kings and their kingdomes, as *Boniface* 8. thus decreed: *Extrau. commun. lib.*5.*tit.*10. *cap.*2. *Prouide attendentes, &c.* Wee conſidering, that many are too forward in denouncing of interdictions, whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that the Eccleſiaſticall Sacraments are not adminiſtred, the ſeruice of God ſuſpended, &c. Wee doe prouide by this edict, that no prouince, citie, caſtle, territorie, goe vnder the interdict, for any quantitie or ſumme of money, by the Lord thereof vnpaied, &c. We haue then their owne teſtimonie againſt them.

THE SECOND PART OF THE QVESTION, concerning S. *Peters* patrimonie, whether the Pope may be a temporall Prince.

The Papiſts.

THey ſay that it is not againſt the word of God, that the Pope ſhould be both a temporall and 52.Error.
eccleſiaſticall Prince, and that both the ſwords of ſpirituall and eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction Bellarm.lib.2.
doe belong vnto him: and that he is the right heire of S. *Peters* patrimonie: to him belongeth as cap.9.
chiefe Lord the Imperiall citie of Rome, the pallace of Laterane, Capua alſo and Apulia are his: Fox.pag.93.
*diſtinct.*96.*Conſtantin.*

1 *Moſes* (ſaith the Ieſuite) was both Prieſt and Prince: ſo was *Heli* 1. Sam. 4. He iudged Iſrael fortie yeeres: ſo were alſo the *Macchabees, Iudas, Ionathan, Simon:* yea *Melchiſedech* long before *Moſes*, was Prieſt and King: *Ergo*, the Pope is lawfully both chiefe Biſhop, and chiefe Prince alſo, and Lord of that which he now poſſeſſeth, *Bellarm.cap.*9.

Anſ. Concerning *Melchiſedech*; who knoweth not, that he being King and Prieſt, was a liuely figure of our Sauiour Chriſts ſpirituall kingdome and prieſthood? Heb. 7. And as yet the offices of the ſpirituall and temporall gouernment were not diſtinguiſhed: for all the Patriarches, *Abraham, Iſaack, Iacob*, and the reſt were ſacrificers, therefore wee cannot borrow any examples from them for this matter.

Moſes alſo did offer ſacrifice to God, and was chiefe iudge both in ſpirituall and temporall affaires vnto the people, vntill ſuch time, as when by Gods commaundement, *Aaron* was choſen to the prieſthood, vnto whom the charge of ſacrifices and vnto his ſonnes was committed: ſo *Moſes* remained ſtill prince of the people, whom *Ioſua* ſucceeded, and *Aaron* was inueſted to the Prieſthood, and ſo the offices were diſtinct. This example therefore of *Moſes* is extraordinarie, and proueth not. Leuit.8.9.

Concerning the time when *Ely* iudged Iſrael, which was in the daies of the Iudges, we muſt vnderſtand, that the gouernment of Iſrael was very diſſolute, and men were left to themſelues to doe almoſt what themſelues liſted: as Iudg. 17. we reade that *Micah* ſet vp an Idoll in his houſe, and the reaſon is rendered, there was no King in Iſrael, but euery man did that which ſeemed good in his owne eyes. Likewiſe the tribe of *Dan* offered violence to *Micah*, and robbed him, Iudg. 18. For there was no King in Iſrael, verſ. 1. The Leuites wife was moſt ſhamefully abuſed by the Gibeonites: for there was no King, chap. 19. 1. The men of *Beniamin* tooke them wiues by force: for they had no King, chap. 21. 25. So you ſee that both religion was corrupted, and the manners of the people grew to be outragious; and all becauſe there was no perfect diſtinct gouernment, there was no King in Iſrael.

In *Ely* his time, the word of God was precious, 1. Sam. 3. 1. Great was the ignorance of the whole land: the licentiouſneſſe alſo of his ſonnes was a great offence to all Iſrael, and brought a great decay of godlines with it, 1.Sam.2.17.23. Yea they cauſed the people through their euill example to ſinne, verſ.24. Wherefore *Ely* his houſe was iudged of God for his remiſnes in gouernment, in not correcting his ſonnes, chap.3.13. And he that cannot rule his owne houſe, how ſhould he care for the Church, 1.Tim.3.5. It cānot now be proued by the example of *Ely*, that the ciuill gouernment was annexed to the prieſthood by the Lords appoyntment: but it is rather to be aſcribed to the corruption of thoſe times: for hauing no King nor Captaine ouer them, they were driuen of neceſſitie to come to the high Prieſt, vnto whom the iudgement of many matters was committed by the law of God, Deut.17.8. Leuit.13.2. But the prieſthood, and the ciuill Magiſtracie were two diſtinct things alwayes from the time of the law eſtabliſhed.

It is then no good argument, which is drawne from the practiſe and example of thoſe corrupt times: And yet we ſay not, that theſe offices were ſo diſtinct, but that the Lord might raiſe vp ſome extraordinary Prophet, as he did *Samuel*, who to reſtore iuſtice and religion decayed, might for a time both iudge the people and offer ſacrifice, as we ſee he did.

As for the examples of the Macchabees, they moue vs not, you muſt bring better ſcripture for your purpoſe: ẏ authority of thoſe bookes bind vs not: and againe we ſee they did contrary to the law, in taking vpon them both offices: for the prieſthood was annexed to the poſteritie of *Aaron* for euer, Num.3.10. and the ſcepter was not to depart from *Iuda* till Chriſt came, Gen.49.10. As the Lord alſo had promiſed to *Dauid*, that the kingdom ſhould remaine in his ſeede, 2.Chro.22.3.

Laſtly, *Gelaſius* that famous Biſhop of Rome ſhall anſwere the Ieſuites argument, whoſe authoritie I truſt he will not deny. Thus he writeth, *Tom. Anathematis. Ante aduentum Chriſti quidam figuraliter adhuc in carnalibus actibus conſtituti, &c.* Before the comming of Chriſt, ſome figuratiuely in carnall and earthly actes were both Kings and Prieſts: ſuch an one was *Milchiſedech*: which the diuell alſo imitated in his members, ſo that the Pagane Emperors would alſo be called chiefe prieſts: But after that Chriſt was come, both the true King and Prieſt, neither was the Emperor any more called by the Prieſts name, neither did the Prieſt challenge the kingely ſtate. So Chriſt hath diſtinguiſhed both offices by their proper actes, and dignities, that both Chriſtian Emperors, as touching eternall life ſhould neede the helpe of prieſts, and they in temporall things ſhould vſe the benefite of Imperiall decrees.

Thus then according to this fathers ſentence, it followeth not, that becauſe before Chriſts comming, both powers were vnited in ſome figuratiuely, therefore it ſhould be ſo now: nay he ſaith, that ſince Chriſts comming, this confuſion of the prieſtly and Kingly office, is in Sathans members onely to be found: an hard ſentence againſt the Biſhop of Rome, by a former Biſhop of Rome, which maketh him chalenging the vſe of both ſwordes, no better then a limme of the diuel.

Argum.2. Conſtantine the Great gaue vnto the Pope the chiefe gouernment of the Citie of Rome, and other Lordſhips in Italie, yea the ſoueraigntie ouer the Weſt parts: why then is it not lawfull for him to enioy his gift? *Bellarm. lib.5. cap.9.*

Anſw. Firſt, the donation of *Conſtantine* ſeemeth to be forged: for if *Conſtantine* reſigned to *Silueſter* the politicall dominion of the Weſt parts, how could he then haue diſtributed his Empire amongſt his ſonnes, as the Weſt part to one, the Eaſt to the ſecond, the middle part to the third? Againe, the Donation ſaith, that *Conſtantine* was baptiſed at Rome by *Silueſter* before the battaile againſt *Maximinus*, and that then the patrimonie was giuen: but it is certaine by ſtories that he was baptiſed at Nicomedia, by *Euſebius* Biſhop there, in the 31. yeere of his raigne: wherefore it ſeemeth to be a forged and deuiſed thing. *plur. apud. Fox.* pag. 105.

Fox. proteſta. ad Angl.

2 *Æneas Siluius* ſaith, that *Mathilda*, a noble Dutches in Italie, gaue thoſe lands to the Pope, which are called S. *Peters* patrimonie: how then can it be true, that they were giuen by *Conſtantine*? Thirdly, the popiſh doctors and Canoniſts confeſſe, that *Conſtantines* grant is not ſo much to be counted a donation, as a reſtitution of that which tyrannouſly was taken from him: but he hath his power ſpirituall and temporall immediatly from Chriſt. You ſee then that they themſelues make no great reckoning of *Conſtantines donation. Antoni. ſumma, maior. 3. part.*

Agathon Biſhop of Rome, long after *Conſtantines* time the Great, thus writeth to *Conſtantine* another Emperor of that name, *Hanc Romanam vrbem ſeruilem veſtri Chriſtianiſſimi imperij*: This Romane citie ſeruile or ſubiect to your moſt Chriſtian Empire, &c. *Ergo*, it was not exempted from ſubiection to the Empire, as *Conſtantines* forged donation granteth.

Fox pag. 791. 793.

Yet if *Conſtantinus* that good Emperor had bin ſo minded, to haue beſtowed the imperial dignitie vpon the Biſhop of Rome; there remaineth a great queſtiō, whether he ought to haue accepted of it or not; nay he ſhould haue refuſed it: for the temporall ſword belongeth not to ſpirituall gouernors: At the leaſt it had been a charitable part, not to haue ſuffered the Emperor to diſinherite his owne ſonnes, for to enrich the See of Rome; as *Auguſtine* very well ſaith, *Qui vult, exhæredato filio, eccleſiam hæredem facere, quærat alterum, qui ſuſcipiat, non Auguſtinum, immo Deo propitio nullum inueniat.* He that would make the Church his heire, and defeat his own children, let him ſeeke ſome bodie elſe, to accept of his gift: ſurely *Auguſtine* will not, nor I truſt any honeſt man beſide.

Ad Frat. in eremo. ſer. 52.

The

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, we willingly grant, that the Church may inioy thoſe temporall poſſeſſions, which haue been of old granted vnto it for the better maintenance thereof, ſo they be not abuſed to riot and exceſſe: as the Leuites beſide their tithes, had their cities and fieldes. Numb. 35. Secondly, the iudgement of Eccleſiaſticall matters doth of right appertaine to the Church, as *Amariah* the Prieſt was the chiefe in all matters of the Lord, 2. Chron. 19. 11. Thirdly, we doe not vtterly exclude ſpirituall perſons from temporall cauſes: but as the ciuill Magiſtrate hath his intereſt in ordaining of Eccleſiaſticall lawes, ſo ſpirituall perſons ought not to be ſtrangers from the ciuill ſtate; being meete men for their knowledge and conſcience to be conſulted withall, and conferred with, and to be ioyned in Councell with the Magiſtrate in difficult matters: as we reade, Deut. 17. 8. How the high Prieſt, and chiefe iudge, did ioyne in mutuall helpe and aſſiſtance. But that any ſpirituall perſon may be a temporall prince, and haue the chiefe gouernment of both ſtates, and handle both ſwordes, we ſay it is contrarie to the word of God: for in theſe three pointes ſtandeth chiefly the office of the prince, In making and ordaining ciuill lawes, in hauing power of life and death, in proclaming of warre, and waging of battaile: with none of theſe ought Eccleſiaſticall perſons to deale, as we will now ſhew in order.

Argum. 1. Concerning the making of ciuill lawes and ſtatutes, though the Eccleſiaſticall bodie, according to the ancient cuſtome of this land, haue their ſuffrage and voyce, and doe giue conſent: yet the chiefe ſtroke, in allowing, confirming, and enacting of ſuch lawes is in the prince, and cannot agree or be matched with any ſpirituall office.

S. *Paul* ſaith, Who is ſufficient for theſe things? that is, for the worke of the Miniſterie, 2. Cor. 2. 16. If therefore ſpirituall perſons ſuffice not to execute to the full, their ſpirituall charge, though they ſhould bend all their ſtudie and care that way, much more inſufficient ſhall they be, if they be entangled in temporall affayres, for the well guiding and ordering whereof a whole man likewiſe is ſcarce ſufficient.

Againe (ſaith he) *No man that warreth, entangleth himſelfe with the affaires of this life*, 2. Tim. 2. 4. By affaires ſecular here are not only vnderſtoode (as the Ieſuite imagineth) merchandiſe, traffick, buying, ſelling, and ſuch like, but the care and charge alſo of ciuill gouernment, of making lawes and orders for the ciuill ſtate, which muſt needes be a great let to the ſpirituall buſines, and require greater ſtudie and labor, then the other baſer workes which are named. To this *Auguſtine* agreeth: *Quo iure* (ſaith he) *defendis villas? Vnde quiſque poſſidet quod habet? Iure humano, iure imperatorum: quare? quia ipſa iura humana per imperatores & reges ſeculi Deus diſtribuit generi humano. tract. in Iohann. 6.* By what law doeſt thou defend thy poſſeſſions? by the law of man, the law of the Emperors: for theſe humaine lawes, by Gods ordinance are giuen vnto men by the Emperors and Kings of the world. See then, ciuill lawes, and humane conſtitutions are giuen and made, not by the Pope, Prieſt, or any other Prelate, but onely by Kings and Princes, and the ciuill magiſtrates.

So alſo ſaith the Ciuil law, *Cod lib.* 1 *tit.* 20. *leg.* 2. *Imperatori ſoli leges condere conceſſum eſt*: It is onely lawfull for the Emperour to make lawes: *Iuſtinian.* Likewiſe their owne Canons affirme the ſame, *decret. Gregor. lib.* 4. *tit.* 17. *cap.* 7. *Alexand.* 3 *ad Regem pertinet non ad Eccleſiam de talibus poſſeſſionibus iudicare*: It belongeth to the King not to the Church to iudge of ſuch poſſeſſions.

Argum. 2. It were a monſtrous and an vnnaturall thing, that any Eccleſiaſticall gouernour, ſhould haue power of life and death: for hee hath no better right to the ciuill ſworde, then the Prince to the Eccleſiaſticall ſword: and if it be not lawfull for the ciuill Magiſtrate to excommunicate, which is as the ſpirituall ſword, and the greateſt cenſure of the Church; no more is it to be ſuffered, that by the authoritie or commaundement of any Eccleſiaſticall perſon, any man ſhould be put to death.

The high Prieſt was not to deale with matters of blood, which touched the life: but the offenders were brought to the gates of the Citie, where the Magiſtrates ſate, Deut. 17. 5. Not to the Temple, where the Prieſt miniſtred. Nay, wee ſee, that in the moſt corrupt times of the Iewiſh Common-wealth, namely, when they put our bleſſed Sauiour to death, the prieſts did not challenge any ſuch power: *It is not lawfull* (ſay they) *for vs, to put any to death*, Ioh. 18. 31. But that power was in the temporall Magiſtrate, as *Pilate* ſaid to Chriſt: *Knoweſt thou not, that I haue power to crucifie thee, and power to looſe thee?* Ioh. 19. 10. *Ergo*, the Pope cannot be a temporall Prince, to haue power of life and death. And it is contrary to your owne Canons: *decret. p.* 2. *cauſ.* 23. *qu.* 8. *c.* 20, *Gregor. Quia Deum timeo, in mortem cuiuſlibet hominis me miſcere formido*: becauſe I feare God, I dare not entermeddle with the death of any. Likewiſe *cauſ.* 33. *q.* 2. *c.* 6. *Nicholaus, Eccleſia gladium non habet, niſi ſpiritualem; non occidit, ſed viuificat*: The Church hath no ſword but the ſpiritual; it killeth not, but giueth life. Now, whereas the examples of *Phinehes*, that killed the adulterer and adultereſſe; and of *Samuel*, that hewed *Agag* in pieces with his owne handes, might be vrged; their owne gloſſe thus anſwereth: *Miracula veteris Teſtamenti ſunt admiranda*: The miracles of the old Teſtament are worthie rather of admiration, then fit for our imitation: for many things were permitted then, which are prohibited now. And a little before: ***Nathan***, when he reproued the King, did execute his owne office, he did not vſurpe the Kings office, he did admoniſh him to repent, he did not giue ſentence of death againſt him, as an adulterer, &c. ***Cauſ.*2.*qu.*7.*cap.* 41.*gloſſ.***

But it will here be anſwered, as ***Boniface*** 8. hath decreed, ***Sext.decretal.lib.*3.*tit.*24.*c.*3.** That a Cleargie man hauing temporal iuriſdiction, may without feare of irregularitie, commit the iudgement of death to his Bailiffe and Miniſter &c. To the which replie, that this notwithſtanding is contrary to the ancient Canons alledged before, that a Cleargie man ought not to meddle, or intermingle himſelfe with matters of blood: but now he muſt meddle, giuing authoritie to others to do it. For the authoritie of him that commaundeth, is greater, then of the Miniſter.

***Argum.*3.** If the Pope be a temporall Prince, then he may wage battell, which although the Ieſuite dare not plainely affirme, yet it followeth neceſſarily vpon his aſſertion: for it is lawfull for any temporall Prince to make warre: And it hath been the common practiſe of Popes and popiſh Prelates ſo to do.

Fox.p.446.

There were great and bitter battailes fought betweene ***Vrbane*** the ſixt, and the ***Antipope Clement***, in the which on the one ſide there were 5000. ſlaine. ***Fox.***pag.434. ***Henry Spenſer*** a luſtie yong blood, Biſhop of Norwich, was the Popes Captaine generall in France: where hee ſacked the towne of Grauenidge, and put man, woman, and child to the ſword.

Fox.p.798.

So Pope ***Iulius*** caſt his keyes into the Riuer Tybris, and tooke himſelfe to his ſword: waged many battels, and at the laſt was encountred withall by ***Lewes*** the French King, vpon Eaſter day: where there was of his armie ſlaine, to the number of 16000. But theſe warlike affaires of the Pope miſliked the Papiſts themſelues: for he was therefore condemned in the Councell of Turone in France, ***Anno.***1510. We may ſee how well theſe furious Popes do follow the rule of Chriſt, who commanded ***Peter*** to put vp his ſword into his ſheath: If it were not lawfull for ***Peter*** to ſtrike with the ſword, how is it lawfull for the Popes, that, I am ſure, dare not challenge more to themſelues, then was lawfull for ***Peter?*** Thus wee ſee how abſurd a thing it is, that the Pope ſhould be a temporall Prince.

Let vs examine antiquitie for this poynt, ***Concil.Conſtantin.*5.*action.*1.** ***Antimus*** the Biſhop of Trapezuntium was complained of to the Councell, that he ſhould affirme, ***Magnitudinem & dignitatem ſacerdotij non ſpiritualem eſſe animarum curam, ſed quendam ciuilem principatum***: That the dignitie of the Prieſthood conſiſteth not in the ſpirituall care of ſoules, but in a ciuill kinde of Princedome. Of this heretical iudgement ſeemeth the Biſhop of Rome to be, which then miſliked the whole generall Councell.

*Concil.Toletan.*11.*can.*6. ***His à quibus domini ſacramenta tractanda ſunt, iudicium ſanguinis agitare non licet***: They by whom the Sacraments of our Lord ought to be handled, ought not to meddle with the iudgement of blood: ***Ergo***, they can be no temporall Princes, for to ſuch belongeth the iudgement of death and life.

This truth haue the holy Martyrs ſealed, ***William Swinderby*** condemned for Gods truth, ***I ſay, if the Pope holde men of armes, &c. to venge himſelfe on them that offend him, and giues remiſſion of ſinnes to them that fight, and ſlay them that contrarie him, as men ſaid he did by the Biſhop of Norwich, not putting his ſworde into his ſheath, as God commaunded Peter, he is Antichriſtus: for he doth contrarie to the commandement of Ieſus, that bad Peter forgiue his brother ſeauentie ſith ſeuen ſith, &c. Fox.***pag.470.

I thinke it not amiſſe in the laſt place to adioyne the ſentence of a popiſh Biſhop, ***Aegidius Viterbienſ.*** vttered in an oration which he made before ***Iulius*** the ſecond. The foreſaid warlike Pope in the Councell of Laterane, beginning thus, ***To the reformation of the Church as many other things, ſo eſpecially the late loſſe of our armie ought to ſterre vs vp:*** which I thinke hath fallen out by the diuine prouidence, ***Quò armis eccleſiæ alienis freti cederemus, vt ad noſtra redeuntes victores euaderemus: noſtra arma ſunt pietas, religio, ſupplicationes,*** To the end that while we vſe ſtrange and forreine weapons we ſhould giue place, and taking our owne ſhould returne victorers: our proper armour is godlines, religion, prayer: Remember, ſaith he, the warre that ***Moſes*** had with ***Amalech, Videbis populum armis fidentem, deo charum, vinci ſemper; contrà ſemper vincere precibus ſupplicantem,*** You ſhall ſee the people euen beloued of God, while they truſt to their weapons, alwayes to be ouercome: but while they are in their prayers, to be themſelues ouercommers. Thus he is bold to reproue the Pope euen to his noſe (and he doth it without checke) for his warlike humour and diſpoſition.

And indeede herein they doe contrarie to their owne Canons, as ***diſt.*36.3. *Moſes ad bella non vadit, &c. Moſes*** goeth not to warre, he fighteth not againſt the enemies: but what doth he? he prayeth: and the people ouercome. Wherefore it is a Biſhops part to pray, &c.

Againe, ***cauſ.*23.*c.*1.*Ioann.*8. *Terram defendere, &c.*** To defend the countrie, to deale with warre, belongeth to the terrene power. ***Ibid.c.*3.*Innocentius***, Chriſt being taken of the Iewes, when ***Peter*** had ſtriken off ones eare, he forbiddeth him to ſmite; giuing an example to all Biſhops, not to vſe carnall weapons, &c.

*Ibid.cap.*19. Pope *Nicholas* findeth fault with certaine Biſhops, which kept watch and ward vpon the Sea coaſts againſt the Pirates: *Militum Chriſti eſt Chriſto ſeruire:* It is the part of Chriſts ſouldiours to ſerue Chriſt, &c.

Thus wee ſee how vniuſtly the Popes of Rome, and contrarie to their owne Canons, challenge to be temporall princes; which their ambition hath much miſliked ſome of their owne writers: as a ſober and graue author of their ſide giueth an inſtance in the Biſhop of Wirceburge, who euer ſince *Charles* the great, hath borne both the chiefe eccleſiaſticall, and temporall office there; and vpon feſtiuall daies hath the ſword carried before him: and the Biſhops there lie buried, with a naked ſword in the one hand, and a paſtorall ſtaffe in the other. The ſame author ſheweth the iuſt iudgement of God vpon that See, how as they gouerned by the ſword contrarie to their calling, ſo diuers of them periſhed by the ſword.

Eſpenc.in 1.ad Tim.p. 269.a.

I cannot here omit to rehearſe two merrie conceits vttered vpon this occaſion, one by a countrie fellow, of the Biſhop of Colone bearing the perſon both of a Biſhop and a Captaine: *Velim diſcere, &c.* I would faine know, ſaith he, when the diuell ſhall carrie this Captaine to hell, whom you repreſent, whither then the Biſhop ſhall goe? The other by a ſouldiour of the Cardinall *Ballua* ſent by *Lewis* the 11. to take muſter of the ſouldiours at Paris: O prudent King, ſaith he, you haue ſent this Cardinall, Biſhop of Ebroike, to muſter your ſouldiours, ſend me alſo to his dioces to make prieſts: for I can doe that as well, as he the other. Thus we ſee that this popiſh ambition was derided euen of the common and ſimple people. And thus I conclude this place with that ſaying of S. *Ambroſe: Non conuenit vnum hominem duplicem profeſſionem habere:* It is not fit for one man to haue a double profeſſion or calling.

Fulgoſus lib.6. cap.2.

Gnaguinus lib.10.

THE NINTH QVESTION, OF THE PREROGATIUES OF THE POPE.

BEſide theſe priuiledges and immunities of the See of Rome, which hitherto we haue ſpoken of both in ſpirituall and temporall matters, there are other prerogatiues, which haue been in times paſt giuen to the Biſhops of Rome, moſt blaſphemous and wicked, which the Papiſts of this age are aſhamed of, and therefore paſſe them ouer with ſilence: for *Bellarmine* ſaith nothing of them: We will therefore ſpare our labour in confuting of them, they are ſo groſſe and abſurd, but onely bring them forth, that the godly reader may vnderſtand the abomination of the whore of Babylon.

There are three monſtrous and ſhamefull prerogatiues, which the Canoniſts aſcribed to the Pope in times paſt: and they are theſe; his power diſpenſatiue, his power exemptiue, his power tranſcendent, ſo we will call them at this time.

1 His prerogatiue in diſpenſing was wonderfull: it would offend a Chriſtian eare, to heare what his groſſe Canoniſts are nothing aſhamed to ſay, *Papa poteſt diſpenſare contra ius diuinum:* The Pope may diſpence againſt the law of God, *contra ius natura*, againſt the law of nature: *contra Apoſtolum*, againſt the Apoſtle, *contra nouum teſtamentum*, againſt the new Teſtament: Nay, *Papa poteſt diſpenſare de omnibus praeceptis veteris & noui teſtamenti:* The Pope may diſpence with all the Commaundements both of the old and new law. What intollerable blaſphemies are here? The practiſes alſo of Popes are agreeable hereunto: for did not the Court of Rome diſpence with King *Henry* the eights mariage with his brothers wife? but that vngodly diſpenſation at the laſt was ouerthrowne: and it was well concluded by act of Parliament, *anno* 1533. That no man had authoritie to diſpence with Gods lawes.

53.Error.

Iuel.pag.59. Defenſ.Apol.

Fox.pag.785.

Symmachus Biſhop of Rome hereunto agreeth, concluding thus: *Roman. ſynod.6. Non licet Imperatori vel cuipiam pietatem cuſtodienti aliquid contra mandata diuina praeſumere, nec quicquam quod Euangelicis propheticiſque & Apoſtolicis obuiat, agere:* It is not lawfull for the Emperour, or any other that holdeth the true religion, to preſume any thing againſt Gods commaundements, or to doe that, which doth contrarie the writings of the Prophets or Apoſtles.

Likewiſe *Fabiane:* He that feareth God will not attempt any thing againſt the Goſpel, Apoſtles, or Prophets, *cauſ.*11.*quaeſt.*3.*cap.*95.

*Marcellin.cauſ.*25.*quaeſt.*1.*cap.*8. *Stare non valet, &c.* It cannot ſtand, which is done againſt the Euangelicall or Apoſtolicall doctrine.

Adde the iudgement of Biſhop *Latimer* holy Martyr: If it be of God, *Quis poteſt diſſoluere, niſi qui videbitur deo repugnare?* Who can diſſolue it, vnleſſe he will ſeeme to reſiſt God? *Fox* p.1750.

Biſhop *Cranmer* holy Martyr; That the Biſhop of Rome had no authoritie to diſpence with the word of God, and Scripture, *Fox* pag.1861.

2 Concerning his power exemptiue; the Pope (ſay they) is not bound to any law: No man

54.Error.

Fox pag.785. artic.188.

Fox pag.788. artic.130.

is to iudge or accuſe him of any crime,either of adulterie,murther,ſimonie,or ſuch like. If he fall into adulterie,or homicide,he cannot be accuſed;but rather excuſed,by the murthers of *Sampſon*, thefts of the Hebrues, the adulterie of *Iacob:* As *Ozıah* was ſtricken for putting his hand to the Arke inclining, no more muſt ſubiects rebuke their Prelates going awry : by the inclination of the Arke,the fall of Prelates is vnderſtood. This generally is the opinion of the Canoniſts: but the Ieſuites doe holde the contrarie, that it is lawfull, euen for an inferiour Prieſt to rebuke the Pope,*Rhemiſt.Annot.in* 2.*Galath.ſect.*8.Wherefore,ſeeing they confute themſelues,they need not any other refutation.

Reade antiquitie, you ſhall finde, that the Popes doings haue been called in queſtion : When *Bonifacius* 1.was choſen Pope,and one *Eulalius* by his confederates was ſet vp againſt him,*Valentinianus* and *Honorius* the Emperours,the better to haue their right and title examined,commanded,*vt ambo exirent ciuitate,* that both of them ſhould voide the citie. Afterward *Symmachus* and *Laurentius* contended about the Popedome, the Senators made relation to King *Theodoricus*,deſiring him,*Vt viſitationem daret ſedi Apoſtolicæ: tunc rex dedit Albinæ ciuitatis Epiſcopum,* to ſend a viſitation to the Apoſtolike See: and the King ſent the Biſhop of Albin,as viſitor thither.By thoſe and ſuch other examples it appeareth,that the Biſhops of Rome in times paſt haue not been without check and controulment.

55.Error.

Antonius in Sum.part.3.

Iohn de Parijs.

Antonius Sum.maior. part.3.diſt.22.

3 Concerning the third power,which we call Tranſcendent: one ſaith, that, *Non minor honor Papæ debetur,quàm Angelis:* That there is no leſſe honour due to the Pope,then to Angels. Another ſaith,*Papatus eſt ſumma virtus creata,* The Popedome is the higheſt power that was created of God,aboue Angels,or Archangels. Againe,thoſe words of the Pſalme,Thou haſt put all things vnder his feete,as ſheepe and oxen,fowles of the ayre,fiſhes of the ſea : they thus blaſphemouſly applie to the Pope; by ſheepe and oxen,vnderſtanding men liuing vpon the earth; by the fowles of the ayre,the Angels in heauen, whom they ſay, the Pope may commaund ; by the fiſhes, the ſoules in purgatorie : Ouer all theſe the Pope(ſay they)hath abſolute power,who may,if it pleaſe him,releaſe all purgatorie at once. What horrible blaſphemies are here? Yet our Rhemiſts and other Ieſuites are ſomewhat more modeſt,which confeſſe that the Pope is but Chriſts Vicar in the regiment of that part which is on the earth,*Annot.*1.*Ephe.ſect.*5. Seeing then they confute themſelues,we will not further trauaile herein,but proceede.

Zozimus decret. Contra ſtatuta patrum condere aliquid,vel mutare, nec huius quidem ſedis poteſt authoritas: To make or change any thing againſt the decrees of the fathers, not this ſeate hath authoritie : *Ergo,* the Pope is not higher then Angels,being inferiour vnto men his predeceſſors.

The like iudgement the ancient Biſhops of Rome were of,that it was not lawful to depart from the decrees of their predeceſſors : *Diſt.*11.*cap.*3.*Iulius* calleth it, *Satis indignum,* a very vnworthie thing ſo to doe. *Nicholaus: Ridiculum & abominabile dedecus:* A ridiculous and abominable ſhame, *diſtinct.*12.5. *Damaſus* ſaith, That the violaters of the Canons,*blaſphemi ſunt in ſpiritum,*doe commit blaſphemie againſt the ſpirit: *cauſ.*25.*quæſt.*1.*cap.*5. *Gregor.Euerſor,non conſtructor,*He is a deſtroyer,not a builder,*cauſ.*25.*quæſt.*2.*cap.*4. *Iulius* calleth it preſumption,*ibid.cap.*11. And leſt that other might ſeeme to bee tied by theſe Canons to the obſeruation of the ancient decrees,and the Pope to be exempted: *Pelagius* ſaith peremptorily, *Ne pontifex ab his diſcedendi licentiam,&c.* That not the Pope,though he would,ſhould be ſuffered to depart from the ſtatutes of his predeceſſors, *ibid.c.*21. Now then from hence we conclude : firſt,that ſeeing the Pope hath no power to change the former decrees,much leſſe can he diſpenſe againſt the word of God. Secondly,ſeeing he muſt obſerue the rules of his predeceſſors,he is not exempted from all iudgement. Thirdly,ſeeing that he is inferiour to the ancient Biſhops,in that he muſt be ruled by their orders, he is much leſſe inferiour to the Angels.

THE TENTH QVESTION, CONCERNING Antichriſt,and whether the Pope be that great aduerſarie vnto Chriſt.

THis queſtion is diuided into many parts. Firſt,whether Antichriſt ſhall be ſome one ſingular man.Secondly,of the time of his comming and continuing. Thirdly, of his name. Fourthly, of what nation or kinred he ſhall come. Fiftly, where his place and ſeate ſhall be. Sixtly, of his doctrine and manners. Seuenthly,of his miracles. Eightly,of his kingdome and warres.Ninthly, whether the Pope bee the very Antichriſt. This then is a moſt famous queſtion, and worthie throughly to be diſcuſſed,euery point therefore muſt be handled in order.

The Papiſts.

56.Error.

THey hold that Antichriſt, whoſe comming is foretold in the Scripture,ſhal be one particular man,not a whole bodie,tyrannie,or kingdome,as the truth is,*Bellarm.cap.*2.*lib.*3.

*Argum.*1. They vrge the words of our Sauiour,Ioh.5.43. *I come in my Fathers name, and ye re-*

ceiue me not; if another come in his owne name, him will ye receiue. Here Chriſt, ſay they, ſpeaketh of another that ſhall come, namely Antichriſt: for here one is oppoſed to one, namely, Antichriſt to Chriſt, not a Kingdome to a Kingdome, or ſect vnto ſect, but one perſon to another, *Bellarmine cap.2.lib.3.*

Anſw. Firſt, here is not ſo much an oppoſition of perſons, as there is of doctrine, as to preach in the name of God, and to preach in the name of men: and though Chriſt be the chiefe doctor and teacher, that came in the name of his Father; yet all true preachers beſide, doe come in the ſame name: for ſo our Sauiour ſaith of his Apoſtles, *He that receiueth you, receiueth me, and he that receiueth me, receiueth him that ſent me.* Matth.10.40. Therefore, he that receiueth the Apoſtles, receiueth God: they alſo then do come in the name of Chriſt: and ſo Chriſt and all the faithfull make but one, Iohn 17.21.

2 Neither doth Chriſt here ſpeake of one ſpeciall enemie, but of all falſe prophets; for it is not vnuſuall in the Scripture, in the ſingular number to expreſſe a multitude being of the ſame kinde, as Iohn 10.11.12. There is a compariſon betweene Chriſt the true ſhepheard, and the hireling: where, by the name of hireling, all falſe ſhepheards, and ſpirituall theeues are vnderſtood, and ſo is it in this place: therefore they cannot conclude out of this place, that Antichriſt ſhal be but one man.

*Argum.*2. An other proofe is out of 1.Ioh.2.18. the Antichriſt ſhall come, ὁ ἀντίχριστος, the Greeke article, ὁ, expreſſeth ſome ſingular notable perſon, *Bellarmine ibid.*

Anſw. It is falſe. The Greeke article doth not alwaies in Scripture aſſigne ſome particular perſon: as Matth.4.4. *Man ſhall not liue by bread onely:* the Greeke text hath ὁ ἄνθρωπος, the man, and yet is it vnderſtood not of any one man, but of all in generall, ſo 2.Tim.2.17. *The man of God,* that is, euery faithfull Miniſter, or good Chriſtian, yet is it expreſſed with the article. *Fulke Annotat.2.Theſſ.2.ſect.8.*

*Argum.*3. Apocal.13.18. It is the number of a man: the proper name of Antichriſt is ſet downe: *Ergo,* but one man, *Bellar.ibid.Rhemenſ.2,Theſſ.2.ſect.8.*

Anſw. The name here myſtically deſcribed, which ſhall containe *666.* in number, for ſo the Greeke letters χ. ξ. ς. do ſignifie beeing numbred, doth not expreſſe any particular name of one man, but rather of the whole ſocietie and bodie of Antichriſt: for it is ſaid to be the number of the beaſt. Now by the beaſt is vnderſtood the Romane Empire, the name whereof is λατεινος, *Latinus,* which letters do ariſe in computation to the whole number of *666.* And this name *Irenæus* thinketh to agree beſt to this place. Further, ſeeing the Rhemiſts themſelues by the beaſt do vnderſtand the vniuerſall companie of the wicked, Reuel.13.verſ.1. And this is the name or number of the beaſt: it muſt be vnderſtood, by their owne confeſſion, of a company and congregation, and not of one ſingular perſon.

The Proteſtants.

THat Antichriſt, which is interpreted an aduerſary, or againſt Chriſt, ſhall not be one man, (as the Papiſts imagine, that the Popes might be diſburdened and diſcharged of this name, who are many) but that it is a whole body, company and ſynagogue, and a ſuceeſſion of heretikes, we do thus proue it.

Argument. Bezæ.

1 The myſterie of iniquitie wrought in *Paules* time, then was there a way in preparing for Antichriſt, 2.Theſ.2. But it is vnpoſſible for one man to continue from *Paules* time to the end of the world: *Ergo,* Antichriſt is not one man, but a ſucceſſion of heretikes.

Firſt *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that as Chriſt is ſaid to haue come ſince the beginning of the world in his forerunners the Prophets and Patriarches, but yet came not in perſon, till he tooke fleſh: ſo Antichriſt ſtraight after Chriſts aſcenſion began to worke in his forerunners alſo, but ſhall not come in perſon till toward the end of the world. *cap.2.reſp.ad.1.argument.Bezæ.*

Cont. 1 The compariſon betweene Chriſt, and Antichriſt in this behalfe, is not good: for Chriſt is ſaid to haue come in the Prophets, becauſe vnto them Chriſt did communicate his ſpirit: and therefore Chriſt is ſaid in his ſpirit to haue preached by *Noah.* 1.Pet.3.19. But Antichriſt being but a mortall man, can not giue of his malignant ſpirit to his forerunners: for this is not farre from the phrenſie of the Manichees, to make Antichriſt the beginning of euil, as Chriſt is the author of good; that as Chriſt the head doth giue influence to his body, ſo Antichriſt an other head ſhould alſo inſpire his members. Secondly, but if they will make a good compariſon, as Chriſt is the head of his Church, and the Prophets and Apoſtles his Miniſters; ſo the Diuell is the ring-leader of the wicked, and the Antichriſts and falſe prophets his chiefe worke-men: and in this ſenſe Apocal.13.7. *Michael,* that is Chriſt, and his Angels are ſaid to fight againſt the Dragon, that is, the diuel and his angels: And as Chriſt ſince the beginning of the world did ſpeake in his ſeruants the Prophets, ſo the diuell alſo from the beginning ceaſed not to worke in his miniſters; and ſo he began to worke the myſterie of iniquitie againſt the Goſpel in the Apoſtles time. But to ſay, that as he which ruled the true Prophets by his ſpirite was incarnate afterward, and came in his owne perſon; ſo he that miſled the falſe prophets, ſhall alſo come in his perſon, were to make Antichriſt a diuell incarnate: for it was the diuell that wrought in heretikes and falſe teachers.

Bellarmine anſwereth againe: if the myſterie of iniquitie began in *Paules* time, that is, the kingdome of Antichriſt; and you will needs make Rome the ſeate of Antichriſt: belike Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter* were the Antichriſts, for there were no Biſhops of Rome beſide at that time.

Anſw. Firſt, that Antichriſt began then to worke euen in Rome, it cannot be denied, ſeeing the Papiſts confeſſe, that *Simon Magus* firſt broched his hereſie there, and that *Peter* calleth Rome Babylon. It is not neceſſarie, that the myſterie of iniquitie ſhould ſo ſoone creepe into the very chaire of the Paſtors, and Biſhops: that ſhould come to paſſe in the full reuelation of Antichriſt: It is ſufficient that it wrought cloſely amongſt the falſe Apoſtles: wherefore the Ieſuits obiection concerning *Peter* and *Paul*, is ridiculous.

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, that there muſt come a departing or Apoſtaſie and generall falling from the faith: for ſo an apoſtaſie ſignifieth, a relinquiſhing of the faith, not a departure from the Romane Empire, or Antichriſt himſelfe, as *Bellarmine* would haue it: ſo the word is vſed by S. *Paul* elſe where, 1.Tim.4.1. ſome, ſaith he, ἀποστήσονται, ſhal fall away, or play the apoſtataes from the faith: and ſo one of your owne writers expoundeth it, *à veritate in errorem deſciſcent*; they ſhal fall from the trueth into error: *Eſpenc.in hunc locum.* Common vſe alſo of ſpeech ſo taketh it: *Iulian* the Emperour is knowne by the name of Apoſtata, for forſaking of the Chriſtian faith: Antiquitie alſo hath ſo vſed the word. *Alexander* patriarch of *Alexandria*, thus writeth in his Epiſtle as touching the *Arrians*: *Egreſſi ſunt viri è noſtra parochia, docentes apoſtaſiam, quam recte quilibet præcurrere ſuſpicetur Antichriſtum*: There be certaine fellowes gone forth out of our precincts, teaching apoſtaſie (that is, corrupting the right faith) which any man would thinke did forerun Antichriſt. Whereas then the Rhemiſts affirme, that moſt of the ancient fathers do ſo vnderſtand Apoſtaſie for a defection from the Empire: it is certaine, that *Tertullian, Chryſoſtome, Auguſtine, Primaſius* with others do expound it for a defection from the faith. *Fulke annot.5.in 2. Theſſ.*2. Yea and the Rhemiſts ſo take it. *ibid.annot.6.*

Now this generall falling away from the faith cannot be accompliſhed in one man, but it ſheweth a whole bodie or companie, whereof Antichriſt is the head, one man of ſinne ſucceeding another by ſucceſſion: and this apoſtaſie cannot be wrought at one time, but it ſhall come to paſſe in ſeuerall ages: for how is it poſſible, that at once ſuch a generall Apoſtaſie ſhould be? *Ergo*, Antichriſt ſhall not be one particular man, *Argum.Caluini.* Neither can the Ieſuite thus ſhift off the argument, to ſay, that this generall Apoſtaſie is but a preparation to the kingdome of Antichriſt, not that he ſhal then be preſently come: for S. *Paul* ioyneth both theſe together: *There muſt come a departing firſt, that the man of ſinne be diſcloſed*, verſ.3. So that this very apoſtaſie and departing ſhall be a diſcloſing and manifeſt declaration of Antichriſt.

*Argum.*3. Ioh.3.7. The Apoſtle ſaith: Many deceiuers are come into the world, which confeſſe not that Ieſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh: the ſame is the deceiuer and the Antichriſt. Marke then, one deceiuer is many deceiuers: one Antichriſt many Antichriſts, 1.Ioh.2.18. *Ergo*, Antichriſt ſhall not be one man, but many, *Argument, Ful. Annot.2.Theſſ.2.ſect.*8.

De ciuitat. Dei.20.19.

Auguſtine ſheweth, how that in his time this place of S. *Paul* was not expounded of any one man, but of a whole bodie: *Nonnulli non ipſum principem, ſed vniuerſum quodammodo corpus eius, ſimul cum ſuo principe hoc loco intelligi Antichriſtum volunt*: Some (ſaith he) doe take Antichriſt not for the head alone, but for the whole bodie and multitude togither with their prince. And their coniecture is this: becauſe theſe words verſ.7. He which withholdeth, are vnderſtood of the Empire and Emperors of Rome, which were many: ſo the man of ſinne, which is deſcribed as in the perſon of one, may fitly be vnderſtood of a ſucceſſion of many.

Bernard ſaith, 2. *In conuerſion.Paul.ſerm.*1. *Iniquè agunt & cæteri contra Chriſtum, multique ſunt noſtris temporibus Antichriſti*: There be diuers other that doe wickedly againſt Chriſt, and in our times there be many Antichriſts. Againe, *Cantic.ſerm.*33. *Miniſtri ſunt Chriſti, & ſeruiunt Antichriſto*, They are the Miniſters of Chriſt, and ſerue Antichriſt: how could Antichriſt be in *Bernards* dayes, ſome hundred yeeres ſince, yea many Antichriſts, if Antichriſt ſhould be one man? So alſo one of your later writers: *Bruno* thus witneſſeth writing vpon the 4. of the 1. to Tim. verſ.1. *Apoſtolum de Antichriſto inſtruentem, &c*: That the Apoſtle giuing inſtruction concerning Antichriſt, doth inſinuate that the members a long time goe before the head: but if Antichriſt were one ſingular man, his head and members muſt go togither.

Likewiſe out of your owne Canons: *diſtinct.23.cap.*1. *Nicholaus* defineth him to be Antithriſt, that is elected to the Papacie by Symonie. He noteth not any particular Pope, but any whoſoeuer, that ſhould be ſo elected.

*Cauſ.16.qu.7.c.3.Gregor.*7. He that granteth tithes to lay perſons, *inter maximos hæreticos, et Antichriſtos non minimus habebitur*: ſhall be counted among the greateſt Heretikes, and not the leaſt among the Antichriſts: *Ergo* by your owne Canons there is not one onely Antichriſt, but many

Antichriſts. Yea, here I will oppoſe the iudgement of the Rhemiſts, who therein are contrary to themſelues: yet thus they write, *annot.7.in* 17. *Apocal.* that the ſeuen heads are ſeuen Kings, or Kingdoms, fiue were then paſt, the ſixt was the ſtate of the Empire then preſent, the ſeuenth ſhould be Antichriſts ſtate, &c. As then they take the ſixt head not for any particular perſon, but for the State of the Emperours, who were many; ſo by their expoſition the ſeuenth head muſt be taken not for a particular perſon, but for a State and Gouernement.

Let vs adde the ſeale of the holy Confeſſors and Martyrs, *Iohn Wicliff.articul.*37. *Eccleſia Romana,* ſaith he, *eſt ſynagoga Sathanæ:* The Church of Rome is the ſynagogue of Sathan. *Iohn Huſſe Concil.Conſt.ſeſſ.*11. *Papa eſt patronus Antichriſti, non ſolum illa ſimplex perſona ſed multitudo Paparum &c. eſt Antichriſti perſona compoſita monſtroſa:* The Pope is the patron of Antichriſt, not any one ſingle perſon, but the multitude of wicked Popes, &c. is the monſtrous compound bodie of Antichriſt. If it ſhould bee obiected, that there haue been ſome good Popes ſince the time there aſſigned, namely, from the dotation or endowment of the Church: he anſwereth, *Non repugnat quod Gregorius & alij Papæ finaliter pœnitebant:* Notwithſtanding this *Gregorie,* and other tolerable Popes might finally repent them.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER ANTICHRIST be yet come, and how long he ſhall continue.

The Papiſts.

THe Romiſh Ieſuites doe hold that Antichriſt is not yet come, neither can they tell when he ſhall come: But this they ſay boldly, that *Henoch* and *Elias,* who liue all this while in Paradiſe, ſhall come immediately before Antichriſt; and that Antichriſt, when he is come, ſhall raigne but three yeeres and an halfe, and then ſhall the world end, *Bellar.cap.*4.*lib.*3.*de pontif. Rhemiſt.*11. *Apocal.ſect.*2.4. 57. Error.

*Argum.*1. The Romane Empire muſt vtterly be deſtroyed and layd waſte before Antichriſt come: as S.*Paul* ſaith, That which withholdeth muſt firſt be taken away, 2.Theſ.2.7. that is, the Roman Empire. But the Empire yet remaineth: for the Emperor is knowen by name, and there are alſo prince electors of the Empire: *Ergo,* Antichriſt is not yet come. *Bellarm.cap.*5.

Anſw. It is true that the Romane Empire, while it retained and kept the ancient dignitie, maieſtie and power thereof, was an hinderance and let to the tyrannie of Antichriſt; but when it began to decay, then Antichriſt ſet in his foote. Firſt, it was not neceſſary therefore that the Empire ſhould vtterly be extinguiſhed, but ſo much only taken away, namely, the ancient honor and imperiall maieſtie thereof, as hindered Antichriſt: and ſo we find, that the Romane Empire was more then halfe decayed, when Antichriſt crept into Rome.

As firſt when *Conſtantine* the great, *an.*312. left the citie of Rome, and fixed his imperiall ſeate at Conſtantinople, in the Eaſt, the maieſtie of the Empire was much impayred, the Biſhop of Rome taking occaſion by the abſence of the Emperor to rule ouer the weſt Churches. The next pul from the Empire was betweene the yeere 700. and 800. *Conſtantinus* 1. Biſhop of Rome firſt offered his feete to be kiſſed of the Emperor *Iuſtinian,* and moſt inſolently tooke vpon him to excommunicate *Philippicus Bardanes* Emperor after *Iuſtinian,* becauſe he could not away with Idols, *anno.*715.

Gregorie the third likewiſe for the ſame cauſe did excommunicate *Leo* the Emperor, and tranſlated the cuſtodie of the Church from the Grecians to the French nation, *anno.*740. *Zacharias* firſt tooke vpon him to depoſe and ſet vp Kings: as he depriued *Childericus* King of France of his kingdome, and ſet *Carolus Martellus* in his ſteade, *anno.*750. *Stephanus* the ſecond firſt preſumed to be carried vpon mens ſhoulders: vnto him *Pipinus* King of France yeelded the exarchate or ſoueraignty of Rauenna, held his ſtirrop, and led his horſe by the bridle, *anno.*752. Afterward *Carolus* King *Charlemaines* ſonne, confirmed vnto *Adriane* 1. the former graunt of *Pipinus,* and beſids gaue vnto him, the dutchie of *Foroiulium, Beneuentum,* and *Spoletum, anno.*796. *Leo* 3. proclaimed *Charles* the great Emperor, and ſo ſpoyled the Emperor of the Weſt of the better halfe of his kingdome, *anno.*800.

From this time forth the maieſtie and ancient dignitie of the Empire began daylie to decreaſe: Iohn.13. made a decree that the Emperor ſhould be crowned of the Pope, *anno.*964. *Otho* the Emperor confirmed to *Leo* the eight whatſoeuer before graunted by *Pipinus* or *Carolus, anno.*966. *Iohn.*14. brought vnder his papall regiment the kingdome of *Poole, anno.*973. *Steuen* the ninth obtayned Millaine: *Vrbanus* the ſecond ſet foote into Spaine, *anno.*1090. Vnder *Innocentius* the ſecond the Kingdome of Sicilie was made part of S.*Peters* patrimonie, *anno,*1140. *Eugenius* the third ſubdued Norway to the papall profeſſion, *anno.*1152. *Alexander* the third decreed that none ſhould be King of England, vnles he were firſt nominated and called of the Pope, *anno.*1180. *Sub Lucio* the third the Armenians ſubmitted themſelues to the papall iuriſdiction, *anno.*1185. Vnder *Vrbane* the third, *Liuonia* came vnder their yoke, *anno.*1187. Vnder *Innocentius* the third, the kingdome of Arragon was made tributarie to the Pope, *anno.*1216. Vnder *Nicolas* the third, the countrey of Romandiola and Bononia, was brought vnder the Popes ſubiection, *anno.*1280.

And to put the matter out of all doubt: *Bonifacius* the eight did one day ſhew himſelfe in his pontificals, as a Pope; another, in his imperiall robes, as an Emperor by vſurpation, *anno.*1300. *Clemens* the fift made a decree that the Emperor ſhould receiue the name and right of the Empire from the Pope, and the Emperor being dead, till a new elect, the imperiall power to remaine in the Popes hand, *anno.*1314. *Clement* the ſixt crowned *Charles* the fourth vpon this condition, that he ſhould neither ſtay in Rome, nor in any part of Italie: the ſame *Charles* to procure the ſucceſſion of the Empire to his ſonne, did morgage to the Prince-Electors the chiefe reuenues of the Empire, and ſurrendred the free cities, which were neuer ſince redeemed, *anno.*1350. And thus by degrees was the Empire weakned: and as Antichriſt daylie gathered ſtrength, ſo the imperiall dignity fayled, and was empayred.

Secondly, the imperiall power muſt in ſome ſort be reſtored by Antichriſt: for the Pope vſurped the ſame authority which the Emperors had, yea greater: for the whore is deſcribed ſitting vpon the beaſt, Apocal.17. which is the Empire: and therefore it is ſaid, verſ.8. The beaſt that was, and is not, and yet is: for the ancient Empire both is, and is not: It is, becauſe the power thereof is tranſlated to the Pope: it is not, that is, not in that kingly manner, as it was in times paſt. Apocal.13.12. The beaſt that roſe out of the earth with two hornes like a lambe, did all that the firſt beaſt could doe before him: that is, the power of the Empire was in the Pope. Thirdly, Apocal.13.15. It is ſaid, that the image of the beaſt remayned, and that the other beaſt gaue a ſpirit vnto the image of the beaſt: So is it at this day, the name and image of the Empire remaineth, but the maieſtie and power is gone: And who giueth life to the image but the Pope? he confirmeth and ratifieth the election of the Emperour. Wherefore, this rather is an argument that Antichriſt is alreadie come, becauſe nothing but the image of the beaſt remaineth.

*Argum.*2. Antichriſt ſhall raigne three yeeres and an halfe: but if he were already come, he muſt needs haue raigned diuers hundred yeeres already, *Bellarm.cap.*8.

They proue this raigne of Antichriſt for this ſhort ſeaſon, out of thoſe places of Dan.7,25. A time, times, and halfe a time: and Apocal.12.14. alſo it is deſcribed by dayes 1260. dayes, and by moneths 11.2. two and fortie moneths: which all come to one reckoning, and make three yeeres and an halfe.

Anſw. Firſt, the time is alſo ſet downe by the name of three dayes and an halfe, Apocal.11.11. How then is it likely, that 1260. dayes and three dayes and an halfe, ſhould ſignifie the ſame time? And ſeeing the Rhemiſts themſelues, by the thouſand yeeres Apocal.20.1. do vnderſtand all the time of the new Teſtament till Antichriſts raigne, and ſo take it for an vncertaine and indefinite number, they can not in any reaſon ſo ſtrictly expound this account of dayes. And as they take the other number indefinitely, ſo diuers of the fathers expound this number of dayes; as *Beda* vnderſtandeth all the time of Chriſtianitie: *Rupertus*, ſo long as the Church endureth perſecution: *Haymo*, for all the time from the aſcenſion of Chriſt, till the end of the world. *Fulke. annot.*12. *Apoc.*2. Secondly, with much better ſenſe are theſe times applyed by our learned and painefull countrieman Maſter *Fox*, to the great perſecution vnder the Emperors, which continued 294. yeeres, which time is myſtically ſignified by 42. moneths, taking euery moneth for a ſabboth of yeeres. And the reſt of the numbers agree hereunto: for 1260. dayes make three yeeres and an halfe, that is, moneths 42. and three dayes and an halfe make houres 42. So taking euery houre in the dayes, and euery moneth in the yeeres for a ſabboth of yeares, there ariſe 294. yeeres, which was the iuſt time of the perſecution from the death of *Iohn Baptiſt*, vnto the end of *Licinius* the tyrant and perſecutor. This account, I ſay, better agreeth with the truth of the hiſtorie, then their imagined computation. Thirdly, if it ſhould be taken, as they expound it, for ſo ſhort a time, then very little of the prophecie in the Apocalyps is yet fulfilled: for the reuelation, for the moſt part, conſiſteth in ſetting downe the reigne and Kingdome of Antichriſt with the circumſtances thereof: as of the time of his tyrannizing ouer the Church chap.11.12. of his marke and myracles chap.13. of the plagues, which ſhould be powred out vpon the world vnder his kingdome chap.16. the deſcription of the whore, which is Antichriſt chap.17. the ouerthrow of Babylon, prophecied of in chap.14. fulfilled and accompliſhed, chap.18. So that if wee take our aduerſaries ſtrict expoſition, the whole prophecie of the Reuelation almoſt ſhall bee brought within the compaſſe of three yeeres and an halfe, which is not to be admitted: for ſo little of the Apocalypſe ſhould be yet fulfilled ſeeing their preciſe three yeeres and an halfe are not yet come. And againe, it is certaine that the Apocalypſe is a generall prophecie of the ſtate of the Church from Chriſts leauing the earth to his comming againe: and it tooke beginning euen from *Iohns* time: for things are ſhewed to him *ſhortly to bee done,* chap.1.verſ.1. *and the time is at hand,* verſ.3. So that we doubt not but the moſt part of that propheticall reuelation is alreadie accompliſhed,

Fox.pag.110.

compliſhed, as it may appeare in comparing the viſions reuealed in that booke together, and in applying the hiſtories done to the prophecie there contained.

And againe, there is no prophecie beſide this of 42. moneths, which can be applied to the great perſecution in the primitiue Church: wherefore it is not like that the Lord would leaue his Church without ſome comfort, in forewarning them of thoſe great troubles which immediatly enſued. But if theſe prophecies, which are wreſted by the Papiſts, did not foretell of thoſe perſecutions, then are they vtterly forgotten in that booke: which is not like, it being the greateſt trial that euer the Church had.

4 The 1260. daies mentioned, Apocal. 12. 16. cannot be taken preciſely for ſo many naturall daies, but we are to vnderſtand ſo many propheticall daies, that is, a day for a yeere: for this both agreeth to the phraſe of Scripture, and the propheticall cuſtome and practiſe: as Numb. 14. 34. *After the number of fortie daies wherein you ſearched out the land, euen fortie daies, euery day for a yeere, ſhall you beare your iniquitie.* Likewiſe, Ezech. 4. 5, 6. *Thou ſhalt beare the iniquitie of the houſe of Iuda fortie daies, a day for a yeere I haue giuen thee.* Alſo the current of time and courſe of hiſtorie approueth the ſame; that 1260. yeeres are determined for Antichriſts raigne vntill his ouerthrow: for whether wee begin the account from the yeere 261. when *Paulus Samoſatenus* reuiued that foule hereſie, in denying Chriſt to bee God, and ſo was a forerunner of Antichriſt; adding hereunto 1260. yeeres, we come to the yeere 1521. when *Luther* began to impugne the Antichriſtian doctrine: *Sic Balæus in vita Leon.* 10. Or whether we count from the yeere 300. when *Conſtantine* the great left the imperiall citie of Rome to the Popes diſcretion, which made an open way to Antichriſt, adding here alſo 1260. yeeres, we fall into the yeere 1560. when according to the propheſie, Reuel. 11. 13. the tenth part of the Antichriſtian citie, as of Abbeyes, Nunries, Monaſteries was deſtroyed, as in England, Scotland, Germanie, and other countries. The Ieſuites liberall wreſting then of this number of daies, is not any way to be admitted.

5 We ſay laſtly, that wee are not curiouſly to ſearch into times and ſeaſons, which the Lord hath not reuealed: Onely this we learne, that the time of affliction being ſet downe by daies and moneths, the faithfull ſhould hereby be comforted, knowing that the time of their trouble is limited of God, and is but ſhort in reſpect of the kingdome of Chriſt.

Argum. 3. The Lord ſaith, Matth. 24. that thoſe daies ſhall be ſhortned, leſt no fleſh ſhould be ſaued. But how can the time bee ſhort, if it ſhould laſt ſome hundreds, or a thouſand of yeeres? *Bellarm. cap.* 8. *Rhemiſt. annot. Mat.* 24. *ſect.* 6.

Anſ. Firſt, that place verſ. 22. is properly vnderſtood of the calamitie of the Iewes, which if it had continued any longer, the nation of the Iewes had been vtterly deſtroyed. Secondly, yet notwithſtanding the raigne of Antichriſt is ſhort, in reſpect of the eternall kingdome of Chriſt: yea the whole time from his aſcenſion vntill his comming againe, is counted but ſhort. Apocal. 22. 20. *I come quickly:* And S. *Peter* ſaith, *That a thouſand yeeres before God is as one day, and one day as a thouſand yeeres*, 2. Pet. 3.

Argum. 4. Chriſt preached but three yeeres and an halfe: therefore Antichriſt ſhall be ſuffered to preach no longer.

Anſ. Firſt, yet Chriſt was thirtie yeeres old when he began to preach, and ſhewed himſelfe before, though not ſo openly; as when he was twelue yeere old he diſputed with the Doctors in the temple: he was alſo acknowledged for the Meſſiah in his natiuitie. If Antichriſt then muſt in this reſpect be correſpondent to Chriſt, he muſt alſo be knowne to bee thirtie yeeres vpon earth, before he be fully manifeſted. Secondly, though Chriſt himſelfe preached no longer, yet he ſent his Apoſtles, who preached many yeeres after: we doe not therefore oppoſe the perſon of Antichriſt, whom we denie to be a ſingular man, to Chriſt; but the kingdome of the one to the other. Now by their owne reaſon, it followeth, that becauſe the kingdome of Chriſt endured many yeeres, and yet doth, that therefore Antichriſts kingdome muſt likewiſe.

Other demonſtrations the Ieſuite hath to proue that Antichriſt is not yet come: as, becauſe the Goſpell is not yet preached to all the world, *cap.* 4. *Bellarm. Helias* and *Henoch* are not yet come, who are certainly looked for, *cap.* 6. There ſhall bee a moſt grieuous and terrible perſecution vnder Antichriſt, which is not yet paſt, *cap.* 7. But theſe arguments ſhall be anſwered in another place towards the end of this worke, when we come to ſpeake of the appearing of Chriſt to iudgement.

The Proteſtants.

THat Antichriſt ſhall raigne but three yeeres and a halfe, wee take it for a meere fable, and a very popiſh dreame: whereas on the contrarie ſide, we are able to ſhew both that Antichriſt is alreadie come, and hath tyrannized in the world theſe many yeeres.

Argum. 1. We will make it plaine by demonſtration, that Antichriſt hath been in the world many yeeres agoe, by the propheticall places of Scripture. Firſt, it is ſaid, the number of Antichriſt is 666.Apocal.13.18. So, *anno* 606. or thereabout, *Boniface* the 3. obtained of *Phocas* the Emperour to be called vniuerſall Biſhop. Thus ſaith *Illyricus, Chytræus.*

Paulinus diaconus lib.18.

And if wee take our account from that time when *Pompeius* the great tooke the Scepter from the Iewes,according to *Iacobs* prophecie, that *before the Scepter went from Iuda, the Sonne of God ſhould not come,*Geneſ.49.10. which fell out in *Cicero* his Conſulſhip, ſixtie yeeres before Chriſts natiuitie: Then ioyning to this number,606. wee finde *Bonifacius* in the yeere 666 at which time many ſtrange and prodigious ſights appeared,diuers Sea-monſters were ſeene,and a terrible blazing ſtarre was deſcried. Alſo *Gregorie* 1.the immediate predeceſſor of this *Boniface*, doubted not to call him Antichriſt,that tooke vpon him to be called vniuerſall Biſhop,as this *Boniface* did. All theſe ſignes did foreſhew,that Antichriſt was euen now borne into the world.

Further,if we begin at the yeere of the Lord 97.at which time *Iohn* wrote the Apocalypſe, and counting 666.yeeres,we ſhall come to the time of *Pipinus*,whom the Pope made King of France, and he againe much inlarged the iuriſdiction and authoritie of the Pope. And yet more euidently,about the yeere of the Lord 666.the Latin ſeruice was commanded to be vſed in all countries ſubiect to the See of Rome,by Pope *Vitalianus:* and about the ſame time, *Conſtantius* the Emperour remoued the ancient monuments of the Empire to Conſtantinople, and left the citie to the Popes pleaſure,*Ful.annot.in* 13.*Reuel.ſect.*10.

Another prophecie wee haue,Reuel,20.3. that after one thouſand yeeres Sathan muſt bee let looſe.Euen ſo,a thouſand yeeres after Chriſt,Pope *Silueſter* a great coniurer,hauing made a compact with the diuell,obtained the Papacie: and not long after him came in *Gregorie* the 7.a great Sorcerer alſo and Necromancer: *Sic Lutherus.*

But becauſe it is not to bee thought, that Sathan was bound during that great and long perſecution vnder the Romane Emperours, wee muſt begin the account of the thouſand yeeres, from the end of the perſecution,which continued 294.yeeres: vnto that adde a thouſand,ſo haue we the yeere of our Lord 1294.about which yeere *Boniface* the 8.made the ſixt booke of the Decretals,confirmed the orders of Friers,and gaue them great freedomes: with this number agreeth *Daniel* his 1290.daies,Dan.12.11. Alſo ſomewhat before this time,*anno* 1260.the orders of Dominicke and Franciſcane Friers began firſt to be ſet vp by *Honorius* the 3. and *Gregorie* the 9. And ſo haue we the 1260.daies,which are ſet downe, *Apocal.*12.*plura apud Fox.pag.*398.

*Argum.*2. If Antichriſt ſhould raigne but three yeeres and an halfe, as our aduerſaries teach, and then immediatly that time being expired,the world ſhould end: then it is poſſible to aſſigne the time of our Lord Chriſt his comming to iudgement,ſo ſoone as Antichriſt is reuealed. But the Goſpell ſaith,*that of that day and houre knoweth no man,no not the Angels in heauen,*Matth.24.36.Yet theſe good fellowes take vpon them to be wiſer then the Angels: for they dare ſet downe the very day of Chriſts comming; which ſhall bee, as *Bellarmine* preſumptuouſly imagineth, iuſt 45. daies after the deſtruction of Antichriſt. And to this purpoſe he abuſeth that place of Dan.12.11. where mention is made of 1290.daies,that is,as he fondly interpreteth,three yeeres and an halfe, the iuſt time of Antichriſts raigne: *But bleſſed is he that commeth* (ſaith the Prophet) *to* 1335.*daies:* that is,ſaith *Bellarmine*,to 45.daies after the deſtruction of Antichriſt; and then Chriſt commeth, *cap.*9. What intolerable boldnes and preſumption is this, contrarie to the ſaying of Chriſt,to attempt to declare the very houre of his comming?

Againe,the prophecie of *Daniel* had no ſuch meaning: for he onely ſpeaketh of the afflictions of the Church,before the comming of Chriſt, as *Iohn* prophecieth of the troubles that came after. *Daniel* therefore in that place receiueth inſtructions concerning the cruell perſecution of the Iewes vnder *Antiochus Epiphanes*,the beginning, and the end thereof: There are three times reuealed vnto him.

Dan.7.25. The firſt is of a time,two times,and halfe a time,or rather the diuiding of time; or as *Tremellius* more agreeable to the Hebrue, a part or parcell of times: ſo long ſhould the temple bee defiled, and the abomination ſet vp in the temple,that is, three yeeres and certaine daies: And ſo it came to paſſe,for this deſolation began in the temple the 145.yeere of the raigne of the Greekes,the 15. day of the moneth *Caſleu*,1.Macchab.1.57.when *Antiochus* cauſed the daily ſacrifice to ceaſe, and incenſe to be burnt to Idols:And iuſt three yeeres and ten daies after,which is to be reckoned for the od parcell of times, *anno* 148.the 25.day of *Caſleu*, they began to offer ſacrifice in the temple according to the law,1.Macchab.4.52.

The ſecond time reuealed,is of 1290.daies,Dan.12.11.which maketh three yeeres,ſeuen moneths and odde daies: which is the time counting from the deſolation, when as the ſacrifices ſhould be reſtored,and confirmed by the Kings graunt, and letters Patents: which accordingly came to paſſe,*anno* 148.the 15.of the moneth *Xanthicus*, which was the laſt moneth but one,as it is recorded,2.Macchab.11.33.

The third time is deſcribed by daies,1335.Dan.12.12. Bleſſed is he that ſhould liue to ſee that time: namely,when the Church of the Iewes ſhould fully be deliuered by the death of *Antiochus*, which was in the beginning of the next yeere, which was 149. 1.Macchab.6.16. Thus wee ſee theſe times were fully accompliſhed vnder the tyrannie of *Antiochus:* wherefore theſe prophecies being once fulfilled, they cannot bee drawne to ſignifie any other time, but by way of ſimilitude and compariſon.

Neither is that any thing worth, which the Ieſuite obiecteth out of S.*Paul,* 2.Theſſ.2.8. *Then ſhall the wicked man be reuealed, whom Chriſt ſhall conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth:* As though preſently after the reuelation of Antichriſt Chriſt ſhould come. And therefore Antichriſt muſt not be expected or looked for before the end of the world: for the whole time from the firſt comming of Chriſt to his ſecond, is in the Scripture called *nouiſſima hora,* the laſt times, 1.Ioh.2.18. And therefore Antichriſt, at what time ſoeuer he is reuealed after the aſcenſion of Chriſt, he commeth in the laſt times: whoſe vtter ruine and deſtruction ſhall be reſerued for the glorious appearing of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle there ſpeaketh.

*Argum.*3. Whereas the Scripture ſaith, that Sathan muſt be bound for a thouſand yeeres, and after let looſe againe, Apocal.20.2. And it is plaine, that the thouſand yeeres ſince Chriſt are expired more then fiue hundred yeeres ago: It followeth hereupon that Antichriſt is alreadie come: for he muſt be reuealed with the looſing of Sathan. Our aduerſaries haue nothing to anſwere but this, that by this 1000.yeers, a certaine time is not meant, but the whole ſpace during the time of the new Teſtament, till the comming of Antichriſt, *Rhemiſt.Reuel.*20.*ſect.*1. To whom we anſwere, that by the ſame reaſon, neither ſhall their 42.moneths ſhew any certaine time, but the whole ſpace ſo long as Antichriſt ſhall raigne. And this number of moneths, as of daies, weekes, houres, the Scripture euery where taketh myſtically in prophecies: but when thouſands or hundred yeeres are mentioned, they are alwaies taken literally: as Iſai.7.8. it is prophecied that Ephraim, that is, Iſrael, ſhould vtterly ceaſe to bee a people within 65.yeeres, which euen ſo came to paſſe, counting from the fourth yeere of the raigne of *Ahaz* King of Iuda, to the 25. yeere of *Manaſſes,* when the remnant of Iſrael was carried away.

Iſai.16.14. *In three yeeres as the yeeres of an hireling,* that is, preciſely ſo many, *the glorie of Moab ſhall be deſtroyed.* Iſai.21.16. *Yet a yeere according to the yeeres of an hireling, and all the glorie of Kedar ſhall faile.* In all theſe places hirelings yeeres are vnderſtood, that is, ſo many common yeeres, as ſeruants doe vſe to be hired for.

Let vs adioyne the teſtimonie of antiquitie: *Cyprian epiſtol.*3.*ad Cornelium: Antichriſti iam propinquantis aduentum conantur imitari:* They, ſpeaking of the Nouatian heretikes, doe imitate Antichriſt, who is now approching and drawing neere.

*Paſchal.*2.*anno* 1100. held a Councell at Rome againſt the Biſhop of Florence, who affirmed Antichriſt then to be borne: *Epiſtol.Leodienſ.contra Paſchal.*2. *Ecce ſolutus eſt Sathanas habens iram magnam:* Behold Sathan is broke looſe, hauing great wrath. *Anno* 1390. Pope *Vrbane* the 6. and *Clement* 7. being both Popes at once, did thunder out one againſt another, calling each other ſchiſmatike, heretike, Antichriſt.

Whom now may wee beleeue rather for this matter then the Popes: for Antichriſt may beſt iudge of himſelfe?

We haue alſo the iudgement of one *Heutonius* a Papiſt, againſt their dreame of three yeeres and an halfe, who thus writeth in his preface to his tranſlation of *Arethas:* It is not poſſible that Antichriſt, in ſo ſhort a time of three common yeeres and an halfe, ſhould obtaine ſo many kingdomes and prouinces.

Adde the ſeale of holy Martyrs: Maſter *Bilney;* Sathan, as the Scripture witneſſeth, hath been now let looſe theſe 500.yeeres, as it is written in the Apocalypſe, *After a thouſand yeeres Sathan ſhall be let looſe, Fox* pag.1003. Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr, ſaith, That ſince the firſt 30.Biſhops of Rome that died Martyrs, there haue been 204.Popes, and hardly foure to bee found among them good Chriſtian men.pag.1252.

All theſe agree together, that Antichriſt hath bin many yeeres alreadie reuealed to the world: and therefore this new deuice of three yeeres and an halfe, is but a meere forgerie.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING THE name, character, and ſigne of Antichriſt.

The Papiſts.

THey ſtoutly affirme, that Antichriſt ſhal be one particular man; conſequently they alſo hold, that he ſhal haue a certaine name, as Chriſt is called Ieſus, ſo Antichriſt muſt alſo haue a proper name: but what that name ſhall be, no man can tell, vntill he come: but it ſhall conſiſt of certaine letters, that in number make ſixe hundred ſixtie ſixe, *Bellar.cap.*10.*Rhemiſt.annot.Apocal.*13.*ſect.*10. 58.Error.

1 Apocal.13.18. *Count the number of the beaſt, for it is the number of a man, and his number is 666.*

Hereupon they conclude, that Antichriſt ſhall haue a certaine name, which containeth that number, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, it is the number of the beaſt, and yet of a man: *Ergo*, it cannot be the name of any one man: for by the beaſt, the Ieſuites themſelues vnderſtand a companie or multitude, *Rhemiſt. Apocal.* 13.*ſect.*1. Wherefore it muſt be ſuch a name as agreeth to a company or ſucceſſion of men, and ſuch is the name *Latinus*, as afterward we will ſhew. Secondly, it muſt be a name by number, ſhewing the time, not an idle number ſignifying nothing; the time of his comming is ſet downe to be *666*. But the name of their Antichriſt cannot ſhew any ſuch time, ſeeing there are yeeres more then twice *666*. gone alreadie, and yet they ſay, their Antichriſt is not yet come.

*Argum.*2. Antichriſt ſhall haue a name, as Chriſt had: but it is not neceſſarie to bee knowne, otherwiſe then Chriſt his name was: which was deſcribed by *Sibil* by the number of 888. as Antichriſts is by *666*. yet was not his name, Ieſus, perfectly knowne before his comming, neither is it neceſſary that Antichriſts ſhould before that time. Ieſus, in Greek letters thus, ιησους, maketh as you ſee 888. *Bellam.cap.*10.

ι.	10.
η.	8.
σ.	200.
ο.	70.
υ.	400.
ς.	200.
	888.

Anſ. Firſt, you muſt prooue Antichriſt to bee one ſingular man as Chriſt was, and then ſtriue for his name. Secondly, you doe euill to match *Sibils* prophecie, and *Iohns* reuelation together, as though her coniecture of the name of Chriſt, by the number of 888. were of like authoritie with *Iohns* prophecie, of *666*. Thirdly, that the name of Ieſus is deſcribed by one of the *Sibils* by the number 888. it is euident. And *Auguſtine* alſo maketh mention of others verſes, which goe vnder the name of *Sibill*, the firſt letters whereof doe make this title or name both in the Greeke and Latin, ἰησοῦς χρειστὸς υἱὸς θεοῦ σωτήρ: *Ieſus Chriſtus filius Dei ſaluator:* Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God our Sauiour, *Auguſt.cont.Iudæos & Pagan.cap.*16. But theſe prophecies of Chriſt, which goe vnder the name of *Sibill*, may bee doubted of: for it is not like that out of the Church among the Gentiles there could be found more euident predictions of the Meſſiah, then in the Church of the Iewes in the true Prophets writings: and if the Prophets of God, ſpeaking by the ſpirit of God, did not foreſee or foretell the name of Ieſus, how could the *Sibils*, ſpeaking by a ſpirit of diuination, bee able to declare it? But becauſe the teſtimonie of the *Sibils* is alleaged by graue authors againſt the Iewes and Pagans, I ſpare to ſpeake of the vncertaintie of them. Fourthly, if Antichriſts name were as well knowne, as Chriſts name was before his comming, no man could be ignorant of him: for the names of Chriſt were particularly expreſſed by the Prophets, as euen now ſhall bee ſhewed.

The Proteſtants.

WE affirme by the warrant of Scripture, that as it is a meere fable, that Antichriſt ſhall be one ſingular man: ſo of the like truth is it, that he ſhall be knowne by ſome notorious name: neither can any ſuch thing be gathered, Apocal. 13.18.

*Argum.*1. If there ſhould come ſuch a notorious wicked perſon into the world, who onely ſhould deſerue to be called Antichriſt, it is not vnlike, but that the ſpirit of God ſpeaking of his name, both could and would alſo haue expreſſed it: As *Ioſias* was deſcribed by name, 1.King.13.2 and *Cyrus*, Eſai 44.28.45.1. long before either of them came into the world. And why, I pray you, might not this prophetical Euangeliſt, haue named Antichriſt, as well as *Sibilla* foretold the name of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt?

Againe, Chriſts names were prophecied of and knowne before: One name of his is to bee called a *Nazarite*, ſo the people call him, Matth.21.11. a prophet of *Nazareth*. This name the Prophet hath, Iſai 11.1. he calleth him, *Netſer*, in Hebrue it ſignifieth a branch. Another name of his, is *King of Iſrael*, Ioh.12.13. prophecied of by Zach.9.9. Chriſt alſo was ſaluted by the name of the ſonne of *Dauid*, Mat.21.9. Mark.10.48. for the Iewes did generally hold, that the *Meſſiah* ſhould be called by the name of *Dauid*, according to the ſaying of the Prophets: as Ezech.34.24. *My ſeruant Dauid ſhall be their prince.* And 37.35. *My ſeruant Dauid ſhall be their prince for euer.* And againe, Ierem.30.9. *They ſhall ſerue the Lord their God, and Dauid their King:* which place *Rabbi Ionathas* doth thus tranſlate, *Obedient Dauidi Meſſiæ regi ſuo:* They ſhall obey *Dauid* the Meſſiah their King.

Further, he was knowne by the name *Meſſiah*, or Chriſt, before he came, Ioh.4. The woman of Samaria ſaid, I know well that Meſſiah ſhall come, which is called Chriſt, verſ.25. This name was reuealed to *Daniel*, 9.25. he is called Meſſiah the prince.

But will our aduerſaries ſay, his name Ieſus was not knowne before his comming? Yes, euen that name alſo hath ſome euidence out of the Prophets: for *Ieſus*, or *Ieſua*, is all one, and ſignifieth a Sauiour: of the which name we reade Zachar.3. where mention is made of *Ieſhua* the hie Prieſt, who was a type of our Sauiour Chriſt, and bare his name, for verſ.5. a Diademe is ſet vpon his head: which muſt needes be vnderſtood of Ieſus Chriſt, our high Prieſt. Againe, he is called *Hoſanna*, Ioh.12.13. which ſignifieth the ſame that Ieſus, and both are deriued from the ſame roote:

tranſlated,*Saue vs.* Which name wee finde in the 118.Pſalme,verſ.25. And *Auguſtine* ſeemeth to gather the ſame name out of the prophecie of Habakuck.3.3.*Sanctus veniet de monte Pharan:* The holy one ſhall come from the mount Pharan: that is, ſaith he, of the ſame name whereof he was,which was ſent from Pharan,Numb.13.1.that is,*Ioſua,*who alſo is called *Ieſus,*Heb.4.8. and at that time alſo was his name chaunged,when he was ſent from Pharan,as *Auguſtine* in the ſame place noteth,*lib.16.cont.Fauſtum Manich.c.*19.20.He is there alſo called *Hoſhea,*Num.13.8.which is the very name conſiſting of the ſame letters and points in the Hebrue,which is giuen to Chriſt, Matth.21.9.according to the prophecie,Pſal.118.verſ.25.for there they ſalute him thus, *Hoſheangna,*Saue vs.

Laſtly,if the name Ieſus Chriſt were reuealed to *Sibilla* an heathen prophetesſe,how can it be that the Prophets of God were ignorant of it? Therefore by their owne argument, ſeeing Chriſts names were knowne before his comming,why ſhould not Antichriſts in like manner,if he ſhould be ſome one ſingular notorious man?

*Argum.*2. We can bring forth a name,which in all reſpects agreeth with that deſcription, Apocal.13.18.which is a name both of a man and of the beaſt, that is, of a companie,or ſucceſſion of men,which ſheweth the time of Antichriſts birth,namely, the yeere 666.which doth fitly agree with the manners and properties of Antichriſt,which was alſo the name ſometimes of a man, and that is the name *Latinus,*by which name one of their firſt Kings were called,which in Greeke letters λατεινος, ſheweth in account, the number 666. and ſo doth the name of Rome in Hebrue —רומיית, *romiijth,* which alſo was the name of one of their Popes called *Romanus,* who was Pope about the yeere 900.about which time they began to be in their ruffe. And one of their owne writers *Barthol.Caranza* the Epitomizer of the Councels thus teſtifieth of thoſe times: *Iam tunc cœperat pontificum virtus & integritas deficere:* And euen then began the vertue and integritie of the Biſhops of Rome to faile and decay. And, *eccleſia Italica,*in Greeke letters doe make the ſame number.

λ.	30.
α.	1.
τ.	300.
ε.	5.
ι.	10.
ν.	50.
ο.	70.
ς.	200.
	666.

ר.	200.
ו.	6.
מ.	40.
י.	10.
י.	10.
ת.	400.
	666.

We ſee then,that all things doe well agree to this name:firſt,that it ſignifieth the whole Latin Church or Empire,and ſo is the name of the beaſt. Secondly,it ſheweth the time 666.about which yeere Pope *Vitalianus* compoſed the Latin Seruice, and enioyned all nations to vſe no other. Thirdly,it properly agreeth with the Antichriſtian practiſe of Rome; which is called the Latin Church. And contrarie to S.*Pauls* rule they haue brought an vnknowne tongue, which edifieth not, into the ſeruice of God: yea they preferre it before the Greeke and Hebrue, making the Latin tranſlation of the Scriptures onely authenticall, as it was concluded in their Tridentine chapter. And they doe ſo much extoll their Latin text, as the ſetter forth of the *Complutenſe* edition is not aſhamed in his preface to write,that he hath placed the Latin text betweene the Hebrue and the Greeke,as Chriſt betweene the two theeues. What Church then in the whole world but theirs,can be called the Latin Church? Fourthly,it alſo maketh much for vs,that wee haue a conſent of names: for λατεινος, εκκλησια ιταλικη, and in Hebrue *romiijth,* doe all make the ſame number, and doe note the Latin, Romane,or Italian Church.

But they obiect:Firſt,that *Latinus* maketh not that number with *i.* but *Lateinus* with ει.A great matter: wherein they ſhew their ignorance,as though the Greeke diphthong, ει. be not vſually expreſſed by a ſingle *i.* in Latin,as we ſay,Αντιοχεια, *Antiocheia* in Greeke, and Αλεξανδρεια, *Alexandreia,* with ει. diphthong: in Latin, *Antiochia, Alexandria,*with ſingle *i.* for the cities of Antioch, & Alexandria: this therefore is a ſmall quarrell. But marke,I pray,what a poore ſhift this is: If this ſmall letter ε. bee but admitted, the Pope is made Antichriſt: ſo wee haue found out Antichriſt,ſauing one ſmall letter.

2 There are many names beſide, that make that number,as τειταν, αρνουμαι, and others: nay the Rhemiſts ſay,that *Luthers* name,in the Hebrue;and *Bellarmine,*that *Dauid Chytraus* his name,doe expreſſe that number of 666. But what of all this? there is none of theſe names, vnto the which the three properties aforeſaid doe agree,as they doe vnto *Latinus,*as to betoken the whole bodie of Antichriſt, to ſhew the time of his birth, and deſcribe the qualities of his kingdome, as the word *Latinus* doth: yet this we do not ſay,that this is the very name which is meant in that place, and that the prophecie can haue no other meaning, but to ſhew how ridiculous their interpretation is,and how much neerer ours commeth to the truth. And concerning *Luthers* name,it can not make that number,vnleſſe they chaunge the letters,and make it *Luderus:* and ſo it is an eaſie matter by chopping and chaunging of letters to bring any name to that number. And againe,the Rhemiſts doe cleere *Luther* in this behalfe that he is not Antichriſt, *Apocal.*13.*sect.*10.

Antiquitie alſo approoueth this name, as *Irenæus lib.5.de hæreſib. Teſtimonium perhibentibus his, qui facie ad faciem viderunt Dominum,&c.* And theſe bearing teſtimonie, that face to face haue ſeene S.*Iohn,*and by reaſon teaching,how that the number of the beaſts name doth containe 666. after the Grecian reckoning, by the letters that are therein. And though this father in that place preferreth the name *Teitan*,before others,as very like to be the name of Antichriſt : yet firſt he approueth the name *Lateinus*,ſaying,*Valde veriſimile eſt:*It is very like to be this name,becauſe the Latines now doe raigne. And *Irenæus* might be deceiued in the other name *Teitan*, becauſe Antichriſt was not yet reuealed:but ſince the reuelation of Antichriſt,it is now eaſie to diſcerne which of theſe two names doth beſt agree to the prophecie.

Now further for theſe two points,that the name prophecied of in the Apocalypſe,is ſo a name, as that it deciphereth alſo a certaine number of yeeres:and that it is not a ſpecial or proper name of any one man,we haue the teſtimonie of ſome of their owne writers.

For the firſt, *Lyranus* vpon this place is a witneſſe, that although he take not *Mahomet* to bee Antichriſt,yet thinketh his death falling out in the yeere *666*. to be ſignified in this number. For the other, *Primaſius*,and many other of their ſide, thinke that ἀντικος, that ſignifieth,contrarie ſhall be the name of Antichriſt,which is no proper,but a generall name of oppoſition to Chriſt,as Antichriſt is. Likewiſe *Rupertus* thinketh, that the name of Antichriſt (that is, of that one ſingular man)is not contained in this number : who hath another myſticall interpretation of the name, which is nothing to the purpoſe : and therefore I omit it.

The holy Martyrs thought that Antichriſt ſhould not be ſet forth by any ſuch notorious name: *Wiclif.& Iohan.Huſſ.*That there were diuers diſciples of Antichriſt,Popes,Cardinals,Patriarches, Monkes,Chanons,Friers,&c.*articul.*12.All theſe make but one Antichriſt,hauing ſeuerall names and places.

OF THE CHARACTER OR SIGNE and badge of Antichriſt.

The Papiſts.

59.Error. THey doe hold that Antichriſt ſhall haue a certaine outward marke or character, which he ſhall cauſe to be printed in the right hands,and foreheads of all both ſmall and great,that do belong to his kingdome, Apocal.13.16. But this marke is not yet knowne, no more then his name is : onely this they are ſure of, that the Pope hath not Antichriſts character, but rather the character of Chriſt, the ſigne of the croſſe which he cauſeth to bee ſigned in the foreheads, *Bellarm.cap.*11.

*Argum.*1. Antichriſt muſt in all reſpects be contrarie to Chriſt : for as he ſeeth his Image and Crucifixe adored,ſo ſhall he ſet vp his owne image to be worſhipped: and therefore as Chriſtians now doe beare in their foreheads the ſigne of the Croſſe which is Chriſts marke,ſo he ſhall inuent another marke contrarie to Chriſts : and he will make his name and the letters thereof ſacred,as now the name of Ieſus is worſhipped among Chriſtians,*Rhemiſt.Apocal.*13.*ſect.*7.

Anſw. Firſt, where haue you learned, that roodes and images are to be adored and worſhipped ? or doth not the word of God teach the plaine contrarie ? Pſal.115.8.9. *O Iſrael truſt in the Lord:* but they that worſhip images are like vnto them : he therefore that truſteth in an image cannot truſt in God. Againe,where learne you to make an Idol of the letters or ſillables of Chriſts name,to cauſe men to carrie it in their caps,and bowe their knee vnto it ? thinke you that S.*Paul*, when he ſaith, that all things doe bowe the knee to the name of Ieſus, yea of things in heauen, Philip.2. that he meant, that euen the Angels doe ſtoup and make obeiſance, when they ſee the name of Ieſus written in a glaſſe window ? Or who taught you that the ſigne of the Croſſe is to be borne vpon mens foreheads; and that with croſſing of the forehead, we are preſerued from daunger ? S.*Paul*, you know, hath no ſuch meaning, when he ſaith, *He bare in his bodie the markes of the Lord Ieſus*, which were nothing elſe, but the ſignes and tokens of his perſecutions, as whippings, ſtoning,and ſuch like in his fleſh : Galat.6.17. Neither, when he ſaith, *He reioyced in nothing but the Croſſe of Chriſt, whereby he was crucified to the world*, verſ.14. hath he any relation to the Croſſe in the forehead ? for it were a miracle, that a man by croſſing his forehead, ſhould ſtraightwayes crucifie and mortifie his affections. Nor yet did our Sauiour ſpeake of this marke, where he ſaith, that they which will follow him muſt take vp his croſſe,Mark.8.34. for in that place by taking vp the croſſe, he meaneth, nothing elſe but the forſaking and denying of our ſelues. So it is plaine, that in the Scripture you finde not this ſuperſtitious ſigne of the croſſe in your foreheads.

2 Where you ſay, that you doe honour the Character of Chriſt, as his name, and the ſigne of the Croſſe : You doe euen ſo honour Chriſt, as the ſouldiers did that gaue him a reede for a Scepter, and thornes for a Crowne, and bowed themſelues in mockage : So you doe leaue Chriſt certaine badges and ſignes of his kingdome ; but indeede you ſpoyle him of it, and of his prieſthoode too, making other mediators beſide him, and other ſacrifices propitiatorie beſide his. What doe you elſe now, in bowing the knee to the name and ſillables of Ieſus, and ſpoyling him of his honour, but with the ſouldiers in mockage to bow vnto Chriſt ? And I pray you, how doe you honor the name of Chriſt, when you make a ieſt of the name of Chriſtian ? for in Italie it is a word of reproch,taken,for an idiote or foole.

3 We are ſo farre from thinking, that the characters of Chriſts name, and the ſignes of the Croſſe ſo ſuperſtitiouſly vſed among Papiſts are the markes of Chriſt, that we take them rather to be the viſible markes of Antichriſt: for beſides the inuiſible characters of Antichriſt, whereof we are to ſpeake afterward, that he ſhall vſe alſo ſome viſible markes, and what thoſe markes are we doe learne where the text ſaith, *The marke of the beaſts name*, Apocal. 14. 11. *and the marke of the number of his name*, Apocal. 15. 2. as it is in the originall: Now the number of the beaſts name, is expreſſed by theſe three Greeke letters χ. ξ. ϛ. Apocal. 13. 18. Hence are deriued the abuſed characters of Chriſts name, χ. ρ̃. ϛ. for χριϛος: the firſt letter and the laſt in the beaſts name χ. ξ. ϛ. and in theſe abuſed characters χ. ρ̃. ϛ. are all one; and the middle character ρ. with his crowne thus, ρ̃. cannot more fitly be expreſſed by any letter, then the middle in the beaſts name, ξ. Thus we ſee that theſe characters χ. ρ̃. ϛ. ſo ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed by the Papiſts, which they vſed in their rings, amulets, tablets, in their caps and garments, doe iſſue out of the beaſts name, and ſo are markes of Antichriſt.

In like manner did they abuſe the ſigne of the croſſe, attributing vnto it the power, efficacie, and merite of Chriſts death, as though the very ſigne of the croſſe were able to ſanctifie thoſe that were croſſed, and to preſerue them from ſpirituall danger.

And theſe ſuperſtitious markes of the croſſe, had their beginning from the beaſts name: for the firſt letter χ. is a croſſe, the middle letter ξ. in Latin X. is alſo a ſideling croſſe, the laſt letter ϛ. contayneth both σ. and τ. two Greeke letters, whereof the latter is called an headleſſe croſſe: and thus it appeareth plainly, that the markes whereby they ſay, they honor Chriſt, are rather a diſhonor to him, and are in very deede the cogniſance of Antichriſt.

4 We anſwere, that the ſigne whereby Chriſtians are marked, are not externall, but internall: We are ſealed by the ſpirit of God, Epheſ. 4. 30. The outward ſignes are none other, but the two Sacraments of baptiſme and the Lords ſupper: by the right adminiſtration whereof the congregations of the faithful are knowen. But of this, more ſhal be ſpoken in the *Antitheſis*, or *Antidotum*, in the declaration of our opinion.

The Proteſtants.

BY the character or marke of Antichriſt, we doe not ſo much vnderſtand any viſible ſigne or badge to be printed in the righthand or the forehead, as the Ieſuite imagineth: as though he ſhould brand all his ſubiects in the hande or forehead: as that hereby is meant and ſignified chiefly the ſociety and communion, whereby they ſhall be ioyned to Antichriſt, by giuing vnto him their fidelitie, oth, and obedience, agreeing together in the ſame corruption of faith, and doctrine. This is Antichriſts badge or cogniſance, *Fulk. Apocal.* 13. *ſect.* 7. There are alſo outward markes of their coniunction with Antichriſt: as the ſhauing of prieſts, and greazing them with oyle: ſuch are the receiuing of holy bread, the wearing of beades, the annoynting with Chriſome, the croſſing of themſelues, as we haue before ſhewed. But the proper note and character, is the oth and profeſſion of fealty and obedience.

Argum. 1. Antichriſt, ſay they, ſhall bring in another contrary character, to diſgrace the ſigne and character of Chriſt, namely the croſſe in the foreheads: But Chriſt hath appoynted no ſuch viſible character, neither are true Chriſtians knowne by any ſuch: therefore alſo the character of Antichriſt is no ſuch thing: the antecedent is proued thus.

1 The people of the Iewes had no ſuch outward badge, who were more charged with outward obſeruations, then Chriſtians are: Circumciſion was the only ſigne of the couenant to them, Geneſ. 17. 11. which was one of their chiefe Sacraments, in place whereof Baptiſme is enioyned vs: *Ergo*, much leſſe are we to be knowne by any other outward badge.

2 This place Apocal. 13. is taken out of Ezech. 9. where the Angell is commaunded to ſet a marke vpon the foreheads of them that mourne: but that was no viſible externall marke, for it was ſhewed the Prophet in viſion: *Ergo*, neither is it to be taken ſo in this place.

3 We grant the Sacraments are badges and markes of our profeſſion: which markes the Pope, the onely Antichriſt hath defaced, by bringing in fiue other Sacraments, and cleane changing, polluting and altering, the right Sacraments which Chriſt inſtituted: for they haue brought into baptiſme, chriſme, ſalt, oyle, ſpittle, and ſuch traſh; into the Euchariſt, adoration, tranſubſtantiation, ſacrifice, with ſuch like: ſo that herein he ſheweth himſelfe Antichriſt, and hath altered the true markes of Religion.

Argum. 2. It appeareth by the effect what is the Character of Antichriſt: The text ſaith, It was not lawfull for any to buy or ſell, but he that had the marke or the name of the beaſt: No more was it lawfull for any to haue trafficke amongſt the papiſts, but he that acknowledged the Popes croſſe keyes, or made himſelfe a member of the Romiſh Italian Church: Nay they ſay, he is not of the Church, that acknowledgeth not the Pope to be head of Chriſts Church, *Fulk. Apocal.* 13. *ſect.* 7.

The Ieſuite obiecteth: Firſt, this oth of fidelitie and coniunction cannot be that character; for it muſt be in the right hand or forehead. *Anſw.* We haue alreadie declared, that it is too childiſh to take theſe words literally, as though all Antichriſts ſubiects ſhould carie brands in their foreheads or hands. Secondly, ſaith he, many doe both buy and ſell amongſt them, that haue not made profeſſion of their fealtie to Rome, as the Iewes, *Bellarm.cap.*11. *Anſw.* Yea no maruaile, for Antichriſt is an enemie onely to Chriſt: all other people he can brooke well enough beſide good Chriſtians: tell me I pray you, whether our Merchants be admitted to trafficke ſafely in Spaine, if their religion be knowne? The ſeruants of God amongſt you, can neither enioy, houſes, lands, libertie, or life: which yoke alſo was laid a long time vpon this land, till it pleaſed God to haue mercy on vs: for the which his name be bleſſed.

Thirdly, Againe, many yeeres agoe, euen in *Auguſtines* and *Ambroſe* his time, all Churches were ioyned to Rome, before Antichriſt was yet reuealed. *Ergo,* This is not the Character of Antichriſt, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, they were ioyned then in common conſent of religion, not as ſubiects by compulſion, but voluntarie; becauſe at that time, Rome in the chiefeſt pointes of Religion was in the right faith. Secondly, but of late dayes in the Councell of Conſtance, not yet two hundred yeeres agoe, it was made an article of faith, to beleeue, that the Pope was the head of the Vniuerſall Church: yea about the yeere 600. the title of vniuerſall Biſhop firſt began to be appropriate to Rome: whereby was inſinuated, that all Churches in the worlde ſhould be vnder the obedience thereof.

Laſtly, we haue the teſtimonie of one of their Popes themſelues, who ſaith plainely, that he is the forerunner of Antichriſt, which would be called Vniuerſall Biſhop. *lib.*4.*epiſtol.*32. and writing
Gregory.1. to *Eulogius* of Conſtantinople he calleth this title of Vniuerſalitie, *ſuperbæ appellationis verbum,* a proude name. And *Pelagius* 2.1.*decretal.contra Iohannem Conſtantinop.* ſaith thus, *Nullus Patriarcharum tam profano vtatur vocabulo,* he termeth it a prophane name. See then by his teſtimonie, the title of Vniuerſalitie, and exacting of obedience of other Churches, is a prophane and proud title, and in very deed the character and marke of Antichriſt.

Biſhop *Cranmer* holy Martyr, maketh this an infallible ſigne of Antichriſt, *Becauſe he aduanceth himſelfe aboue all other creatures: Fox.*pag.1874. and would haue all to depend vpon him. Maſter *Bradford* calleth him Antichriſt, that arrogated to himſelfe, *to be called the ſupreme head of the vniuerſall Church,*pag.1626.*epiſtol.ad Londinenſ.*

THE FOVRTH PART, CONCERNING the generation and originall of Antichriſt.

The Papiſts.

60.Error. THey do reiect thoſe old fancies concerning Antichriſt, as that he ſhould be borne of a Virgin by helpe of the diuell, that he ſhould haue the diuell to his father: that he ſhould be a diuell incarnate: or that he ſhould be *Nero* raiſed from the dead. Refuſing theſe fables, they haue found out one as fooliſh: Our Rhemiſts hold, that Antichriſt ſhall be borne of the tribe of *Dan.* *Bellarmine* dare not ſay ſo, but he thinketh that he ſhall come of the Iewes ſtocke, and be circumciſed, and be taken of the Iewes for their Meſſiah, *cap.*12.

*Argum.*1. That he ſhall come of the tribe of *Dan:* thus they would proue it, Gen.49.17. *Dan* ſhall be a ſerpent by the way, biting the horſe heeles: Ierem.8.16. The neying of his horſes is heard from *Dan.* And Apocal.7. where 12. thouſand of euery tribe are reckoned, onely *Dan* is left out, becauſe (belike) Antichriſt ſhould come of that tribe, *Rhem.*2.*Theſ.*2.*ſect.*8.

Anſw. Bellarmine confuteth all theſe reaſons: the firſt he ſaith with *Hierome* to be vnderſtood of *Sampſon;* who came of the tribe of *Dan:* the ſecond place is of *Nabuchadnezzars* comming to deſtroy Ieruſalem, as *Hierome* alſo expoundeth it: to the third he ſaith, that *Ephraim* is left out as well as *Dan:* yea and ſo is *Manaſſeh* too: becauſe the tribe of *Ioſeph* is named for his two ſonnes: but *Dan* is left out becauſe *Leui* is reckoned in his place. We may ſee now, how well they agree, when one Ieſuite confuteth another, *Bellarm.cap.*12.

*Argum.*2. *Bellarmine* ſtandeth much vpon that place, Ioh.5.43. If another come in his name, him will ye receiue: but ſaith he, the Iewes will receiue none but of their owne kinred, and whom they looke for to be their Meſſiah. *Ergo,* Antichriſt muſt come of the Iewes. *ibid.*

He alſo vrgeth that place of the Apoſtle 2. Theſſ.2.11. *God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions, to beleeue lies:* which he vnderſtandeth of the Iewes, that ſhal be readie to receiue Antichriſt for their Meſſiah: and indeed ſaith, Antichriſt ſhall come eſpecially for the Iewes, to delude and deceiue them.

*Anſw.*1. This place we haue ſhewed before, *part.*1. of this queſtion, to be vnderſtood of falſe prophets amongſt the Iewes, ſuch as mention is made of, Act.5. as *Theudas* and *Iudas,* and not of any one falſe prophet: ſo Iohn 10. where Chriſt compareth himſelfe, which is the true ſhepheard, with the hireling, he vnderſtandeth all hirelings, though he ſpeake in the ſingular number. Secondly, and if it ſhould be vnderſtood onely or ſpecially of their imagined Antichriſt, then it would follow, that the Iewes as yet haue receiued none comming in their owne name, but haue as it were, kept themſelues in ſuſpence, refuſing Chriſt, and yet hearing none other. Which were very abſurd, that this ſaying of Chriſt hath not been verified vpon the Iewes theſe 16. hundred yeeres. Thirdly, and Chriſts ſpeech is eſpecially directed to that generation, that ſeeing they refuſed Chriſt, yet they followed other ringleaders, or ſectmaſters, that deceiued them.

And concerning the other place, we anſwere. Firſt, that it is not ſpoken onely or ſpecially of the Iewes, but of all vnbeleeuers, who through the hardneſſe of their heart ſhould be readie to receiue Antichriſt: and ſo the Rhemiſts expound it, in their annotations vpon this place: and the Apoſtle doth giue inſtructions as touching Antichriſt, not to the Iewes, but to the beleeuing Gentiles, to whom he writeth, ſaying in the 3. verſ. *Let no man deceiue you &c.*. Secondly, that Antichriſt ſhall come chiefely to ſeduce the Iewes in the end of the world, is contrary to the Apoſtle Rom. 11. which prophecieth of the generall calling of the Iewes, not of their generall ſeducing: and this aſſertion of the Papiſts; that the Iewes Meſſiah is yet to come, doth harden their hearts, and nouriſh them in their blind hope and fooliſh conceit.

The Proteſtants.

THat it is a very fable and couſening deuice of heretikes, to make men beleeue that Antichriſt ſhall come of the tribe of *Dan*, or of the ſtocke of the Iewes, thus we ſhew it.

*Argum.*1. It is out of doubt, that the nation of the Iewes ſhall be conuerted vnto God, and mercy ſhall be ſhewed againe to the remnant of Iſrael, Rom. 11. 25. confeſſed alſo by the Papiſts. And hereof *Origen* ſo many yeeres ſince, hath written very confidently, though doubtful and vncertaine in many things beſide. Firſt, *Homil.6. in Numer.* ſpeaking of the marriage of *Moſes* with a woman of Ethiopia, how *Miriam* his ſiſter for murmuring againſt it became leprous, and was ſhut 7. dayes out of the Campe: he thus applieth the Storie by the mariage with the Ethiopian, vnderſtanding the calling of the Gentiles: and by the excluding of *Miriam*, the reiection of the Iewes: *Veruntamen hæc lepra &c.* But this their ſpirituall leproſie ſhall not remaine euer, but when as the weeke of the world is accompliſhed, ſhe ſhall be brought againe to the tents: that is, the Iewes ſhall returne to the Church.

Againe *homil.*18. vpon thoſe words of *Balaam.c.*24.17. I ſhall ſee him, but not now: *i. nouiſſimis temporibus cum plenitudo gentium introierit*: That is, in the laſt times, when the fulneſſe of the Gentiles is come in, and all Iſrael beginneth to be ſaued. Thus he writeth of the generall calling of the Iewes toward the end of the world. But if one come, which ſhall reedifie the temple, and reſtore the ſacrifices and circumciſion, ſuch an one, as the Iewes ſhall take for their Meſſiah: who ſeeth not, that by this meanes the Iewes will be more hardened, hauing now their owne hearts deſire, their temple, Meſſiah, circumciſion: and their conuerſion would be greatly hindred, nay quite and cleane ouerthrowne?

*Argum.*2. If Antichriſt ſhould come of the Iewes, it is like that his ſeat ſhould be at Ieruſalem, and that the Temple ſhould be built againe by him: but that cannot be, for the Temple, as *Daniel* prophecieth, ſhall lie deſolate euen vnto the end, Dan. 9. 27. *Ergo*, he ſhal not come of the Iewes. More of this in the next part.

Beſide the Prophecie of *Daniel*, we haue the warrant of our Sauiour Chriſt, that the temple of Ieruſalem ſhall not be reedified. Matth. 24. 2. *a ſtone ſhall not be left vpon a ſtone*: Which Prophecie was not onely accompliſhed in the deſtruction of the old temple, but then alſo, when in *Iulian* the Apoſtata his time, the Iewes being by him encouraged to build the temple, what was built in the day, was caſt downe in the night; and beſide a fire fell from heauen, that conſumed the worke and workemens inſtruments: which *Cyrillus* Biſhop of Ieruſalem then ſeeing, applied vnto that euent, this prediction of our Sauiour. *ſic Socrates lib.*3.*c.*17. The like ſucceſſe let them looke for, that ſhal attempt the like againe. Further there is an imperiall law made by *Theodoſ.* that the Iewes ſhould not attempt to build any Synagogue vnder the paine of confiſcation of all their goods and loſſe of their life: and the lawe beginneth thus: *Hac valitura in omne æuum lege ſancimus*: They make it an eternal law, to hold as long as the world ſtandeth. *Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*12.*l.*17. How then is it like that the temple ſhould be built, there being ſuch reſtraint againſt Synagogues? And in the ſame law it is forbidden, that the Iewes ſhould haue any honour, or beare any office, or execute any place of Iudgement. Wherefore ſeeing the Nation of the Iewes is deſpiſed and contemptible, and by a perpetuall law kept from riſing to any honor: it is vnlike, that from them ſhould ſpring ſuch a mightie Monarch, as they imagine Antichriſt to be.

Bernard witneſſeth with vs: *Beſtia illa in Apocalypſi, cui datum eſt os loquens blaſphemias, & bellum gerere cum ſanctis, Petri cathedram occupat, tanquam Leo paratus ad prædam*, The beaſt in the Apocalypſe, to whom a mouth was giuen to ſpeake blaſphemies, and to make warre with the Saints, doth occupie *Peters* chaire, readie as a Lyon to his pray: *Epiſtol.*126. But we reade not, that euer

any

See more Te-traſt.Papiſt.3. Piller part.1.

any Iew was Pope of Rome to ſit in *Peters* chayre. *Concil.Toletan.4.can.65.* The Iewes are there called, *Miniſtri Antichriſti,* The Miniſters and ſeruants of Antichriſt: and ſo in deede the Popes haue vſed them in diuers ſeruices: And therefore *Gregory* the ninth, in deſpite of all Chriſtian Princes did giue the Iewes great immunities, *anno*.1240. And who knoweth not that the papiſts haue begged many of the Iewiſh ceremonies: as the yeere of Iubile was inſtituted by *Bonifacius*.8. *anno*.1300.and many other beſide.

Fox.pag.1775.

Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr ſaith,that the See of Rome for the contrarie of Religion and diuerſitie of doctrine from the Apoſtles, is the ſeate of Antichriſt, and the Biſhop of the ſame,that maintaineth the abhominations thereof, is Antichriſt himſelfe in deede. But none of the Iewes were euer Biſhops of Rome.

THE FIFT PART, CONCERNING THE ſeate and place of Antichriſt.

The Papiſts.

61.Error.

Bellarmine holdeth opinion, that Antichriſt ſhall haue his imperiall ſeate at Ieruſalem, and reedifie and build againe the temple,yea for a while commaund circumciſion to be vſed and obſerued,*Bellarm.cap.*13.*lib.*3.*de pontif.Rhemiſt.*2.*Theſſa.*2.*ſect.*11.

Argum.1. Apocal.11.8. The Citie of Antichriſt is called the great Citie where our Lord was crucified.But Chriſt was crucified at Ieruſalem,*Ergo.*

Anſw. Firſt,it cannot be ſo vnderſtood,for verſ.2.Ieruſalem is called the holy Citie,verſ.8.This great Citie is called Sodome and Ægypt: how can the ſame Citie be capable of ſuch contrarie names? How can that be called an holy Citie, where the abomination of deſolation ſhall be and the ſeate of Antichriſt?

Secondly, *Auguſtine in Apoc.homil.*8. vnderſtandeth by the great Citie and the ſtreetes thereof, the middeſt of the Church: And by the great citie very fitly is vnderſtood the large iuriſdiction of the Pope, who ſaith,he is head of the great citie and Catholike Church: Whoſe ſeate we ſee is at Rome,by authoritie of which citie Chriſt was put to death:and by Antichriſt the Pope,Chriſt alſo is perſecuted in his members,*Fulk.annotat. Apocalypſ.*11.*ſect.*2.S.*Hierome* alſo doubteth not to call Rome, *Maledicam ciuitatem*:The curſed citie:*ad Principium*: and Sodome,in his Epiſtle to *Lucinus.*

Argum.2. Apocal.17.16.The ten hornes,that is,ten Kings, amongſt whom the Romane Empire ſhall be deuided,ſhall hate the ſcarlet whore,that is,Rome,and burne it with fire: how then ſhall it be the ſeate of Antichriſt? *Bellarm.*

Anſw. The text is plaine, that the ſame kingdomes, that before had giuen their power to the beaſt, and were ſubiect to the whore of Babilon, ſhall after make her deſolate, and eate her fleſh: which thing we ſee in part to be accompliſhed already, that many princes haue redeemed their necks from Antichriſt his yoke,*Fulk.Apocal.*17.*ſect.*3. It is not neceſſarie therefore to be done all at one time,but one after another.

Arg.3. 2.Theſſ.2.He ſhal ſit in the temple of God:but at that time the Iewes only had a temple, the Chriſtians yet had none,and yͤ Apoſtle ſpeaking of the Church of God, did of purpoſe refraine this name,leaſt the Church of Chriſtians ſhould be thought like the Iewes Synagogue, *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Firſt,the Iewiſh temple ſhall not be built againe,as *Daniel* propheſieth,9.27. And how can it be built in ſo ſhort a ſpace, ſeeing Antichriſt, as they ſay, muſt raigne but three yeeres and an halfe? and to what purpoſe,ſeeing he will aboliſh all ſacrifices? Secondly, though it ſhould be built againe,nay if it were ſtanding now,for the exerciſe of Iewiſh ſacrifices,it could not be called the temple of God.Thirdly,by the temple therefore is meant the viſible Church,that which ſometimes was a true viſible one, as the Church of Rome, and after ſhould be ſo taken, reputed and challenged,as it is at this day by the papiſts: So ſaith Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr, That wicked man ſitteth in the Temple of God,that is,the Church,for it cannot be vnderſtood of *Mahomet*, or any out of the Church, but of ſuch as beare rule in the Church, *pag.*1616.*diſputat.cum Ciceſtrenſ.* Neither haue the Papiſts hereby any aduantage,as though the Pope ſate in the very true Church: for it is not the true Church indeede, but ſo reputed and taken by them. But he is ſaid to ſit in the temple,that is the Church of God, both becauſe there ſometime hath been a viſible Church, and as yet they doe retaine the name and ſhadow of the Church,and becauſe he challengeth to be the head of the Church,and his office to be chiefly eccleſiaſticall and of the Church. Fourthly, though there were no materiall temples of the Chriſtians in *Pauls* time, what of that? Fiftly, he ſpeaketh not here of any ſuch materiall temple, but of the Church of God: neither doth S.*Paul* in this ſenſe refuſe to vſe the name of temple,as 1.Corinth.3.verſ.16.and 6.verſ.19.and in other places. Sixtly,the Rhemiſts doe allow the interpretation of S.*Auguſtine* and S.*Hierome*, who expound the temple ſpoken of by the Apoſtle,not for the temple of the Iewes,but for the Church of God: from the which Antichriſt (ſay they) ſhall reuolt and become an Apoſtata: *ſect.*12.*in* 2.*Theſ.*1.But whereas in the ſame place they would hereupon conclude that the Pope is not Antichriſt,

chriſt,becauſe he is in the Church,and ſo ſhall not Antichriſt. To this we anſwere, that the Pope though he remaine in ſome outward ſhew of the Church, yet is departed from the true doctrine of the Church, and ſo become an Apoſtata.

The Proteſtants.

THat Rome is the ſeate and place of Antichriſt, beſide that the Rhemiſts confeſſe ſo much that Antichriſt ſhall raigne there, *Annot. Apocal.*17.*ſect.*4. we proue it thus.

*Argum.*1. Babylon is the ſeate of Antichriſt,who is called the great whore of Babylon, Apocal.17.5.Rome is Babylon: *Ergo*,the ſeate of Antichriſt.

Obiect. It was Babylon,while it was gouerned and ruled by heathen Emperors;but the Church was not then called Babylon,*Bellarm.*

Anſ. Firſt,*Ergo*,by your owne confeſſion,Rome ſhall be the ſeate of Antichriſt, ſeeing by Saint *Iohn* it was called Babylon: for that citie,which then did beare rule ouer the earth, Apoc.17.18. was Rome,and the ſame is Babylon,ver.5.and Babylon is the citie of the great whore:*Ergo*,Rome is the citie or ſeate of Antichriſt who is that great whore.Secondly, it was not onely called Babylon in the time of the Heathen, but euen of Chriſtian Emperors. *Auguſtine* ſaith,it is *Occidentalis Babylon*,the Babylon in the Weſt parts,*& prioris filia Babylonis*,and daughter to the firſt Babylon. And S.*Hierome* ſaith,*Dum in Babylone verſarer:* While I liued in Babylon,and was a tenant to the ſcarlet whore: *Præfat. ad Paulinian.* He thus ſpeaketh in the time of Chriſtian Emperours, not doubting euen then alſo to call Rome Babylon. Thirdly,Saint *Iohn* doth not onely prophecie of the crueltie of the terrene ſtate,but of the falſe prophet Antichriſt,he ſhould alſo vſurpe an eccleſiaſticall gouernment there. For as the terrene ſtate of the Emperours for their crueltie is compared to a Leopard and a Lion,Apocal.13.2. ſo the eccleſiaſticall ſtate of the Popes is reſembled to a Lambe with two hornes ſpeaking in hypocriſie, pretending holines,yet practiſing tyrannie, verſ.11.

Obiect. Secondly,they obiect that by the damnation of the great whore, is vnderſtood the finall deſtruction of all the companie of the reprobate,*Rhemiſt. Apocal.*17.1.

Anſ. The damnation vniuerſally of the wicked is deſcribed chap.20.and therefore this place muſt be vnderſtood of Antichriſt,and his adherents:and very fitly doth the name of whore agree to that See, for once a whore indeede was Pope there, called *Ioane* the eight. Which ſo wringeth the Papiſts,that they haue no other ſhift but impudently to denie it.

*Argum.*2. That citie, which hath names of blaſphemies, and is full of abominations, is the ſeate of Antichriſt the great whore,Apocal.17.3. but this is the citie of Rome.*Ergo.*

Firſt,that Rome is the citie full of names of blaſphemie,being called eternall,and yet but temporall, *Hierome* teſtifieth,*lib.2.cont.Iouinian. Scriptam in fronte blaſphemiam:* Thou haſt raſed out, by the confeſſion of faith,the blaſphemie written in thy forehead.Here it is anſwered,that Rome was the place of blaſphemie, while it was heatheniſh: but ſince the profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith it is not,as *Hierome* here ſaith,*Bellarm.*

Contra. Firſt,it is ſufficient for this matter,that *Hierome* affirmeth Rome to be that citie which is full of blaſphemie. Secondly,as he here affirmeth that for that preſent Rome was cleered from blaſphemie, becauſe of the faith of Chriſt: ſo elſewhere he ſheweth, that the damnation of the great whore,that is the citie of Rome,is yet behinde,according to the prophecie, Reuel.17.1. as it followeth in the ſame place, That curſe, which our Sauiour hath threatned thee in the Apocalypſe,thou maiſt eſcape by repentance. So then in his iudgement,ſeeing the damnation of the whore was not then fulfilled,at that time the whore had not ſhewed her ſelfe.

Secondly,that Rome alſo is the citie of abominations, the ſame author beareth witneſſe: He calleth it the citie, *in qua palma vitiorum*, that may beare the bell for all kinde of vice: *ad Principium.* And againe,The citie of pompe,leacherie,delicacie,*vbi humilem eſſe miſeria eſt:*where humilitie is counted miſerie: *ad Marcellam.* Thus he ſpake of Rome being at that time Chriſtian: but who ſeeth not how much more it is degenerate now?

*Argum.*3. Wee haue another argument out of the ſame chapter, verſ.9.The ſeuen heads are ſeuen mountaines, on which the woman ſitteth. But there is no citie in the world notoriouſly knowne to ſtand vpon ſeuen hils but Rome: *Ergo*,it is the ſeate of Antichriſt.

Obiect. The text is,They are alſo ſeuen Kings: ſo the ſeuen heads, or ſeuen hils, ſignifie ſeuen Kings: for there ſhall be ſo many chiefe Empires which ſhall perſecute the Church, there are fiue paſt: Egypt,Canaan,Babylon,the Perſians, Grecians, the ſixt, the Romes, which in part ſtandeth yet,the ſeuenth ſhall be Antichriſt,*Rhemiſt. Apocal.*17.*ſect.*7.

Anſ. Firſt,the ſeuen heads are expounded to be both ſeuen hils and ſeuen Kings:the Scripture vſeth not to expound one hard and obſcure thing by an harder and more obſcure,as to ſay,ſeuen heads are ſeuen mountaines, that is, ſeuen Kings: for wee were neerer the ſenſe before: and the terme of heads doth more fitly reſemble Kings,then mountaines. Secondly,the ſeuen kings are more fitly taken for ſeuen principall gouernours of the Romanes, as Kings, Tribunes, Conſuls, Decemviri, Dictators, Emperours, Popes: for by theſe ſeuen orders hath the common-wealth bin gouerned firſt and laſt, *Fulk. ibid.*

Obiect. Rome is not now built vpon ſeuen hils, it ſtandeth in the plaine in *Campo Martio, Sander. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, you haue then no right to *Peters* Chayre, for when he ſate at Rome, the citie ſtood vpon ſeuen hils. Secondly, though the Pope now hath remoued his palace to the Vaticane, on the other ſide of the riuer; yet he did ſit for many yeeres in Laterane, vntill the time of Pope *Nicholas* the ſecond, who was almoſt 1100. yeeres after Chriſt. Thirdly, though the Pope hath remoued his palace vpon pleaſure beyond the riuer, yet his See is not remooued: for vpon euery one of thoſe hils there are Monaſteries, and Chappels, and ſuch like monuments to be ſeene to this day. In mount Cælius there is the Monaſterie of *Gregorie* the firſt, the Cathedrall Church of Laterane. In mount Auentine, the Monaſteries of *Sabine* and *Boniface*. In the mount Exquilinus the Minſter of S. *Maria maior*, the ruines of S. *Cyriacus* Church, which is yet a title of a Cardinall. The mount Viminalis hath the Church of S. *Laurence*. The mount Capitoline hath an houſe of Friers, called *Ara cœli*. The mount Palatine the Church of S. *Nicholas*. The mount Quirinalis hath Saint *Maria de populo*. Wherefore though the Popes perſon be remoued a little aſide, yet the popiſh religion is exerciſed, and relickes of ſuperſtition are to be found in euery one of thoſe hils. Wherefore we nothing doubt to conclude, but that Rome is that citie vpon ſeuen hils, and ſo the principall ſeate of Antichriſt.

Let vs ſee antiquitie: *Epiſtol. Leodienſ. contra Paſchal.* 2. *anno* 1107. *Ait Petrus in Epiſtola, ſalutat vos eccleſia, quæ eſt Babylone collecta, &c.* *Peter* ſaith in his epiſtle, the Church, which is at Babylon, ſaluteth you: Hitherto I vnderſtood Babylon to ſignifie Rome, becauſe of the idolatrie thereof in thoſe times: but now my wofull experience teacheth me ſo to expound it, that *Peter* ſaying, the Church at Babylon, &c. did foreſee the horrible confuſion and diſſenſion, which is there at this day. So then Rome was not onely Babylon then, but it is alſo Babylon now.

We haue alſo here the euident teſtimonie of our aduerſaries themſelues: It may well bee, ſay they, that as the perſecuting Emperours did principally ſit in Rome; ſo Antichriſt ſhall haue his principall ſeate there, though others thinke, that Ieruſalem rather ſhall be his principall citie: *Rhemiſt. annot. in* 17. *Apocal. ſect.* 4. And againe, whereas they confeſſe that the great citie, which is the whore, is old Rome, *ibid. ſect.* 9. and that the ſeuenth head of the beaſt, whereupon the whore rideth, is Antichriſts ſtate, *ibid. ſect.* 7. it muſt of neceſſitie follow, that Antichriſt is one of the heads of the Romane ſtate. Their only euaſion here is, that euen then, when Antichriſt ſhall ſit in Rome, the Church there ſhall not be Antichriſt, *Rhemiſt. ſect.* 4.

Contra. Antichriſts ſtate ſhall either be the Imperiall Romane ſtate, or Eccleſiaſticall: but not the Imperiall for theſe reaſons: Firſt, they themſelues confeſſe that Antichriſt ſhall not come as long as the Romane Empire ſtandeth, *ſect.* 7. Secondly, the Romane Empire is now weakened, and nothing remaineth but the name and image thereof: ſo that it is not like to bee that, which ſhall trouble and vexe the world. Thirdly, euen when *Nero* and *Domitian* and other perſecuting Emperours gouerned, when as the Emperours had neuer greater power, nor yet malice or crueltie; yet euen then the Empire was an hinderance to the comming of Antichriſt: and therefore *Tertullian* giueth this as a reaſon, why the Chriſtians did pray for the Romane perſecuting ſtate, *Quod vim maximam vniuerſo orbi imminentem, &c.* Becauſe that wee know, that the great trouble and vexation of the whole world, threatning the end thereof, and horrible miſeries, is hindered by the flouriſhing of the Romane Empire, *Apolog. cap.* 32. If that then the Imperiall ſtate cannot be Antichriſt, it muſt needes follow that the Papall and Eccleſiaſticall ſtate in Rome, which hath the exerciſe of both ſwords there, and the chiefe gouernment thereof, is the very ſtrength and head of Antichriſts kingdome.

Heare the teſtimonie of an holy Martyr: The whore is that citie, ſaith *Iohn*, which hath the empire of the Kings of the earth, Apocal. 17. Now what citie is there in all the world, that, when *Iohn* wrote, had the rule of the kingdomes of the earth, but onely the citie of Rome, &c. Biſhop *Ridley*, pag. 1779.

THE SIXT PART, CONCERNING THE doctrine of Antichriſt.

The Papiſts.

62. Error. THeir opinion is, that Antichriſt ſhall be an open and manifeſt aduerſarie to Chriſt, and that he ſhall aboliſh all worſhip of God, and all religion, *Rhemiſt. annot.* 2, *Theſſ.* 2. *ſect.* 10. *Bellarmine* draweth all the doctrine of Antichriſt to theſe foure heads. Firſt, he ſhall denie Ieſus to bee Chriſt, and aboliſh the Sacraments inſtituted by Chriſt. Secondly, he ſhall make himſelfe Chriſt. Thirdly, he ſhall make himſelfe God, and be adored as God. Fourthly, he ſhall aboliſh all other

worſhip,both true and falſe,yea the worſhip of Idols. Wherefore(ſaith he)the Pope cannot bee Antichriſt,that doth none of theſe things,*cap.*14. Of theſe now in their order.

*Argum.*1. Antichriſt ſhall vtterly denie Chriſt,1.Ioh.2.22.and 4.3. ***Euery ſpirit that confeſſeth not,that Ieſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is not of God:*** this is the ſpirit of Antichriſt: *Ergo,*Antichriſt ſhall altogether denie Chriſt.

*Anſ.*Firſt,the Rhemiſts ſay,that this is not a marke for all times, to know an heretike by, but it was onely for thoſe times,to confeſſe Chriſt to be come in the fleſh. This is a ſurer note now(ſay they)that whoſo confeſſeth not Chriſt to be really preſent,and to be ſacrificed in the Maſſe,is not of God,*Rhemiſt.annot.*1*.Ioh.*4*.ſect.*2. Where I will not ſtand to note the preſumption of theſe Papiſts,that will correct and amend the Apoſtles rule, to know Heretikes by,which ſerueth for all times: and ſo ***Auguſtine*** taketh it. But here firſt I oppoſe our Rhemiſts iudgement againſt *Bellarmine:*for they denie that this place ſerueth to deſcribe Antichriſt,belonging onely to the Apoſtles times: *Bellarmine* ſaith,it doth moſt properly decipher Antichriſt.

Serm. de verbis Apoſtoli 33.

2 The great Antichriſt ſhall denie Chriſt no otherwiſe, then other Antichriſts and heretikes did in the Apoſtles time: for they are all Antichriſts,1.Ioh.2.18.and he giueth one rule to know them all by,verſ.22. But the Antichriſts then denied not Chriſt apertly,but couertly:*Ergo,*ſo ſhal the great Antichriſt.

The firſt is true,that the old heretikes did not plainly denie Chriſt to be come in the fleſh: but ſome denied his humanitie, ſome his diuinitie, ſome his perſon. ***Auguſtine*** ſaith, ***Arriani hoc negant,licèt verbis fateantur:*** The Arrians denie that Chriſt is come in the fleſh,though they confeſſe it in word:for he that doth not confeſſe that Chriſt is equall vnto God,denieth Chriſt in the fleſh; and ſo of other heretikes. The ſecond alſo is as true: that Antichriſt, who is no other but the Pope,ſhall alſo cunningly and couertly denie Chriſt;for he that denieth the offices of Chriſt, denieth Chriſt: As ***Auguſtine*** ſaith of ***Peters*** deniall, ***Quicquid eius negauit,ipſum negauit,Tract.in Iohan.66.***Whatſoeuer he denied of or belonging to Chriſt,he denied Chriſt. So the Pope denieth Chriſt to bee our Prophet,King,and Prieſt: His propheticall office he defaceth, and in effect denieth,in diſgracing the Scriptures,ſaying,they are imperfect,and containe not all matters neceſſarie to ſaluation, that their authoritie bindeth vs not without his allowance: His Kingly office, in making himſelfe Chriſts Vicar and Vicegerent vpon earth,in making new lawes, Sacraments, ordinances, beſide Chriſts,as neceſſarie to ſaluation as the rules of the Goſpell: His Prieſthood, in ſetting vp a new propitiatorie ſacrifice in the abominable Maſſe, beſide the onely ſacrifice of attonement vpon the Croſſe,in making other mediators and interceſſors,beſide Chriſt: and ſuch like,whereof we ſhall haue occaſion to intreate afterward more at large: ***Ergo,***the Pope in denying the offices of Chriſt,denieth Chriſt,and ſo is Antichriſt.

*Argum.*2. He ſhall make himſelfe Chriſt and Meſſiah,which the Ieſuite would prooue out of Iohn 5.verſ.43. If another come in his owne name, him will ye receiue: But the Pope commeth not in his owne name,but in the name of Chriſt,he calleth himſelfe Chriſts Vicar:*Ergo,*he cannot be Antichriſt,***Bellarm.***

*Anſ.*Firſt,it is not neceſſarie that Antichriſt ſhould openly profeſſe himſelfe to bee Chriſt, in name,but he ſhall doe it,*opere,*indeede,and that cloſely and couertly: for thoſe whom Chriſt calleth,*pſeudochriſtos,*falſe Chriſts, Matth.24.23. ***Iohn*** calleth ***Antichriſtos,*** Antichriſts, 1.Ioh.2.18. Falſe prophets therefore are falſe Chriſts, and Antichriſts: yet all thoſe falſe prophets and heretikes did not in name and outward profeſſion make themſelues Chriſts.

2 The Pope of Rome in effect maketh himſelfe Chriſt: for who but Chriſt is the head of the Church? who but Chriſt is ſuperiour to the Angels, and to commaund them? who but Chriſt can make Sacraments and articles of faith? But all this the Pope taketh vpon himſelfe to doe: yea the Ieſuite is not aſhamed to ſay,that he hath the ſame office which Chriſt had being vpon earth, ***lib.5.de pontif.cap.4.*** And whereas they ſay, the Pope commeth in the name of Chriſt: it ſhall as much profit him (it being not in truth, but in colour onely and ſhew) as it ſhall profit the falſe prophets to ſay in the day of the Lord,***Haue not we in thy name prophecied,and caſt out diuels?*** Mat.7. 22.23. to whom Chriſt ſhall make anſwere, ***Verily I know you not.***

*Argum.*3. Antichriſt ſhall openly name himſelfe God, and commaund men to worſhip him as God,2.Theſſal.2.4. But this doth not the Pope: *Ergo,*he is not Antichriſt,***Bellarm.***

Anſ. Firſt,if Antichriſt ſhould be ſuch an one,you might haue found amongſt the Emperours of Rome diuers Antichriſts: for ſuch an one *Caligula* was,that commaunded temples to be erected in his name,and his images to be ſet vp to be worſhipped, yea in the temple at Ieruſalem. Secondly,S.*Pauls* words will not beare any ſuch ſenſe: he ſhall ſit, ὡς θεὸς, as God: and your vulgar Latin hath *oſtendens ſe tanquam ſit Deus,*ſhewing himſelfe as though he were God,that is,in deede and effect,not in open profeſſion: for he ſhould ſit and be worſhipped in the temple as God:how then can it be called the temple of God,being thus a temple of moſt groſſe idolatrie? ***Bellarmine*** here taketh vpon him to correct the text,and ſaith it muſt not bee read, ὡς θεὸς, as God, but, ὅτι θεός,

that he is God, both contrarie to the Greeke originall, and the Latin vulgar tranſlation, which readeth, *he ſhall ſhew himſelfe as God*, in ſuch ſenſe as I haue ſhewed. Thirdly, the Pope in effect maketh himſelfe a god vpon earth: for he can diſpence againſt the law of nature, the law of God, againſt both new and old Teſtament: as wee haue ſhewed before, Queſt. 9. of this Controuerſie: yea *Bellarmine* ſaith, he may by his Apoſtolike authoritie diſpence with the precepts of the A-
Extrauag. poſtles, *cap.* 14. He is able to change the nature of things, and of nothing to make things to be, of wrong to make iuſtice, &c. Pope *Nicholaus diſtinct.* 96. Yea it is ſaid of the Pope, that he is neither God nor man, but a middle thing betweene both: Pope *Boniface.* I pray you then what is he? he
Agrippa. is no Angell, for he is aboue them, and commandeth them: *Papa Angelis præcipit*, the Pope commandeth Angels. He muſt then either be a God or a Diuell, by your owne confeſſion, chuſe which you will: Nay they do make him a plaine God: *Es alter Deus in terris*, another God vpō earth: and they ſalute him by theſe names, *Dominus Deus noſter Papa*, our Lord God the Pope. Thus it is proued, that the Pope, both by his deeds as alſo by his titles, doth make himſelfe God vpon earth.

Argum. 4. Antichriſt (ſay they) ſhall take away all worſhip, yea of Idols, and ſhall commaund nothing to bee worſhipped but himſelfe, 2. Theſſ. 2. 4. the word is σεβάσματα, *numina*, all things that are worſhipped. But ſo doth not the Pope, for he prayeth to Saints, adoreth the bodie of Chriſt on the altar. *Ergo. Bellarm. cap.* 14. *Rhemiſt.* 2. *Theſ.* 2. *ſect.* 10.

Anſ. Firſt, the text proueth not, that he ſhall take away all Idols, or things worſhipped, but ſhall exalt himſelfe againſt them, and make ſmall account of them. The place alſo of *Daniel* is plaine, 11. 37. *He ſhall not regard the God of his fathers, nor care for any God, but ſhall magnifie himſelfe aboue all: and in his place ſhall he honour the God Mauzzim, and the God which his fathers knew not, ſhall he honour with gold and ſiluer.* Out of this place wee gather two things: firſt, that Antichriſt ſhall bring in a ſtrange God, which his fathers neuer knew: ſo hath the Pope inuented a breaden god, which he honoureth with gold and precious ſtones, making more account of it, then of any Image or relick whatſoeuer. Secondly, yet he ſhall magnifie himſelfe aboue all ſuch Gods, Images, Roodes, Shrines, and the like, yea aboue his owne breaden god; ſo doth the Pope: for he rideth vpon mens ſhoulders, when his breaden god is carried vpon an hackney: he exalteth his throne aboue the altar, the Croſſe is carried on the right hand of the Emperours ſwords and ſcepters, but is laid vnder his feete: In the yeere of Iubile, he beateth vpon the gates of Paradiſe with a golden hammer, *Fulk. annot.* 2. *Theſ.* 2. 10. So then howſoeuer like an hypocrite hee ſeeme to adore his breaden god, yet indeede doth he magnifie himſelfe aboue it.

Bellarmine hath no other ſhift to foyſt off our arguments, but theſe: he ſaith, this *Mauzzim* is like enough to bee the diuell himſelfe, whom Antichriſt ſhall worſhip: but he careth neither for ſiluer nor gold: or elſe it is himſelfe. And how I pray you can a man worſhip himſelfe? or elſe, ſaith he, it is ſome ſtrong caſtle where he ſhall lay his ſiluer and gold: or elſe you know not what, *Bellarm.* 14.

2 That Antichriſt ſhall not aboliſh Idols of ſiluer and gold, but rather commaund the people to worſhip them, as the Pope now doth, it is plaine, Apocal. 9. 20.

The Rhemiſts obiect, that he ſpeaketh here againſt the heathen Idols, which is here called the worſhip of diuels.

Anſ. Firſt, in this place *Iohn* ſpeaketh of the end of the world, in the opening of the ſeuenth ſeale: and the Idols of the Heathen were aboliſhed long agoe: Neither is there any knowne nation in the world that hath worſhipped Idols of gold, ſiluer, braſſe, ſtone, or wood, but the Papiſts, for theſe many yeeres. Secondly, all worſhippers of Images, doe worſhip diuels: for Idolatrie is a ſeruice inuented by the diuell, and that which is ſacrificed to Idols is offered to diuels, 1. Cor. 10. 20.

The Proteſtants.

THat Antichriſt ſhall not in outward ſhew bee an open enemie to Chriſt, but ſecretly and cloſely, and vnder pretence of religion take away all religion: thus we make it plaine.

1 Theſe places alleaged before doe prooue it, Ioh. 1. 2. 18. the Antichriſt, and the Antichriſts, ſhall be enemies all alike: but the Antichriſts in S. *Iohns* time were couert enemies. *Ergo*, ſo ſhall the great Antichriſt. And as Antichriſts forerunners were, ſo himſelfe ſhall bee: but they ſhall ſpeake lyes through hypocriſie, and giue eare to the doctrine of diuels, 1. Timoth. 4. 1, 2. that is, as one of your owne writers expoundeth it, *Qui Chriſtianorum ſibi appellatione impoſita, contraria docent:* Which taking vpon them the name of Chriſtians, doe teach things contrarie, *Eſpenc. in hunc locum.* And this place is vnderſtood of the forerunners of Antichriſt, and ſo interpreted by *Lyra* one of your owne authors: *Ergo*, alſo Antichriſt himſelfe ſhall pretend one thing, and teach another, and vtter his lyes through hypocriſie.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* calleth it the myſterie of iniquitie, 2. Theſſ. 2. 7. and he ſhall come in all deciueableneſſe of vnrighteouſneſſe, verſ. 10. and God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſion, to beleeue lyes, verſ. 11. All this prooueth that Antichriſt ſhall worke cloſely, cunningly, myſtically, by deceiuing, by deluſion, not by open enimitie, and prophanenes, or by violence and tyrannie onely, as the Papiſts imagine.

*Argum.*3. Antichriſt ſhall be the greateſt enemie to Chriſt and his kingdome, that euer was in the world. But he is a greater enemie that pretendeth friendſhip, and yet is a foe, that vnder the name of Chriſt perſecuteth the Chriſtian faith, then he that openly deſtroyeth it, making no ſhew of religion: as *Dauid* complaineth, Pſalm.41.9. *Yea my familiar friend whom I truſted, which did eate of my bread, hath lift vp his heele againſt me.* This was accompliſhed in *Iudas,* who betrayed Chriſt with a kiſſe, who was the greateſt enemie of Chriſt, ſinning againſt his owne knowledge and conſcience: Euen ſo they now a daies, are the greateſt enemies that Chriſt and the Church hath, that betray Chriſt with a kiſſe, which name themſelues the Church of God, and yet make hauock of the Church.

*Argum.*4. S.*Paul* alſo ſheweth, that Antichriſt, vnder colour of religion, ſhall be an enemie to religion and the Church: for he ſhall ſit in the temple of God, that is, take vpon him the name and title of the Church, and yet an aduerſarie vnto it. For he that publikely taketh away the exerciſe of religion, cannot be ſaid to ſit in the Church of God; as the heathen perſecuting Emperors did, and *Iulian* the Apoſtata: but this agreeth better to one, that by bearing Chriſts name, ſhall wound the Chriſtian faith, and this is the Pope. *Origen* writeth to the ſame purpoſe: *Qui ſimulat veritatem, &c.* He that diſſembleth the truth, wreſting the Scripture to prooue falſe doctrine, he it is that is an enemy, *& ſuper Cathedram ſcripturarum ſedet,* and ſitteth aboue the chaire of the Scriptures, *Tract.*27.*in Matth.* And thus the Pope of Rome taketh vpon him to diſpence, contrarie to the Goſpels and Apoſtles: which firſt *Bellarmine* impudently denieth, that euer the Pope in word or deede tooke vpon him ſo to diſpence: the contrarie I haue proued before, Queſt.9. Secondly, ſaith he, if he doe diſpence with the poſitiue precepts of the Apoſtle, he doth it, *iuxta Apoſtolum,* according to the Apoſtle, that is, according to his Apoſtolike authoritie.

Contra. Firſt, he muſt ſhew his authoritie out of Scripture, that he hath power to diſpence againſt Scripture, but that ſhall he neuer doe: but the Apoſtle ſheweth the contrarie, that he is accurſed, that taketh vpon him to teach any other doctrine, then the Apoſtle taught, Galath.1.9. Here all power and authoritie to diſpence againſt the Apoſtle is cut off for euer.

Laſtly, *Auguſtine* ſaith as much, that Antichriſt ſhal come with deceiueable doctrine, and ſhew
of righteouſneſſe: *Quid expaueſcimus in Antichriſto, niſi quia nomen ſuum honoraturus eſt, & Domini* De verb. do-
contempturus? Quid aliud facit, qui dicit, ego iuſtifico? Quid aliud eſt dei ignorare iuſtitiam, & ſuam vel- min. ſecund.
le conſtituere, quam dicere, ego iuſtifico, ego ſanctifico? What other thing doe wee feare in Antichriſt, Iohan. ſer. 45.
but that he ſhall honour his owne name, and contemne Chriſts? What elſe doth he, which ſaith, I doe iuſtifie, I make holie? What is this but to deſtroy the righteouſneſſe of God, and to bring in his owne?

Marke now I pray you, if all this be not true of the Pope of Rome: for he taketh vpon him to iuſtifie, to ſanctifie, to diſpence with mens ſinnes for an hundred, yea a thouſand yeeres: to rid ſoules out of Purgatorie: nay, to commaund Angels to carrie their ſoules to heauen, that dye in
their pilgrimage to Rome, as Pope *Clement* the 6. did: what is this elſe but to ſay, *Ego iuſtifico, ſan-* Iuel. p. 595.
ctifico, I iuſtifie, I ſanctifie? And who I pray you, doth ſo, if *Auguſtine* may be iudge, but Antichriſt? But thus the Pope doth: *Ergo,* he is Antichriſt.

And to conclude, ſuch an enemie is the Pope, as *Leo* the 1. ſpeaketh of, *Epiſt.*81. *Pro fide vos agere creditis & fidei contraitis: Eccleſiæ nomine armamini, & contra Eccleſiam dimicatis:* Ye thinke ye worke for the faith, and ye goe againſt the faith: you are armed with the name of the Church, and yet fight againſt the Church.

I will adde the teſtimonie of an holy confeſſor of Gods truth *Walter Brute:* That the Popes come in the name of Chriſt it is manifeſt, ſaying, that they are his principall Vicars vpon earth: wherefore ſeeing they make themſelues the chiefe friends of Chriſt, and yet doe iuſtifie many lawes contrarie to the Goſpell of Chriſt, it is plaine that they are in earth the moſt principall Antichriſts, becauſe there is no worſe plague or peſtilence, then a familiar enemie. *Fox* pag.482.

THE SEVENTH PART, CONCERNING the miracles of Antichriſt.

The Papiſts.

ANtichriſt, they ſay, ſhall be a Magitian, and worke ſtrange ſignes and wonders by the power of the diuell: and theſe three miracles by name ſhall be wrought by him: He ſhall cauſe fire to come from heauen, and make the image of the beaſt to ſpeake: and thirdly, he ſhall faine himſelfe dead and riſe againe, *Bellarm. cap.*15. 63. Error.

1. He ſhall by the helpe of the diuell cauſe fire to come downe from heauen, as it is Apocalypſe 13.13.

Anſw. Firſt, it is a great queſtion whether the diuell haue any ſuch power to bring downe fire from heauen: for the Ieſuite himſelfe remembreth the ſtorie 1.King.18. How *Baal* his prieſts would haue fetched downe fire from heauen, but they could not: onely *Elias* did it: and he that will doe the like, muſt haue *Elias* his ſpirit, as Chriſt ſaith, Luk.9.55.

*Concil.Bracarenſ.1.can.*8. It was decreed thus: *Si quis credit, quod diabolius tonitrua, fulgura, tempeſtates, ſiccitates ſua authoritate facit, ſicut Priſcillianus docet, anathema ſit:* If any man beleeue, that the diuell of himſelfe can raiſe tempeſts, thunder, lightning, drought, as *Priſcillianus* teacheth, let him be accurſed. How therefore can Antichriſt, who worketh by Sathan, doe that which Sathan himſelfe cannot doe?

Secondly, It is very groſſe to vnderſtand this literally: for the whole chapter is myſticall, of the beaſt with ſeuen heads, of another beaſt with two hornes, and all the reſt. But three wayes Antichriſt may fitly be ſaid to bring fire from heauen. Firſt, by fire the holy Ghoſt may be vnderſtood, as Matth.3. and Act.2. The ſpirit appeared in fierie tongues: ſo Antichriſt and his miniſters make men beleeue, that they doe conferre the holy Ghoſt, as in conſecration, in abſolution of ſinners, and ſuch like. Secondly, the Popes thunderbolts of excommunication, are reſembled to fire, whereby he hath made the whole world afrayd in times paſt, as though he could cauſe the heauens to fall vpon men: yea, to make the matter more likely, the Pope vſeth burning Tapers in excommunicating men, which with violence are throwne downe as though God himſelfe did rayne fire from heauen vpon them. And this is the terrible manner of their excommunication: there are three candles burning ſet vp; and then they begin to accurſe them, whom they excommunicate, bodie and ſoule to the diuell: and let vs, ſay they, quench their ſoules in hell fire, if they be dead, as this candle is put out (and with that they put out one of the candles:) If they be aliue, let vs pray, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle is, and ſo the ſecond candle goeth out, and that all their ſenſes may faile them, as this candle looſeth his light, and ſo the third candle goeth out. Behold, here is the fire which the Pope and his popelings doe bring from heauen. *Sic Bullinger.ſerm.60.in Apocalypſ.* Adde vnto theſe their fierie ceremonies, their fierie iugling trickes alſo, as Cardinall *Benno* reporteth of *Gregory* the ſeuenth, that great Sorcerer: *Cum vellet, manicas ſuas diſcutiebat, &c.* When he liſt, he would ſhake his ſleeues, and out flew ſparkes of fire, &c. Thirdly, the Dragon is ſaid, Apocal.12.4. with his tayle to draw many ſtarres from heauen: that is, many excellent men, as ſtarres in gifts and knowledge, ſhall be deceiued by the Pope, and be wonne vnto him: yea the Pope himſelfe is a Starre fallen from heauen to the earth, from heauenly doctrine to earthly tradition, Apocal.9.1. Thus Antichriſt alſo may be ſaid to fetch fire from heauen.

Fox.pag.1038.

2 The ſecond miracle, he ſhall cauſe the Image of the beaſt to ſpeake, which the Ieſuite vnderſtandeth literally, that is, groſſely.

Anſw. Firſt, *Bellarmine* and our Ieſuites doe not here agree: for *Bellarmine* ſaith, that theſe two miracles ſhall be wrought by Antichriſt himſelfe, to fetch fire from heauen: and to cauſe the Image to ſpeake. But the Rhemiſts ſay, this other beaſt, is another falſe Prophet, inferiour to Antichriſt, which ſhall alſo worke wonders, ſuch an one as *Caluin,* ſay they: where they ſhew their malice, more then learning; for *Caluin,* they know, tooke not vpon him to worke myracles, *Annot. Apocal.13.ſect.3.*

2 This cauſing the Image to ſpeake hath a better meaning: The Image of the beaſt is the ſhadow of the olde ſtately Empire of Rome, which was erected by the Pope: for the Weſt parts wanted an Emperour the ſpace of three hundred yeeres from *Auguſtulus* time till Pope *Leo* the third, who made *Charles* the great King of France, Emperour: And at this day is there nothing in the Empire, but onely a name, title and Image: for neither hath the Emperour the Imperiall authoritie, which is in the Pope, nor the Imperiall kingdomes, vnleſſe he haue them of his owne. And the Pope onely maketh this Image to ſpeake, for vnleſſe hee doe confirme the election of the King of the Romanes, he is not thought worthie the name of Emperour, *Bullinger.ibid.*

Auentin.lib.4.

3 And yet we deny not, but that they both haue and may make Images ſpeake either by the helpe of the diuell, as *Dunſtane* cauſed a Roode to ſpeake; or by iugling, as the Roode of grace by gimmals was made to roule the eyes, moue the lips, and ſuch like, in King *Henries* dayes.

3 The third miracle that Antichriſt ſhall worke, is to faine himſelfe dead, and to riſe againe, Apocal.13.3.

Anſw. There can be no ſuch thing gathered out of the text. Firſt, the words will not beare it: the text is, that one of the heads was wounded to death, and the wound was healed: which cannot be ſo meant, as though he fayned himſelfe dead: but he receiued a wound indeede.

2 The ſenſe is myſtical, as thorough the whole chapter: Firſt, it is ſaid, that the ſeuenth head was wounded to death: but reuiued againe; that is, the ſeuenth gouernment of the Romanes in the Popedome: for the Popacie had many times deadly blowes, and yet was healed againe, eſpecially when there were three Popes togither, at Rome, in France, and the third in Spayne: But this

wound was cunningly healed vp in Pope *Martin* the fift, in the Councell of Conſtance, the other three being depoſed. *Sic Bullinger Serm.*59. Secondly, it is ſaid verſ. 14. that the beaſt whoſe Image remained, had the wound of a ſworde, and yet liued: which is vnderſtood of the Romane Empire, reuiued and quickened by the Pope.

The Proteſtants.

IT is true that Antichriſt ſhall worke ſignes and wonders by the power of Sathan, 2. Theſſ. 2. but lying ſignes, both becauſe they ſhall be done to confirme lyes, neither ſhall they be ſuch as the Prophets wrought, but many of them but cunning and couſoning ſleights of iuglers. And for ſuch wonders we neede not to ſearch farre, the Popiſh Church is full of them: where els then ſhould we looke for Antichriſt?

1 There haue been of the Popes themſelues Sorcerers and Coniurers, ſuch an one Antichriſt ſhall be, ſaith *Bellarmine*. *Silueſter* the ſecond came vp to the Papacie by the helpe of the diuell, as we haue before ſhewed. *Gregory* the ſeuenth was condemned in the Councell of *Brixia* for a Coniurer: and *Benno* a Cardinall in thoſe dayes thus writeth of him: that on a time he ſending two of his ſeruants for a certaine Sathanicall booke, charging them not to looke into it; they notwithſtanding looked into it, and preſently a great multitude of diuelliſh ſpirits were round about them; who were inſtant vpon them to knowe why they were called for: the ſeruants being at the firſt aſtoniſhed, yet comming to themſelues, enioyned them to plucke downe certaine high walles neere to Rome: and ſo they came to their maſter, *Fox*.pag.176. What other Antichriſt now neede wee looke for? If he muſt be a Coniurer, we may here make our choyce. Beſide theſe two, *Platina* and other writers make mention of 20. Popes that bound themſelues as ſlaues to the diuell.

2 We are not ignorant, what lyes and fables are reported by the Papiſts of the myraculous acts of their popiſh Saints, of the which we haue ſpoken before: As how *Dunſtane* appeared to a cripple, that came to his Tombe to be helped of his lameneſſe: How *Plegildus* a prieſt ſaw and handled the ſhape of a childe vpon the Altar, which after he had kiſſed returned agayne to the likeneſſe of bread. How a certaine Iewes boy tolde his father that he ſaw a childe broken in peeces vpon the Altar and diſtributed among the Chriſtians: and the boy for that, was caſt into a furnace of fire, and was preſerued from the fire by the Virgin *Mary*, which appeared to him, and ſpred her garment ouer him. Many ſuch either lyes and fables, or workes of diuels the popiſh Church hath: what neede we therefore doubt, but that it is the Antichriſtian Church?

Fox.pag.1148.

3 *Auguſtine* ſaith, Saint *Paul* calleth them lying wonders, either becauſe Antichriſt ſhall deceiue men *per phantaſmata*, with iugling ſleights, or becauſe, *ad mendacia pertrahet credituros*, by his wonders he ſhall make them beleeue lyes. But in which ſenſe they are ſo called, it ſhall appeare when Antichriſt is come ſaith he: and indeede it is now apparant; for our aduerſaries haue plentie of both kindes, both myracles wrought indeed by the diuell, and many pretie iugling feates beſide.

De ciuitat. Dei lib. 20. cap. 19.

Theſe lying fables and forged miracles, which the Popes worke by, are euident ſignes of their Antichriſtian profeſſion: *For Antichriſt ſhall come with the power of Sathan with ſignes and lying wonders*, 2. Theſſ. 2. 9. Stories ſhew this to bee true: *Leo* the third confirmed by his decree, that the bloud which iſſued out of a woodden Crucifix at *Mantua*, was the very bloud of Chriſt, *anno.* 800. *Anno.* 1470. one *Alanus* a drowſie dreaming Monke forged this blaſphemous tale, how the Virgin *Marie* came into his Cell, kiſſed him, drew out her breaſts, and eſpouſed her ſelfe to him: and theſe and ſuch like Monkiſh tales went for currant in thoſe dayes. Not much vnlike to the wicked practiſe of *Polychronius* a Monothelite heretike, who affirmed before the whole Councell Conſtantinop. 6. action. 15. that a certaine beautifull young man appeared vnto him, and taught him to ſay that there was but one will in Chriſt: and gaue him this for a ſigne, that he ſhould lay the ſchedule of his confeſſion vpon a dead bodie, and ſo raiſe it to life: The Councell hearing him, immediatly cauſed a dead bodie to be brought, but *Polychronius* muttering ouer the ſame a great while, could doe nothing, and ſo was condemned of the Councell for a lyar and an heretike.

Many ſuch fabulous miracles popiſh bookes are full of: ſuch are, in the iudgement of a graue writer of their ſide; *Petrus Venetus* his catalogue of the Saints, and the Martyrologue of *Huſſuardus* the Monke: *Multis ſcatent quiſquiliys:* Theſe bookes (ſaith he) are ſtuffed with much paltrie ſtuffe. Yea, the liues of the fathers, vnworthie of *Ieromes* name, are full of ſuch fabulous narrations: *ſic Eſpence in* 2. *Timoth.p.*151.*C.* Seeing then that the popiſh Church is full of lying ſignes and miracles, where is Antichriſt more like to be found, then there?

Tharaſius well ſaid therefore Nicen. 2. *Miracula non credentibus data ſunt, ſed ijs, qui in incredulitate verſantur:* Miracles are not for thoſe that beleeue, but for incredulous perſons. The incr[illegible]ulitie then of Papiſts better appeareth not, then by their inſatiable deſire, and ſuperſtitious vſe of miracles.

Fox.pag.1025. Adde vnto theſe the beleefe of *Iohn Tewkeſbury* confeſſor of the truth: *Antichriſt is not an outward thing that is a man, that ſhould ſuddenly appeare with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him, but Antichriſt is a ſpirituall thing,&c.*

THE EIGHT PART OF THE QVESTION, concerning the warres, and kingdome of Antichriſt.

The Papiſts.

64.Error. **B***Ellarmine* ſaith, that Antichriſt ſhall make great battailes againſt the Saints, and ſhall conquer the whole world: firſt, by craft he ſhall aſpire to the kingdome of the Iewes: Secondly, he ſhall fight with three kings, of Lybia, Egypt, Æthiopia. Thirdly, with a great armie he ſhall perſecute the Chriſtians throughout the world; and this ſhall be the battaile of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Bellarm.cap.*16.

*Argum.*1. That he ſhall craftily aſpire to the kingdome, he proueth it out of Dan.11.21. where it is propheſied of one that he ſhall obtaine the kingdome by flatteries.

Anſw. This propheſie of *Daniel*, as likewiſe the whole chapter, was hiſtorically accompliſhed in *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who defrauded *Seleucus* his brothers ſonne of the kingdome, and circumuented his elder brother *Demetrius*: ſo that it being once fulfilled, it cannot be wreſted to any other ſenſe: of Antichriſt it cannot be ment; for here is a ſucceſſion of Kings deſcribed, verſ.19. One is ſaid to be ouerthrowne, that is, *Seleucus*, but not in battaile, for he was poyſoned, verſ.18. There another is ſaid to be ouerthrowne and to be no more found, that is, *Antiochus magnus*. But Antichriſt cannot ſucceed any in the kingdome of the Iewes: for he ſhall be their firſt King, as the Papiſts imagine.

*Argum.*2. He ſhall (ſaith *Bellarmine*) ouercome three Kings, of Lybia, Egypt Æthiopia, Dan.11.43. and this horne ſhall remoue three other hornes, Dan.7.8.

Anſw. This alſo muſt needes be vnderſtood of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and they are two propheſies. Firſt, he is called a little horne, becauſe he was not heire to the kingdome: he remoueth three other hornes: for by his meanes *Ptolemæus Philopater* was caſt out of the kingdome in his fathers time *Antiochus* the great: his brother *Seleucus* poyſoned, his ſonne *Demetrius* diſinherited, *Tremell.* Dan.7.20. The ſecond propheſie was alſo accompliſhed by *Antiochus*, who ouercame Egypt, and the countries adioyning.

Of Antichriſt it cannot bee vnderſtood: for the firſt propheſie ſpeaketh of a beaſt with ten hornes, which muſt bee vnderſtood of one kingdome and monarch, and by the ten hornes ten Kings are ſignified: for ſo was *Antiochus Epiphanes* the tenth from *Seleucus*: here then is a ſucceſſion of Kings: but Antichriſt ſhall not ſucceed any.

*Argum.*3. The Ieſuite ſaith, that Antichriſt with a great armie ſhall vexe the whole world, and that ſhall bee the battaile of *Gog* and *Magog* propheſied of, Ezech.38.39. and Apocal.20.

Anſw. The propheſie of *Ezechiel* was fulfilled in the time of the Macchabees, when as *Gog* and *Magog*, that is *Antiochus*, with the helpe of the Syrians and Scythians and other countries, moleſted the people of God: for verſ.23. chap.39. the Prophet ſpeaketh of the captiuitie of Iſrael, from the which they ſhould at that time be deliuered. And againe, the Lord would not leaue his Church, which at that time endured great afflictions at the hands of the heathen, comfortleſſe: but if theſe propheſies of *Ezechiel* and *Daniel* concerned them not, then ſmall had been their comfort. Laſtly, the Iewes may with as good reaſon vnderſtand the propheſies concerning Chriſt, of their Meſſiah, whom they yet looke for, as you may theſe propheſies concerning the enemies of the Church, of your Antichriſt.

The other propheſie alſo is fulfilled, Apocal.20.8. how *Gog* and *Magog* from the foure corners of the earth, ſhall compaſſe the tents of the Saints: for by *Gog* and *Magog*, is vnderſtood the whole multitude of the enemies of the Church both within and without, as Turkes, Papiſts, infidels, which all haue agreed togither at times and in their turnes, though enemies amongſt themſelues, to afflict the people of God.

And yet more particularly *Anno.*1300. the Church of God began to bee moleſted with the armies of *Gog* and *Magog*: when *Boniface* the eight ſhewed himſelfe in his Emperiall robes, and ſo was the *Gog* in the Weſt; and *Ottomannus* was crowned Emperour of the Turkes, *Magog* in the Eaſt.

And if you will needes alſo haue the other two propheſies fulfilled againe, being once before accompliſhed: they agree fitly to the Turkiſh Empire: for *Mahomet* by craft and ſubtiltie aſpired to a kingdome, and in ſhort time he ouerran Egypt and Lybia, with other parts of Africa.

The Proteſtants.

WE denie that there ſhall come any ſuch Antichriſt: or that it is poſſible for him to wage battaile with the whole earth. We grant that the Antichriſt of Rome hath warred with the Church, poyſoning it with corrupt doctrine, and perſecuting the ſame by fire and ſword: which his rage is well ſlaked now, God be praiſed, in many places, and his tyrannie ouerpaſt: miſerable were the ſtate of the Church, if it ſhould endure ſuch a brunt againe.

*Argum.*1. It is impoſſible, that Antichriſt in ſo ſhort a time as three yeeres and an halfe, ſhould conquer all nations, and be Monarch of the whole world, burne and ſacke Rome, and driue out the Pope, as the Papiſts grant themſelues, ***Bellarm.lib.*4.*cap.*3.*de pontifice.*** A man can not in that ſpace trauaile through the whole world, much leſſe conquer it. See the iudgement of one *Hentonius* a papiſt of this matter before ***par.*2.*qu.*10.**

And ſeeing Antichriſt ſhall begin at Ieruſalem, make his habitation there, and haue an ende there: (for, ſay they, he ſhall be ſlaine in Mount Oliuet, ***Gloſſ.ſup.Apocal.***) It is not like that in his owne perſon he ſhould conquer the world: neither can it be thought that he ſhall do it by his deputies, for then they ſhould be the Antichriſts, and not he. See what a Labyrinth you are fallen into, out of the which you cannot wind your ſelues.

*Argum.*2. Antichriſt is not deſcribed in Scripture as a warriour, or warlike man ſitting harneſſed in his tent; but like an hypocrite aduancing himſelfe in the temple; not comming with engins of warre, but deluding and deceiuing with falſe miracles, and lying ſignes, 2.Theſſal.2. Not with Harolds of armes openly proclaiming warre: but he ſhall worke in a myſterie, Apocal.17.5. Wherefore it is but a popiſh dreame and fancie, that Antichriſt ſhal be ſuch a mighty warriour: yet we denie not but that diuers of the Popes haue beene warriours; but that was beyond the commiſſion of ***Peters*** croſſe keyes.

Thirdly, they haue no ground of this their opinion out of Scripture: for neither ***Ezechiel*** nor ***Daniel*** maketh for them, prophecying of the ſtate of the Church before Chriſt: nor yet the Apocalypſe, the prophecie of ***Gog*** and ***Magog*** being accompliſhed in the greateſt part already. Wherefore away with theſe miſtie clowdes of your brain-ſicke inuentions: they ſhall not be able to abide the lightſome ſun-beames of the trueth.

Laſtly, if Antichriſt by his warlike and bloody diſpoſition may be diſcerned, wee ſhall finde him no where ſooner then in Rome: ***Boniface*** 8. ſhewed himſelfe openly in his Emperiall robes with the ſword carried before him: ***Iulius*** the 2. threw ***Peters*** keyes into Tyberis, and drew out his ſword: and vnder this Pope, as Chronicles make mention, in the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres were two hundred thouſand men ſlaine by continuall warre. ***Alexander Farneſius*** Cardinal, Pope ***Paulus*** the 3. his Captaine generall againſt the Lutheranes, gaue out theſe threatning wordes, that he would ſhed ſo much blood of the Lutheranes, that their horſe might ſwimme therein.

Such furious and Antichriſtian outrages of Popes, are contrarie to the decrees of antiquitie: ***Synod.Francicaſ.Seruis Dei armaturam portare, pugnare aut in exercitum pergere prohibemus***: We forbid the ſeruants of God (he meaneth Clergie men) to beare armour, to fight, or go to battell.

Concil.Agathenſ.decret.ex Gratian.Non licet Epiſcopo, &c. It is not lawfull for a Biſhop to ſmite any with his hands, much leſſe with his ſword.

Maſter Rogers holy Martyr iudgeth the Church of Rome Antichriſtian, becauſe of their tyrannicall lawes, and maintenance thereof by cruell perſecution, ***Fox.p.*1488.**

THE NINTH AND LAST PART OF THIS queſtion, whether the Pope be Antichriſt.

The Papiſts.

THis queſtion pincheth our aduerſaries very ſore, that we ſhould touch their head ſo neere, as to make him Antichriſt. For this being once knowne, we need not labour much about other matters: for Antichriſt with all his doctrine muſt not be heard, but abhorred of the Church. 65.Error.

They therefore, craftily foreſeeing this, do take great paines to deliuer the Pope out of this danger, and haue found out many ſtarting holes, but all to ſmall purpoſe: yea their forefathers ſeeing the matter ſo plaine, and almoſt put out of doubt, gaue ſtreight charge in the late Councel of Laterane to all Preachers, that none ſhould dare once to ſpeake of the comming of Antichriſt. This argueth a guiltie conſcience. But yet they face out the matter, and ſay, the Pope cannot be Antichriſt: their arguments are none other then thoſe we haue heard, being eight in number.

1 Antichriſt ſhall be one ſingular man: the Popes haue beene many, ***part.*1.*of this queſtion.*** Secondly, he ſhall raigne but three yeeres and an halfe: but the Pope hath continued many hundred yeeres, ***part.*2.** Thirdly, he ſhall be knowne by his name: the Popes haue ſundry names, ***part.*3.** Fourthly, he muſt come of the ſtocke of the Iewes: but there was neuer yet any Iewe Pope, ***part.*4.** Fiftly, his ſeate muſt be at Ieruſalem: the Popes is at Rome, ***part.*5.** Sixtly, he ſhal manifeſtly deny Chriſt: ſo doth not the Pope, ſay they, ***part.*6.** Seuenthly, he ſhall do ſtrange miracles, as bring downe fire from heauen, cauſe Images to ſpeake, ***part.*7.** Eightly, he ſhall wage great battels, and conquer all the world, ***part.*8.** which cannot agree to the Pope: ***Ergo***, hee is not Antichriſt.

Anſw. To theſe eight arguments, we haue before anſwered ſeuerally; ſhewing how fabulous, ridiculous, and impoſſible our aduerſaries aſſertions are, without ground of Scripture, ſhew of reaſon, or colour of argument. Wherefore we will not trouble the Reader with needleſſe repetitions, deſiring him to haue recourſe to that which hath beene already ſaid.

Argum.9. Further the Rhemiſts do thus reaſon: Antichriſt ſhall exalt himſelfe aboue all, that is called God. 2.Theſſ.2.4. So doth not the Pope, who is ſo farre from exalting himſelfe aboue God, that he prayeth to Saints, kneeleth before the altar, adoreth the Euchariſt. *annot. 2.Theſ.2.4. & ibid. ſect, 10.*

Anſ. Firſt the Pope in hypocriſie maketh ſhew of a ſuperſtitious kind of deuotion, yet is in truth the Prince of Pride: for as he calleth himſelfe *Seruum ſeruorum*; Seruant of ſeruants; yet hath made Kings his ſlaues: ſo alſo, though he ſeeme to be a worſhipper of Saints, yet hee taketh vpon him more then either Angell or Saint, as to forgiue ſinnes, to deliuer ſoules from Purgatorie, to diſpenſe with the Scriptures. Secondly, as touching the adoration of the Euchariſt, therein hee ſheweth his pride, in adoring his owne inuention; and beſide hee honoureth his breaden god with Maſſe ſeruice for his owne aduantage, becauſe it is ſo gainfull vnto him: and yet what account he maketh of it may appeare, when his throne is ſet higher then the altar; and in proceſſion, he rideth on mens ſhoulders, when the hoſt is carried vpon a palfreyes backe.

Argum.10. Sathan muſt be bound a thouſand yeeres, and afterward let looſe; and then Antichriſt ſhall come, whoſe kingdome ſhall increaſe, and faith decreaſe toward the end of the world. But if the Pope be Antichriſt, who hath beene theſe thouſand yeeres in the Church, then Antichriſt ſhould raigne while Sathan is bound, which can not be, and his kingdome waxe weaker toward the end of the world contrary to the Scripture, which ſaith, that at Chriſts comming, faith ſhall ſcarce be found in the earth, &c. *Rhemiſt. ſect. 7.20. Apocal.*

Anſw. Firſt we ſay not that Antichriſt hath beene 1000. yeeres in the Church, but began to be reuealed 1000. yeers after Chriſt in *Silueſter* 2. who by Necromancy obtained the Papacie, and in *Boniface* 3. who did iuſtifie the error of Purgatorie and Inuocation of Saints. So that Sathans looſing and Antichriſts raigning ſhall fall out together, that is at the expiration of the thouſand yeeres. Secondly, it is more agreeable to the Scriptures, that the kingdome of Antichriſt ſhall be weakened toward the end of the world: God ſhal firſt conſume him with the breath of his mouth, that is his word, as alreadie, thankes be to God, the preaching of the Goſpell hath ſhaken the walles of Babylon: but hee ſhall perfectly be deſtroyed by the brightneſſe of his Comming. 2. Theſſ.2.8. And though faith generally ſhall decay in the ende of the world, becauſe iniquitie ſhall abound: yet faith ſhall remaine in the true members of Chriſt, that are in continuall expectation of his comming.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Pope of Rome is very Antichriſt, and that all the qualities and properties which the Scripture deſcribeth Antichriſt by, do fitly agree vnto his perſon: and that we are not therefore to expect and looke for any other Antichriſt: Thus by teſtimonie of Scripture, and ſufficient reaſons deduced out of the ſame, we truſt it ſhall appeare to all men.

Argum.1. The firſt place of Scripture is Dan. 11. Where many notes and markes are declared proper to Antichriſt, yet eſpecially ſet forth to deſcribe *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who might be very well a type and figure of Antichriſt, who was then to come.

1. Verſe 36. It is ſaid, He ſhall do what him liſteth. This is moſt true of the Pope: his will muſt ſtand for reaſon, *Diſtinct. 96. cap. ſatis*. If the Pope ſhould draw infinite ſoules to hell, no man is to ſay vnto him, Sir, why do you ſo? *Diſtinct. 40.* Heere *Bellarmine* hath but this poore ſhift to ſay, that it is meant onely of publike iudgement, that no man is by authoritie to call the Pope to account: but yet a brotherly admonition may be vſed. But who ſeeth not that the words are generall: *Nemo debet ei dicere:* No man ought to ſay vnto him: neither Iudge, nor other?

2 He ſhall magnifie himſelfe againſt God, and ſpeake blaſphemous things againſt God: hath not the Pope done ſo? Of him it is ſaid, that God and the Pope haue but one Conſiſtorie: I am able to do almoſt all that God can do, *Fox. pag. 785. articul. 192.* I am aboue all and in all: *Hoſtienſ.* Nay, that Dominion and Lordſhip which Chriſt had in earth, but *habitu*, in habite, the Pope hath *actu*, in act and in deed. Againe, as we reade, the earth is the Lords, and the fulneſſe thereof, and as Chriſt ſaith, all power is giuen mee in heauen, and in earth: ſo is it to be affirmed, that the Vicar of Chriſt hath power on things celeſtiall, terreſtriall, infernall, *apud Fox. p. 791. col. 1.* Now let the diſcreet Reader iudge, whether this fellow doth not magnifie himſelfe, and ſpeake blaſphemouſly againſt God.

3 He ſhall proſper till the wrath be accompliſhed: So hath the Pope had but too good ſucceſſe; he hath ſubdued Emperours, and made them his ſeruants, trode vpon their necks, made them ſerue at his table, crowned them with his feete, made them hold his ſtirrop, and leade his horſe by the bridle. But we do hope that his date is out, and that he ſhall proſper no longer.

4 Verſ.37. He ſhall not care for the God of his fathers : No more doth the Pope : for hee hath inuented and erected a new *breaden god*, which he worſhippeth, hangeth vp in Churches, carieth about in proceſſion, being but a peece of bread. This *breaden god* amight, his forefathers neuer knew.

5 He ſhal not care for the deſires of women: So he prohibiteth lawfull marriage, permitteth adulteries, and the vnnaturall luſt of Sodomites. *Bellarmine* firſt denyeth the text, which is faithfully tranſlated according to the Hebrew. Secondly, he ſaith, the place is meant literally and properly of *Antiochus*, who was giuen to the pleaſures of women.

Anſw. Firſt, if it be meant literally of *Antiochus*, then can it not be meant literally of your Antichriſt : If *Antiochus* be but a type of Antichriſt, then can you not neceſſarily conclude out of this place : for types proue not, vnleſſe they be diuine, that is, appoynted of God to be types, which you cannot ſhew for this place : See then, the beſt arguments that you haue for your Antichriſt, out of the propheſies of *Daniel* and *Ezechiel*, are proued nothing worth. Secondly, as *Antiochus* was giuen to vnlawfull deſires of women, ſo is the Pope : yet might he be an enemie to chaſt and holy mariage, and ſo is the Pope. And by the way let it be noted, that the Ieſuite picketh quarrels with Scripture, and maketh it falſe : for the text ſaith, He, that is, *Antiochus*, ſhall not care for the deſires of women. Yes (ſaith the Ieſuite) he ſhall be giuen to the pleaſures of women, cleane contrarie to the text, *Bellarm. cap.* 21.

6 Verſ.38. He ſhall honour his god *Mauzzim*, that is, a god of power and riches, with golde ſiluer, precious ſtones : Both of theſe are moſt true of the popiſh religion : for their god hath brought them great riches, lands, treaſure, poſſeſſion: by their idolatrous Maſſes, they haue greatly enriched themſelues, wherein their *breaden god* playeth the chiefe part : and therefore they doe worſhip him againe with gold, ſiluer, precious ſtones : what rich Corporals, and Altarclothes, Copes, Veſtiments of veluet, ſilke, wrought with golde, are ſeene in their Churches? what gilding of Roodes, and Roodlofts, garniſhing of Idols, what rich Crucifixes of ſiluer, of gold, beſet with pearle and precious ſtones?

This deſcription therefore of *Daniel*, as you ſee, doth in euery reſpect agree with the conditions and properties of Antichriſt of Rome, *Argument. Illyrici.*

Argum.2. Secondly, S. *Pauls* deſcription in euery poynt alſo is verified in the Pope. Firſt : He ſhall exalt himſelfe aboue God, and all that is called God, 2. Theſſ. 2.4. So the Pope challengeth the full authoritie of Chriſt, as we haue ſhewed before, and exalteth himſelfe aboue Emperours, which are called gods vpon earth : yea they haue taken the iuſt proportion of inequalitie betweene the Pope and Emperour : for the Pope is 47. degrees aboue the Emperour, as the Sunne is 47. degrees bigger then the Moone, *Innocent.* 3. *in. decretalib.*

2 He ſhall ſit in the temple, that is, in the Church : ſo the Pope nameth himſelfe head of the Church, and hath the keyes, as he braggeth, both of heauen and hell. Therefore the Turke cannot be that Antichriſt, becauſe he is out of the Church : and ſo in truth is the Pope, but yet he challengeth to him and his the name of the Church.

3 The myſterie wrought in *Pauls* time, and afterward encreaſed : ſo not long after the Apoſtles time, the Biſhops of Rome began to lift vp their heads aboue other Churches, as *Zozimus* falſified the Councell of Nice, and ſent to the 6. Councell of Carthage, to haue it there confirmed, that it might be lawfull to ſend vp appeales to Rome.

4 Antichriſt ſhall come with lying ſignes : So hath the Pope done, as experience proueth, and we haue ſhewed before.

5 Verſ.11. God ſhall ſend ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhall beleeue lyes. And in time of Poperie, men indeede were ſo ſtrongly deluded, that the father perſecuted the ſonne, the ſonnes ſet fire to their father, yea the husband was made a witneſſe againſt the wife, the wife againſt her huſband, and ſeruants accuſed their maſters. Theſe things are ſo well knowne in ſtories, that I neede not come to particulars.

6 Antichriſt is called a wicked man, and a man of ſinne, verſ.3.8. And where ſhall you finde more wicked men, then among the Popes? *Silueſter* the ſecond gaue his ſoule to the diuell to obtaine the Papacie, *Fox*. pag.167. *Benno* reporteth of *Hildebrand*, that he poyſoned ſixe Popes to come to the Popedome. Pope *Stephen* and *Sergius*, tooke vp the bodie of *Formoſus*, and mangled it, cutting off his head and fingers, and ſo caſt it into Tibris, *Fox*. p.120. Much vnlike to one of their predeceſſors *Sixtus* the third, who tooke the bodie of *Baſſus* his enemie being dead, who had accuſed him before, embawmed it, and buried the ſame with his owne hands. We haue heard before, what a holy Father Pope *Iohn* the thirteenth was, he lay with his owne ſiſter, and with his fathers Concubines, playing at dice called for the diuell, was ſlaine in adulterie. And was it not, I pray you, a common prouerbe in England? He that goeth to Rome once, ſeeth a wicked man; he that goeth twiſe, learneth to know him; he that goeth the third time, bringeth him home with him *Fox*. pag.841,

That Antichriſt that man of ſinne ſitteth in Rome, it might eaſily be proued by a particular induction : for ſinne being the tranſgreſſion of the lawe, as Saint *Iohn* defineth it, 1. Epiſt. chap. 3. verſ. 4. If we ſhall ſhewe how the Pope of Rome hath notoriouſly tranſgreſſed the lawe and euery part thereof, who will doubt but that he is that man of ſinne, and ſo conſequently Antichriſt.

Ex Balæi chronico de actis pontif.

The firſt Commandement : *Thou ſhalt haue no other gods, &c.* Among other corruptions, forbiddeth all prophanenes and infidelitie, all confederacie or ſocietie with the diuell : for the firſt we haue diuers examples of Popes : *Boniface* the eight when *Porchetus* Archbiſhop of Genua came to him to receiue aſhes in a publike ſolemnity, he caſt aſhes into his eies and ſaid, *Memento homo, quia Gibellinus es, &c.* Remember man that thou art of the faction of the Gibellines, and ſhalt returne to duſt. Was not here great deuotion ? *Gregory* the twelft pulled a certaine preaching Carmelite Frier out of the pulpit and caſt him into priſon, becauſe he perſwaded the Popes, who were then deuided, to vnitie. *Innocentius* the eight was ſeene for the moſt part to ſleepe in the time of diuine ſeruice. *Iulius* the ſecond caſt S. *Peters* keyes into Tyberis in great diſdayne, ſaying, Seeing *Peters* keyes did not ſerue his turne, he will try what *Pauls* ſword can doe. *Leo* the tenth is reported to haue ſaid to Cardinall *Bembus* : *Quantum nobis profuit fabula iſta de Chriſto:* How much hath this fable or tale of Chriſt aduantaged vs ? And ſuch hath been the pietie and deuotion of our holy fathers of Rome.

Concerning the ſecond point, their familiaritie with the diuell, the two forenamed examples of *Silueſter* and *Gregorie* are able to certifie vs. *Benedictus* the 9. about the ſame time, was accuſtomed to call vpon euill ſpirits, and could by his diuelliſh enchantments, cauſe any woman whom he liked, to come vnto him. *Paulus* the 3. was a ſorcerer and enchaunter : hee gaue vnto a certaine noble Matrone a little hallowed braſen ball to hang about her necke, which ſhould ſhield her from certaine moleſtations : he made *Dyoniſius Serutta* a notable Necromancer, Cardinall, thereby ſhewing his affection to that profeſſion. And many other of the Popes were giuen to theſe diuelliſh ſtudies, to the number of 22. *ex Balæo, Platina, & alijs.*

The 2. Commandement: *Thou ſhalt make to thy ſelfe no grauen image, &c.* How the Popes haue tranſgreſſed this law, their practiſe to this day ſheweth, who are more giuen to idolatrie and worſhip of images, then any knowne Nation vnder the Sunne. *Conſtantinus* the 1. decreed that images ſhould be worſhipped in Churches. *Bonifacius* the 4. begged of wicked *Phocas* Emperour, the Church in Rome called *Pantheon*, and in ſtead of *Cybele* an Ethnicke Goddeſſe, there placed the image of the Virgin *Marie* to be adored. *Leo* the 3. iudged certaine forged bloud which iſſued out of a woodden Crucifix, to be the true blood of Chriſt, and ſo to be adored.

The 3. Commandement : *Thou ſhalt not take the Name, &c.* Here blaſphemie is forbidden. Diuers of the Popes haue been moſt horrible blaſphemers : *Iulius* the 3. is a notable example hereof: who being forbidden of his Phiſition to eate ſwines fleſh, on a time called for it, more ſwiniſh himſelfe, with great indignation and blaſphemie, ſaying, giue me my porke, *All diſpetto de Dio:* in deſpite of God. At another time, at ſupper miſſing the colde peacocke, which he commanded to be kept for him, he began to curſe and ſweare, and being admoniſhed by ſome of his Cardinals, not to be moued ſo for a trifle : he added further, *If God were angry with Adam for an apple, may not I much more for a peacocke, being his chiefe Vicar vpon earth : ex Balæo, & alijs. Alexander* the fift being at the poynt of death, ſaid thus to the Cardinals, *My peace I giue vnto you, my peace I leaue with you.* Thus moſt blaſphemouſly abuſing the holy ſpeech of Chriſt, and appropriating it to himſelfe. *Paulus* the fourth ſaid thus to his fellow Ieſuites, whoſe ſect he is ſaid to haue founded, going to Rome, to be in the eye and ſight of the world, *Whither I goe, you cannot come:* blaſphemouſly abuſing Chriſts ſpeech to his owne purpoſe. Thus they are found grieuous tranſgreſſors of this law.

The 4. Commandement: *Remember thou keepe holy, &c.* Yet *Alexander* the ſixt vpon feſtiuall dayes gaue himſelfe to heare *Plautus* Comedies, and to be preſent at other playes : his feſtiuall exerciſe was, from *Hadrianes* Mount to behold the gay harlots, and braue bawdes and ſtrumpets that paſſed by : *ex Balæo de actis pontific.*

The 5. *Honour thy father and mother, &c.* Yet *Paulus* the third poyſoned his mother and his nephew, that the whole inheritance of the Farneſians might come vnto him. And concerning the publike and common parents, Emperours and Kings and ciuill Magiſtrates; they were neuer more diſhonored then by Popes : *Alexander* the third did tread on *Henry* the Emperors necke. *Adrian* made him hold his ſtirrup. Diuers of them cauſed Emperours to kiſſe their feete. *Paſchalis* the ſecond raiſed vp *Henry* the fift moſt vnnaturally againſt his owne father, to depoſe him from the Empire. *Innocentius* the third ſet vp *Otho* againſt the Emperour *Philip*, by whom he was ſlaine. *Innocentius* the fourth hired one *Manfredus* to poyſon the Emperor *Frederick*. Such honor haue the Popes ſhewed to their earthly parents.

The 6. *Thou ſhalt not kill. Iohn* the 13. did thus vſe his Cardinals, ſome had their eyes pulled out, ſome their tongues, ſome their fingers cut off. *Gregorie* the 7. poyſoned, by wicked *Brazutus* meanes, ſixe Popes in order, to come himſelfe to the Papacie. *Vrbane* the 6. put fiue of his Cardinals into ſackes, and drowned them. *Alexander* the 6. commaunded *Antonius Mancinellus* his tongue, and both his hands to be cut off, becauſe he made an oration inuectiue againſt his impure life. *Paulus* the 3. poyſoned his owne ſiſter, whom he had knowne carnally, becauſe ſhe loued other better then him: the ſame Pope alſo poyſoned *Fulgoſius* and *Contarenus* two Cardinals, that began ſomewhat to fauour the Goſpell.

The 7. *Thou ſhalt not commit adulterie.* As for ſimple fornication, it was no rare thing in the Popes chaire. *Iohn* the 13. committed vncleannes with *Rainera* and *Anna*, two widowes. *Iohn* the 23. was accuſed, *Concil. Conſtantienſ. ſeſſ.* 11. for defiling of virgins. *Paulus* the 3. entiſed a noble virgin to follie, promiſing her mariage.

The Popes many of them haue been adulterers. *Gregorie* the 7. retained *Mathilda* the Counteſſe, hauing forſaken her husband Earle *Azon.* *Paulus* the 3. was found with *Nicholas Quercaus* his wife, who gaue him a wound, which was ſeene till his dying day.

But what will ye ſay, if theſe holy fathers haue fallen into horrible inceſt? *Iohn* the 23. was accuſed in the foreſaid Councell, to haue knowne carnally his brothers wife. *Alexander* the 6. (oh moſt horrible impietie!) did lye with his own daughter *Lucretia.* *Paulus* the 3. that filthie wretch, vſed carnally his ſiſter, daughter *Conſtantia,* and Neece. Neither ſtayed they here in theſe outragious luſts, which were not yet againſt the naturall vſe, but fell alſo into helliſh vnnaturall filthines, into that abominable ſinne of Sodomitrie. *Iulius* the 2. did abuſe two noble youths that were ſent to Rome by the French Queene to bee inſtructed. *Iulius* the 3. had his *Ganymedes,* to whom, beſide the reſt of his Cardinals leaue, he gaue a red Hat. Neither did they onely in their owne filthie perſons practiſe this wickedneſſe, but permitted it alſo to others. *Sixtus* the 4. erected a Stewes in Rome for both ſexes: he gaue licence to his two nephewes Cardinals, and their houſehold, in the three hot moneths of the yeere, Iune, Iuly, Auguſt, to vſe maſculine venerie. *Alexander* the 6. gaue leaue to *Pet. Mendoza* Cardinall, to vſe his owne baſtard ſonne as his ſpouſe: *ex Baleo, & alijs.* Who hearing now of theſe filthie abominations of that ſtrumpet of Babylon, will not eaſily graunt Antichriſts ſeate to be there?

The 8. *Thou ſhalt not ſteale.* Notwithſtanding this, *Boniface* the 7. carried away all S. *Peters* treaſure at Rome, and fled to Conſtantinople. *Iohn* the 18. as *Platina* ſaith, *In pontificatu fuit fur & latro,* behaued himſelfe in his Papacie as a theefe and a robber. As for iniuſtice and oppreſſion, which is alſo a kind of theft, nothing with the Popes was more common. *Zacharias* Pope put *Childericus* King of France from his kingdome, and gaue it to *Pipinus.* *Adrian* the firſt, *Charlemaine* King of France being dead, diſinherited *Bertha* his wife with her two ſonnes, and gaue the kingdome to *Charles* their vncle: and many ſuch other examples might be alleaged.

The 9. *Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witneſſe, &c.* Yet this notwithſtanding, *Vigilius* accuſed *Siluerius* Biſhop of Rome falſely, that he would haue deliuered Rome to the Gothes: *Siluerius* was therefore depoſed, and *Vigilius* ſet in his place, who was iuſtly called to account by *Theodora* the Empreſſe, for that he had promiſed to reſtore *Anthemius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, excommunicated by his predeceſſors, and afterward refuſed to doe it: *ex pontifical.* For this is alſo a breach of this law, not to performe the oth, or promiſe made, which with the Popes was not daintie. *Paſchal* the 2. confirmed by an oth to *Henry* the 5. the imperiall right of inueſting Biſhops: but afterward reuoked it againe. And as they were thus perfidous themſelues, ſo they gaue counſell to others: *Eugenius* the 4. perſwaded *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungarie to break his league made with *Amurathes* the great Turke, which was to his owne ruine, and of all Chriſtendome. *Alexander* the 6. betraied *Gemes Baiazetes* the great Turks brother, that did flye to Rome for ſuccour, and being therto largely hired by the great Turke, procured him to be poyſoned.

The like treacherous part played *Alexander* the 3. long before this with *Frederick* the Emperour, who ſent his counterfeit to the Sultane, againſt whom he warred, whereby the Emperour was taken: but the Sultane his enemie dealt honourably in deliuering him, whereas the Pope, his pretended friend, plaied a right Iudas part. The Popes their predeceſſors, though bad enough, yet were aſhamed of ſuch Iudaical practiſes: *Nicholas* 1. when *Michael* the Emperour ſent to him, to deliuer one *Theognoſtus,* which was fled to the Pope for reliefe, made this anſwere: *Nolumus, deo volente, Iudæ proditori ſimiles eſſe, &c.* We will not be like the traitor *Iudas,* nor be more wicked then the Pagans: for you may remember how one of your predeceſſors ſent to the King of the Agarenes, to haue one deliuered, but it was not granted: *Epiſtol. ad Michael.* Thus we ſee by the Popes owne teſtimonie, that they which betray ſuch as of truſt commit themſelues vnto them, doe *excedere paganorum nequitiam:* are more wicked then the heathen: but ſuch were ſome of the Popes.

The 10. *Thou ſhalt not couet, &c.* The couetouſnes of Popes hath been inſatiable, as it may appeare by the infinite treaſure which they heaped together. *Iohn* the 23. is ſaid to haue gathered

205000.

205000.crownes. *Calixtus* the 3. left to his ſucceſſor,an hundred and fifteene thouſand duckets, which he had ſcraped together by his Indulgences.*Leo* the 10.ſent his Indulgences abroade with this commiſſion,that whoſoeuer would giue ten ſhillings,ſhould deliuer a ſoule from the paines of Purgatorie : the Popes chiefe factor for this merchandiſe,was one *Simon* a Frier Franciſcane of Millaine,who by this meanes gathered ſuch infinite ſummes of mones,that he offered in one day aboue 1200000.duckets for the Popedome. And no marueile if the Popes did grow ſo infinitely rich,for all things were put to ſale : as ſpirituall liuings, Biſhoprickes, benefices, &c. The Archbiſhop of Canturburie was wont to pay to the Pope tenne thouſand florence for his firſt fruites, and fiue thouſand for the vſe of his pall:ſo did the Archbiſhop of Yorke.*Iohn* the 23.exacted the tenths of Eccleſiaſticall liuings. *Vrbanus* the 6. the firſt fruites. *Innocentius* the 7.more vnreaſonable then they,would haue had halfe the fruites of Benefices, *ex Baleo.* Cardinalſhips alſo were ſold. *Leo* the 10. made 31.Cardinals in one day , getting thereby vnreaſonable ſummes of money. The Pope offered the Empire to ſale : as *Alexander* the 3.tooke money of *Alphonſus* King of Spaine for the Empire,and afterward ſold it to another. Yea the Popedome it ſelfe hath bin ſet to ſale : *Benedictus* the 9.ſold the Papacie to *Gregorie* the 6.for fifteene hundred pound. Yea honeſtie and all is ſaleable at Rome : the reuenewes of the harlots in Rome amounteth yeerely to 40.thouſand pound,*Conſul.Chronic.de actis Paul.*3. To conclude this place, conſidering this vnſatiable thirſt of the Popes,the Greekes,*anno* 1330.or thereabout, made a fit anſwere to the Pope, who had ſent to them before,telling them that Chriſt had but one Church,and he was the head thereof: their anſwere is this : *Potentiam tuam ſummam erga tuos ſubditos firmiter credimus,ſuperbiam tuam ſummam tolerare non poſſumus, auaritiam ſatiare non valemus:* Your tyrannie toward your ſubiects we eaſily beleeue,your infinite pride we cannot beare,nor ſatiate your couetous deſire: *ex actis Iohan.*23. Thus haue I ſhewed by the way the generall corruption that raigneth in the Papall chaire of peſtilence, and the wicked vſage of that ſinfull ſeate,ſo that in no place in the world,neither amongſt the Turkes or Infidels can the man of ſinne be ſooner found,then there. Let vs now proceede.

*Argum.*3. The third place wee doe take out of the Apocalypſe,chap.9.where is a plaine ſtorie ſet downe of the Pope.

1 Verſ.1. He is a ſtarre fallen from heauen : he is departed from the ancient faith of Rome to ſuperſtition and idolatrie.

2 He hath the key of the bottomleſſe pit : who giueth the croſſe keyes in his armes but the Pope? Who ſaith he may euacuate all Purgatorie at once, if he will,but he? Who ſaith,he may, *Pleno iure currus animarum plenos ſecum ad tartara detrudere:* By full right, carrie downe to hell with him chariots loden with ſoules? *cap.ſi Papa.diſtinct.*42. Is not this the Pope? Who then more fitly may be ſaid to haue the key of the bottomleſſe pit?

3 There ariſe out of the bottomleſſe pit a great flocke of Locuſts,that is,the innumerable ſort of begging Friers : for they are in euery reſpect deſcribed : Firſt,compared to Locuſts for their number,verſ.3. There were an hundred diuers ſorts of Friers,*Fox* pag.260. Secondly, they had power giuen them for fiue moneths : that is,as *Walter Brute* expoundeth it, taking a moneth for thirtie daies,and a day for a yeere,as it is prophetically taken,an hundred and fiftie yeeres:for ſo long it was from the beginning of the Friers vnder *Innocent* the 3.*anno* 1212.to the time of *Armachanus*, who preached, diſputed, and wrote againſt the Friers, about *anno* 1360. *Fox* pag.414. Thirdly,they ſhall ſting like Scorpions, not ſlay all at once, but venome and poyſon the conſcience with the ſting of their peſtilent doctrine. Fourthly,other parts alſo of the deſcription agree, as verſ.7. They are as horſes prepared to battaile, that is, ſtoute and ambitious, their haire as the haire of women,that is,they ſhall be effeminate,and giuen to the luſts of the fleſh : their teeth as the teeth of Lions: they by valiant begging ſhall deuoure the portions of the poore : as it was well proued in King *Henrie* the 8.daies,in the *Supplication of beggars*, that the ſumme of the Friers almes came to a great ſumme in the yeere : for the fiue orders of Friers had a penie a quarter for euery one of euery houſeholder throughout England, that is, for them all twentie pence by the yeere : Suppoſe that there be but tenne houſeholds in euery towne,and let there be twentie thouſand pariſhes and townes in England ; it will not want much of twentie thouſand pound. Thus had they Lions teeth,that is,conſuming and deuouring. Laſtly,they haue a King,verſ.11.whoſe name is *Abaddon*,a deſtroyer : for the Pope,their chiefe prince and patrone,hath by his Antichriſtian doctrine laid waſte the Church of God, *Argument.Chytræi.*

*Argum.*4. The fourth place of Scripture wee will take out of the 17.of the Apocalypſe,there the ſeate of Antichriſt is deſcribed. Firſt,verſ.5.It is called Babylon,the citie which raigneth ouer the Kings of the earth,verſ.18. This can be no other but Rome,which then had the Empire of the whole world : as *Walter Brute,* holy confeſſor of Gods truth, witneſſeth: In the daies of S.*Iohn* the whole world was ſubiect to the temporall Empire of the citie of Rome, and afterward it was ſubiect to the ſpirituall Empire or dominion of the ſame, *Fox* pag.499. Secondly, It is the citie built vpon ſeuen hils or mountaines, verſ.9. that is no other but Rome. Thirdly, the whore, which is Antichriſt, ſhall ſit vpon the beaſt with ſeuen heads and ten hornes, that is, ſhall ſucceede the Empire, and haue the authoritie thereof: ſo hath the Pope. Fourthly, the ten hornes, that is, the Kings of the earth ſhall giue their authoritie to the beaſt, but afterward ſhall deuoure her fleſ Euen ſo the Kings of the earth, by their ſword, maintained the authoritie of the Pope. But no being taught by the Goſpell, they are made the Lords free men, and begin to ſubdue their necke from his yoke.

*Argum.*5. The fift place is, 1.Iohn 2.22. Who is a lyar, but he that denieth that Ieſus is Chriſ the ſame is Antichriſt that denieth the father and the ſonne.

Euen ſo the Pope of Rome, though not openly and apertly, yet cloſely and ſubtilly is an enmie vnto the whole Trinitie: He exalteth himſelfe aboue God the father; becauſe he taketh vpon him to diſpence not onely againſt the law of nature, but againſt the law of God, the morall law, and againſt the precepts both of the old and new Teſtament: but a law cannot be diſpenſed withall, but by the ſame authoritie, or greater.

Againſt Ieſus Chriſt he exalteth himſelfe, and all his offices; he denieth him to be the only Prophet, ſaying, the Scriptures are vnperfect, and that their traditions are alſo neceſſarie to ſaluation. Againe, he maketh other bookes Scripture, then thoſe which are Canonicall. His kingly office he doth arrogate to himſelfe, in making lawes to binde the conſcience, in ordaining other Sacraments, in graunting Indulgences and Pardons, and ſaying that he is the head of the Church. His Prieſthood he is an enemie vnto, conſtituting another prieſthood after the order of *Melchiſedech*, then that of our Sauiour Chriſt, which begun vpon the Croſſe, and remaineth ſtill in his perſon, being incommunicable to any other creature: yet they make euery ſacrificing prieſt to be of the order of *Melchiſedech*. He impugneth the office of the holy ſpirit, counting that prophane which the holy Ghoſt hath ſanctified, as mariage and meates: arrogateth in all things the ſpirit of truth not to erre: applieth the merits of Chriſts paſſion after his owne pleaſure, by pardons, Indulgences, by ceremonies and Sacraments of his owne inuention, *Fulk.* 2.*Theſſ*.2.*ſect*.10. *Ergo*, we conclude out of S.*Iohn*, that ſeeing he denieth Ieſus to be Chriſt, he is Antichriſt.

Argum.6. Sixtly, Saint *Paul* ſaith, that Antichriſt ſhall be an aduerſarie, ἀντικείμενος. 2.Theſſ. 2.verſ.4. An aduerſarie in doctrine, teaching cleane contrarie to the Goſpell of Chriſt: ſo doth the Pope.

1 The Scripture ſaith, wee ought to put our truſt onely in God, and not in man, Ierem.17.7. and to call vpon God onely in the day of trouble, Pſal.50.15. and to worſhip him in ſpirit and truth, Ioh.4.24. The Papiſts ſay cleane contrarie, that we muſt call vpon Saints, and beleeue they can helpe vs, and they teach vs to fall downe before Images, which are ſtockes and ſtones.

2 The Goſpell teacheth, that we are freely ſaued by Ieſus Chriſt, without workes, which neither merit remiſſion of ſinnes, nor eternall life: for eternall life is the free gift of God, Rom.6.23. And our ſinnes are forgiuen vs freely, becauſe they are not imputed, Rom.4.6. They affirme cleane contrarie, that by our merits wee may deſerue heauen: and that *vita æterna*, is *merces bonorum operum*, that eternall life is the reward of good workes. But Saint *Paul* ſaith, it is a free gift, *Bellarm.cap.*23.

3 The Goſpell teacheth vs, that we ſhould grow vp to an aſſurance of our election, 2.Pet.1.10 and with boldnes to call vpon the name of God, Heb.4.10. The Papiſts ſay, we ſhould bee kept alwaies in doubt, and it is preſumption to be aſſured of the fauour of God.

4 The Goſpell ſaith, that not onely externall acts, but euen ſecret thoughts are ſinne, yea the very concupiſcence of the fleſh to be ſinne, Geneſ.6.5. Rom.7.7. They denie that concupiſcence and euill thoughts are ſinne, vnleſſe they be voluntarie, and haue the conſent of the will, *ibid.*

5 The Goſpell teacheth, that it is impoſſible for any man to keepe and performe the lawe of God, Rom.8.7. Luk.17.10. They doubt not to ſay, that a man by grace may fulfill the law, and by fulfilling of it deſerue heauen.

6 Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament in both kinds; and *Paul*, 1.Cor.11. giuing a direction concerning the Sacrament, not onely to the Paſtors and Miniſters, but to the whole Church of Corinth, doth rehearſe the inſtitution in both kindes: but the Papiſts doe miniſter but in one kinde to the people.

7 The Goſpell ſaith, that the Church is builded vpon Chriſt, and he is the onely foundation thereof, 1.Cor.3.11. The Papiſts hold that *Peter* firſt, and now the Pope, whom they make his ſucceſſor, is the foundation of the Church, *Argument.Chytræi.* And thus we ſee, the Pope in his doctrine is a plaine aduerſarie to Chriſt, and therefore Antichriſt.

*Argum.*7. The ſeuenth argument, Apocalypſe 17.1. Antichriſt is called the great whore: And here we are to note the ſingular prouidence of God, who ſuffereth not one iot of his word to fall to the ground: for euen ſo verily, *anno* 853. next after *Leo* the 4. there was a right whore elected Pope called *Iohn*, or if you will, *Ioane* the 8. who ſate in the Papacie two yeeres, ſixe moneths; and o time being with childe, fell in labour in the middeſt of a ſolemne proceſſion. Whereupon the was a certaine Image of a woman with a childe ſet vp in the ſame place where the Pope was eliuered: And euer ſince the Popes, when they goe to Laterane, doe ſhun that ſtreete, being yet ne neerer way, abhorring that fact and the memorie thereof. There was alſo long after a chayre of Porphyrie ſtone kept in Laterane, with an hole in the middeſt, wherein the new elected Pope was wont to ſit to haue his humanitie tried, *Iuel.pag*.428.*Defenſ.Apol.*

Obiect.1. *Harding*, and ſince him *Bellarmine* obiect, that there was neuer any ſuch Pope, becauſe he is not regiſtred in the Popes Calendar.

Anſ. No, they left her out for ſhame, as *Marianus Scotus* writeth. Againe, Biſhops names haue vpon ſundrie occaſions been left out: as *Chryſoſtomes* name was ſtriken out, vpon diſpleaſure, out of the table of the Biſhops of Conſtantinople: So Pope *Cyriacus* is not reckoned in the Calendar of the Popes, and yet he was one of them.

Obiect.2. Whereas it is ſaid, that this Pope *Ioane* was firſt ſtudent at Athens, and afterward profeſſed at Rome: *Harding* denieth, that at Athens then there was any place for ſtudents, but all was barbarous, and ſo ſaith *Bellarmine*; neither that at Rome there was any open profeſſion of letters at that time.

Anſ. Firſt, *anno* 680. the Biſhop of Athens was at a Councel at Conſtantinople, called *Synodus ſexta*, *anno* 742. at the ſecond Councell of Nice, there were many Biſhops of Greece preſent: and Pope *Ioane* followed, *anno* 853. and how ſhould Athens afterward become barbarous, being inhabited all this while by Chriſtians? for it was not taken of the Turks before *anno* 1440. Secondly, me thinkes it is a diſcredit for Rome, that there ſhould bee there vnder the Popes noſe no profeſſion of learning, and that there ſhould bee there no Vniuerſitie of Students, where the vniuerſall Biſhop ſate. But *Theodoricus Niemus*, ſometime the Popes Secretarie, ſaith, ſhe read a Lecture two yeeres at Rome.

Obiect.3. It is not like that God would ſuffer Saint *Peters* chayre to bee polluted by a woman, *Harding*.

Anſ. You preſume too much of Gods prouidence, hauing no ſuch promiſe. Why might not a woman as well creepe into S. *Peters* chayre at Rome, as one did into S. *Andrewes* of Conſtantinople? as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth: what priuiledge hath one more then the other? And why might not a woman as well be Pope, as Popes made by women? as *Iohn* the 11. got the Popedome by *Theodora* that harlots meanes: *Iohn* the 12. was made Pope through the helpe of *Marogia* that notorious ſtrumpet. For the whore of Babylons ſeate was then, as reaſon would, gouerned by ſtrumpets, the like by the like: So was *Victor* the 3. elected Pope, at *Mathilda* that noble harlots ſuite. But to put the matter out of doubt, *Mantuan* that elegant Poet, writeth thus of Pope *Ioane*:

> *Hic pendebat adhuc ſexum mentita virilem*
> *Fœmina, cui triplici phrigiam diademate mitram*
> *Extollebat apex, &c. lib*.3.
>
> Here did as yet, in ſhew a man, a woman ſit,
> Whoſe head a tripled coſtly Crowne did fit.

Caranza alſo the epitomizer of the Councels, doth aſſigne vnto this whore of Babylon, 2. yeers, one moneth, foure daies; ſo long did ſhe occupie that chayre of peſtilence. *Platina* alſo reporteth the ſame ſtorie, an author of their owne.

Obiect.4. As for the chayre (ſaith *Harding*) it is a fable: but *Bellarmine* more modeſtly graunteth there is a chayre of Porphyrie, but to another purpoſe, to ſhew the Popes humilitie, not to trie his humanitie. Againe, *Harding* ſaith it is a lye, that the Popes refraine to goe that way. But *Bellarmine*, that knoweth Rome better then he, denieth not that the Pope ſo doth, but not for any ſuch hainous fact there committed, but becauſe it is a ſtrait way, and is not fit for his traine. And as for the Image, *Harding* ſaith, it repreſenteth no ſuch thing, but is rather like one of the great ragged ſtones at Stonage: *Bellarmine* denieth not, but there is ſuch an Image, but it ſeemeth not to be the picture of a woman, but rather of ſome heathen prieſt going to ſacrifice. We ſee how handſomely they agree in their anſweres: And no marueile, for if one lyer is many times contrarie to himſelfe, how ſhould two lyers agree? But theſe men goe onely by coniectures: wee haue their owne writers againſt them: for *Theodoricus Niemus* ſaith, there is ſuch an Image that reſembleth ſuch a thing, and that the Popes will not goe that way in proceſſion to this day vpon that occaſion. And as for the chayre of Marble to that vſe, to ſearch the Pope, *Sabellicus* reporteth it, *Ænead*.9.*lib*.1.

In this one example we may ſee the boldnes of our aduerſaries, which are not aſhamed to deny ſo famous a ſtorie, being reported by *Sabellicus*, *Leonicus Chalcondyla*, *Marianus Scotus*, that liued about the yeere 1028. *Sigebertus Gimblacenſ. anno* 1100. beſide thirteene Hiſtoriographers, as they are quoted by Biſhop *Iuel*, and of them all not one a Lutherane. It is almoſt as foule a ſhame for them to denie ſo manifeſt and plaine a thing, as it is a great blot to their ſucceſſion, that a whore

Defenſ.Apolog.pag.437.

ſate ſometimes in the Papall chayre. Thus then by euident demonſtration it appeareth, that the Pope is the whore of Babylon, and ſo conſequently very Antichriſt.

*Argum.*8. He that was letted and hindered from comming while the Empire ſtood, and ſhall bee reuealed after the diſſolution of the ſame, is Antichriſt: ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, 2.Theſſ.2.6. *You know what withholdeth, &c.* So much alſo is confeſſed by the Rhemiſts, *Apocal.*17.*annot.*9. But this is the Pope, who was hindered from his princely ſupremacie or tyrannie rather in the Church, by the flouriſhing ſtate of the Empire: and ſince the decay thereof, the Papacie hath increaſed. Firſt, by the abſence of the Emperour in the Eaſt parts, the Pope incroched in the Weſt. Secondly, the Empire was weakened by tranſlating of it from the Greekes to the French, from the French to the Germanes. Thirdly, whereas Rome was ſubiect to the Emperour, now he is excluded and beareth onely a vaine title to bee called, *Rex Romanorum.* Fourthly, whereas the Emperour bare ſtroke in the election of the Pope, now he hath nothing to doe with it. Fiftly, whereas the Imperiall ſtate went by ſucceſſion, now it is conferred by election, by the Popes deuice, that paſſing from one kingdome to another, by ſhifting of places it might bee weakened: So that now it is plaine that there remaineth nothing but an image and ſhadow of the Empire; ſo that the Empire being thus defaced, Antichriſt muſt needes be reuealed: And who ſhould he be, but he, that hath incroched vpon the Imperiall right and poſſeſſions, which is the Biſhop of Rome?

*Argum.*9. He is Antichriſt, and ſo called, which impugneth Chriſts kingdome in earth, that is, the ſpirituall regiment which he appointed in his Church, and the forme of gouernment ordained therein, applying all to himſelfe by ſingular tyrannie. For which cauſe *Athanaſius* calleth *Conſtantius* the Emperour, an Arrian, Antichriſt, for making himſelfe *principem Epiſcoporum*, prince of Prieſts, &c. which alſo impugneth Chriſts Prieſthood in earth, &c. he is Antichriſt, *Rhemiſt. totidem verbis ſect.*13. 2.*Theſſ.*2. But the Pope impugneth both the kingdome and prieſthood of Chriſt: *Ergo*, he is Antichriſt.

Firſt, he impugneth the kingdome of Chriſt, which is either externall, or internall, that is, ſpirituall: for the externall gouernment of the Church, which Chriſt hath appointed by making ſome Apoſtles, ſome Euangeliſts, ſome Paſtors and Doctors, &c. Epheſ.4. the Pope hath arrogated all to himſelfe: who challengeth to bee called vniuerſall Biſhop, prince of Prieſts, which *Athanaſius* condemned in *Conſtantius* as an Antichriſtian title. And concerning the title of vniuerſalitie, *Gregorie* 1. thus writeth: Farre from all Chriſtians hearts be this name of blaſphemie, in which the honour of all Prieſts is taken away, while it is challenged of one man to himſelfe, *Lib.*4.*epiſt.*32. So then the Pope hath taken away the externall gouernment of the Church, by applying all to himſelfe. And concerning the ſpirituall regiment of the Church, which is more properly the kingdome of Chriſt, he hath incroched vpon that alſo; both by preſuming to diſpence againſt the law of God, by aboliſhing the inſtitution and right vſe of the Lords Supper, in taking vpon him to forgiue ſinnes, and to abſolue from the paine and the fault: with ſuch like intolerable preſumptions.

Secondly, he impugneth the Prieſthood of Chriſt, both concerning his ſacrifice, in offering vp Chriſt daily in the Maſſe, as though his ſacrifice vpon the croſſe were not ſufficient; as alſo as touching his mediation, in making other mediatours and interceſſors beſide Chriſt, as though he were not the alone able and ſufficient Mediatour. So then, ſeeing the Pope moſt notoriouſly doth impugne both the kingdome and prieſthood of Chriſt, he is certainly Antichriſt.

Laſtly, in the tenth place, their owne witneſſes ſhall ſpeake: *Bernard* ſaith, *Beſtia de Apocalypſi, cui datum eſt os, loquens blaſphemias, Petri Cathedram occupat:* The beaſt in the Apocalypſe, to the which a mouth was giuen ſpeaking blaſphemies, doth occupie *Peters* chayre. *Ioachim Abbas* ſaith, *Antichriſtus iampridem natus eſt Romæ:* Antichriſt a good while ſince was borne at Rome. The Biſhops in the Councell at Reynſpurge ſay thus: *Hildebrandus Papa, ſub ſpecie religionis, iecit fundamenta Antichriſti: Hildebrand* vnder colour of holineſſe, hath laid a foundation for Antichriſt. Nay, long before any of theſe, *Gregorie* the 1. firſt of all the *Gregories*, and the beſt of all the Popes that haue followed him, thus prophecied of his ſucceſſors: *Ego fidenter dico, quòd quiſquis ſe vniuerſalem ſacerdotem vocat, vel vocari deſiderat, in elatione ſua Antichriſtum præcurrit:* I ſpeake it confidently, that whoſoeuer calleth himſelfe vniuerſall prieſt, or deſireth ſo to bee called in the pride of his heart, is the forerunner of Antichriſt. But the Popes of Rome are now called vniuerſall Biſhops or Prieſts: *Ergo*, they are either Antichriſts, or the forerunners of Antichriſt. But it is not like that Antichriſt ſhould haue ſo many forerunners, and ſo many yeeres, almoſt a thouſand ſince *Boniface* the 3. was firſt called vniuerſall Biſhop: *Ergo*, Antichriſt is alreadie come, and hath been a good while: and where elſe ſhould he be, but there where his forerunners were, namely, at Rome?

Epiſtol.125.

Lib.6. epiſt.30

We want not here the witneſſe of their owne law in this caſe for the triall of this point, who ſhould be Antichriſt:

Firſt, *Nicholaus* 2. decreeth him to be Antichriſt that was elected or made Pope by ſimonie, *De-*

*cret.23.cap.1.*but ſo was *Gregorie* the 6.made Pope,giuing to his predeceſſor *Benedict* the 9. 1500. pounds: and as things goe now a daies it was good cheape.

Secondly,*Diſtinct.79.cap.1.Nichol.2. Qui ſine concordi electione,&c.*He that is inthronized Pope without the Canonicall and concording election of the Cardinals, is not Apoſtolicall,but Apoſtaticall. But when *Iohn* 23.was made Pope, and two more beſide, a *Gregorie* and a *Benedict*,the Cardinals concorded not in their election: *Ergo,*the Pope then was an Apoſtata.

Thirdly,*Cauſ.6.quæſt.7.cap.3.Gregor.7.*thus decreed,that if any Biſhop granted tithes or oblations, *laicalibus perſonis,ſeu conſanguineis,* to lay perſons,or his kinſemen, *inter maximos hæreticos, & Antichriſtus non minimus haberetur,* he ſhould bee counted amongſt the greateſt heretikes,and not the leaſt Antichriſt. But the Biſhop of Rome hath done this,by whoſe deuice many portions of tithes haue bin appropriate to lay perſons: *Ergo,*he is an heretike and Antichriſt.

Fourthly,*Decret.par.2.cauſ.24.quæſt.1.cap.25.* that ſaying of S.*Hierome* is approued: *Qui Christi non eſt,Antichriſti eſt:* He that is not of Chriſt, is of Antichriſt. And againe he ſaith, *Aduerſarius Chriſti & Antichriſtus eſt,&c.* He is an aduerſarie to Chriſt, and an Antichriſt, whom Chriſts precepts offend,or diſpleaſe: *Hieron.de ægrotat.Bleſill.* But ſuch an one is the Pope,that altereth and changeth the precepts of Chriſt: for Chriſt ſaid,*Feede my ſheepe,*but he preacheth not: Chriſt appointed the Sacrament in both kindes,he commandeth it to bee vſed in one: Chriſt ſaid,beleeue in me: but he would haue vs beleeue in the Virgin *Mary:* And many ſuch like precepts he hath contrarie to Chriſt: *Ergo,*he is Antichriſt.

Fiftly,*Cauſ.25.quæſt.1.cap.5.Damaſus: In ſpiritum ſanctum blaſphemat,&c.* He that violateth the Canons of the fathers is a blaſphemer againſt the ſpirit. But ſo doth the Pope, in calling himſelfe vniuerſall Biſhop, contrarie to the Canons*: diſtinct.99.cap.5.* and in many other things he doth tranſgreſſe the Canons: *Ergo,*he is a blaſphemer; and conſequently Antichriſt, who hath names full of blaſphemie,Apocal.17.3.

Sixtly,*Ibid.cap.11.Hadrian. Anathema, quicunque regum:* He is an anathema, or accurſed, that doth violate the decrees of Kings.But ſo doth the Pope,whoſe Canons doe euery where impugne the Ciuill conſtitutions.*Ergo.*

Seuenthly, *Cauſ.35.quæſt.5.cap.3.Gregor. Vxorem propinqui mei,&c.* The wife of my kinſeman I muſt hold as neere vnto me, as if ſhe were my kinſewoman in the ſame degree,&c. whoſoeuer thinketh otherwiſe is Antichriſt. But the Pope ſo thinketh, that permitteth a brother to marrie his brothers wife,which is as neere as his owne ſiſter by this Canon: *Ergo,*he is Antichriſt.

Eightly,*Decret.part.3.diſt.3.cap.12. Qui die ſabbati, &c.* They that forbid to worke vpon the Suturday,*prædicatores Antichriſti,* are the preachers of Antichriſt. But ſo doth the Pope, that enioyneth Saturdaies to be as ſtrictly kept holy daies,as the Lords day.*Ergo.*

Let vs ſee in the laſt place the glorious teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs and confeſſors of Gods truth: *Walter Brute* proueth the Pope to be Antichriſt by this argument: He which eſtabliſheth his lawes,allowing warres and the ſlaughter of men in the warres,as well of Chriſtians, as of Infidels; doth he not iuſtifie things contrarie to the Goſpell and law of Chriſt? therefore he is Antichriſt: but this doth the Pope,&c.*Fox* pag.487.

Iohn Huſſe holy Martyr: The way of Antichriſt is wickedneſſe and ſinne, of the which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh to the Theſſal.&c.pag.617. But in Rome, euen in the Popes chayre, all abomination,as pride,couetouſneſſe,ſimonie,are to be found,pag.628.*Ergo,*the Pope is Antichriſt.

Thomas Bilney holy Martyr: The Pope ſitteth in the temple of God: for the conſcience of man is the temple of the holy Ghoſt: as S.*Paul* ſaith,1.Cor.3.*The temple of the Lord is holy,which is you:* but the Pope ſitteth in the conſcience, counting them guiltie of death,that breake his conſtitutions: therefore ſitting in the temple as God, he is Antichriſt,pag.1002.

Maſter *Tindall* Martyr: The Pope inferring a neceſſitie of thoſe things, which Chriſt leaueth free and indifferent,what doth he elſe,but make himſelfe Antichriſt? pag.1251.

For this truth alſo many beſides gaue their liues: *Thomas Benet* burned at Exceter, for ſaying the Pope is Antichriſt,pag.1037. *Iohn Stilman* burned in Smithfield for the ſame, p.815. Maſter *Rogers* holy Martyr,for affirming the Romiſh Church to be the Church of Antichriſt,p.1488.

Now therefore ſeeing we haue ſo many witneſſes, the Scripture,reaſon,experience,authorities to proue the Pope Antichriſt: who will either be ſo ſimple, as ſeeing ſo good grounds, not to beleeue it; or ſo ſcrupulous, hauing ſuch certaine euidence,to doubt thereof? And thus at the length, by Gods gracious aſſiſtance,we haue finiſhed and brought this great queſtion concerning Antichriſt,to an end; as alſo the whole controuerſie as touching the Biſhop or Pope of Rome.

THE FIFTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING SPIRITVALL PERSONS, COMMONLY CALLED THE CLERGIE.

HAuing now ſufficiently handled the controuerſie of the chiefe member of the Militant Church, which our aduerſaries ſay is the Pope, wee muſt come in the next place to ſpeake of the middle parts, which are thoſe whom they call *Clericos*, Clerkes, and they are of two ſorts; Secular, which haue any publike function in the Church; or Regular, which liue according to ſome rule, and they are called *Monachi*, Monkes. Firſt then of their ſecular Clerkes.

This Controuerſie containeth ſixe queſtions.

1 Of the name and title of Clerkes or Clergie men.

2 Concerning the election of Biſhops and Miniſters: firſt, of all in generall: ſecondly, of the election of the Biſhop of Rome.

3 Concerning Eccleſiaſticall orders: firſt, in generall: ſecondly, of the difference of Biſhops and other Miniſters: thirdly, of Cardinals.

4 Concerning the keyes of the Church, and the power of binding and looſing: the queſtion diuided into foure parts.

5 Concerning the mariage of Miniſters: three parts of the queſtion.

6 Of the maintenance of the Church by tithes: in two parts.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING the name of Clerkes or Clergie men.

The Papiſts.

66.Error. THis name Clergie, in Latin, *Clerus*, is a name made proper to the Spiritualtie, by vſe of antiquitie, and agreeably to Scriptures: they are ſo called, becauſe they are the Lords lot, and conſecrate to the diuine ſeruice: the reſt are called popular, or lay men, which meddle not with any function of the Church.

*Argum.*1. This word (ſay they) hath been vſed by all antiquitie, and thereby Church Miniſters onely ſignified: *Ergo*, it is a fit and decent name, *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de Clericis,cap.*1.*Rhemenſ.* 1.*Pet.*2.3.

Anſ. Firſt, the Fathers vſed this name Clergie, but not as it is now vſed of the Papiſts, which do hereby as it were exclude the people of God from the Lords inheritance, counting them as Aſſes and Dogs, in reſpect of the Clergie: as one of their owne writers thus complaineth; *Quomodo excuſandi vel ferendi hodierni in eccleſia præſules, &c.* How can the Prelates of theſe daies bee excuſed, or ſuffered, which doe rule ouer men as beaſts in the Northerne parts, (he meaneth the Lapiani, and Pilapij people of thoſe countries) which doe lay ſuch grieuous yokes vpon thoſe ſimple people, as ſtray ſheepe, hauing no paſtor, that they cannot ſubmit themſelues to the Lords ſweete yoke, &c. *Eſpenc.in* 1.*Timoth.p.*312.*f.* Such diſtinction betweene the Clergie and Laitie the fathers neuer allowed: they vſed it as a ciuill indifferent name, for an outward diſtinction of their callings, not as a name of more holines, and ſo we refuſe it not.

2 What though by cuſtome and continuance this name hath been ſomewhat abuſed, wee will learne herein to ſpeake of the Scriptures, and not of men.

*Argum.*2. Secondly, wee miſlike this name (ſay our aduerſaries) becauſe wee would haue no difference betweene the people and Clergie, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſ. It is a great ſlander: becauſe we make no ſuch difference, as they doe, as to make the Clergie onely Gods lot and portion, and to count the people as vnholie, and to preferre euerie ignorant doltiſh Maſſe prieſt, before the beſt and deuouteſt of the people: therefore they imagine we make no difference at all. We do diſtinguiſh the calling of the one, and the other: none of the lay ſort to be ſo hardie as to meddle with the word or Sacramentes, which are committed to the Miniſters, which you notwithſtanding permit them to do: and the people euery where to reuerence their Paſtors, and to yeelde due obedience vnto them. But that the calling of the one before God in it ſelfe, is more meritorious then the other; that wee doe not, neither dare affirme.

*Argum.*3. The Leuites in the time of the law, were ſeuered out from the reſt of the Lords people, and he was their lot and inheritance, and they the Lords lot. Deut. 18.2. And as the Leuites were then, ſo are the Miniſters of the Goſpell now, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, the Lord is rather ſaid to be their lot, becauſe they had the Lords portion, and liued of the Altar, then they are ſaid to be the Lords lot: for the whole Nation was holy vnto God, and a kingdom of Prieſts, Exod. 19.6. Secondly, it followeth not, that becauſe there was a legall and ceremonial difference then between the Prieſts and the people, that therfore it ought to be ſo now: Nay rather the contrarie followeth, becauſe there was ſuch a difference then, that therefore the Prieſthood of the law being ceaſed, there ought to be none ſuch now: for Chriſt hath made vs all Kings and Prieſts to God his Father, Apocal. 1.6. And wee are all a royall Prieſthood and holy Nation, 1. Pet. 2.9. Now, though there be a difference of callings amongſt men, yet before God we are all Prieſts alike; and there is but one Prieſt for vs all to Godward, euen Chriſt Ieſus our Lord.

The Proteſtants.

THe name of Clerks, or Clergie men, if it be not vſed as a name in it ſelfe of greater holineſſe and merite, and ſo be in effect a proud excluding of the reſt of Chriſtians from the Lords inheritance; we refuſe it not, though there are better names and titles, to call the Miniſters of the Goſpell by: yet being taken as it is in Poperie, we do vtterly refuſe and reiect it.

Firſt, 1. Pet. 5.3. The Apoſtle exhorteth the paſtors and teachers to feede the flocke of Chriſt, *non vt dominantes Cleris*: Not as Lords ouer Gods Cleargie and inheritance. Here S. *Peter* calleth the whole flocke, the Clergie: wherefore it appeareth, that this difference was not knowne in the Apoſtles time of lay and Clergie men. And it is againſt all ſenſe, that Saint *Peter* ſhould vnderſtand here the inferiour Miniſters, and ſo exhorteth the ſuperiour Paſtors and Biſhops to looke to their Clergie, as the Rhemiſts would haue it. For S. *Peter* writeth not onely to Biſhops, but to all Presbyters, paſtors or Elders, verſe 1. Secondly, verſ. 3. That which he calleth the Clergie, or heritage, he expoundeth in the ſame verſe to be the Lords flocke: but the Clergie in their ſenſe is not the whole congregation or flocke. Thirdly, the Apoſtle would haue them to feed the flock, that is, to teach and inſtruct them, but he was farre from allowing an ignorant Clergie, that need to be inſtructed and catechiſed, ſuch as for the moſt part the popiſh Clergie is.

Bellarmine anſwereth againe: that it may be granted alſo that the name of Clergie in ſome ſort, agreeth to the people, as being the Lords heritage; but in a more excellent manner is it giuen to thoſe which ſerue at the altar: as all the Iſraelites were the Lordes heritage, yet the Leuites are more ſpecially ſo called. *Bellarmine lib. 1. de Clericis. cap. 1.*

Contra. Firſt, if the people then may be called the Clergie, then is not this name peculiar to eccleſiaſticall perſons, which is the thing now in queſtion. Secondly, there is no ſuch legall difference now betweene the Prieſt and people, as was vnder the law, betweene the Leuites and other tribes: for Chriſt hath now made vs all kings and prieſts to God his Father. Apocal. 1.6. Thirdly, we denie not, but that the Miniſters of the Goſpel haue a more excellent office, then lay men, in reſpect of the policie and order of the Church, but not more meritorious in it ſelfe before God.

*Argum.*2. Neither ſhall we find this word *Clerus*, the Clergie, properly applied to the Miniſters, throughout the new Teſtament, let our aduerſaries brag neuer ſo much of ſcripture as they do. Galat. 6.6. S. *Paul* vſeth theſe names of difference, κατηχοῦν, κατηχούμενος, the teacher, and he that is taught: and 1. Corinth. 14.16. λαλῶν, the ſpeaker, and ἰδιώτης the priuate or vnlettered man. So that all their names are giuen in reſpect of their outward miniſterie and calling, not in regard of any difference before God. For before the Lord, as there is neither Græcian nor Iew, bond nor free, male nor female; ſo neither is there Clerke or lay man.

Gal. 3.28.

*Argum.*3. S. *Paul* ſaith, 1. Cor. 12.20. *There are many members, yet one bodie, &c.* verſe 13. *By one ſpirit are we all baptized into one body, &c.* Like as then the parts of the ſame body, though they haue diſtinct offices, and one more excellent then an other, yet no parte is deſpiſed or vnneceſſary, but are all knit to the ſame head, and are partakers of the ſame life and ſpirite: ſo is it in the members of the Church, their offices are diuers in the bodie of the Church, but all vnited by one and the ſame ſpirite to the head Chriſt: if they be all one bodie, then conſequently one entire inheritance of Chriſt. *Auguſtine* thus writeth concerning this name, *Cleros, qui ſunt in eccleſiaſtici miniſterij gradibus ordinati, ſic dictos puto, quia Matthias ſorte electus eſt, in Pſal. 67.* Clerkes, which ſerue in the Minſterie, I thinke, were ſo called, becauſe *Matthias* was choſen by lot. See then, they are not called Clerkes, ſo much becauſe they are the Lords lot, but becauſe they are allotted and choſen out of the people for that ſeruice: as the Leuites are called the peoples gift, Numbers 18.6. and the Prieſts office an office of ſeruice ; not of more merite or holineſſe, or an office of Lordly preeminence, but of miniſterie and ſeruice. *Auguſtine* therefore hath a notable ſaying: *Non nos digni, qui pro vobis oremus*; *vos indigni, qui pro nobis oretis*, *Pſal.*68. We are not onely worthie to pray for you, and you vnworthie to pray for vs: *Auditoribus ſuis, quibus verbum prædicauit, ſe commendauit Apoſtolus, ibid.* The Apoſtle commendeth himſelfe to their deuout prayers, to whom he preached. By this their error is confuted, that thinke the prayer of a Prieſt to be the rather heard for the merite and dignitie of his calling, howſoeuer elſe hee be affected in his prayer. So the Rhemiſts ſay, that a prayer not vnderſtood profiteth by the vertue of the worke wrought, and the office of the Prieſthood, *Annot.*1.*Corinth.*14.*ſect.*10.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie, *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ.ex Iſidor. Clericos hinc appellatos doctores noſtri dicunt, quia Matthias ſorte electus eſt:* Our doctors hold that Clerkes are ſo called, becauſe *Matthias* was choſen by lot: not that they were by any ſuch lot of difference ſeuered from the reſt of the people. So is the name Clergie expounded in the Ciuill law. *lib.*1.*tit.*6.*leg.*32.*authentic.*3.1.*Cleros dicitur &c.* They are ſo called, becauſe they muſt be choſen by lot, as *Matthias*, that is, by diuine election, not humane knowledge: So *decret.*21.*c.*1.the like notation is giuen out of *Iſodor.*

Colonienſ.part.2.cap.2. Clerici dicuntur, quia de ſorte domini ſunt, &c. Non quidem quòd à ſorte domini laicos ſecludamus, omnes enim qui Chriſto per Baptiſmum & fidem concorporati ſumus populus acquiſitionis eius ſumus, ſed quòd Clerici peculiari quadam ratione miniſterio Dei & Eccleſiæ dedicati ſunt: Clerkes are ſo called becauſe they are of the Lords lot, not that wee do exclude the lay ſort from Gods lot, for all that by Baptiſme and faith are incorporate into Chriſt, are the people of God, but becauſe Clerks after a more peculiar manner are conſecrate to the Miniſterie of God and his Church. This Councel preferreth Clerks before others, onely in reſpect of their outward function in the Church, not for any greater merite or holineſſe.

The ſeale of the holy Martyrs and confeſſors of Gods truth followeth: *Walter Brute* holy confeſſor: of the Chriſtian prieſthood Chriſt in expreſſe words ſpeaketh but little, *To make any difference betweene the prieſts and the reſt of the people; neither yet doth he vſe this name of* ſacerdos, *or* preſbyter *in the Goſpel, but ſome he calleth diſciples, ſome Apoſtles, &c. And S. Paul ſpeaking of Prieſts to Timothie and Titus, ſeemeth not to me to make any difference betweene the prieſts and the people, but that he would haue them to ſurmount other in knowledge and perfection of life, Fox.*pag.496.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: All Chriſtian people in Scripture are called prieſts, as Apocal.1. *He hath made vs kings and Prieſts to God his father: yet ought not all to preach in generall conuentions, yet priuately are they bound for inſtruction of their ſeruants, children, kinsfolke, &c. Fox.*pag.1111. *reſponſ.ad articul.*22.

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING THE election and inſtitution of Biſhops and Paſtors.

THis queſtion hath two parts: Firſt, of the election generally of Paſtors and Miniſters: Secondly, of the election of the Biſhop of Rome.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE election generally of all Biſhops and Paſtors.

The Papiſts.

THey ſay, that the election of Biſhops neither belongeth to the Clergie, nor the people, but wholly appertaineth to the Biſhop of Rome: as for the people, they haue (they ſay) nothing at all to doe in the election of their Paſtors, or ordaining of them, that neither their *ſuffragium, conſilium*, or *conſenſus*, ſuffrage, counſell, or conſent is to be required, *Bellarm.de clericis lib.*1. *cap.*7.&.8. 67. Error.

*Argum.*1. That the people are to be vtterly excluded, thus they would proue it: *Aaron* was onely elected of *Moſes*, without conſent of the people: ſo were the Apoſtles by our Sauiour: *Ergo*, the peoples conſent is not required, *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Who ſeeth not, that there is great difference betweene ordinary and extraordinary callings? ſuch as the calling of the Apoſtles was, and *Aarons* at the firſt, though the office of the high Prieſt afterward became ordinary. Alſo it followeth not, the Apoſtles were choſen without conſent of the people, when there were yet no faithfull and Chriſtian congregations, and becauſe they were paſtors of the whole world: *Ergo*, as well the peoples conſent may be wanting in the election of ordinary Biſhops and Paſtors, which haue their peculiar and proper charges, and there being now many faithfull and well inſtructed congregations. It is one thing to appoint Paſtors for the Church not yet planted, and another thing to conſtitute them in a Church alreadie reformed and inſtructed: for we reade of nations that haue been conuerted to the faith, by thoſe that had no calling of the Church, as a great nation of the Indians was by *Ædeſius* and *Frumentinus*, *Ruffin.lib.*1.9.and the Iberians by a captiue woman,*Ruffin.*1.10.

*Argum.*2. The people cannot iudge, who are fit to be paſtors, and their elections are tumultuous,as we may reade,how in the election of *Damaſus* there were 137,perſons ſlaine;and therefore it is not meete,nor conuenient, that the matter ſhould be committed to the people, either to elect,or ordaine: but whatſoeuer they did in times paſt, it was either by ſufferance or negligence of the Biſhops,*Bellarm.cap.*7.

Anſw. Firſt,meere popular elections were neuer allowed in any well ordered Church,neither was the allowance of their paſtors wholly referred to the people,neither did they beare the chiefe ſtroke, but the election was moderated by the wiſedome and grauitie of the Clergie, *Fulk.Tit.*1. *ſect.*2. Secondly, the queſtion is not betweene vs, concerning the ordaining of paſtors, for that belonged onely to the Elderſhip,and was done by laying on of their hands,1.Tim.4.14.but concerning the electing and chuſing of them.Thirdly,neither doe we diſpute, whether it be conuenient and neceſſarie at all times, but whether it be lawfull: for neither doe we affirme, that it is of the eſſence and ſubſtance of the calling of miniſters to be choſen by the voyces of the people: as though they were no miniſters, but vſurpers and intruders that are not ſo called: but whether it hath been at any time,and may yet be lawfull,to require the conſent of the people. Fourthly,it is falſe,that the people had this right by vſurpation,or els ſufferance of the paſtors:for *Cyprian* ſaith, it did,*De diuina authoritate deſcendere,lib.*1.*Epiſtol.*4.That this cuſtome was grounded vpon diuine authoritie, yea it was eſtabliſhed by the lawes of Kings: as there was a law made by *Lodouicus Pius* King of France, that Biſhops ſhould be ordayned by the free election of the Clergie and the people.

Fulk.Act.14.
22.

*Argum.*3. Therefore (ſay they) elections of Biſhops ought to be at the Popes aſſignement: for vnto *Peter* was committed the care of the vniuerſall Church, when hee badde *Peter* feede his ſheepe. Hereupon they are bold to affirme, that we haue neither true Biſhops nor Miniſters,becauſe they are not lawfully ſent, that is, as they interprete it, from the See Apoſtolike, *Bellarm. lib.*1.*cap.*3.8.*Rhemiſt.Rom.*10.*ſect.*5

Anſw. Firſt, the charge giuen to *Peter* beareth no ſuch ſenſe:that becauſe Chriſt bad him feede his ſheepe, therefore he and his ſucceſſors ſhould onely haue authoritie to conſecrate Miniſters: for if *Peter* had it by this graunt, other Elders and Paſtors had it in like ſort, to whom it as well appertained to feed the flocke of Chriſt, 1.Pet.5.2. And againe not *Peter* onely,but the reſt alſo of the Apoſtles did ordaine and conſecrate Paſtors and Elders, as it ſhall be ſhewed afterward.

Secondly,neither is it a good reaſon to condemne our Miniſterie,becauſe it hath not the Popes allowance: for euery Church hath a lawfull calling within it ſelfe, without ſending to forraine Prelates for their approbation. And if you aſke vs by whome our Miniſters were firſt called,ſeeing there were none but popiſh Biſhops in euery Church: we anſwere; that ſome had their calling in the popiſh Church, which afterward being more effectually called of God, became profitable teachers of the Goſpell. Neither is it neceſſarie, that the Church ſhould alwayes be bound to an ordinarie calling; when as the ſtate of the Church is ſo corrupted, and the gouernment thereof,that no good calling can be obtained: for then the Lord raiſeth vp ſome extraordinarily for the reformation of the Church, ſuch as we doubt not, but *Luther* was. In which and the like caſes, the ordinarie impoſition of hands by the Paſtors of the Church, being heretikes and idolaters, as it was in time of poperie,is not to be expected or ſtayed for, *Plura apud Fulk.annot. Rom* 10.*ſect.*5.

The Proteſtants.

Concerning election or choiſe to be made by the people,we are to put three caſes.Firſt,meere popular elections, wherein the people by multitude of voyces ſhould carry all away, are in no caſe, nor at any time to be allowed. Secondly, for the people to giue their voices in elections, which are moderated and gouerned by the graue and wiſe Paſtors and Elders, it hath been vſed in times paſt,and may be againe,and is in ſome places, where the ſtate of the Church, the condition and qualitie of the people will beare it. Thirdly,though the people neither beare ſway in the election,nor giue their ſuffrages and voyces,yet it is conuenient and requiſite,that their conſent ſhould be had, and publike teſtimonie: for the Miniſters ſhould bee ſuch as haue a good report of all, 1.*Tim.*3.7. *Fulk. Act.*14.*ſect.*3. But as for the Pope, let him keepe himſelfe, as a Biſhop in his owne Dioceſſe, hee hath nothing to doe with ordayning or electing of Miniſters in other Churches.

*Argum.*1. Numb.20.27.*Eleazar* was made Prieſt in *Aarons* place,in the ſight of all the congregation: *Ergo*, Miniſters ought to be ordained publikely in the ſight of the congregation: not in corners or priuate places, as they vſed to doe in time of Poperie: yea it is recorded of Pope *Iohn* the thirteenth, that he ordained Deacons in a ſtable. And herein they offended manifeſtly againſt their owne rules. For their decree is, *Nullus inuitis detur Epiſcopus,ſed Clerici & plebis conſen-*

Ex Celeſtin.
pap.diſtin.63.
cap.cleri.

ſus & deſiderium requiratur: Let no Biſhop be thruſt vpon any againſt their wils, but let the conſent and deſire of the people and Clergie be knowne.

*Argum.*2. We haue the example of the Apoſtles, Act.1.& 6.14.23. When *Matthias* was elected, the whole multitude was called together: and Act.6. the deacons were choſen by the whole multitude: *Ergo*, the people had an intereſt in times paſt in the election of Church officers: and this example of the Apoſtles may ſafely and lawfully be followed of the Church, when time and place ſerueth.

Bellarmine anſwereth: Firſt, the election of Deacons and Paſtors is not all one, neither is there the like reaſon. *Anſw.* They are both publike officers for the good of the Church; and therefore if the people haue any intereſt in the one, why not in the other? Secondly, this was done by the grant and ſufferance of the Apoſtles. *Anſw.* Yea the Apoſtles called them together, but by the direction of the holy Ghoſt: as Act.15. when the Church was aſſembled together vpon another occaſion, it is ſaid, it ſeemed good to vs, and the holy Ghoſt. Againe, in the election, beſide impoſition of hands, prayer was vſed, which was a chiefe part of that action: but the people had their intereſt in publike prayers, as being part of the congregation, and were not admitted thereunto at the pleaſure and will of men: wherefore it is not true, that it was a meere grant of men, that the people might be preſent at elections, but it ſo ſeemed good to the Apoſtles thereto directed by the ſpirit of God.

Now, whereas *Bellarmine* gaue vs this anſwere before, concerning the election of Deacons, that the reaſon is not alike betweene them and Paſtors: we do oppoſe the election of *Matthias* into the place of *Iudas*, no Deacon, but an Apoſtle, that it was done by the conſent and ſuffrage of the whole Church. *Ergo* the conſent of the people is requiſite in the election of Miniſters.

Bellarmine anſwereth, Firſt, this was done not of neceſſitie, but by toleration from *Peter*.

Contra. Three things are ſet downe, which were done in this action by the whole aſſembly. verſ.23. They preſented two: verſ.24. They prayed: verſe 26. They gaue forth their lottes: if any one of theſe was by permiſſion or ſufferance, then the reſt alſo: if they preſented by leaue, then they prayed alſo by licence, which were very abſurd. Againe, it is too great boldneſſe for them to imagine a licence granted from *Peter*, where the Scripture maketh no mention of any ſuch thing; and to the Apoſtles here aſſembled, which in commiſſion were equall vnto *Peter*.

Secondly, ſaith he, this was not ſo much an election, as a poſtulation or requeſt vnto God, that one might be choſen in *Iudas* place.

Contra. There is both an election and a poſtulation: the election is of two, which were preſented out of the whole number; the poſtulation is, that God would declare his will concerning thoſe two, which of them ſhould haue *Iudas* Apoſtleſhip.

Thirdly, ſaith he: one example doth not proue a thing to be *de iure diuino*: by diuine right. *Bellarmine ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, as one precept of Scripture as well proueth, as many precepts of the ſame thing: ſo alſo one act and example of the Apoſtles is of diuine authoritie, as well as many in the ſame caſe: for their actes proceeding of the ſame ſpirite, are euery one of the ſame power: vnleſſe they will ſay, the Apoſtles erred in ſome of their actes, wherein they were directed by the ſpirit of God, as they were in this, and by the warrant of Scripture. Secondly, if one example out of Scripture proue not the lawfulneſſe of the act; then both Chriſts fact in whipping out of the Temple, and *Paules* reprehenſion of *Peter* may be doubted of, being both but once done; and many other things beſide, whereof we finde but ſingle examples in Scripture: which were a great blaſphemie to ſay. Thirdly, yet to ſatisfie them to the full, we haue more then one example for the election of the people: as Act 6. The Deacons were ſo elected: act.14.23. Elders ordayned by election in euery citie.

*Argum.*3. But as for the right of elections in the Pope, it hath no ſhew of reaſon: for be it that *Peter* had onely the right of conſecration amongſt the Apoſtles, you doe but flatter your ſelues in thinking, that whatſoeuer right was in *Peter*, it muſt needes be in the Pope: for he is not *Peters* ſucceſſor, as we haue ſhewed before at large. But we will hold you rather to this point: that all the Apoſtles had as full right to ordaine and conſecrate by laying on of handes, as *Peter* had. Looke Act.6.6.& Act.13.3.&.Act.14.23. And if the Pope cannot haue all that which *Peter* had, much leſſe can he be capable of that which *Peter* neuer had.

*Argum.*4. We haue had good experience in England, of the Popes great diſcretion and wiſedome, in collation of ſpirituall preferments, and ordaining of Biſhops. About *anno.*1253. the Pope wrote a very imperious and commanding letter to the good Biſhop of Lincolne, *Robert Groſthead*, to beſtow a Canonſhip in Lincolne vpon his nephew, a boy; for ſo Popes call their baſtards: but he ſuffered the repulſe for that time. In the time of *Edward* the third, and *Richard* the ſecond, a certificate was ſent vp into the Chauncerie, of ſuch Eccleſiaſticall dignities, as were poſſeſſed by ſtrangers not inhabiting the land: and there were found aboue fourtie Deanries, Archdeconries

Fox.pag.323.

Fox.pag.429.

and prebends, and thoſe not the worſt, ſome worth one hundred, ſome two hundred, nay ſome foure hundred pound by the yeere; the Archdeaconrie of Canturburie was valued at ſeuen hundred Florences by the yeere, which a Cardinall of Rome had: And there were aboue a dozen Cardinall reſiant at Rome, that had at once the beſt and richeſt dignities in the land: beſide a great ſort of Italian prieſts, and others, that were beneficed in England. By this it may appeare, what good choiſe the Pope-holy father of Rome was wont to make in beſtowing Church dignities: and it were pittie but he ſhould haue the ordering of them ſtill, he did ſo wel diſpoſe of them when he had them.

5 Let *Auguſtine* ſpeake, who growing now old, was deſirous to knowe his ſucceſſor while he liued: he went not to Rome for the matter; but aſſembling the Church together at Hippo where he was Biſhop; in the preſence of two Biſhops beſide, and ſeuen Presbyters or Elders, *Aſtante clero & frequenti populo,* The whole Clergie, and a great ſort of people ſtanding by: *Auguſtine* himſelfe began firſt and ſaid, *Preſbyterum Eradium mihi ſucceſſorem volo:* I would haue *Eradius* Presbyter to be my ſucceſſor. Afterward, hearing how the people did approue and like of his motion, he deſired them to ſubſcribe to that which was done, *Rogo vt dignemini geſtis ſubſcribere, qui poteſtis.* And when they held their peace, he vrged them further, ſaying, *Hîc mihi reſponſione veſtra opus eſt, de hac aſſenſione aliquid acclamate:* I muſt needes haue you make ſome anſwere, and teſtifie your conſent by your acclamation: *A populo acclamatum eſt, fiat, fiat, dictum vicies quinquies:* The people cryed out, let it be as thou haſt ſaid, let it be, and this was repeated fiue and twentie times, *Auguſtin. Epiſtol.* 110. By this example it appeareth, though the people made not the choyſe, yet their conſent was demaunded. And thus a Biſhop was elected, and no word ſent vp to Rome at all.

Breuicul.collation.2.cap.5.

Neither was it the cuſtome of the Church ſo to doe in thoſe dayes: for whereas the Donatiſts obiected againſt *Cecilianus* Biſhop of Carthage, becauſe he ſtayed not to be ordained of the chiefe Biſhop of Numidia, *Vt princeps Epiſcopus à principe ordinaretur:* That one chiefe Biſhop might be ordained of another: *Auguſtine* anſwered, that there was another cuſtome of the Catholike Church, *Vt non Numidiæ, ſed propinquiores Epoſcopi, Epiſcopum eccleſiæ Carthaginis ordinarent:* That not the Biſhop of Numidia, but thoſe Biſhops that were neereſt at hand, ſhould ordaine the Biſhop of Carthage. So we ſee, they were not onely bold to chooſe an inferiour Biſhop, as was *Eradius* of Hippo, without the Popes conſent: but they would aduenture to ordaine a chiefe Metropolitane Biſhop euen of Carthage, without the Popes leaue.

The teſtimonie of antiquitie herein is plentifull: *Anacletus epiſtol.2. Eiectionem ſummorum ſacerdotum ſibi Dominus reſeruauit, licèt electionem illorum bonis ſacerdotib, & ſpiritualib. populis conceſſiſſet:* God hath reſerued to himſelfe the eiection or depoſition of the chiefe prieſts, though he hath granted the election of them to good miniſters, and faithfull people.

Concil. Carthaginenſ.3. can.22. Nullus ordinetur Clericus non probatus vel Epiſcoporum examine, vel populi teſtimonio: Let none be ordained a Clergie man, vnleſſe he be firſt examined of the Biſhop, or approued by the teſtimonie of the people.

Leo epiſtol.90. cap.1. Nulla ratio ſinit, vt inter epiſcopos habeantur, qui nec à Clericis ſunt electi, nec à plebib. ſunt expetiti. There is no reaſon, that they ſhould be counted Biſhops, which are neither choſen of the Clergie, nor deſired of the people.

Concil. Parrhiſienſ. can.8. Nullus ciuib. inuitis ordinetur epiſcopus, niſi quem populi & Clericorum electio pleniſſima quæſierit voluntate: Let no Biſhop be ordained againſt the will of the people or citizens, but ſuch an one, as the Clergie ſhall chooſe, and the people deſire. By theſe teſtimonies of Councels, and of the Biſhops of Rome themſelues, and many more, which might be alleadged, it doth and may further appeare; that the intereſt of election is not in the Pope, but that in former times both the voice of the Clergie and aſſent of the peoples was required.

We haue here alſo teſtimonie of both the lawes: for although tumultuous, turbulent and meere popular elections are condemned, as *Cod. lib.9. tit.* 30. *l.*2. *Leo* the Emperour made a law, that he which did tumultuouſly gather voices of the multitude to obtaine any dignitie, ſhould both looſe the place he ſought, and be ſeuerely puniſhed likewiſe. *diſtinct.63. c.6. Non eſt permittendum turbis, &c.* The election of Clerkes muſt not be left to the multitude. 1. *decret. Gregor. lib.1. tit.6. c.2, Electus ad clamorem populi. &c.* He that is choſen by the confuſed noyſe of the people muſt not be confirmed: for the rude multitude may eaſily be corrupted.

Although then meere popular elections are not to be approued: yet that both the whole Clergie and the people ought to giue conſent in the election of their Paſtors, it is conſonant to both the lawes: *Cod. lib.1. tit.6. leg.*11. *Arcadius, ad eccleſiam ſunt promouendi. &c.* They muſt be preferred to the gouernment of the Church, that are of the ſame citie, as (they no doubt) which are beſt knowne to the people.

Now the Canon law is moſt pregnant, not onely requiring the preſence of the people, as reſpecting their deſire, but their conſent alſo and election. *diſtinct.61. c.13. Nullus inuitis detur Epiſcopus,*

pus: No Biſhop ought to be thruſt vpon a people againſt their will; the conſent of the Clergie and people muſt be required: *Celeſtin.diſt.*63.11. *Gelaſius, Vniuerſi in vnum conſentiant*: All muſt conſent to elect one: *cap.*12.*Stephan.Conuocato Clero & populo*: The Clergie and people beeing called together, let ſuch an one be choſen &c. and many ſuch Canons there are beſide.

The holy Martyrs alſo conſent with vs. *Thomas Benet*: if the Biſhop of Rome would doe all things after Gods ordinance, then would I beleeue him to be a good Biſhop ouer his owne Dioces, and to haue no further power. *Fox*.pag.1039.

Maiſter *Philpot* holy martyr: *By the word of God the Biſhop of Rome hath no more authoritie, then the Biſhop of London hath*, pag.1811. He hath therefore no right to meddle in the election of other Biſhops, that belong not to his charge.

THE SECOND PART, CONCERNING the election of the Pope.

The Papiſts.

THey ſay, that the ſureſt and ſafeſt way and ſimply the beſt, is that which is now vſed, to chooſe the Pope by, namely, by the Colledge of Cardinals: That whoſoeuer is by two parts of the ſayd Cardinals elected, is rightly the ſucceſſor of Saint *Peter*, and the vndoubted Pope of Rome.

68. Error.

Argum.1. None can better iudge who is fitteſt for the papacie, then they which are the Popes Counſellers, and know the affaires of the Church. *Ergo*, the Cardinals the meeteſt men. *Bellarm. lib.*1 *de Clericis.cap* 9.

Anſw. Firſt, you take that for graunted, which we inſtantly deny, that the Cardinals of Rome are alwayes the wiſeſt and moſt learned: as though a Cardinals hat doth bring with it ſuch aboundance of vertue and learning: nay a title of a Cardinalſhip is ſooner obtayned by fauour then deſert, by maſſes of money, then weight of learning. And good reaſon, ſeeing that the Cardinals make a gaine of the papacie: For an Aſſe loaden with golde ſhall ſooner enter into the Caſtle of Saint Angell, then any other comming with a cart loade of bookes: they that reade Cardinall *Wolſeyes* inſtructions ſent to *Steuen Gardiner* at Rome, what great promiſes of money and preferment, may eaſily vnderſtand the diſpoſition of the Pope-holy Electors of Rome: Seeing they make a gayne of the Pope, why ſhould he not ſet Cardinalſhips to ſaile? For if *Iacobus* Archbiſhop of Mentz payed 27000. florences for his pall, what thinke you a Cardinals hat is to be valued at, which is a higher degree, then either Biſhop or Archbiſhop?

Fox.pag.992.

Fox.pag.794.

We ſay then, that there may be wiſer and more learned men of the Clergie in Rome then the Cardinals: and that the whole Clergie may better iudge, then a few ambitious Cardinals, and are freer from corruption: And as concerning the affaires of the Church, Biſhops are like to know better, what appertaineth to the office of a Biſhop, then Prieſts and Deacons, as moſt of the Cardinals are.

Secondly, how fit the Cardinals for the moſt part are, to manage the gouernment of the vniuerſall Church, it may appeare by the notable choice, that the Popes haue made of their aſſiſtants. *Sixtus* the fourth made *Petrus Ruerius* his nephew a Cardinall, a young man of 26. yeeres: who in ryot and wantonnes in two yeeres ſpent vpon harlots two hundred thouſand crownes, and dyed miſerably being waſted and conſumed by his inordinate luſt.

Ex Balæo, Functio & alijs.

Leo the tenth was made Cardinall, being but thirteene yeeres olde, by *Innocentius* the eight: *Paulus* the third made *Alexander Farneſius* his ſonne or baſtard Cardinall being a very youth, to whom he appointed a Tutor and gouernor. *Iulius* the third brought *Innocentius* a ſtripling his minion, into the order of the Cardinals, who when they ſaid vnto him, *What doe you ſee in this young man, worthy of this honor? he anſwered, what did you ſee in me, when you choſe me to be Pope?* Thinke you not now that theſe Cardinals, both for their youth, being void of experience, and for their lewd diſpoſition, being without any good inclination, were very meete and fit perſons to be employed in the waightie regiment of the Church?

Argum.2. It appeareth by the continuance to be the beſt: for it hath now endured foure hundred yeeres: and by the effect, for the See of Rome hath neuer been freer from Schiſmes, then ſince this order was taken for the Popes election, *Bellarm.cap*.9.

Anſw. Firſt, how can it be of ſuch long continuance, ſeeing by your owne confeſſion, it exceedeth not foure hundred yeeres? Nay who will not graunt, that the ancient order of electing the Biſhop of Rome by the whole Clergie, and conſent of the people of Rome, with the confirmation of the Emperour, which laſted a thouſand yeeres, till this new deuice came in place, was farre more ancient and durable? Secondly, how well the Cardinals election hath kept the See of Rome from Schiſme, experience of former times teacheth vs: In Pope *Vrbanus* time the ſixt, there were two Popes many yeeres together; and one did ſo deadly purſue the other, that Pope *Vrbane* at once cut off fiue of the Cardinals heads: might they not haue great ioy, thinke you,in chooſing ſuch a Fox.pag.434. Pope ? In the time of Pope *Iohn* the 23. there were three Popes at once. In the Councell of Baſile Pope *Eugenius* was depoſed, and counted an heretike. And yet for all this, the Cardinals are the onely preſeruers and maintainers of the peace of the Apoſtolike See.

The Proteſtants.

Though it doe not greatly concerne vs, what manner of election is vſed at Rome: (for vnto vs the election of the meaneſt Biſhop in the land is as much, yea and more, then the glorious enthronizing of the Pope:) yet it ſhall not be amiſſe briefly to ſhew, how theſe great antiquaries are become enemies of antiquitie, refuſing the ancient manner of election, which was vſed in Rome for 1000. yeeres together, namely, that the Biſhop there ſhould be elected by the whole Clergie,with the conſent of the People and confirmation of the Emperor.

*Argum.*1. It is a plaine caſe, that till the yeere 685. in all their elections they waited for the authoritie of the chiefe Magiſtrate, the Emperour, or the deputie of Italie. But then came in the conſtitution of *Conſtantine* the fourth, that their elections ſhould be firme without the conſent of the Emperor. Yet for all this conſtitution, *anno.*810. Pope *Adriane* gaue vnto *Carolus magnus* full authoritie to elect the Biſhop of Rome: and *anno.*961.*Leo* the ninth,made the ſame grant to *Otho* firſt Germane Emperour. This continued in force till *Alexander* the ſecond his time, who was elected firſt without the Emperours conſent, but afterward repenting of it, he proteſted openly, that he would be no longer Pope vnleſſe he had the Emperors conſent; and thereupon he was depoſed by *Hildebrand*, and throwne into priſon. This was more then 1000.yeeres after Chriſt: ſince that time the Emperour hath been excluded,and ſhut out from their elections: But all this while notwithſtanding,though the Emperours conſent ſometime was not neceſſary,yet the Clergie of Rome,and the people retained their ancient priuiledge ſtill. So we ſee by this new erection of the Colledge of Cardinals, there is great iniurie offered to three eſtates, the Emperour, the Fox.pag.4.5. Clergie of Rome,the people.

*Argum.*2. This new forme of election hath not ſtood continually in force, ſince it was firſt founded. For in the Councell of Conſtance,*ſeſſ.*40.they proceeded to the election of a new Pope, not ſtaying for the reſt of the Cardinals, but appointing other electors in their roume. In the Councell of Baſile,the Duke of Sauoy was elected Pope, by other electors, then Cardinals: Nay there was but one Cardinall,namely *Arelatenſis*;the reſt were Biſhops,Doctors,and others. And though they will ſay perchance that this Pope was choſen in a ſchiſme,for they hold the Councell of Baſile to be ſchiſmaticall: yet they cannot,neither doe denie, but that Pope *Martin* the 5.who was choſen at Conſtance,was rightfully Pope.

Gregorie the 7.was eſtabliſhed in the Papacie, and yet not one of the Cardinals conſented to his election. *Iohn* the 24.became a Pope after this manner: When the Cardinals were aſſembled together to chuſe them a Pope, they deſired him to nominate whom he would to bee Pope,for they feared him: then he made this anſwere, *Date mihi chlamydem Petri, & ego dabo Pontifici futuro*, Giue me S.*Peters* robe or cloake,and I will giue it to him that ſhall be our Biſhop: and ſo he put it vpon his owne ſhoulders,and ſaid,Behold your Pope,*ex Balæo,Functio,& alijs*. Thus wee ſee that the Popes and Papiſts themſelues haue been the chiefe ouerthrowers and peruerters of this new forme of election by the Cardinals.

3 In *Auguſtines* time the reſt of the Biſhops of Italie neere vnto Rome,ſhould ſeeme to haue had ſome intereſt in the election of the Biſhop: *Romanæ eccleſiæ Epiſcopum non ordinat Epiſcopu aliquis Metropolitanus,ſed de proximo Oſtienſis Epiſcopus:* The Biſhop of Rome is not ordained by any Metropolitane,but by the Biſhop of Oſtia that is neere at hand,*Breuicul.collation.lib.*2.*cap.*5.

Other monuments alſo of antiquitie wee haue for this matter: When as *Syluerius* was made Pope without the Emperours conſent, *Sacerdotes ſecundum morem antiquum non ſubſcripſerunt:* The Clergie men, according to the old cuſtome, refuſed to ſubſcribe to his election: *anno* 537.*ex pontifical.*

Hadrianus 1.*anno* 796. gaue vnto *Charles* the Emperour, *poteſtatem eligendi Papam*, power to chuſe the Pope. *Gregorie* the 4. confirmed the ſame graunt,*anno* 830. and refuſed to bee Pope,till the Emperour had confirmed his election.

Alexander the 2. who a little before in a Councell held at Mantua,had decreed that the Pope ſhould be choſen onely by the Cardinals; yet afterward repented him, and publikely in a ſermon profeſſed, that he would not continue in the Papacie without the Emperours licence. *Gregorie* the 7.the greateſt enemie to the Imperiall crowne and dignitie,who vtterly excluded the Emperour from the election of the Pope,yet lying on his death-bed repented him, and deſired a Cardinall to goe to the Emperour,and craue pardon of him for all the wrongs he had done him: *Sic Antoninus,Vincentius,de actis huius Papæ.*

We haue alſo euident teſtimonie herein of their owne law, that the Biſhop of Rome ought not to be elected without the conſent of the Emperour,the Clergie,and people.

Firſt, for the right and authoritie of the Emperour in the election of the Pope: *Hadriane*, with the conſent of a great Synode, conſiſting of an 153. Biſhops and Abbots, aſſembled in the palace of Laterane, did giue vnto *Charles* the Emperour, *poteſtatem eligendi pontificem*, power to chuſe the Biſhop of Rome, *diſt.63.ca.22.* So likewiſe *Leo* Biſhop of Rome in a Synode at Rome, with the conſent of the Clergie and people of Rome, did giue the ſame authoritie to *Otho* the Emperour, *diſt.63.ca.23.*

And for the conſent of the whole Clergie, and not of the Cardinals onely, we reade, *diſt.79.c.1. Nicholaus* 2. in this manner, *Si quis Apoſtolicæ ſedi, &c.* If any man be inthronized into the See Apoſtolicall, without the generall conſent of the Cardinals, and of other religious Clerks, he is not Apoſtolicall, but an Apoſtata.

And thirdly, the intereſt of the people together with the Clergie in the election of the Pope, is warranted by their owne Canons: *Cauſ.7. quæſt.1.ca.5. Cornelius* was choſen, *de Clericorum pene omnium teſtimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit ſuffragio, &c.* by the teſtimonie of the Clergie, and the ſuffrage of the people, that was preſent. And *diſtinct.26.ca.1.* there is a latter decree of Pope *Nicholas*, that beſide the choice of the Cardinals, *reliquus Clerus & populus ad conſenſum nouæ electionis accedat*: the reſt of the Clergie and people ſhould giue conſent to the new election. Thus wee ſee that this new deuice of electing the Pope by Cardinals, is againſt the ancient practiſe of the Church and their owne Canons.

Iohn Wicklif holie confeſſor, was condemned for ſaying, that the election of the Pope by Cardinals, was inuented and brought in by the diuell, *articul.*40. Seeing then we haue both the teſtimonie and practiſe of Popes to the contrarie, againſt this manner of election by Cardinals, and the truth alſo ſealed by holy men; we haue no reaſon but to reiect and diſcommend the ſame.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING THE degrees and orders of Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters.

This queſtion hath three parts: firſt, of the ſeuen degrees of popiſh prieſthood. Secondly, of the difference and diſtinction of Biſhops and other Miniſters. Thirdly, of the inſtitution of Cardinals, a new degree of the popiſh Clergie.

THE FIRST PART OF THE SEVEN degrees or orders Eccleſiaſticall.

The Papiſts.

Though they haue diuers degrees of dignitie in the Church, as Popes, Cardinals, Patriarches, Primates, and ſuch like: yet they make but ſeuen Eccleſiaſticall orders, which are conferred ſolemnely by certaine rites and ceremonies by their Biſhops: And they are theſe, *Oſtiarij*, doore-keepers, *Exorciſtæ*, Exorciſts, *Lectores*, Readers, *Acolythi*, Attenders, *Subdiaconi*, Subdeacons, *Diaconi*, Deacons, and the higheſt degree, *Sacerdotes*, Prieſts; vnto the which all the other are but riſes and ſteps. All theſe they maintaine to bee eccleſiaſticall orders, and to bee retained in the Church, *Bellarm.cap.11.Rhemiſt.1.Tim.3.ſect.7.* 69. Error.

They haue no proofe nor warrant out of Scripture, for theſe friuolous orders, but onely a ſhew of antiquitie, as they alleage certaine Canons out of the 4. Councell of Carthage, where ſuch offices are reckoned vp, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, to let paſſe this, that the Councell may bee ſuſpected for the credit thereof, ſeeming wholy to be patched out of the Popes decrees. And whereas *Auguſtine* with other is ſaid to haue ſubſcribed to this Councell, therein appeareth ſome forgerie: for *Can.*104. it was thus decreed, *Crimine adulterij notabuntur, &c.* They are touched with the crime of adulterie, that hauing deuoted themſelues vnto God, doe afterward runne to ſecular mariage. Yet *Auguſtine* is of another iudgement, *Non ipſæ nuptiæ talium damnandæ iudicantur:* The mariages of ſuch we condemne not or diſanull, but their fraudulent purpoſe, *de Bon.viduitat.cap.9.* But he that ſaith, ſuch are adulterers, diſanulleth their mariage: therefore *Auguſtine* would not againſt his owne iudgement haue agreed to this Canon. Secondly, we denie not but they had ſuch offices, as Readers, to reade the text of the Scriptures; Exorciſts to caſt out diuels, which was an extraordinarie gift for the time; Acoluthiſts, yong men appointed to attend vpon the Biſhop for their better inſtruction; Doore-keepers, that kept the entrie of the Church, that no heathen perſon or excommunicate ſhould enter. But theſe were both diuers offices, then are now appointed for them in the popiſh Church: for they make them now, all or the moſt, miniſters and ſeruitors for the idolatrous ſeruice of the Maſſe, which in thoſe daies was not heard of: neither though there were ſuch offices and ſeruices in the Church, were they made orders and degrees of the Miniſterie. Thirdly, they had other offices beſide, which now are not in vſe, no not amongſt the Papiſts: for they had alſo ſingers, labourers,

bourers,confeſſors,diggers or Sextons. *Concil.Carthag.*4.*can.*12.there is an eight degree of Pſalmiſts added. *Concil.*1.*ſub Sylueſtro* 1. there is another order found out, which are there called *cuſtodes Martyrum*,keepers of the Martyrs. There were alſo *foſſarij*,diggers and labourers, as appeareth in the Epiſtle of *Ignatius.* So that if you will make all thoſe offices vſed in time paſt in the Church,ſo many orders of the miniſterie,you muſt make ten or eleuen; more, then you doe acknowledge,or vſe in your Church.

The Proteſtants.

THe queſtion is not betweene vs and our aduerſaries in this place, concerning the titles and dignities annexed to the Miniſterie, as of Biſhops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Prouoſts, but of the ſeuerall orders of the Miniſterie: For Biſhops and other Miniſters doe not differ in order, but in office of gouernment. They hold that there are ſeuen ſeuerall ſuch orders, which haue their ſeuerall rites of conſecration,and peculiar offices in the Church allotted them. But we content our ſelues with thoſe orders onely and degrees as neceſſarie, which the holie Scripture hath commended.

*Argum.*1. As for the names and offices of Subdeacons, Readers, Exorciſts,Acolythi,Doorekeepers,we haue no ſuch warrant out of the Scripture, to make them orders of the Church: and therefore we condemne them. All neceſſarie orders for the edifying and building of the Church, the Scripture hath preſcribed vs,Epheſ.4.11.there are all offices ſet downe needfull for the doctrine,inſtruction,and edifying of the Church,*Fulk.Epheſ.*4.*ſect.*4. Wherefore away with theſe popiſh orders,inuented by men. But as for other offices and ſeruices, which ſhall be thought meete for the affayres and buſines of the Church,they may be retained and kept,but not as new orders of the Miniſterie.

*Argum.*2. Theſe offices are firſt Idolatrous, as they are now vſed among the Papiſts: for the Deacons,Subdeacons,Acolythi,were to attend vpon the Prieſt at Maſſe. Secondly,ſome of their offices were ridiculous;as to ſweepe the Church,to driue out dogs,and to hold a flye-flap of Peacocks feathers,to keepe the flyes from falling into the Communion cup. Thirdly, they were diſtinguiſhed,by ridiculous ornaments and attire, which were proper to euery one of them: as it ſhall appeare now in their deſcription.

Clemens conſtitut.lib.8. cap.15.

From the Prieſt when he was degraded,they tooke the Chalice,patine,and hoſt,that he ſhould haue no power any more to offer ſacrifice: they ſcraped his nayles with a peece of glaſſe, and ſo tooke away his annoynting: and laſtly, they tooke away his prieſtly ornaments, the Cheſile, which ſignified charitie; the Stole, that repreſented the ſigne of our Lord. From the Deacons in their degradation,they took firſt the booke of the Goſpels,and ſo all power to reade the Goſpels: Then they tooke away his Dalmatike,a ſigne of his Leuiticall office, and the white Stole behinde his backe that ſignified innocencie.

From the Subdeacon they tooke the booke of the Epiſtles,that he ſhould haue no more power to reade them; alſo the emptie Chalice, and Subdeacons veſture: his office was to ſerue and miniſter to the Deacons at the Altar.

The Acolythi did light the candles in the Church, and brought wine and water to the Altar in pitchers and bottels: and in his degradation there was taken from him, an emptie flaggon or bottle,and a candleſticke,with a waxe candle put out.

The order of exorciſme was taken away, by depriuing him from power to reade in the booke of exorciſmes.

From the Reader they tooke the booke of Church-lectures or leſſons. Laſt of all, from the Doore-keeper was taken the keyes of the Church: And ſo was he depriued of all power to open or ſhut the Church doores,and to ring the bels, *Ex Fox pag.*2134.

Thus we ſee, how much theſe offices are degenerate from the ancient vſe: Firſt,they are all but Miniſters and attendants for the abominable ſacrifice of the Maſſe, which in thoſe daies was not knowne: for the Acolythus or waiter waiteth vpon the Subdeacon, the Subdeacon vpon the Deacon, and all of them vpon the Prieſt at Maſſe. Secondly, whereas then the Exorciſts had a peculiar grace of God to caſt out diuels: their Exorciſts doe but reade certaine exorciſmes in bookes: their Readers onely reade the text of Scripture; now they reade the Legends of popiſh Saints. Then in time of perſecution,when Chriſtians aſſembled in the night,the waiters had the charge to light the candles: but now they doe light them at noone day.

*Argum.*3. Theſe offices haue not been in vſe theſe many yeeres among the Papiſts themſelues: for many times the Sexton or his boy,doe execute the charge both of Acolythiſts, Oſtiaries and Readers,yea of Deacons and Subdeacons alſo,when the Prieſt with his boy can diſpatch a Maſſe. Neither are theſe orders retained amongſt them, for any ſpeciall ſeruice or office,but onely as preparatories,and ſteps and degrees to the prieſthood,*Fulk.annot.*1.*Timoth.*2 *ſect.*7.

Let vs now conſult with antiquitie: *Damaſus* ſometime Biſhop of Rome, thus ſaith: *Non amplius,quàm duos ordines,&c.* Wee know but two orders to haue been among the Diſciples of our

Lord: that is, 12. Apoſtles, and 70. Diſciples, *Epiſtol.4.* And it followeth, *Vnde iſte tertius proceſſerit, ignoramus:* From whence this third order hath proceeded, wee know not. And that which is brought in without reaſon, muſt bee rooted out, *diſtinct.68.ca.5.* If *Damaſus* miſliked of a third order, much more of ſixe or ſeuen new orders: and theſe being inuented without any cauſe or reaſon, by his rule muſt be extirped and rooted out.

And what is to be thought of theſe popiſh degrees, the Councell of Colen aduiſeth vs: *Part.3. cap.31. Iam eò ventum eſt, vt 4. illi minores ordines Oſtiarij, Exorciſtæ, Pſalmiſtæ, Lectores, præter nomen nihil in eccleſia retinerent, illorumque loco tenues aliquot homines laici per eccleſiæ prælatos minoris compendij gratia ſubrogantur:* It is now come to paſſe, that the foure leſſe orders of Doore-keepers, Exorciſts, Pſalmiſts, Readers, beſide their name, haue no other office in the Church, and in their ſtead ſome ſillie poore fellowes of the lay ſort are appointed by the prelates, by a more compendious way. How then call you thoſe orders, which haue a name without office, and whereof the lay ſort are capable, as it is now practiſed in poperie?

Let vs further ſee how theſe ſeuen popiſh orders may ſtand by their law: *Cod.lib.1.tit.5.l.3. Honorius. In eccleſia non debet eſſe maior numerus, &c.* There muſt not bee a greater number in the Church, then the goods thereof or reuenewes will ſuffice to maintaine: but few Churches are able to maintaine ſo many orders, nay ſome Churches haue not left ſo much, as to keep one poore Vicar; how then ſhould ſo many vnneceſſarie orders be maintained?

And concerning their owne Canons, beſide the decree of *Damaſus* alleaged before, *diſt.68.c.5.* the like decree hath *Innocent.3.decret.Gregor.lib.1.tit.14.ca.9. Sacros ordines dicimus diaconatum & preſbyteratum, &c.* Sacred orders wee call Deacons and Presbyters, for theſe two the Primitiue Church is found onely to haue had: and in the ſame place he denieth Subdeacons to be numbred amongſt the ſacred orders. The very like words hath the Maſter of Sentences, *lib.4.diſt.24.l.* That the Primitiue Church had but two orders: *& de his ſolis præceptum Apoſtoli habemus:* and the Apoſtle giueth charge concerning no more, &c.

Now concerning theſe orders in particular: Firſt, that the office of Doore-keepers is not now neceſſarie, but had then ſome vſe, when as Iewes and Gentiles dwelt amongſt Chriſtians: ſee the iudgement of your owne writer, *Eſpenc.1.Tim.p.226 g.* And in the ſame place he ſheweth out of *Chryſoſtome*, how it belonged to the office of the Deacon, to admit into the Church, and ſhut out. Alſo your owne Maſter of Sentences ſaith, that Chriſt tooke this office vpon him, when he whipped the buyers and ſellers out of the temple: and that Chriſt, when he ſaid, *I am the doore*, ſhewed himſelfe to bee the doore-keeper, *lib.4.diſt.24.f.* But if Chriſt were a doore-keeper, what reaſon haue they to make it the leaſt office in the Church?

The ſecond degree is of Readers; which is not a diſtinct office in the Church: for in ſome places it was the office of the Deacon, in ſome of the Miniſter, in ſome it belonged to the Biſhop to reade the Scriptures, eſpecially on Feſtiuall daies, *Hiſtor.tripart.lib.9 cap.39.* And Chriſt, whom your Maſter ſaith did fulfill the office of a Reader in his owne perſon, after he had read in the booke did interprete and expound it: ſo that to reade Scripture and expound it, doth belong to the ſame office. And though we denie not, but that it is lawfull, and many times conuenient, for one to reade, and another to preach, as Saint *Paul* did, Act.13.15. yet for this cauſe they need not bring in a new office into the Church of onely Readers.

The third degree is of Exorciſts: whoſe office was to exorcize infants in baptiſme, that were vexed of euill ſpirits, by adiuring them. Firſt, we ſay that this miraculous gift is now ceaſed in the Church, and the bare name and title thereof onely remaineth. Secondly, this office of exorcizing, S. *Chryſoſtome* ſaith belonged vnto Deacons: *ſic Eſpenc.1.Timoth p.227.i.* ſo that a ſpeciall office needed not for that ſeruice. Thirdly, and *Origen* ſaith, *Iudaicum eſt adiurare dæmonia:* It was a cuſtome among the Iewes to adiure ſpirits, *Tract.35.in Math.* And your owne gloſſe ſaith, that *Salomon* found out a certaine kinde of exorcizing, *diſtinct.21.c.1.* then can it not bee an office of the Goſpell. Fourthly, *Iſidore* ſaith, it belonged to Exorciſts to looke to the fabrick and ruines of the Church, *de Eccleſiaſt.offic.cap.13.* So that they themſelues are vncertaine what the office of Exorciſts ſhould be.

The fourth degree is of Acolythiſts, which are interpreted followers: for ſo the Greeke word ἀκόλουθος, ſignifieth, whoſe office (they ſay) is to attend vpon the lampes or lights of the Church. Firſt, whereas your Maſter ſaith, that they in the old Teſtament did ſhew a forme of this office, that dreſſed the lampes in the temple, *lib.4.diſt.24.f.* then can it not bee a calling in the new Teſtament, being inſtituted in the old. Secondly, he ſaith in the ſame that Chriſt did beare this office, where he ſaith, *I am the light of the world:* by the ſame reaſon the Apoſtles alſo were *Acolythi*, to whom Chriſt ſaid, *you are the light of the world.* Who ſeeth not what ſimple grounds they haue of their ſuperſtitious and ſuperfluous offices? Thirdly, theſe *Acolythi*, or Miniſters or attendants, were ſuch as waited vpon the Biſhop in his domeſticall offices, both for greater honour, and to auoide further ſuſpition, they being alwaies witneſſes of the Biſhops acts: which function of the

Acolythi, Bellarmine ſaith, that *Caluin* found out of his owne braine: yet is the ſame alleaged by *Eſpenc.* out of the Canons, *1.Timoth.p.215.b.*

Fiftly, concerning the office of Subdeacons: firſt it is certaine, that they were employed as cariers of letters vnder the Biſhops, by whom they ſent their epiſtles and meſſages, as *Eſpenc.* ſheweth out of S. *Cyprian, Comment.in* 1. *Timoth p.*214.*a.* But this was no Eccleſiaſticall function, and therefore they were no Eccleſiaſtical officers. Secondly, I haue ſhewed before out of the decree of ***Innocentius***, that Subdeacons in times paſt were not counted amongſt the ſacred orders.

Thus we ſee what ſmall warrant the Church of Rome hath for theſe fiue ſuperfluous orders: as for the other degrees of Deacons and Miniſters, wee refuſe them not, though wee denie them to haue any ſuch office to ſerue at the Maſſe Altar: whereof I ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake afterward in the Controuerſie as touching the Sacrament of Order: and therefore of purpoſe I doe forbeare in this place.

What the holy Martyrs their opinion was of theſe popiſh orders, and their ridiculous apparell, it appeareth by Doctor *Taylor* holy Martyr, who when the Biſhop came to degrade him, vtterly refuſed to put on the popiſh prieſtly garments, calling them apiſh toyes, and toying trumperie, fit for boyes to laugh at, *Fox* pag. 1324.

Biſhop *Ridley* Martyr, in the like caſe alſo refuſed, calling the aforeſaid veſtures, whereby the popiſh orders are diſtinguiſhed, fooliſh and abominable, and too fond for a vice in a play. pag. 1768.

Biſhop *Cranmer* alſo, as *Boner* was buſie in degrading him from the higheſt degree to the loweſt, he mildly ſaid, All this needed not, I had my ſelfe done with this geare long agoe, pag. 1883. Wherefore together with theſe holy Martyrs, wee condemne theſe deuiſed degrees of popiſh orders, with their fooliſh appurtenances, as ſuperſtitious, abominable, and Antichriſtian.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE DIFFErence of Biſhops and other Miniſters.

The Papiſts.

70. Error. WE differ from them in two points: Firſt, they ſay, that Biſhops are not onely in a higher degree of ſuperioritie to other Miniſters, but they are as Princes of the Clergie, and other Miniſters as ſubiects, and in all things to bee commaunded by them. Secondly, they affirme that Biſhops are onely properly Paſtors, and that to them onely it doth appertaine to preach, and that other Miniſters haue no authoritie without their licence or conſent, to preach at all, and that not principally or chiefly, but ſoly and wholy to them appertaineth the right of conſecrating and giuing orders.

For the firſt, for the princely authoritie of Biſhops, whom they would haue obeyed in al things; they wreſt theſe and ſuch like places of Scripture, as 2.Cor.1.9. I write vnto you, to know whether you will be obedient in all things: *Ergo*, they muſt be abſolutely obeyed.

Anſ. The Apoſtle challengeth onely obedience in ſuch things, as he ſhould commaund agreeable to Gods word: For if I my ſelfe (ſaith he) preach another Goſpell, hold me accurſed, *Gal.1. Fulk.annot.1.Cor.2.ſect.3.*

Argum.2. Againſt an Elder receiue no accuſation vnder two or three witneſſes, 1.Tim.5.19. ***Ergo***, the authoritie of Biſhops is abſolute and princelike: ***Videmus Epiſcopum iudicem eſſe preſbyterorum, proinde verum principem:*** We ſee the Biſhop is the iudge of the Elders: ***Ergo***, a prince ouer them, *Bellar.cap.*14.

Anſw. Firſt, it followeth not, Biſhops haue iuriſdiction and authoritie ouer other Miniſters: ***Ergo***, they are princes ouer them. Can there be no preeminence and ſuperioritie in the Church, but it muſt needes be princelike? Is euery iudge a prince ouer thoſe, which are brought before him to be iudged? 2. *Timothie* had no ſuch princelike authoritie, for here it is reſtrained and limited, a rule is ſet downe by the Apoſtle which he muſt obſerue: ***Ergo***, his authoritie was not abſolute. Thirdly, S. *Paul* was ſo farre offe from making ***Timothie*** a prince in the Church at Epheſus, that he would rather haue him not to rebuke, but to exhort the Elders as fathers, the younger men as brethren, chap.5.1. Where now is his princely authoritie become, whereas he maketh his ſubiects (as our aduerſaries call inferior Miniſters) his fathers and brethren?

71. Error. For the ſecond, they reaſon thus: the Apoſtles properly had the preaching of the word committed vnto them, Act.*6.* For other were choſen to attend vpon tables: the Apoſtles alſo onely had the right of laying on of hands, Act.14.23. ***Ergo***, It is proper onely to Biſhops to preach, and to ordaine, who are the Apoſtles ſucceſſors, *Bellarm.cap.*13.& 14.

Anſw. Firſt, ***Bellarmine*** denieth that Biſhops doe properly ſucceede the Apoſtles, ***de pontifice lib.4.25.*** becauſe he would magnifie the Pope his ghoſtly father aboue all Biſhops: but now forgetting himſelfe, he ſaith, ***Epiſcopi propriè ſuccedunt Apoſtolis***, Biſhops doe properly ſucceede the Apoſtles,

poſtles, chapter.14. and ſo by this reaſon euery Biſhop hath as full authoritie as the Pope. Secondly, euery godly and faithfull Biſhop is a ſucceſſor to the Apoſtles, wee deny it not, and ſo are all faithfull and godly paſtors and Miniſters: for in reſpect of their extraordinarie calling, miraculous giftes and Apoſtleſhip, the Apoſtles haue properly no ſucceſſors, as maſter *Benbridge* Martyr ſaith, that hee beleeued not Biſhops to bee the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, for that they bee not called as they were nor haue that grace: *Fox.* pag.2046. *artic.6.* That therefore, which the Apoſtles were eſpecially appointed vnto, is the thing, wherein the Apoſtles were properly ſucceeded; but that was the preaching of the Goſpell: As Saint *Paul* ſaith, *hee was ſent to preach, not to baptize,* 1.Corinthians 1.17. This alſo the prophet *Eſay* ſheweth, where hee ſaith in the name of the Lord: *My words, which I haue put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeede, nor of thy ſeedes ſeede.* Eſay 59.verſe 21. The promiſe of ſucceſſion, wee ſee, is in the preaching of the word, which appertaineth as well to other paſtors and Miniſters, as vnto Biſhops, as afterward ſhall bee declared. Againe, ſeeing in the Apoſtles time *Epiſcopus,* and *Preſbyter,* a Biſhop, and a Prieſt, were neither in name nor office diſtinguiſhed, as Maſter *Lambert* Martyr proueth by that place of Saint *Paul,Tit.*1. where the Apoſtle calleth them Biſhops,verſ.7.whom before verſ.5.he had named Presbyters,Prieſts, or Elders. To this agreeth the Councell *Aquiſgranenſ. cap.*8. collecting thus out of this place: *Paulus Apoſtolus Preſbyteros, vt verè ſacerdotes, ſub nomine Epiſcoporum adſeuerat: Paul* the Apoſtle *doth affirme the Elders or Preſbyters to be true Prieſts or Paſtors vnder the name of Biſhops.* It followeth then that either the Apoſtles aſſigned no ſucceſſion, while they liued, neither appointed their ſucceſſors, or that indifferently all faithfull Paſtors and Preachers of the Apoſtolike faith, are the Apoſtles ſucceſſors.

Fulk.Annot. Ioh.20.ſect.3.

Fox.pag.1111.

Thirdly, at that time when the Deacons were elected, the congregation was at Ieruſalem, neither were there as yet any other Paſtors ordained; and therefore the Apoſtles onely attended vpon preaching of the word: but afterward when they had ordained Paſtors in other Churches, to them alſo fully was committed the word of reconciliation, Epheſ.4.11. Chriſt hath giuen ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Paſtors and teachers: So that Paſtors and teachers, though ordained firſt by the Apoſtles, yet had their calling of God: and together in their calling, authoritie and commiſſion to preach; neither being once ordained, needed they to expect any further licenſe from the Apoſtles.

And as for the right of ordayning and impoſition of hands, though it were chiefly in the Apoſtles, yet the Paſtors and Elders together with them layde on their hands, Act.13.4. Yea the Rhemiſts confeſſe as much, that when a Prieſt is to be ordered, the reſt of the Prieſts together with the Biſhop do lay on their hands, *Annotat.1.Timoth.*4.18. What doth this elſe ſignifie, but that they haue ſome intereſt in ordayning together with the Biſhop?

The Proteſtants.

First, though we doe admitte, that for auoyding of Schiſme, the Church hath thought it meete, there ſhould be difference in degree and a ſuperioritie among Miniſters, yet your princely dominion which you doe vrge, in no wiſe muſt be admitted.

*Argum.*1. It is contrarie to the rule of Chriſt, Luk.22.25. *The Kings of the nations are Lords ouer them, and they that haue authoritie ouer them, are called benefactors.* Here our Sauiour forbiddeth, that there ſhould be any ſuch princelike and pompous preeminence among eccleſiaſticall perſons, as there is among ſecular and ciuil gouernors. A ſuperioritie may be graunted, but not as the Prince is ouer his ſubiects: it was ſo in time of poperie, that the people were halfe ſubiects to the Prince and halfe ſubiects to their ſpirituall gouernours: But though we acknowledge other eccleſiaſticall fathers and paſtors, yet we are ſubiects onely to our Prince.

*Argum.*2. *S.Peter* alſo is flat againſt this princely rule and dominion, Feede the flocke, (ſaith he) not as Lords ouer Gods heritage, but that you may be enſamples, 1.Pet.5.3. But are not they, I pray you, Lords ouer the flocke, that challenge to be Princes?

Let vs ſee what antiquitie ſaith: *Concil. Carthag.4.can.*34. *Epiſcopus in quolibet loco ſedens, ſtare preſbyterum non patiatur:* Whereſoeuer the Biſhop ſitteth, hee muſt not ſuffer a ſimple prieſt to ſtand before him: and this canon is confirmed in the decrees: *diſtinct.*95.*c.*9. Againe, *can.*35. *Epiſcopus in conſeſſu preſbyterorum ſublimior ſedeat, intra domum verò collegam preſbyterorum ſe eſſe cognoſcat:* The Biſhop in the aſſemblie of Prieſtes, ought to ſit in the higheſt place; but within the houſe, let him know that hee is but their fellow. This canon alſo is ratified in the decrees. *diſt.*95.*c.*10. Theſe ancient Canons, as they gaue vnto Biſhops ouer their brethren ſome preeminence to auoyd confuſion, ſo they allow them not a princely or lordly authoritie, to ſtay their ambition. See alſo for this point, your owne decrees: *diſtinct.*95.*c.*7. *Epiſcopi ſe ſacerdotes eſſe nouerint.&c.* Let Biſhops know, that they are Miniſters, not Lords; let them honour their Clergie, as the Clergie, that they againe may be honoured of them, as Biſhops. And againe, *Cauſ.*8.*qu.*1. *c.*20. *Illud inferendum eſt,&c.* This may be alledged againſt thoſe, *Qui de Epiſcopatu intumeſcunt:*

which do ſwell with pride becauſe they are Biſhops, thinking that they haue gotten not a miniſteriall, but an imperiall office. &c.

Fox. pag.454.

Secondly, concerning the power of preaching, we affirme, that euery Paſtor once ordayned, hath ſufficient authoritie to preach in his owne flocke and charge, as *Iohn Huſſe* notably proued to their face out of a certaine gloſſe in the fift booke of the decretals, that when as the Biſhop ordayneth any prieſt, he giueth him alſo therewithall authoritie to preach. We denie not, but when there is iuſt occaſion, this authoritie may be reſtrained by the Church gouernours, and ſo alſo may an euill Miniſter be ſuſpended from his whole miniſterie. But the power before ſpoken of, he hath at his firſt receiuing of orders: We thus ſhew it.

Whatſoeuer belongeth to the office of a Miniſter ſet ouer a flocke or charge, hee receiueth the power thereof when he is ordayned: But to preach the word, belongeth to the office of ſuch: for preaching is properly the feeding of the people.

But ſee the abſurditie of the Papiſts: they ſay it is not proper to the Prieſthood to preach, but onely to haue power to ſacrifice the body of Chriſt: But it is proper to the Biſhop, ſay they, to preach. We anſwere: Firſt, then the Biſhop is properly the paſtor of euery flocke and congregation in his dioceſſe, for he that properly feedeth, is properly the Paſtor: And he that is properly the Paſtor, hath the charge of ſoules properly; yea more, then hath the particular Paſtor: for he is improperly their Paſtor, but as it were the Biſhops ſubſtitute and Vicar. But what Biſhop in the worlde is able to beare ſo great a burthen, to haue the eſpeciall and proper charge of all the ſoules in his dioceſſe? It is not to be denyed, but he hath a charge of their ſoules, as a Chriſtian Prince alſo hath in ſome reſpect of his ſubiects: but to ſay, he is the proper Paſtor, and hath the proper and principall charge of ſoules in teaching and feeding of them (for the queſtion is now of preaching, not of gouerning) who is able to abide it? Secondly, but our Rhemiſts tell vs another tale, that many that are not able to preach, are meete enough to be Biſhops. 1. Timoth.5. *ſect.*13. *Ergo*, it is not proper to Biſhops neither to preach. I pray you then, for whom is it proper? if neither for Biſhops nor inferiour paſtours, then for none. Thirdly, they make but ſeuen orders of Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, and the prieſthood is the chiefe: for a Biſhop and a Prieſt make but one order, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth chapter 11. But to none of all theſe orders it is proper to preach: for ſeeing it is not proper to the prieſt, none of the inferiour orders can challenge it. See then what goodly orders theſe are, which leaue the very chiefe part of the miniſterie vndone, which is the preaching of the word. I thinke their meaning is, that this preaching is not ſo neceſſary a dutie, but may be well ſpared in the Church.

Fox. pag.453.

*Argum.*2. That which a man is bound to do vnder paine of the curſe of God, that hee may lawfully performe in due order without the leaue of men: but a woe is layd vpon them that preach not the Goſpell, where they are bound, 1. Corinthians 9.16. *Ergo. Argument. Wicliffi.*

*Argum.*3. A man is bound to giue corporall almes to the poore, the needie, the hungry, the thirſtie, neither is he to craue leaue of any: *Ergo*, much more to teach the ignorant, to comfort the weake, and doe other dueties appertayning to his charge. *Argum. Wicliffi.*

To theſe agree the decrees of former times: *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. cap.*8. *ex Iſidor. Preſbyteris, ſicut epiſcopis, diſpenſatio myſteriorum Dei commiſſa eſt; præſunt enim Eccleſiæ Chriſti & in confectione dominici ſanguinis &c. conſortes cum epiſcopis ſunt, ſimiliter & in doctrina populorum, & officio prædicandi, &c.* Vnto Prieſts, as well as to Biſhops, is committed the diſpenſation of Gods myſteries, for they are ſet ouer the Church of God, and are partakers with Biſhops, both in the confection of the ſacrament of Chriſts bloud, &c. and in the teaching of the people, and office of preaching.

*Conſtantinop.*8. *can.*8.9. It was decreed thus, that whereas *Photius* the ſchiſmaticall Biſhop of Conſtantinople, who did vſurpe that See, did extort writings from the Clergie, vnder their owne hands, wherein they promiſed to cleaue to him, and he againe gaue them writings, authorizing them thereby to preach: the Councell thereupon thus determined, *Vt liceat omnibus idoneis docere liberè ſine facultate per chirographas*, That it ſhould be lawfull for all that were fit to preach without licenſe vnder hand writing.

Likewiſe in their owne decrees, *diſtinct.*95. *c.*6. we thus reade: *Nemo hinc Epiſcoporum iraſcatur &c.* Let not the Biſhops from henceforth be offended, if the Presbyters or Miniſters exhort the people, if they preach in the Church, &c. He that wil not haue them to do that, which is commanded of God, let him ſay, is any man greater then Chriſt? if the Miniſter do conſecrate the bodie of Chriſt, and bleſſe the Sacrament, ought he not to pronounce the bleſſing vpon the people? And it followeth in the ſame place. Thus by your commandement (ô vnequall prelates) the Miniſter of God doth looſe his office, is depriued of the vſe of his tongue, he is maymed, he hath onely the name of a Miniſter, but the fulneſſe and perfection thereof, which appertaineth to his conſecration, he holdeth not: much more followeth in the ſame place, which may be applyed againſt

gainſt popiſh Biſhops,that cut the inferior Miniſters ſhort of the better part of their office,which is to preach the word of God.

Againe: *ibid.diſtinct.95.c.7. Peſſimæ conſuetudinis eſt*: It is a very bad cuſtome in certaine Churches,for Prieſts to hold their peace in the preſence of the Biſhops,as though they did either enuie, or ſcorne to heare them, contrary to the Apoſtle which ſaith, ***If any thing be reuealed to another ſitting by, let the firſt keepe ſilence.*** Thus farre that decree out of S.***Hierome.***

Maiſter *Lambert* Martyr. It is lawfull for all Prieſts freely to preach the word, and that at all times,in al places,and to al perſons,although they be not ſent:for al ſuch are choſen to be preachers, and therefore ſent:for of this ſpeaketh *Gregory* in his paſtorals,ſaying,***Prædicationis officium ſuſcipit,quiſquis ad ſacerdotium accedit:*** Whoſoeuer taketh prieſthood vpon him,taketh vpon him alſo the office of preaching: ***Fox.***pag.1111.***reſponſ.ad articul.***22.

Maiſter ***Tindall*** Martyr, there is but one eſpeciall office that pertayneth to thine orders, and that is to preach the word of God.pag.1253.

Concerning the power of giuing orders: As S.***Paul*** ſpeaketh of the laying on of his hands,2. Tim.1.6. ſo he maketh mention of impoſition of hands by the Elderſhip, 1.Tim.4.14. And the Rhemiſts vpon that place miſlike not the practiſe of the Church,that their Prieſts doe lay on their hands together with the Biſhop vpon his head that is to be ordayned.

Concil. Carthaginenſ.4.can.3. Omnes preſbyteri, qui præſentes ſunt, manus ſuas iuxta manum epiſcopi, ſuper caput preſbyteri ordinandi teneant, Let all the Prieſts that are preſent, hold their hands next to the Biſhops hand vpon his head that is to be ordained.Againe ***can.***24. of the ſame Councell. ***Epiſcopus ſine concilio Clericorum Clericos non ordinet:*** The Biſhop muſt not giue orders, but in the preſence and aſſemblie of the Clergie. By this then it is manifeſt, that impoſition of hands doth not wholy and ſolie belong vnto the Biſhop, ſeeing the reſt of the Elders were wont to lay on their hands likewiſe, or the Biſhop in the name of the reſt, ***Fulk.annot.Tit.1.ſect.2.*** So that the Elders were not excluded.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, WHETHER THE difference betweene Biſhops and other Miniſters be grounded vpon the Law of God,and inſtitution of the Apoſtles.

The Papiſts.

BEllarmine affirmeth, that the iuriſdiction of Biſhops, as now it ſtandeth in their Church, and the difference betweene them, and other Presbyters, is, ***iure dinino,*** grounded vpon the Law of God, and of ſuch neceſſitie, that he holdeth the contrary to be hereſie, and thoſe to be heretikes, that hold this difference to ariſe rather of a politike conſtitution of the Church to auoyd Schiſme, then of the inſtitution of the Apoſtles: ***lib.1.de Clericis c.***14. Yea they hold them to be no Churches at all, which are not vnder the gouernement of Biſhops, but of other ouerſeers, and ſuperintendents: ***Sanè ego,nec eccleſiam ibi intelligere poſſum &c.*** Surely I ſee not(ſaith one)how there can be any Church, where there is no Biſhop: ***Eſpenc.in 1.Tim.194.b.*** And ſo is it in a late decree of theirs out of the Councel of Paris: ***diſtinct.93.c.8. Nulla ratione Clerici &c.*** They in no wiſe are ſaid to be Clerkes,or prieſts, that are not gouerned vnder the diſcipline of any Biſhop; for ſuch the Church in former time called ***Acephali,*** men without an head: Which decree if it be ſo vnderſtood, that no Church ought to be without an head,that is, ſome commendable forme of diſcipline and gouernement, then may it well be receiued: but if it be taken ſtrictly, that no Church can be without ſuch Biſhops, as they haue; this were both to condemne the Churches of Geneua, and Scotland, and diuers in Germanie,which haue Superintendents, and no Biſhops at all;as alſo the Church of England, that hath Biſhops, but not ſuch, as theirs are. Let vs ſee ſome of their arguments, for the neceſſary difference and preeminence of Biſhops by the law of God.

Argum.1. In the old Teſtament, there was the high Prieſt as chiefe, vpon whoſe ſentence euery matter depended, and other inferior prieſts vnder his obedience: in the new Teſtament, Biſhops are as the high Prieſts then; and presbyters now, as the inferior prieſts then. ***Ergo***, by the Law of God there is a difference. ***Bellarm.***

Anſw. Firſt, the high Prieſt in the Law was a figure of Chriſt, who is the high Prieſt of the new Teſtament, and chiefe Shepheard. 1.Pet.5.4. and therefore this type being fulfilled in Chriſt,cannot properly be applyed to the external Hierarchie of the Church. Secondly, if euery Biſhop be this high Prieſt, then haue you loſt one of your beſt arguments for the Pope, whom you would haue to be the high Prieſt in the Church. Thirdly, a difference notwithſtanding we grant of prioritie and order,but not of princely dominion, both in the Prieſts of the old law,and the Miniſters of the Goſpel. Fourthly,it is vntrue,that all things were gouerned onely at the will of the high Prieſt, for the other Prieſts alſo were his aſſiſtants, and did debate matters in Councel with them. And this was that συνέδριον, the Sanedrim or Councel, Act.5.34. wherein together with the high Prieſts were aſſembled other Elders alſo, called *Preſbyteri*, Presbyters, Act.4.8.23. And this one of your owne writers confeſſeth: *Et Synagoga, & poſteà Eccleſia ſeniores habuit, &c.* Both the Synagogue and afterward the Church had certaine Elders, without whoſe counſell, nothing was done: which Seigniorie, by what negligence it was growen out of vſe, S. *Ambroſe* modeſtly confeſſeth hee knew not; *Eſpenc.in* 1.*Timoth.c.5.verſ.*1. Fiftly, S.*Hierome* reaſoneth thus, that if *Moſes, qui potuit ſolus præeſſe*: that if *Moſes*, who might himſelfe onely haue beene Ruler of the people, yet choſe vnto him 70. Elders, together with whom hee iudged the people: ſo ſhould Biſhops and Presbyters *in commune regere*; gouerne the Church in common, imitating *Moſes*; *Hierom Euag.* If *Moſes* had partners in the gouernement of the ciuill ſtate, there is no queſtion, but the high Prieſt had likewiſe in the eccleſiaſticall.

*Argum.*2. Chriſt ordayned 12. Apoſtles, and 70. Diſciples beſide, betweene whom there was great difference; the Biſhops ſucceed the Apoſtles, the Prieſts come in the place of the Diſciples: *Ergo.*

Anſw. Firſt, *Bellarmine* here diſputeth not to the point, for he is not onely to proue a ſimple difference and diſtinction, which we graunt: but a Princely preeminence, which hee ſhall neuer ſhew. Secondly, not onely Biſhops, but all faithfull Paſtors and Miniſters are the Apoſtles ſucceſſors: as *Ignatius* witneſſeth *epiſtol.ad Trallianos. Subditi eſtote &c.* Be ye ſubiect to the Colledge of the Presbyters, as to the Apoſtles of the Lord: though in the ſame place he compare the Biſhops to Chriſt, the prieſts to his Apoſtles, as noting a difference; yet it is ſufficient, for that purpoſe we alledge it, that they alſo are reſembled to the Apoſtles. Thirdly, that Prieſts ſucceed in the place of the Apoſtles, and that Deacons are in ſtead of the 70. Diſciples: and not, as he ſaith: thus it is euident out of their owne decrees, *diſtinct.68.c.5. Damaſus, non amplius, quàm duos ordines, &c.* We reade but of two orders among the Diſciples of Chriſt, that is, of the twelue Apoſtles and the 70. Diſciples: And who are now in the place of thoſe, *Innocentius* ſheweth, *decret.Greg.lib.*1 *tit.*14. *c.*9. *Hos ſolos Primitiua Eccleſia &c.* The primitiue Church onely had theſe two ſacred orders, of Prieſts and Deacons. Fourthly, his argument concludeth not, Apoſtles were aboue Diſciples: *Ergo*, Biſhops &c. vnleſſe he do aſſume thus, but Biſhops are Apoſtles: which is denied by *Ignatius*, who though he were neere to the Apoſtles time, being the third Biſhop of Antioch after *Peter*, and had ſeene Chriſt after his reſurrection; yet writing to the Antiochians, ſaith, *Hæc non vti Apoſtolus pracipio*: I do not command theſe things as an Apoſtle.

*Argum.*3. S.*Paul* ſaith to *Timothie*: *Receiue no accuſation againſt an Elder but vnder two or three witneſſes*: 1.Timoth.5. Here *Timothie* Biſhop of Epheſus, is made iudge of the Prieſts and Miniſters: *Ergo*, in the Apoſtles time a difference. &c. *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, it may be doubted whether *Timothie* were ſo ordayned by the Apoſtle Biſhop of Epheſus, as now a Biſhop is ſet ouer his dioceſſe: for then the Apoſtle would neuer haue called him ſo often from his charge as he doth, and employed him in the ſeruice of other Churches; as he ſendeth him to Corinthus, 1.Cor.6.10. to the Theſſalonians to confirme their faith, 1.Theſſ.2.2. and to other Churches beſide. It is moſt like, that *Timothie* had the place and calling of an Euangeliſt, whoſe office was to ſecond the Apoſtles in their miniſterie, and to water that, which the Apoſtles had planted. And that the calling of Euangeliſts and Biſhops, which were Paſtors, was diuers, it appeareth by S.*Paul* Epheſ.4.11. *He hath giuen ſome Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Euangeliſts, ſome Paſtors &c.* And that *Timothie* was ſuch an Euangeliſt, it may be gathered, for that the Apoſtle biddeth him do the worke of an Euangeliſt. 2. Timoth.4.5. Secondly, and againe, ſeeing that *Timothie* was ordayned by the authoritie of the Elderſhip, 1.Timoth.4.14. which they themſelues tranſlate the Prieſthood; and the Rhemiſts expound it of the ancient practiſe of the Church, when the Prieſts together with the Biſhop lay their hands vpon him that is ordained: *ex Concil.Carthag.4.c.*3. and ſo alſo *Iohan.Gropperus* their owne bird doth vnderſtand it; to whom alſo conſenteth *Eſpenc.* in his Commentarie vpon that place: how then could *Timothie* be a Biſhop ſtrictly and preciſely taken, being ordained by presbyters? Thirdly, but to admit that *Timothie* was a Biſhop, or at the leaſt, which is all one to the matter in hand, greater then a Biſhop: yet cannot he conclude from hence the princely preeminence ouer prieſts as their ſubiects, and an abſolute and plenarie power in them, the other excluded: for he biddeth *Timothie* not to rebuke, but to exhort the Elders as Fathers; which *Epiphanius* vnderſtandeth of elder Miniſters: whereby he giueth no princely dominion to *Timothie*, but a brotherly ſuperioritie in gentle admonition. Againe, where he ſaith, *receiue no accuſation &c.* though he ſpeake by name to *Timothie*, directing his ſpeech to him as the chiefe, yet he excludeth not the reſt: as the holy Ghoſt writing to the Angels and chiefe Paſtors of the ſeuen Churches, Apocal.2.3. implieth the reſt of the Miniſters and Church there, as may appeare by the matter of the Epiſtles, wherein the faults of the whole Church are reproued, and their vertues commended. Neither can it be gathered by thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *Lay hands ſuddenly vpon no man, &c.* that *Timothie* had this ſole power in himſelfe: for the Apoſtle would not giue that to him, which he did not take to himſelfe, who aſſociated vnto him the reſt of the Preſbyterie in the ordaining of *Timothie*, 1.Tim.4.14. but he ſpeaketh to him as the chiefe. Wherefore whatſoeuer yet hath been alleaged, this champion hath failed in the proofe of the princely Monarch of his mitred Biſhops by the worde of God: I will come now to deliuer our owne opinion.

The Proteſtants.

OF the difference betweene Biſhops and Prieſts there are three opinions: the firſt of *Aerius*, who did hold that all Miniſters ſhould bee equall, and that a Biſhop was not, neither ought to be ſuperiour to a Prieſt, neither that there was any difference at all betweene them: which opinion of his, was counted among other hereſies: *Auguſtin.de hæreſib.cap.*53. *Ephiphan.hæreſ.*75. The ſecond opinion in the other extreame is of the Papiſts, as we haue ſeene, that would haue not only a difference, but a princely preeminence of their Biſhops ouer the Clergie, and that by the word of God: and they vrge it to bee ſo neceſſarie, that they are no Churches, which receiue not their pontificall hierarchie. The third opinion is betweene both, that although this diſtinction of Biſhops and Prieſts, as it is now receiued, cannot be directly proued out of Scripture; yet it is very neceſſary for the policie of the Church, to auoid ſchiſmes, & to preſerue it in vnitie: Of this iudgement B.*Iewel* againſt *Harding* ſheweth both *Chryſoſtome*, *Ambroſe*, and *Hierome* to haue been; *Defenſ. Apolog.pag.*248. And amongſt the reſt Saint *Hierome* thus writeth: *Apoſtolum perſpicuè docere,&c.* That the Apoſtle teacheth euidently, that Biſhops and Prieſts were the ſame: Yet he holdeth this diſtinction to be neceſſarie for the gouernment of the Church: *Quòd vnus pòſt electus eſt, qui cæteris præponeretur, in ſchiſmatis factum eſt remedium:* That one afterward was choſen, to bee ſet ouer the reſt, it was done to be a remedie againſt ſchiſme: *ad Euag.* To this opinion of Saint *Hierome* ſubſcribeth Biſhop *Iewel* in the place before quoted, and a moſt reuerend Prelate of our Church yet liuing, in theſe words: I know theſe names bee confounded in the Scriptures, but I ſpeake according to the manner and cuſtome of the Church euer ſince the Apoſtles time, *Defenſ. anſw.admonit.pag.*383. Which ſaying is agreeable to that of S. *Auguſtine*: *Secundum honorum vocabula quæ eccleſiæ vſus obtinuit,&c.* According to the names of honour, which the vſe or cuſtome of the Church hath obtained, a Biſhop is greater then a Prieſt. So that *Auguſtine* himſelfe, who was no Aerian. doth ground this diſtinction rather vpon ancient cuſtome, then the Scripture. Now then of theſe three opinions, the two firſt we reiect, the one of the Papiſts we haue alreadie confuted; the other of *Aerius* commeth now to be examined; the third followeth by our arguments to be confirmed.

Epiſt.19.ad Hieron.

That *Aerius* was iuſtly condemned of the Church for bringing in a popular equalitie of Miniſters into the Church (though he deſerued not for this opinion onely, to be counted amongſt the greateſt heretikes) thus we make it plaine.

*Argum.*1. There was an order and prioritie amongſt the Apoſtles themſelues, though in reſpect of their Apoſtleſhip they were all of one authoritie: much more therefore ſhould there bee an order and degree amongſt the Miniſters of the Church, who are inferiour to the Apoſtles.

The firſt part is thus proued: Act.1. The prioritie of ſpeaking is giuen to *Peter*, in the election of *Matthias*. Act.15. The definitiue ſentence is pronounced by S.*Iames*. Galath.2.7,8. Saint *Paul* is ordained the chiefe Apoſtle of the vncircumciſion, and Saint *Peter* of the circumciſion. And amongſt the Apoſtles themſelues, ſome were counted the chiefe and eſteemed as pillars, as *Iames, Cephas, Iohn*, Galath.2.2.9. We alſo graunt, that *Peter*, when he confeſſed Chriſt for and in the name of the reſt, had a primacie of order, and a prioritie at that time, who alſo for and in the name of the reſt firſt receiued the keyes of the Church. And thus much *Cyprian* acknowledgeth: *Hoc erant cæteri Apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus,&c.* The reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame that *Peter* was, hauing like fellowſhip of power and honour: but the beginning is from one, that the Church may appeare to be one, *de ſimplicit.prælator.* Wherefore if that among the Apoſtles an order and prioritie may bee graunted, how much more amongſt other Miniſters is a difference to bee admitted?

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *God hath ordained in the Church, firſt Apoſtles, ſecondly Prophets, thirdly teachers, then them that doe worke miracles, after that the gifts of healing,&c.* The Apoſtle here aſſigning to ſome the firſt place, to others the ſecond, to ſome the third, and ſo to the fift, euidently ſheweth, that there was a difference, and a preeminence in the gifts and callings of the Church. And ſeeing it cannot be denied, but that the Apoſtles were chiefe and ſuperiour to all other Miniſters: it followeth, that the Apoſtles themſelues allowed a ſuperioritie in the Miniſters of the Church. And although their calling was extraordinarie, and therefore they were the chiefe; yet after their calling ceaſed, and they were tranſlated, an order ſtill for gouernment was to remaine in the Church.

*Argum.*3. 1.Cor.14.33. the Apoſtle ſaith, *God is not the author of confuſion, or diſorder*: but to haue a popular equalitie amongſt the Miniſters, were the next way to bring in confuſion, if none ſhould bee ruled or directed by other. As S.*Hierome* well ſaith, *Si tollis ordinem tabernaculi:* If you

take

with the high Prieſts were aſſembled other Elders alſo, called *Preſbyteri*, Presbyters, Act.4.8. 23. And this one of your owne writers confeſſeth: *Et Synagoga, & poſteà Eccleſia ſeniores habuit, &c.* Both the Synagogue and afterward the Church had certaine Elders, without whoſe counſell, nothing was done: which Seigniorie, by what negligence it was growen out of vſe, S. *Ambroſe* modeſtly confeſſeth hee knew not; *Eſpenc.in* 1.*Timoth.c.*5.*verſ*.1. Fiftly, S. *Hierome* reaſoneth thus, that if *Moſes, qui potuit ſolus præeſſe*: that if *Moſes*, who might himſelfe onely haue beene Ruler of the people, yet choſe vnto him 70. Elders, together with whom hee iudged the people: ſo ſhould Biſhops and Presbyters *in commune regere*; gouerne the Church in common, imitating *Moſes*; *Hierom Euag.* If *Moſes* had partners in the gouernement of the ciuill ſtate, there is no queſtion, but the high Prieſt had likewiſe in the eccleſiaſticall.

Argum.2. Chriſt ordayned 12. Apoſtles, and 70. Diſciples beſide, betweene whom there was great difference; the Biſhops ſucceed the Apoſtles, the Prieſts come in the place of the Diſciples: *Ergo*.

Anſw. Firſt, *Bellarmine* here diſputeth not to the point, for he is not onely to proue a ſimple difference and diſtinction, which we graunt: but a Princely preeminence, which hee ſhall neuer ſhew. Secondly, not onely Biſhops, but all faithfull Paſtors and Miniſters are the Apoſtles ſucceſſors: as *Ignatius* witneſſeth *epiſtol.ad Trallianos. Subditi eſtote &c.* Be ye ſubiect to the Colledge of the Presbyters, as to the Apoſtles of the Lord: though in the ſame place he compare the Biſhops to Chriſt, the prieſts to his Apoſtles, as noting a difference; yet it is ſufficient, for that purpoſe we alledge it, that they alſo are reſembled to the Apoſtles. Thirdly, that Prieſts ſucceed in the place of the Apoſtles, and that Deacons are in ſtead of the 70. Diſciples: and not, as he ſaith: thus it is euident out of their owne decrees, *diſtinct.*68.*c.*5.*Damaſus, non amplius, quàm duos ordines, &c.* We reade but of two orders among the Diſciples of Chriſt, that is, of the twelue Apoſtles and the 70. Diſciples: And who are now in the place of thoſe, *Innocentius* ſheweth, *decret.Greg.lib.*1 *tit.*14. *c.*9. *Hos ſolos Primitiua Eccleſia &c.* The primitiue Church onely had theſe two ſacred orders, of Prieſts and Deacons. Fourthly, his argument concludeth not, Apoſtles were aboue Diſciples: *Ergo*, Biſhops &c. vnleſſe he do aſſume thus, but Biſhops are Apoſtles: which is denied by *Ignatius*, who though he were neere to the Apoſtles time, being the third Biſhop of Antioch after *Peter*, and had ſeene Chriſt after his reſurrection; yet writing to the Antiochians, ſaith, *Hæc non vti Apoſtolus præcipio*: I do not command theſe things as an Apoſtle.

Argum.3. S. *Paul* ſaith to *Timothie*: *Receiue no accuſation againſt an Elder but vnder two or three witneſſes*: 1.Timoth.5. Here *Timothie* Biſhop of Epheſus, is made iudge of the Prieſts and Miniſters: *Ergo*, in the Apoſtles time a difference. &c. *Bellarm.ibid*.

Anſw. Firſt, it may be doubted whether *Timothie* were ſo ordayned by the Apoſtle Biſhop of Epheſus, as now a Biſhop is ſet ouer his dioceſſe: for then the Apoſtle would neuer haue called him ſo often from his charge as he doth, and employed him in the ſeruice of other Churches; as he ſendeth him to Corinthus, 1.Cor.6.10. to the Theſſalonians to confirme their faith, 1.Theſſ.2.2. and to other Churches beſide. It is moſt like, that *Timothie* had the place and calling of an Euangeliſt, whoſe office was to ſecond the Apoſtles in their miniſterie, and to water that, which the Apoſtles had planted. And that the calling of Euangeliſts and Biſhops, which were Paſtors, was diuers, it appeareth by S. *Paul* Epheſ.4.11. *He hath giuen ſome Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Euangeliſts, ſome Paſtors &c.* And that *Timothie* was ſuch an Euangeliſt, it may be gathered, for that the Apoſtle biddeth him do the worke of an Euangeliſt. 2. Timoth.4.5. Secondly, and againe, ſeeing that *Timothie* was ordayned by the authoritie of the Elderſhip, 1.Timoth.4.14. which they themſelues tranſlate the Prieſthood; and the Rhemiſts expound it of the ancient practiſe of the Church, when the Prieſts together with the Biſhop lay their hands vpon him that is ordained: *ex Concil.Carthag.*4.*c.*3. and ſo alſo *Iohan.Gropperus* their owne bird doth vnderſtand it; to whom alſo conſenteth *Eſpenc.* in his Commentarie vpon that place: how then could *Timothie* be a Biſhop ſtrictly and preciſely taken, being ordained by presbyters? Thirdly, but to admit that *Timothie* was a Biſhop, or at the leaſt, which is all one to the matter in hand, greater then a Biſhop: yet cannot he conclude from hence the princely preeminence ouer prieſts as their ſubiects, and an abſolute and plenarie power in them, the other excluded: for he biddeth *Timothie* not to rebuke, but to exhort the Elders as Fathers; which *Epiphanius* vnderſtandeth of elder Miniſters: whereby he giueth no princely dominion to *Timothie*, but a brotherly ſuperioritie in gentle admonition. Againe, where he ſaith, *receiue no accuſation &c.* though he ſpeake by name to *Timothie*, directing his ſpeech to him as the chiefe, yet he excludeth not the reſt: as the holy Ghoſt writing to the Angels and chiefe Paſtors of the ſeuen Churches, Apocal.2.3. implieth the reſt of the Miniſters and Church there, as may appeare by the matter of the Epiſtles, wherein the faults of the whole Church are reproued, and their vertues commended. Neither can it be gathered by thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *Lay hands ſuddenly vpon no man, &c.* that *Timothie* had this ſole power in himſelfe: for the Apoſtle would not giue that to him, which he did not take to himſelfe, who aſſociated vnto him the reſt of the Preſbyterie in the ordaining of *Timothie*, 1.Tim.4.14. but he ſpeaketh to him as the chiefe. Wherefore whatſoeuer yet hath been alleaged, this champion hath failed in the proofe of the princely Monarch of his mitred Biſhops by the worde of God: I will come now to deliuer our owne opinion.

The Proteſtants.

OF the difference betweene Biſhops and Prieſts there are three opinions: the firſt of *Aerius*, who did hold that all Miniſters ſhould bee equall, and that a Biſhop was not, neither ought to be ſuperiour to a Prieſt, neither that there was any difference at all betweene them: which opinion of his, was counted among other hereſies: *Auguſtin.de hæreſib.cap.*53. *Ephiphan.hæreſ.*75. The ſecond opinion in the other extreame is of the Papiſts, as we haue ſeene, that would haue not only a difference, but a princely preeminence of their Biſhops ouer the Clergie, and that by the word of God: and they vrge it to bee ſo neceſſarie, that they are no Churches, which receiue not their pontificall hierarchie. The third opinion is betweene both, that although this diſtinction of Biſhops and Prieſts, as it is now receiued, cannot be directly proued out of Scripture; yet it is very neceſſary for the policie of the Church, to auoid ſchiſmes, & to preſerue it in vnitie: Of this iudgement B. *Iewel* againſt *Harding* ſheweth both *Chryſoſtome*, *Ambroſe*, and *Hierome* to haue been; *Defenſ. Apolog.pag.*248. And amongſt the reſt Saint *Hierome* thus writeth: *Apoſtolum perſpicuè docere,&c.* That the Apoſtle teacheth euidently, that Biſhops and Prieſts were the ſame: Yet he holdeth this diſtinction to be neceſſarie for the gouernment of the Church: *Quòd vnus pòſt electus eſt, qui cæteris præponeretur, in ſchiſmatis factum eſt remedium:* That one afterward was choſen, to bee ſet ouer the reſt, it was done to be a remedie againſt ſchiſme: *ad Euag.* To this opinion of Saint *Hierome* ſubſcribeth Biſhop *Iewel* in the place before quoted, and a moſt reuerend Prelate of our Church yet liuing, in theſe words: I know theſe names bee confounded in the Scriptures, but I ſpeake according to the manner and cuſtome of the Church euer ſince the Apoſtles time, *Defenſ. anſw.admonit.pag.*383. Which ſaying is agreeable to that of S. *Auguſtine*: *Secundum honorum vocabula quæ eccleſiæ vſus obtinuit,&c.* According to the names of honour, which the vſe or cuſtome of the Church hath obtained, a Biſhop is greater then a Prieſt. So that *Auguſtine* himſelfe, who was no Aerian, doth ground this diſtinction rather vpon ancient cuſtome, then the Scripture. Now then of theſe three opinions, the two firſt we reiect, the one of the Papiſts we haue alreadie confuted; the other of *Aerius* commeth now to be examined; the third followeth by our arguments to be confirmed.

Epiſt.19.ad Hieron.

That *Aerius* was iuſtly condemned of the Church for bringing in a popular equalitie of Miniſters into the Church (though he deſerued not for this opinion onely, to be counted amongſt the greateſt heretikes) thus we make it plaine.

*Argum.*1. There was an order and prioritie amongſt the Apoſtles themſelues, though in reſpect of their Apoſtleſhip they were all of one authoritie: much more therefore ſhould there bee an order and degree amongſt the Miniſters of the Church, who are inferiour to the Apoſtles.

The firſt part is thus proued: Act.1. The prioritie of ſpeaking is giuen to *Peter*, in the election of *Matthias*. Act.15. The definitiue ſentence is pronounced by S. *Iames*. Galath.2.7,8. Saint *Paul* is ordained the chiefe Apoſtle of the vncircumciſion, and Saint *Peter* of the circumciſion. And amongſt the Apoſtles themſelues, ſome were counted the chiefe and eſteemed as pillars, as *Iames*, *Cephas*, *Iohn*, Galath.2.2.9. We alſo graunt, that *Peter*, when he confeſſed Chriſt for and in the name of the reſt, had a primacie of order, and a prioritie at that time, who alſo for and in the name of the reſt firſt receiued the keyes of the Church. And thus much *Cyprian* acknowledgeth: *Hoc erant cæteri Apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus,&c.* The reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame that *Peter* was, hauing like fellowſhip of power and honour: but the beginning is from one, that the Church may appeare to be one, *de ſimplicit.prælator.* Wherefore if that among the Apoſtles an order and prioritie may bee graunted, how much more amongſt other Miniſters is a difference to bee admitted?

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *God hath ordained in the Church, firſt Apoſtles, ſecondly Prophets, thirdly teachers, then them that doe worke miracles, after that the gifts of healing,&c.* The Apoſtle here aſſigning to ſome the firſt place, to others the ſecond, to ſome the third, and ſo to the fift, euidently ſheweth, that there was a difference, and a preeminence in the gifts and callings of the Church. And ſeeing it cannot be denied, but that the Apoſtles were chiefe and ſuperiour to all other Miniſters: it followeth, that the Apoſtles themſelues allowed a ſuperioritie in the Miniſters of the Church. And although their calling was extraordinarie, and therefore they were the chiefe; yet after their calling ceaſed, and they were tranſlated, an order ſtill for gouernment was to remaine in the Church.

*Argum.*3. 1.Cor.14.33. the Apoſtle ſaith, *God is not the author of confuſion, or diſorder*: but to haue a popular equalitie amongſt the Miniſters, were the next way to bring in confuſion, if none ſhould bee ruled or directed by other. As S. *Hierome* well ſaith, *Si tollis ordinem tabernaculi:* If you take away the order of the tabernacle, if all ſhould be as one mixt bodie, and as the ſaying is, ἓν κόνιον, one heape of duſt, or as we ſay, an hodgepoch: then to ſmall purpoſe are Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, &c. *lib.2.aduerſ.Iouinian.* His meaning is, that like as where a building is not diſtinguiſhed into the parts, but lieth altogether in a rude heape, it falleth quickly to ruine and duſt: ſo the Church being without order, ſoone commeth to confuſion. Wherefore as the Apoſtle concludeth, *Let all things be done comely and in order*, 1.Cor.14.40: So, whoſoeuer goeth about to breake the order of the Church, as *Aerius*, or whoſoeuer elſe, is a diſturber. And this may ſuffice by the way for the confutation of *Aerius* ſchiſmaticall opinion. Now for the confirmation of *Hieromes* iudgement.

*Argum.*1. S.*Hierome* alleageth diuers places of Scripture, to ſhew that a Prieſt and a Biſhop in the Apoſtles times were all one: as Act.20.verſ.17. thoſe whom the Apoſtle calleth Elders or Preſbyters, verſ.28. he nameth Biſhops, or ouerſeers. Tit.1.5. *I left thee in Crete for this cauſe, to ordaine Elders or Prieſts:* and then he ſheweth what manner of perſons the Elders ſhould be, ver.7. for a Biſhop muſt bee blameleſſe, &c. Likewiſe S.*Peter*, 1.epiſt.5.1. exhorteth the Preſbyters or Prieſts to feede the flocke, ἐπισκοποῦντες, that is, ouerſeeing, from whence the name of *Epiſcopus*, a Biſhop, is deriued. Hence he concludeth thus, *Idem ergo preſbyter & Epiſcopus, &c.* Therefore a Biſhop and Prieſt are all one. *Hieron.ad Euag.*

To theſe teſtimonies of Scripture diuers anſweres are framed: Firſt, *Epiphanius* anſwereth, that the Apoſtle calleth Biſhops Prieſts, becauſe in many Churches, for the want and penurie of ſufficient Miniſters, there were no Prieſts but Biſhops, who alſo did the office of Prieſts.

But *Bellarmine* miſliketh this anſwere: for the Apoſtle in his epiſtle to the Philippians, writeth to the Biſhops and Deacons there, 1.chap.verſ.1. but in one citie there could be but one Biſhop: and it is more like that there might be many Prieſts, then Biſhops, in one citie.

Secondly, *Theodoret* anſwereth, that in the Apoſtles time the Biſhops were called Apoſtles, and the Prieſts Biſhops, as *Epaphroditus* is called the Apoſtle of the Philippians, 2.Philip.25. and therefore the office of Prieſts is deſcribed vnder the name of Biſhops.

Anſ. Firſt, it is more probable, that Biſhops ſhould bee called Apoſtles after the Apoſtles time, then while they liued, becauſe that while the Apoſtles remained, the calling of Biſhops is not thought then to haue been ſo neceſſarie as afterward: but yet after the Apoſtles were departed, the ancient Biſhops refuſed to bee called Apoſtles, as before I ſhewed in *Ignatius*. And S. *Cyprian* thus writeth, *Me nullius ſuadela poteſt inclinare, &c.* No man can perſwade me, that there are now other Apoſtles, &c. *de ſingularitat.clericor.* Secondly, concerning the inſtance of *Epaphroditus*, he is called their Apoſtle, that is, meſſenger, becauſe he brought the beneuolence of that Church vnto S.*Paul*, Philipp.4.18. and ſo this word, Apoſtle, is taken both in the Ciuill and Canon law, in ſo much, that letters dimiſſorie graunted in the cauſe of appeale, by him, from whom the appeale is made, are called (*Apoſtoli*) letters of diſmiſſing, or ſending the cauſe to him, to whom the appeale is made, *Decret.p.2.cauſ.2.quæſt.6.ca.24.ſext.decret.lib.2.tit.*15.*c.*1. Thirdly, we denie not, but that the Miniſters and Paſtors of the Churches were alſo called Apoſtles, in reſpect of their paſtorall office, 1.Cor.8.23. but not in that ſenſe, as the 12. Apoſtles were ſo called, but in a larger ſenſe and more generall vſe of the word: As the word Deacon or Deaconſhip is likewiſe taken ſometime ſtrictly for a ſpeciall office of the Church, as Act.6. there were ſeuen Deacons elected; ſometime more largely for any office, or miniſterie, as the Apoſtleſhip is called διακονία, Act.1.25. a Deaconſhip; and *Timothie* an Euangeliſt is called a Deacon, that is, a Miniſter, 1.Theſſal.3.2. As the Apoſtles then in a generall acception of the word were called Deacons, ſo wee denie not but that Biſhops and Paſtors might bee called Apoſtles. Fourthly, that none in the Apoſtles time were vſually and properly knowne by that name, but the twelue onely, to whom were afterward adioyned *Paul* and *Barnabas*, it is manifeſt out of the Scripture, Luk.6.13. *Chriſt choſe twelue, whom he named Apoſtles:* the name therefore of Apoſtle, muſt be of Chriſts giuing. And Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1.Cor.12.verſ.28. Epheſ.4.11. that God hath giuen ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Paſtors and Doctors: *and all are not Apoſtles*, verſ.29. If then ſome were Apoſtles, not all, ſome other Paſtors, the Paſtors were not Apoſtles. This anſwere therefore is inſufficient.

Thirdly, *Michael Medina* a Papiſt thinketh, that both *Hierome*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Chryſoſtome*, were in the ſame hereſie with *Aerius*.

This erronious iudgement of his is confuted by *Bellarmine*: and it may eaſily bee diſproued. Firſt, ſeeing *Auguſtine* with the reſt held *Aerius* to bee an heretike, how could they condemne that for an hereſie in him, which they themſelues maintained? Secondly, it is not like that the Church, which hath condemned that for hereſie in *Aerius*, would tolerate it in the reſt. Thirdly, there is great difference betweene *Aerius* opinion, and theirs: for he would haue no difference at all betweene a Biſhop and a Prieſt: the fathers allowed a difference, holding it to be profitable for the peace of the Church: they onely affirmed, that this diſtinction was rather authorized by the ancient practiſe of the Church, then by any direct place of Scripture.

Fourthly, *Bellarmine* alleageth the opinion of one *Delphinus* a popiſh writer, *lib.2.de Eccleſ.* that by the ſentence of *Hierome*, in the beginning the ſame men were both Biſhops and Prieſts, not that the office of both was the ſame, but that then both were ioyned together in one man; and afterward, ſome were made Biſhops onely, ſome Prieſts only.

Bellarmine alſo confuteth this opinion, and ſheweth, that *Hierome* his meaning was, that the office of a Biſhop and a Prieſt in the Scripture are taken to bee all one, and not for that they might be, or were ſometime in one man: for thus *Hierome* ſaith, *epiſt.ad Euag. Quid facit excepta ordinatione,&c.* What doth a Biſhop, beſide giuing of orders, that a Prieſt doth not? And againe, *Communi preſbyterorũ conſilio,&c.* The Church was gouerned in time paſt by the common counſell or aduice of the Preſbyters. Whereby it is cleere that *Hierome* ſpeaketh not of the perſons, but of the office. And yet more plainly, *Epiſcopum & preſbyterum vnum eſſe, aliud nomen officij,&c.* That a Biſhop and a Prieſt are all one, the one being a name of office, the other of age. So he thinketh the office to be the ſame, the names diuers.

The fift and laſt anſwere to the places of Scripture propoſed is *Bellarmines:* who thinketh that in the Apoſtles time the names of Biſhops and Prieſts were confounded, being common to all Miniſters; but that the offices and functions themſelues were diſtinguiſhed.

Anſ. Firſt, Saint *Hierome* ſheweth out of Saint *Paul*, 1.Timoth.3. where he deſcribeth the office of a Biſhop, that not only the name of a Biſhop and a Prieſt was taken for the ſame, but the office alſo: becauſe the Apoſtle requireth the ſame properties and qualities in them both: *De preſbytero reticetur, quia & in Epiſcopo preſbyter continetur:* There is no mention made of a Prieſt, becauſe he is contained vnder a Biſhop, *Hieron.Euag.* And in the ſame Epiſtle he vrgeth that place, Tit.1.5.7. where the Apoſtle doth not only giue the name of Biſhops to Prieſts, but requireth the ſame gifts and qualities in them both. Secondly, S. *Chryſoſtome* vſeth the ſame reaſon, *Hom.11.in 1.ad Timot. Inter Epiſcopum & preſbyterum intereſt ferè nihil,&c.* There is almoſt no difference betweene a Biſhop and a Prieſt, becauſe that vnto Prieſts the care of the Church is committed, and that, which the Apoſtle ſaid of Biſhops, doth agree vnto Prieſts. Thirdly, Saint *Ambroſe* alſo vpon the ſame ground thus writeth: *Comment.in 1.Timoth.3. Poſt Epiſcopum diaconatus ordinationem ſubiecit,&c.* He doth place the ordination of a Deacon after a Biſhop: why? becauſe there is but one ordination of a Biſhop and a Prieſt: for both of them is a Miniſter (*Sacerdos*) yet the Biſhop is the firſt among the Prieſts. Fourthly, likewiſe *Concil.Aquiſgran.cap.*8. in theſe words out of *Iſidore* they conclude thus: *Vnde ad Timotheum de ordinatione,&c.* Hereupon the Apoſtle writing to *Timothie* of the ordination of a Biſhop and a Deacon, ſpeaketh nothing of Prieſts, becauſe he comprehendeth them vnder the name of Biſhops: *ſecundus etenim gradus penè coniunctus eſt primo:* for the ſecond degree is almoſt all one with the firſt. Thus by the iudgement of theſe learned fathers, there was ſmall difference, as betweene the names; ſo betweene the offices of Prieſts and Biſhops in the Apoſtles time. And thus much concerning the teſtimonies of Scripture.

*Argum.*2. Archbiſhops and Primates haue the ſame right of iuriſdiction ouer other Biſhops, which Biſhops haue ouer ſimple Prieſts: but their authoritie and iuriſdiction is rather grounded vpon the ancient cuſtome of the Church, then any Apoſtolical iniunction or inſtitution in Scripture. *Ergo.*

The ſecond part of the reaſon is proued by the authoritie of S. *Hierome*, or who elſe was the author of the booke *de 7.Ordinib. Propter hoc eſt nuper Epiſcopalis electio,&c.* For this cauſe alſo, that is the preſeruing of vnitie, the election of the Biſhop is referred to the Metropolitane,&c. and now the chiefe Prieſts begin to endure another Prieſt aboue them, *non ex iure, ſed neceſſitate*, rather of neceſſitie, then equitie. Alſo the decree of *Nicholaus* the Pope, *Can.3.de Patriarch. Primates vel Patriarchas nihil habere priuilegij,&c.* We doe determine, that Primates and Patriarches haue no priuiledge before other Biſhops, *niſi quantum*, but as farre as the ſacred Canons doe graunt, and ancient cuſtome of old time hath giuen vnto them. This alſo is affirmed by that reuerend and learned Prelate B. *Iewell* out of *Hierome, Defenſ. Apolog.p.*123. that Biſhops are ſubiect to Primates rather by continuance of cuſtome, then by precept of Scripture.

*Argum.*3. Biſhops are ſaid to ſucceede the Apoſtles, as S. *Cyprian* witneſſeth, *lib.2.epiſt.10.ad Cornel. Hoc vel maxime frater,&c.* Brother, wee muſt chiefly labour for this, that we may retaine vnitie, deliuered by our Lord and his Apoſtles to vs their ſucceſſors. But a ſucceſſor commeth not in place, till the predeceſſor be gone: *Decret.part.2.cauſ.7.quæſt.1.c.5. Viuente Epiſcopo,&c.* As long as the Biſhop liueth, no man can ſucceede him. And *Can.*41. *In vna Eccleſia,&c.* There cannot bee two Biſhops in one place: *Ergo*, the Apoſtles could haue no ſucceſſors while they liued: and they being the chiefe Paſtors and Biſhops of euery Church, there could be no other beſide them. And although they might commit the chiefe ouerſight of ſome Churches to ſome ſpeciall men in their abſence, as to *Timothie* at Epheſus, to *Titus* in Creta: yet could they not then be ſaid properly to be the Apoſtles ſucceſſors; and the Apoſtles yet being aliue, the office of Biſhops was leſſe needful, as a reuerend Prelate hath written. So then I conclude out of the Councell *Aquiſgran.cap.9.ex*

Iſidor. Apoſtolis decedentibus, ſucceſſerunt Epiſcopi: The Apoſtles deceding or departing, the Biſhops ſucceeded. Wherefore it is probable, that while the Apoſtles liued, Biſhops were not in their full office, but after their departure.

*Argum.*4. If the diſtinction of Biſhops and prieſts were by the commandement and inſtitution of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, it ſhould neceſſarily be enioyned vnto all Churches: for all the precepts and ordinances of Chriſt and his Apoſtles are of neceſſitie to be kept. 2.Theſſ.2.15. *Hold the ordinances which you haue beene taught, &c.* But this cannot without preiudice of many reformed Churches, be affirmed, which haue no Biſhops, though they haue other Ouerſeers in their ſtead: And although it can not be denied, but that the gouernmēt of biſhops according to the vſe of the primitiue Church, is very profitable for the preſeruing of vnitie; yet dare we not condemne the Churches of Geneua, Heluetia, Germanie, Scotland, that haue receiued an other forme of Eccleſiaſticall gouernement: as the Papiſts proudly affirme all Churches, which haue not ſuch Biſhops as theirs are, to be no Churches: Wherefore I cannot conclude that this ſpeciall forme of Eccleſiaſticall gouernement; is abſolutely preſcribed in the word: for then all thoſe Churches, which haue not that preſcript forme, whether of Biſhops, or other, ſhould be condemned as erroneous Churches. So then here is the difference betweene our aduerſaries the Papiſts and vs: they ſay it is of neceſſitie to ſaluation, to be ſubiect to the Pope, and to Biſhops and Archbiſhops vnder him, as neceſſarily preſcribed in the word: but ſo do not our Biſhops and Archbiſhops, which is a notable difference betweene the Biſhops of the popiſh Church, and of the reformed Churches: *defenſ.anſw.admonit.p.*382. Wherefore, as we condemne not thoſe reformed Churches, which haue retained an other forme of Eccleſiaſticall gouernement; ſo neither are they to cenſure our Church, for holding ſtill the ancient regiment of Biſhops, purged from the ambitious and ſuperſtitious inuentions of the popiſh prelacie. Let euery Church vſe that forme, which beſt fitteth their ſtate: in externall matters euery Church is free, not one bound to the preſcription of another, ſo they meaſure themſelues by the rule of the word: for if any Church ſhal ſeeme to preſcribe vnto an other in thoſe things, wherein they are left free, that ſaying of the Apoſtle may be fitly applied againſt them, 1.Cor.14.36. *Did the word of God ſpring from you, or came it vnto you onely?* God may giue vnto one Church wiſedome out of the word, to know what is beſt for their ſtate, as well as to another. And ſo I conclude this point, with that ſaying of S. *Auguſtine* to the Donatiſt Biſhops: *Tenete, quod tenetis &c.* Hold, that which you hold; you haue your ſheepe, I haue my ſheepe, be not troubleſome to my ſheepe, I am not troubleſome to yours, *expoſit.2.in Pſal.*21. So may we ſay to our ſiſters the reformed Churches, and they likewiſe to vs: let them hold that gouernement they haue, we do not moleſt them in their courſe, neyther let them moleſt vs in ours.

Thus hitherto haue I ſhewed the grounds of *Hieroms* opinion concerning the diſtinction of Biſhops and other Miniſters, which is alſo ratified by their owne decrees, *diſtinct.95.c.5. Olim idem erat, &c.* In times paſt a Prieſt was the ſame, that a Biſhop: and before that by the inſtinct of the diuell ſectes entred into Religion, *communi presbyterorum concilio*; The Church was gouerned by the common councell of the Presbyters: and *diſtinct.93.c.24. quod poſteà vnus electus eſt. &c.* that afterward one was choſen to be preferred before the reſt, it was done to be a remedie againſt ſchiſme: likewiſe that ſaying of *Auguſtine, ſecundum honorum vocabula*; That according to the titles of honor, which the vſe of the Church hath obtained, a Biſhop is greater then a Prieſt; is confirmed, *par.2.cauſ.2.qu.7.c.*34. And ſo their owne decrees conclude this matter againſt themſelues, *diſtinct.95.c.5. Sicut ergo preſbyteri &c.* As Prieſts therefore do know, that they by the cuſtome of the Church are ſubiect to him, that is ſet ouer them; ſo let Biſhops vnderſtand, that they alſo by the ſame cuſtome, rather then by vertue of the Lords diſpenſation, are greater then Prieſts &c. But *Hierome* thus writing, giueth no encouragement to inferior Miniſters, to caſt off the yoke of their ſuperiors: but exhorteth them willingly to ſubmit themſelues; *Sta ſubiectus pontifici &c.* Be ſubiect to thy Biſhop, and receiue him, as thy ſpirituall father. Likewiſe he exhorteth Biſhops, *Honorent clericos &c.* let them honour their Clergie, as the Clergie, that their Clergie may honor them, as their Biſhops, *diſtinct.95.c.7.* And thus the ſame learned father concludeth with his exhortation to them both: that they not reſpecting their titles, ſhould labour together for peace, and to profite the Church: *Quomodò in legionibus & exercitu &c.* Like as in the armie, ſome are Generals, ſome Centurions, ſome Tribunes, but the battell being once ioyned, titles of honor ceaſe, onely valour is required: ſo in this field and battell, wherein we fight againſt the diuell, not names and titles are to be ſought for, but godly endeuour &c. *lib.1.aduerſ. Iouinian.* that whether Biſhops as ſuperiors, or Miniſters as inferiors, they muſt ioyne together in the Lords worke, like as the Captaine and ſouldier fight together, the Maſter builder and the labourer build together.

Now to conclude this whole queſtion, and to ſpeake diſtinctly of euery point, that it may appeare how farre this difference in Eccleſiaſticall functions is diuine, and wherein humane: this I iudge may ſafely without any contradiction be affirmed, that in this diſtinction of the Miniſters of the Church, there is ſomewhat apoſtolicall, ſomewhat alſo politicall: and in the popiſh Prelacie, ſomething alſo antichriſtian and diabolicall: as I will now briefely ſhew in euery point, by particular induction.

Firſt, in the calling of Biſhops, as they are now ordained in ſome reformed Church, there is ſomewhat diuine and Apoſtolicall: for it cannot be denied, but that to haue order in the Church, and to haue diuerſitie of degrees and miniſtrations, to auoide confuſion, proceedeth from the inſtitution of Chriſt: And thus farre the preface to the 21. diſtinction may be receiued and allowed; which thus determineth, *Maiorum & minorum ſacerdotum, &c.* The diſtinction of the greater and leſſe Miniſters tooke beginning from Chriſt in the new Teſtament, who did inſtitute 12. Apoſtles as the greater and higher ſort of Miniſters, and 72. Diſciples as the leſſe. This then we ſay, is agreeable to the inſtitution of Chriſt, that there ſhould be not a popular equalitie, but a conuenient ſuperioritie and prioritie in the Miniſters of the Goſpell, as S. *Paul* alſo ſheweth, 1. Cor. 12. 28. *firſt Apoſtles, ſecondly Prophets, &c.* as I haue proued at large before.

Secondly, there is ſomewhat politicall: and that of two ſorts, as touching the policie Eccleſiaſticall, and Ciuill.

To the Eccleſiaſticall policie in the aduancing of the dignitie of Biſhops theſe things doe appertaine: Firſt of all S. *Hierome* ſaith of confirmation committed onely to Biſhops, *Diſce hanc obſeruationem ad honorem potius eſſe ſacerdotij, &c.* Know that this obſeruation is rather for the honour of their prieſthood, then by neceſſitie of any law, *Hieron. aduerſ. Luciferian.*

Secondly, the Councell of *Aquiſgrane, ca.* 8. ſaith, that the ordination and conſecration of Miniſters is now reſerued to the chiefe Miniſter, *ſolum propter authoritatem,* onely for authoritie ſake, leaſt that the diſcipline of the Church being challenged by many, ſhould breake the peace of the Church.

Thirdly, the author of the booke vnder *Hieromes* name *de 7. ordinib.* ſaith, that the conſecration of Virgins, which is not now in vſe in the reformed Churches, was reſerued to the Biſhop, for concord ſake.

Fourthly, the iuriſdiction of the Church, which in time paſt *Hierome* ſaith was committed to the Senate or Colledge of the Presbyters, was afterward, to auoide ſchiſme, deuolued to the Biſhop: *Diſtinct.* 95. 5. *Antequam, &c.* Before ſects entered into religion, the Church was gouerned by the common councell of Presbyters. And of this Senate mention is made in the decrees: *Cauſ.* 16. *quæſt.* 1. *c.* 7. *Senatum Romani, &c.* As the Romanes had their Senate, by whoſe counſell euery matter was diſpatched; ſo we haue our Senate the companie of Elders.

Fiftly, S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, 1. Timoth. 3. *Epiſcopi & preſbyteri, &c.* A Biſhop and a Presbyter haue but one ordination: for they are both in the Prieſthood. Whereby it may appeare, that the ſpeciall conſecration of Biſhops was ſince ordained for the dignitie of that calling. And S. *Hierome* ſaith, That in the Church of Alexandria, the Presbyters did make choiſe of one, whom they placed in a higher degree, and called him their Biſhop; like as if an armie ſhould chooſe a Generall, or the Deacons ſhould chooſe an induſtrious man, whom they make their Archdeacon, *Hieron. ad Euagr.* So it ſhould ſeeme that the very election of a Biſhop in thoſe daies without any other circumſtance, was his ordination.

Sixtly, in *Hieromes* time it was lawful for Prieſts and Miniſters to preach without further licence obtained from the Biſhop: as it may appeare *diſtinct.* 95. *c.* 6. *Qui non vult preſbyteros, &c.* He that will not haue a Miniſter to do that, which is commanded him of God (that is to preach) would be greater then Chriſt, &c. And afterward: Wherefore let it bee lawfull for them to doe that in the Churches, which they are ſuffered to doe at Rome, in Creete, Cyprus, Italie: nay, which is more in heauen. But ſince, to ſtay the humour of contentious and ſchiſmaticall preachers, it hath ſeemed good to the Church to referre the allowance of preachers to the Ordinarie: according to the decree of the Laterane Councell, *ſub Innocent.* 3. *cap.* 3. *Præter authoritatem, &c.* He that preacheth priuately or publikely without the authoritie of the Biſhop, let him be excommunicate.

Seuenthly, for the better diſtinction of the offices, and diſcerning of their perſons, it hath been thought meete by the Church, that Biſhops ſhould haue their ſeuerall habite and attire: *Concil. Aquiſgran. c.* 113. out of *Auguſtine: Offeratur mihi birrhum pretioſum, &c.* If a coſtly garment bee offered me, it may become a Biſhop, though it beſeeme not *Auguſtine*, a poore man borne of poore parents, ſuch a garment as a Presbyter or Deacon may weare, ſuch an one will I haue, &c. Though *Auguſtine* in modeſtie refuſe to weare a Biſhops habite, yet it may bee gathered, that ſome veſture was ſeemely in them, that became not inferiour Miniſters.

Eightly, diuers other conſtitutions haue been made in Eccleſiaſticall policie, for the maintaining of the dignitie of Biſhops: as *Cauſ.* 2. *quæſt.* 5. *c.* 1. that an oth ſhould not bee miniſtred to a Biſhop, but in a matter of faith: and whereas one common witneſſe was not taken to bee ſufficient in any cauſe: *Cauſ.* 4. *quæſt.* 3. *cap.* 3. yet the teſtimonie of a Biſhop was ſufficient, *Cauſ.* 11. *qu.* 1. *c.* 36. Likewiſe two or three witneſſes were receiued againſt a Presbyter, *Cauſ.* 2. *quæſt.* 4. *c.* 1. but a Biſhop could not be condemned by fewer then twelue Biſhops, *ibid. cap.* 3. Theſe and ſuch like immunities haue been in Eccleſiaſticall policie annexed to the dignitie of Biſhops.

So alſo the Ciuill ſtate hath augmented and inlarged the priuiledges and immunities of Biſhops, which they haue rather by the munificence of Princes, then by diuine authoritie: and this was the aſſertion of *Marſilius Patauinus*, that, wherein Biſhops are greater then ſimple Prieſts, and Primates then Biſhops, *illud ex gratuita,&c.* that it proceeded from the franke gift of the Prince, *Præfat.in concil.Senonenſ.*

As firſt, the diuiſion of Prouinces and Cities, vnto Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the limitation of their iuriſdiction was brought in by the conſent of Princes: as *diſtinct.99. Prouincia &c.* Prouinces were for the moſt part diuided before the comming of Chriſt, &c. And where of late the ſecular Primates were placed, to whom appeales were made, when they could not trauell to the Emperours Court, there now Eccleſiaſticall Primates are ſeated, &c.

Secondly, the reuenewes and lands of Biſhoprickes haue been giuen by deuout and religious Princes vnto Biſhops and their ſucceſſors, and diuers imperiall lawes haue been made in fauour of the maintenance of the Church: as *Cod.lib.8.tit.54.l.34.Iuſtinian.* That a gift exceeding three hundred ſhillings, being made without inſinuation, that is, inrolling and recording of it, ſhould not be good, but to the Church. And *leg.35.* A ſimple gift without ſtipulation, or tradition, that is, vnleſſe it were either deliuered, or warranted, was not good, but to the Church. Likewiſe, *Cod.1. tit.5.l.19.* Whereas the preſcription of twentie or thirtie yeeres might bee vrged againſt a priuate man, the Church might lay claime to the poſſeſſions thereof after an hundred yeeres. And thus by the fauourable lawes and bountifull gifts of Princes, the reuenewes of Biſhops haue been inlarged.

Thirdly, the titles of honour annexed to Biſhoprickes, as that they are created Barons, and made Lords of the Parliament houſe here in England, haue been beſtowed by the liberalitie of the Kings of this realme, not yet aboue 400. yeeres ſince. And whereas by the Imperiall law Aduocates were made equall to Knights, as may appeare by the law of *Leo: Cod.lib.2.tit.7.leg.14.Non minus prouident,&c.* They which take vpon them the defence of cauſes, doe no leſſe profit mankinde, then if they did defend their countrie by warre and weapons. By the ſame reaſon alſo ſpirituall Paſtors ſhall bee preferred before both, which doe not defend mens bodies as Captaines, nor their goods as Aduocates, but watch ouer their ſoules. And as it followeth in the ſame law: *Nec enim ſolos noſtro imperio militare credimus,&c.* Neither doe we thinke that they onely fight for our Empire, that vſe ſwords and ſhields, but aduocates alſo, &c. yea and much more ſpirituall Paſtors doe fight and ſtriue by their ſpirituall weapons of teares and prayers. So that by the equitie of this law, the Paſtors of mens ſoules are not to be held inferiour to Lords and Knights.

Fourthly, the iudgement of matrimoniall and teſtamentarie cauſes, and of other ſuch like matters, hath been reſerued vnto Biſhops by the Ciuill and Imperiall authoritie, as may appeare by theſe particular graunts:

1 *Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.28.Anthemius* made this law, that if a ſtranger dyed, giuing towards the redeeming of captiues, if he appointed no executor, the Biſhop of the place ſhould take vpon him to execute the Teſtators will to the foreſaid vſe, &c.

2 *Cod.lib.6.tit.54.leg.10.authentic.* If a ſtraunger dye inteſtate, his goods ſhall be deliuered to the Biſhop to be kept for the next heire.

3 *Cod.lib.1.tit.7.leg.1.Valentinian.* It is referred to the care of Biſhops, that victuals be not ſold at exceſſiue prices in the time of dearth.

4 *Cod.lib.1.tit.7.leg.10.Honor.* It is committed to the Biſhops to call vpon the Iudges, that the priſoners be prouided for.

5 *Ibid.leg.12.* It belongeth to Biſhops, to take order for captiues redeemed, that they bee not wronged, or moleſted after their returne.

6 *Ibid.leg.11.* Biſhops haue charge to ſee the bookes of Sorcerie burned, and what other bookes ſoeuer tending to impietie.

7 *Ibid.leg.18.* If a man confeſſe he haue receiued a piece of money, in hope thereof, being promiſed it onely, and afterward receiue it not, he may make his complaint before the Biſhop of that place.

8 *Lib.3.tit.1.leg.14.authentic.* If the Ordinarie Iudge be ſuſpected, the Biſhop of the place ſhall heare the cauſe together with the Iudge, and ſo determine it.

9 *Lib.3.tit.43.leg.15.Iuſtinian.* A law is made againſt dice-play, and the charge thereof is committed to Biſhops.

10 *Cod.Theodoſian.lib.tit. de Epiſcopal.indic.leg.1.* It was lawfull to any man in the wager of law, yea vpon the point of ſentence, to referre his cauſe to the iudgement of the Biſhop, and they were to ſtand vnto it, though his aduerſarie gainſaied.

Thus wee ſee alſo how in Ciuill policie the dignitie of Biſhops, by the fauour of Chriſtian Emperours, hath been inlarged: And hitherto I haue ſhewed, what is to bee iudged politicall in the diſtinction of Biſhops from the reſt of the Clergie,both as touching the Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall policie.

Now in the laſt place I will briefly declare, what hath been brought in beſide the firſt institution of Biſhops,by ambition and pride into the popiſh prelacie.

Firſt, the Biſhops of ancient time were diligent preachers, *Diſtinct.43.c.5. Nicholaus: Diſpenſatio,&c.* The diſpenſation of the heauenly ſeede is committed to vs; woe vnto vs, if he ſow it not,if we hold our peace. But they allow vnpreaching prelates,and ſay,that want may bee recompenced with other gifts of gouernment,*Rhemiſt.annot.*1*.Tim.*5*.verſ.*17.

Secondly,Biſhops in times paſt did ſhew themſelues humble and lowly in their apparell, diet, familie:For apparell, *Auguſtine* ſaith,*Fateor vobis de precioſa veſte erubeſco,&c.*I confeſſe vnto you, I am aſhamed of a coſtly garment,it becommeth not this profeſſion; *ex concil.Aquiſg.ca.*113. For diet,order was taken: *Lateran.ſub Alexand.c.*10.that Prelates, *tria tantùm fercula haberent*,ſhould haue but three diſhes of meate. And concerning their traine, it was decreed, *Concil. Baſilienſ.append.ca.*4. That Cardinals ſhould haue but tenne Patriarches,eight Archbiſhops, ſixe to goe before them in the ſtreete, whether they went a foote, or on horſebacke. But now who ſeeth not, how farre the ambition of popiſh prelates hath exceeded theſe ancient rules: for coſtlines of apparell,their Clergie hath been ſo wanton,that they were conſtrained to decree, that none of the Clergie ſhould weare any guilt ſpurres,or buttons,or ſhoe bands of gold;*Concil.Lateran.ſub Innocent.3.cap.*16. *Ruerius* the Cardinall vnder *Sixtus* 4.did weare cloath of gold, and vſed bed couerings of gold,and had ſiluer baſons for his priuie vſe: And their ſtatelines was ſuch,that vpon feſtiuall daies,the Biſhop comming forth in proceſſion, would be carried vpon mens ſhoulders; againſt the which vſe there is a decree extant, *Concil.Bracarenſ.3.can.*5. And thus hath the popiſh prelacie degenerated from the ancient ſimplicitie.

Thirdly,in former time Biſhops depended not as ſeruants and ſubiects one vpon another, but were as the chiefe Paſtors in their ſeueral Churches and charges. *Diſtinct.93.ca.24.Vbicunque fuerit Epiſcopus,&c.* Whereſoeuer a Biſhop is,whether at Rome, Eugubium, Conſtantinople, they are all of the ſame merite or worthines, and of the ſame prieſtly authoritie. But now popiſh prelates are all ſubiects and ſlaues to the Pope,being bound vnto him by oth of obedience and fealtie.

Fourthly,Biſhops of former times had their ſingular circuites and dioceſes allotted them in ſuch ſort, that they might themſelues haue the ouerſight of them: for they were bound by the Canons to viſit euery pariſh Church euery yeere in their dioceſſe, *cauſ.*10*.quæſt.*10*.c.*11*. ex concil.Toletan.*4. And againe, *Extrauag. commun. lib.*1*.tit.*6*.c.*1*.Ioann.*22. ſheweth a reaſon why he diuided certaine dioceſes ſome into two,ſome into more,*Quod in earum ſingulis ſingulorum vultus nequibat,vt deceret, vnicus paſtor inſpicere,&c.* Becauſe one Paſtor or Biſhop, was not able to know the face of euery one: that is, to haue a particular knowledge of the pariſhes in his dioceſſe. But ſince thoſe times, popiſh prelates haue ambitiouſly ſought to inlarge their dioceſſe, and to incroach vpon the limits of others, reſpecting more the largenes of their iuriſdiction, then the diſcharge of their Epiſcopall dutie. This enormitie miſliked ſome of their owne Popes and chiefe patrones: and therefore *Iohn* 22. diuided the Biſhopricke of Tholouſe into fiue dioceſes,*Extrau.commun.lib.*3*.tit.*2*.c.*5. giuing this reaſon thereof, *Quia durum erat & difficile,&c.* Becauſe it was an hard and difficult matter,that in ſo large a dioceſſe recourſe ſhould be had to one man,&c.

Fiftly,the Biſhops of the Primitiue Church were readie to forgiue,and were full of mercie, and did make interceſſion to the Magiſtrate for offenders,yea for ſchiſmatikes; as *Cauſ.*23*.quæſt.*5*.c.*1. *Auguſtine* is a mediatour to *Marcellinus* for the Donatiſts: *Sic ſuccenſe iniquitati,&c.* So puniſh iniquitie,as you forget not humanitie. And *Cyprian* excellently ſaith, *lib.*1*.epiſtol.*3. *Remitto omnia,&c.* I remit euery thing, I diſſemble many things; yea ſinnes committed againſt God,I doe not ſtrictly examine; yea in remitting of offences I my ſelfe do almoſt offend. But popiſh prelates are of a contrarie ſpirit, who were moſt cruel ſuckers of the blood of the Saints,condemning them to death,and deliuering them ouer to the ſecular power to be executed,as the high prieſt did Chriſt to *Pilate* to be crucified: contrarie to their owne Canons, *Cauſ.*33*.qu.*3*.diſt.*1*.c.*23. *Qui hominem tradidit,&c.* He that deliuereth or betraieth a man,killeth him,as our Lord ſaith, *He hath the greater ſinne that hath deliuered me vnto thee.*

Sixtly, in the former ages of the Church, Chriſtian Biſhops did not hold themſelues exempt from the ſecular power; *Cod.lib.*1*.tit.*6*.leg.*34*.Omnes,&c.* All,of what condition ſoeuer, whether Biſhops or Clerkes,or Monks, are ſubiect,*iuriſdictioni præſidali*,to the iuriſdiction of the preſident. But now popiſh prelates challenge a priuiledge to be freed from the Ciuill iuriſdiction,according to the proude decree of *Boniface,cauſ.*11*.qu.*1*.ca.*8. *Nullus Epiſcopus*, That no Biſhop ſhould bee conuented before a ſecular Iudge neither in ciuill nor criminall cauſes.

Seuenthly, in elder times a Biſhop could not, *ſine concilij examine deijcere preſbyterum*, without the examination of a Councel depriue a Prieſt,*Concil.Hiſpalenſ.*2*.can.*7. *Solus honorem dare poteſt,&c.* The Biſhop may conferre Prieſthood alone,but he cannot take it away alone,*diſtinct.*67*.c.*2.

and the ſame is ratified by ***Innocentius*** 3.***decret.Gregor.lib.***1.***tit.***7.***ca.***2. But of late daies popiſh Ordinaries tooke vpon them,***ex officio,*** in their Conſiſtories, by their ſole authoritie, to depriue the Miniſters of the Goſpell both of their liuing and life to,contrarie to their owne Canons.

Eightly,the ancient Biſhops did account of Prieſts as of their colleagues,***diſtinct.***95.***c.***10. And, ***Concil.Carthag.***4.***c.***34.it was decreed, that a Biſhop ſitting ſhould not ſuffer a Presbyter to ſtand before him. But the popiſh prelates challenge to be Princes and Lords ouer their Clergie, as wee haue ſeene before,and call the Clerkes vnder their iuriſdiction,their ſubiects.

Ninthly,the Biſhops of former times did admit Prieſts to ſit in councell, and giue voices with them,***Decret.p.***1.***diſtinct.***95.***c.***6. ***Preſbyteri intereſſe ſacerdotum concilio,&c.*** It was lawfull in times paſt for Prieſts to be preſent in the councell of Biſhops,&c. But now the contrarie is practiſed by popiſh prelates,who doe proudly exclude their Clergie from giuing voice in their Synodes, and doe iuſtifie their doing therein.

Tenthly,the Biſhops of the Primitiue Church did not take vpon them the iudgement of ſecular matters: ***Cauſ.***11.***qu.***1.***c.***29. ***Neque iudicem,&c.***Chriſt hath not appointed thee either a iudge, or inquiſitor of ſecular buſines. Likewiſe, ***Decret.Gregor.lib.***3.***tit.***50.***c.***4. ***Alexander*** 3. decreed, ***Ne Clericus iuſticiarius fiat principis,&c.***That a Clergie man ſhould not be adminiſtrator of iuſtice to the Prince.And againe,***ibid.c.***5.he thus writeth: ***Cantuarienſ. Archiepiſcop. Ne quis ſacerdos officium habeat vicecomitis,aut præpoſiti ſecularis,&c.*** That no Biſhop ſhould beare the office of a Vicount,or of a ſecular gouernour. But it was an vſuall thing for popiſh prelates to bee Lord Treaſurers and Chancellors vnto Kings,and beare other more ſecular offices.

Hitherto as I haue ſhewed,how popiſh prelates haue ſwarued from the ancient Canons; ſo will I briefly declare,how they haue degenerated from that perfect paterne and forme of a Biſhop,according to S.***Pauls*** deſcription,1.Timoth.3.

11 Firſt, S.***Pauls*** Biſhop might be the husband of one wife: which is not ſo to bee vnderſtood, as though he could bee no Biſhop that had been twice married,but not ſuch an one as had two or three wiues at once, according to the corrupt vſe of the Iewes, and ſo S.***Hierome*** expoundeth it, as ſhall be ſhewed afterward: it was lawfull then in the Primitiue Church for Biſhops to be maried. And in the Councel of Gangra,rehearſed alſo in the decrees,***diſt.***28.***c.***15.it was decreed vnder paine of anathematiſme,that no man ſhould make any difference betweene a maried and vnmaried prieſt. But the practiſe of popiſh prelates is otherwiſe,who cannot abide honeſt matrimonie,yet haue been knowne to reſort vnhoneſtly to concubines: as two of their Biſhops,that were at the Councell of Trent,were ſlaine being deprehended in adulterous acts,***ex Proteſtat.Concionat. German.aduerſ.concil.Tridentin.***

12 Secondly, S.***Paul*** requireth,that his Biſhop ſhould be vigilant and diligent in his charge: and accordingly the Canons of the Church haue prouided,***Sardicenſ.can.***14.***Epiſcopus,&c.*** That a Biſhop ſhould not be abſent from his Church aboue three Lords daies.And ***Concil.Carthag.***5.***can.***5. ***Placuit vt nemini,&c.***No Biſhop ſhall haue licence,leauing his Cathedrall Church, to make his abode in any other Church,no not within his dioceſſe. And it is memorable, which is recorded of Pope ***Gregorie*** 11.that as he admoniſhed a Biſhop to goe home to his Church, and he againe replying,ſaid: Why he, that was to giue example to others,did not returne to Rome; for at that time the Pope had his ſeate in France: the Pope thereupon remoued his Court to Rome out of France,where the Popes had ſoiourned by the ſpace of 74.yeeres. But now it is vſuall for popiſh prelates,both Cardinals and others, to follow the Popes Court, and very ſeldome to viſite their Churches.

13 Thirdly, S.***Pauls*** Biſhop muſt be giuen to hoſpitalitie: ſo likewiſe the ancient Canons require, ***diſtinct.***83.***c.***1.***Epiſcopus pauperibus,*** The Biſhop muſt miniſter meate and raiment to the poore that are not able to labour with their owne hands,&c. But it hath been the vſe of ſome popiſh prelates,in ſtead of the poore and impotent,to keepe Horſes,Hawkes,and Hounds: as ***William Longchampe,***Chancellor and chiefe Iuſtice to King ***Richard*** the 1. is reported to haue brought with him where he lodged,in any Religious houſe or other,ſuch ſuperfluitie of Horſes,Dogs, and Hawkes, that the place was worſe three yeeres after, ***Fox.pag.***246.***ex Matth. Pariſienſ.*** Likewiſe ***Lodouicus*** Cardinal Aquileg vnder ***Eugenius*** 4. is ſaid of the goods of the Church to haue kept in the ſtead of the poore,horſe and hounds,***ex Balæo & alijs.***

Fourthly,S.***Pauls*** Biſhop muſt be διδακτικὸς,a man of ſufficiencie,apt to teach,both able and willing: but of willingnes and diligence in preaching ſee before artic.1. So alſo their decrees,***diſtinct.***36.***c.***2.***Zozimus: Qui eccleſiaſticis diſciplinis,&c.*** He that is not endued with eccleſiaſticall learning,ought not to be preferred to be a Biſhop,&c. ***Decret.***49.***c.***2.***Cæcum offert,&c.*** He offereth a blind ſacrifice, that admitteth one that is vnlearned. But ſuch ignorant popiſh prelates did and doe yet abound amongſt them; ſuch as the Biſhop of Cauaillon was, who thus ſaid to the Merindolians,That it was not neceſſarie to ſaluation to vnderſtand the articles of the Creede: for there were many Biſhops, and Doctors of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expound the *pater noſter* and the Creed.*Fox p.*949. Such an one alſo was the Biſhop of Dunkelden in Scotland, who finding great fault with *Thomas Forret* Martyr, becauſe hee preached euery Lordes day to his Pariſhioners, ſaid vnto him; I thanke God, I neuer knew what the old and new Teſtament was, I will know nothing but my portous and pontifical. Of theſe words roſe a common by-word in Scotland, yee are like the Biſhop of Dunkelden, that knew neither old nor new Law, *p.*1266.*ex Regiſtris Scotiæ.* And leaſt that this ſingular ignorance might ſeeme onely a perſonall fault in this Biſhop, he ſaith in the ſame place; We are not ordained to preach, ſpeaking of the popiſh prelacie it ſelfe: and no maruell, that their Biſhops were ſo ignorant; for *Alphonſus* ſaith, that diuers of the Popes were ſo ignorant, that they knew not their Grammar. Yet it is contrary to their owne Canons, *decret.Greg.lib.*1.*tit.*14.*c.*15. *Honor.*3. deposeth a Biſhop, *ob defectum Grammaticæ*: Becauſe he knew not his Grammar, neither had read ſo much as *Donatus*.

15 Fiftly, S.*Pauls* Biſhop muſt not be αἰσχροκερδὴς, giuen to filthie lucre, according alſo to their owne canons, *Cauſ.*10.*qu.*3.*c.*7. *In lucris animarum, &c.* Let the Biſhops ſeeke rather the lucre of mens ſoules, then to pray vpon their goods. But who liſt to reade the grieuances exhibited by the States of Germanie, at the aſſemblie of Norenberge, *anno* 1523. ſhall ſee how the practiſes of popiſh Prelates tended all to this ende, to rake commoditie to themſelues: they made gaine of marriages, of pardons, excommunications, hallowing of Churches, chriſtening of belles, burials, licenſing of concubines, *Fox.p.*862. they made gaine of dedicating of Churches, giuing of orders, for the which a *prouiſo* was made, they ſhould take nothing, *concil. Cabilonenſ. ſub Carol.cap.*16. Biſhops exacted yeerely penſions of their Clergie, which is prohibited in the ſame councell, *cap.*17. they let out their iuriſdictions to farme, which enormitie is redreſſed, *concil. Lateranenſ.p.*1.*c.*15. And in the councell held at Oxford vnder *Stephen* the Archbiſhop, it was decreed, that no Archdeaconrie or other ſpirituall office ſhould be let out to farme: they alſo made gaine of licences to teach; which is forbidden, *concil.Lateranenſ.p.*1.*c.*18. *Pro licentia docendi &c.* That no man ſhould take any thing for a licence to teach &c. In theſe, and many ſuch like things, their greedie couetouſneſſe appeareth, contrary to the Apoſtles rule.

16 Sixtly, S.*Paules* Biſhop muſt be, ἐπιεικὴς, gentle, courteous, not cruell, and vncharitable in purſuing euery offence, and that vnto death. But the practiſe of theſe bloudie popiſh Biſhops hath been too well knowne in England: their owne law ſaith, that when a Clerke is degraded, effectual interceſſion muſt be made for him, *vt citra mortis periculum, &c.* that he might be puniſhed without danger of death, *decret.Greg.lib.*5.*tit.*40.*c.*27.*Innocent.*3. And concerning lay-men, they ſhould proteſt, *quòd pœnam ſanguinis &c.* That they deſire not or intend their bloud, *ſext. decret. lib.*5.*tit.*4.*c.*2.*Bonif.*8. But it is certaine, in the late perſecutions here in England, they intended nothing els but blood.

17 Seuenthly, S.*Paules* Biſhop muſt be, ἄμαχος, a man not giuen to fight, or contend, not warlike: and their canons agree. *Cauſ.*23.*qu.*8.*c.*19.*Nicholaus, Epiſcopi non debent militaribus.* Biſhops muſt not be occupied in militarie affaires: but popiſh biſhops haue often, and yet do take vpon them to be Captaines, and Generals of the field; as I haue giuen an inſtance before in *Hugh Spencer* biſhop of Norwich, who was Pope *Vrbane* the 6. his Champion, to warre againſt the Antipope; and in Cardinall *Ballua*, who was chiefe Muſter maſter vnder *Lodouic.*11. And a Cardinall at this time, or very lately, was the King of Spaine his Lieutenant generall in the Low countries.

Eightly, S.*Paules* Biſhop muſt be, φιλάγαθος, a louer and patrone of good men, Tit.1.8. as your owne Canons alſo, *diſt.*86.*c.*14. *Primùm opereris &c.* Firſt of all do good to the houſhold of faith: it is a great ſinne, if a faithfull man do want, and thou knoweſt of it: but popiſh Prelates were perſecutours of good men, as *Sanpaulinus* for reprouing one for ſwearing, was ſuſpected for a Lutherane, and ſuffered at Paris, *anno* 1551. *Fox p.*904. *Tomkins* was a godly man, who, when any man came to him about any buſineſſe, would alwayes begin with prayer, yet was he moſt cruelly handled of *Boner*, firſt his hand burned, afterward all his bodie, *p.*1534. And their owne conſcience wil tell them that Maſter *Bradford* was an holy and innocent man, yet by them cruelly ſlaughtered: by theſe, and infinite examples more, we may ſee how well they loued good men.

18 Ninthly, S.*Pauls* Biſhop muſt be, δίκαιος, iuſt, Tit.1.8. But their proceedings were moſt vniuſt and indirect: firſt their owne law ſaith, *Ne iudicium fiat in tenebris &c.* That no Iudgement ſhould be giuen ſecretly, in the darke &c. *decret.Greg.lib.*1.*tit.*29.*c.*24. Yet their Spaniſh inquiſition is all in ſecret and ſilence, nothing done openly, till the Innocents are brought forth to execution. Againe, *Cauſ.*2.*qu.*8.*c.*3.*Eutychian. Qui crimen intendit &c.* He that wil accuſe muſt come openly into iudgement &c. Their owne law in capital matters enforceth an accuſer to be produced, but they haue proceeded vnto ſentence of death without eyther accuſer or witneſſe. Againe, their owne law ſaith, *Innocentes ad paria cum nocentibus*: Innocentes ſhould not haue like puniſhment to offenders, *extrau.commun.lib.*3.*tit.*9.*c.*1.*Ioan.*23. But they haue condemned Innocents, as children, madde men, and ſuch as recanted, and ſubmitted themſelues, as afterward *Error.*105. of this firſt Centurie, it followeth to be declared more at large.

20 Tenthly, and laſtly, S.*Pauls* Biſhop muſt not be ἀνυπότακτος, diſobedient, or rebellious, Tit.1.7. which qualitie, as the Apoſtle requireth in the ſame place in the children of Biſhops, that they ſhould be obedient and dutifull; ſo much more is it requiſite in Biſhops themſelues to be ſubiect to their higher powers alſo, as the Apoſtle teacheth, Rom.13.1. And hereunto agree their owne Canons, *cauſ.*11.*qu.*1.*c.*20. *Iſtud eſt &c.* This is that, which we require of you, that you ſend vnder ſafe cuſtodie *Paulus* Biſhop Aquileienſ. and the Biſhop of Millaine to the moſt gentle Emperour &c.*Gregor*. This Canon ſubiecteth Biſhops to the ciuill Maieſtie: yet popiſh Prelates haue continually ſhewed them ſelues ſtubburne againſt their Soueraignes; as *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of Canterbury did worthily procure the Kings diſpleaſure, which was *Henry* the 2. and thereupon was exiled, becauſe he would not yeeld obedience to the Kings lawes, but conditionally, *Saluo ordine ſuo*, Sauing the priuiledges of his order: ſee the ſtorie, *Fox.p.*207. Such another ſtout Champion, was *William Longchampe*, Chauncellour and chiefe Iuſtice, and Viceroy to King *Richard* the 1. while hee was at the ſiege of Ieruſalem: who being in his ruffe, regarded not the Kings letters ſent vnto him, but impriſoned, and otherwiſe ſhamefully vſed the Kings brother, cauſing him to be haled and drawne through the myre in the ſtreets. *plur. apud Fox.p.* 247. Like vnto theſe was *Hugo* Biſhop of Lincolne, who traiterouſly ioyned with *Lewes* the French Kings ſonne againſt King *Iohn*, and afterward *Henry* the 3. his ſonne; and therefore was put to a fine of 1000. marks for his Biſhopricke: ſee more p.258. And other ſuch like trecherous prankes this popelike Biſhop played againſt his Soueraigne, and for his manly actes was canonized a Saint in the Popes kalendar, as trayterous *Becket* was before; and this is that goodly ſaint *Hugh*, that ſhould haue his day the 17. of Nouember, whereat the Papiſts ſtorme, that we place the Coronation of her Maieſtie, in his ſtead: which ioyfull Day, God graunt we may yet many yeers ſolemnize as we do, to the glory of God. And thus haue I ſhewed how far popiſh Prelates haue departed from the firſt inſtitution of a Biſhop: And thus much concerning the diſtinction and degree of Biſhops, both what therein is diuine and Apoſtolicall, what humane and politicall.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING THE office and title of Cardinals.

The Papiſts.

72.Error. B*Ellarmine* would faine haue the office of Cardinals, as ancient as the Apoſtles times: and the name to be worthily appropriated to the See of Rome, that as the Pope himſelfe by his prudence and holines, is, *tanquam cardo Eccleſiæ*, to the Church as the hingell to the doore, vpon the which it is turned and borne vp: ſo his Counſellers and aſſiſtants ſhould be called Cardinals, hauing the care of the Vniuerſall Church: but the Ieſuite, beſide ſome vaine ſhew of mothworne antiquitie, hath not one good argument to proue the name, and office of Cardinals, to be either ancient or commendable. Their eſpeciall office, as they are Cardinals, is to elect and chuſe the Pope, and to be aſſiſtant vnto him in Counſell, for the gouernment of the vniuerſall Church, and in this reſpect the Cardinals are preferred before Biſhops. *Bellarm.cap.*16.

For the firſt, he ſheweth the office of the Cardinals in being aſſiſtant to the Pope in the affaires of the Church to be moſt profitable and commodious in three reſpects.

Firſt, that by this meanes the Pope hath his ſenate or Councell alwaies readie, with whom he may conſult euerie day if he will for the affaires of the Church: Secondly, for that Biſhops could not be aſſembled without detriment of their Churches, from the which they cannot be conueniently abſent. Thirdly, the Cardinals are more exerciſed and experienced in matters of State.

Contra. Firſt, for the ſpace of 800. yeares by his owne confeſſion, but as the truth is, a thouſand yeares, the Church of Rome was gouerned by the counſell and aduiſe of the Clergie there without theſe Cardinals; and it was as well gouerned or better, then ſince: why might not the Pope content himſelfe as well with that courſe, as his predeceſſors? Secondly, the Pope buſieth himſelf with more then he need, to entermeddle with other Churches, of which vnneceſſary buſines if he would exonerate himſelf, he ſhuld as little need a Colledge of Cardinals as other Biſhops, if he would holde himſelfe contented with his owne dioceſſe. Thirdly, ſome of your Cardinals are Biſhops, and haue dioces, all of them haue titles belonging to their charge, therefore they can no better be abſent, then Biſhops without detriment of their Churches. Fourthly, and whereas he ſaith Cardinals are exerciſed in State matters: in deede they know too much of Princes ſecrets: neither is it their calling to ſtudie ſuch matters, but ought rather to giue themſelues to preach the Word according to their office: and as for the managing of Ciuill and State buſines, it belongeth to the Senate of Rome: they ſhould onely deale with Eccleſiaſticall affaires.

For the ſecond: though Biſhops in reſpect of their Epiſcopall iuriſdiction are before Cardinals, yet they for the regiment of the vniuerſall Church, and for that they onely elect the vniuerſall Biſhop, are preferred before Biſhops, *Bellarm.cap.*14.

Contra. Firſt, in that Cardinals meddle with the buſines of the vniuerſall Church, therein they are but intruders: for euery dioceſſe ſhould be left to the proper Biſhops thereof. Secondly, againe, in that they take vpon them to elect the Pope, they are but therein vſurpers, and doe apparant wrong to three ſtates, the Emperour, Clergie, People, as I haue ſhewed before. Thirdly, it is contrarie to the ſeuenth Canon of the Trullane Councell; that a Deacon in any office of the Church, ſhould be preferred before a Presbyter, and ſo conſequentlie, not a Cardinall Deacon ſhould in that behalfe be excepted.

The Proteſtants.

THat neither the name of Cardinals, as proper to Rome, is ancient, nor their office, or either of them lawfull or commendable, but vſurped and Antichriſtian: thus briefly it is ſhewed.

1 In *Auguſtines* time it was a common name, vſually applyed, both in the good and euill part, to chiefe and principall men of any place, or ſect: as he calleth the ringleaders of the Donatiſts, *Cardinales Donatiſtas,* Cardinall or captaine Donatiſts, *de baptiſm.lib.*1.*cap.*6. Surely, if it then had been onely due to the aſſiſtants of the Romane Biſhop, *Auguſtine* had been much to blame to applie the name to Heretikes. Alſo there were not onely Cardinals in the Church of Rome, but in other Churches alſo, as *diſt.*71.*c.*5. *Gregorie* giueth licence to the Biſhop of Naples, *ad Gratianum cardinandum,* to make one *Gratian* a Cardinall of that Church. And *diſt.*74.*c.*6. the ſame *Gregorie* licenceth the Biſhop of Syracuſe, *conſtituere preſbyterum Cardinalem,* to make one *Coſmas* a Presbyter Cardinall there. *Onuphrius* alſo a witneſſe of their owne, doth teſtifie for vs in this point, that Cardinall prieſts, and Cardinall deacons were ſo called, becauſe they were ſet ouer other Prieſts and Deacons of the ſame Church: *de Cardinal.titulis.* So then this name or title of Cardinalſhip is not proper or peculiar to the Church of Rome.

2 *Auguſtine* thus writeth to *Hierome, Quamuis ſecundum honorum vocabula,* ſaith he, *Epiſcopatus preſbyterio maior ſit, tamen in multis rebus Auguſtinus Hieronymo, minor eſt.* Epiſtol. 19. Though according to the cuſtome of the Church, a Biſhop be greater then a Prieſt, yet *Auguſtine* a Biſhop in many things is inferior to *Hierome* a Prieſt. Now *Hierome* was a Prieſt of Rome, and a Cardinall, as ſome of our aduerſaries thinke, and therefore they picture him commonly in a red gowne and habit of a Cardinall: yet you ſee *Auguſtine* as a Biſhop was before him, though for his great learning he putteth himſelfe behind him.

Bellarmine here telleth vs very boldly, that *Hierome* was a Prieſt of Antioch, not of Rome, though he helped *Damaſus* to write letters there: and therefore *Auguſtine* doubted not to preferre a Biſhop in degree before him. *c.*14.

Contra. Firſt, whereas he alleageth the 61. epiſtle of *Hierome,* to proue him a Prieſt of Antioch, there is no ſuch thing: but he onely ſaith, *Ego Antiochiam deſerui, &c.* I left Antioch. Secondly, herein *Bellarmine* is contrarie to the common opinion and tradition of their Church: for they vſe commonly to picture *Hierome* with a red Hat and gowne, like a Cardinall of Rome. Thirdly, this bold aſſertion of his without ground is contrarie to *Hierome* himſelfe, who thus writeth, *Præfat.ad Paulinian. Dum in Babylone verſarer, & purpuratæ meretricis, &c.* While I was conuerſant in Babylon, and a tenant to the purple whore, I began to mutter ſomewhat of the holy Ghoſt: but the whole Senate of the Phariſees gainſaid me, &c. and I ſtraightway returned to Ieruſalem, &c. By this it appeareth, that *Hierome* was not onely a young ſcholler at Rome, but then began to bee a profeſſor, and diſputer, and moſt like to haue entered into orders: for without a calling he would not haue offered himſelfe to publike conference and diſputation; and when he left Rome, immediatly he went to Ieruſalem, and there continued: It is not like then he could bee a Presbyter at Antioch. Fourthly, *Hierome* himſelfe condemneth that diſorder at Rome for Deacons to bee preferred before Prieſts: *Quid mihi profers vnius vrbis, &c.* What doe you tell me of the cuſtome of one citie? *Hieron.Euagrio.* Fiftly, *Auguſtine* alſo in another place complayneth of one *Falcidius* a Deacon of Rome, *qui duce ſtultitia,* ſaith he, *diaconos preſbyteris coæquare contendit:* Who being led or caried away with folly, did goe about to make Deacons equall vnto Prieſts. Quæſt.vet. & nou.Teſta. 101. Is not the ſame folly now generally practiſed in Rome, or a greater? for they doe not onely preferre Cardinall deacons before Prieſts, but euen before Biſhops and Archbiſhops: in *Auguſtines* time this was counted a great follie.

Laſtly, if we looke backe into former times, we ſhall find, that neither the office, nor dignitie of the Cardinals, nor any part thereof, is of any great antiquitie.

As concerning their office, it is to be aſſiſtant to the Pope in the regiment of the vniuerſall Church, and to make choyce of a new when the See is voyd: As for the firſt it was impugned, *an.* 402. by the ſixte Councell of Carthage, who writ thus to *Celeſtinus* Biſhop of Rome concerning the ſending abroad of his legates: *Executores veſtros Clericos quibuſq; potentibus nolite mittere, nolite concedere, ne fumoſum typhum ſeculi in eccleſiam Chriſti videamur inducere:* They of the Clergie your agents, we pray you ſend not, neither grant at euery great mans requeſt, leaſt the ſecular vainglorious pompe ſhould be brought into the Church: Their meaning is, that it was not ſeemely for a Biſhop to ſend foorth his legates and meſſengers, as temporall princes haue their ambaſſadours.

*Anno.*1159. ***Fredericke*** that famous Emperour ſent this meſſage to *Adriane* the fourth: *Cardinalibus veſtris ciuitates noſtræ non patent, quia non videmus eos prædicatores, ſed prædatores; non pacis corroboratores, ſed pecuniæ raptores, &c.* We ſhut vp our cities againſt your Cardinals, becauſe we ſee that they preach not, but pray vpon the people; they doe not ratifie peace, but rake together pence. *Non orbis reparatores, ſed auri inſatiabiles corroſores,* They doe not repaire the world, but empaire their wealth.

Now concerning the other part of their office in electing the Pope, it is but an vſurpation, and that of no great antiquitie: for in times paſt the Clergie and people of Rome were wont to chooſe their Biſhop and the Emperour confirmed him. But afterward as the ambition of the Popes increaſed, ſo alſo by degrees the ancient forme of election was altered: Firſt, *anno.*817. the Emperour was excluded by *Stephanus* the fourth, from the election of the Pope, but not from his conſecration: then came *Paſchalis* the firſt, who depriued the Emperor of all right either in electing, or conſecrating the Biſhop of Rome. For by his ſubtill allurement the Emperour *Lodouicus* reſigned his intereſt in ſuch elections to the Romanes. After him *Adrianus* the third, *Leo* the ninth, *Alexander* the ſecond, *Gregory* the ſeuenth, *Calixtus* the ſecond, did one after another as by violence thruſt the Emperour from hauing any authoritie in electing the Pope: thus was the Emperour excluded. As for the conſent of the people it was cleane cut off, *anno.*1000. by Pope *Iohn* 19. The Clergie yet had their voice, which was empaired at the firſt, when *Nicholas* the ſecond made a decree, that the Pope ſhould not be choſen without the conſent of the Cardinals *an.*1060. but afterward it was altogether taken away by *Alexander* the ſecond, who decreed, that the Pope ſhould be choſen onely by the Cardinals: And about this time the Cardinals began to grow in credite.

Concerning the dignitie of the Cardinals, and their priuiledges, they are but very young: *An.*1245. it was firſt deuiſed by *Innocentius* the fourth, that Cardinals ſhould weare red hats and robes, and ride vpon their footeclothed and ſtrapped horſe. *Anno.*1538. when *Paulus* the third held the papacie, a complaint was made to the Pope about ſome abuſes of the Cardinals, and one chiefe was this, that the Cardinals did hold certaine Biſhopricks, whereas *Cardinalatus officium, & Epiſcopi officium incompatibilia ſunt*, the office of a Cardinall, and of a Biſhop are vnmatchable: *ſic Contaren. Sadolet. Polus, Cardinales, ſuggeſtion. ad Paulum.* 3.

Now whereas the Cardinals though they be but Deacons, do ſit aboue Prieſts, Biſhops, and Archbiſhops: this alſo doth ouerthrowe the ſeuenth Canon of the ſixt generall Councell *Trullane*, which determineth thus, *Statuimus vt diaconus, in quouis ſit eccleſiæ officio ante preſbyterum non ſedeat:* We enact, that a Deacon, in what place or office of the Church ſoeuer, doe not ſit before a Prieſt.

Laſtly, that the office and calling of Cardinals, as it is now currant in Rome is altogether vnlawfull, and againſt all antiquitie, I will produce their owne witneſſes, that haue found out theſe ſeuerall faults in the Cardinals.

Firſt, that they buſie themſelues altogether with ſtate matters, neglecting the office of preaching, to the which they are called. *Eſpenc.* thus writing to the Cardinall of Lorraine, ſaith: *Væ ac male tibi futurum:* Woe and euill ſhall be vnto you, if you doe not proceed to preach the Goſpell. But ſome man will ſay, auaunt with this thy neceſſitie of preaching? and not much better one ſaid vnto me of a mitred Biſhop, now an hatted Cardinall: Wouldeſt thou haue a Biſhop, or Cardinall preach? I pray you, who elſe, &c. and yet this prelate was of their number, that would be called reuerend Fathers, Vicars of Chriſt, ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles: *ſic Eſpenc. præfat. ad Carol. Lotharing.*

Secondly, they are reproued for haunting the Courts of Princes, and leauing their owne charges: and they take vpon them, *ad inſtar proconſulum*, like to the old Romane Proconſuls: for ſo is the decree of *Clemens* 4. *ſext. decret. lib.* 1. *tit.* 15. *c.* 2. to haue their circuites and prouinces. Of this matter thus freely the ſame author vttereth his minde: *Sicut me miſit pater, &c.* As my father ſent me, ſaith Chriſt, ſo ſend I you, not gouernours of politicall, but reformers of eccleſiaſticall matters; Paſtors, not theeues; not Potentates, but Euangeliſts; not law-makers, but law-keepers; not Captaines of ſouldiours, but fiſhers of men, *Eſpenc. ibid.*

Thirdly, he findeth fault, becauſe many beardleſſe youths were made Cardinals: as alleaging an ancient Canon of *Syluester*, he thus inferreth: *Eccleſia Romana &c.* In times paſt the Church of Rome had no Cardinals vnder 60. yeeres old: which Canon would now be reuiued, there being in theſe daies ſo many beardleſſe, or but yong bearded Cardinals, *Eſpenc. commentar. in* 1. *Timoth. p.*238.*b.*

Fourthly, the Cardinals of Rome are ſome them, no fewer alwaies then ſixe Cardinall Biſhops:

by which meanes the Churches, whereof they are Biſhops, are neglected: which alſo is contrarie to their owne Canons, *Decret.Gregor.lib.*1.*tit.*5.*c.*3.*Innocentius* 3. would not ſuffer a Cardinall of Rome to be Biſhop of Rauenna, though he were deſired of the Clergie there, *quia præſentia eius vtilior,&c.* becauſe his preſence is more profitable to the Church of Rome, then Rauenna.

Fiftly, another notable abuſe in Cardinals is this, that whereas ſome of them are but Deacons, yet they ſit and take their place before Prieſts and Biſhops. Hereof complained *Bernard* in his time to *Engenius* the Pope, *de conſiderat.lib.*4. *Ridiculè miniſtri veſtri,&c.* It is very ridiculous, that your Miniſters or Deacons take vpon them to be preferred before your Prieſts. To this effect alſo their owne decrees, *diſt.*93.*c.*15.*Non oportet,&c.* It becommeth not a Deacon to ſit in the preſence of a Prieſt. *Ibid.c.*17. *Diaconi,* Let Deacons know that they are the Prieſts miniſters, as well as the Biſhops. But leaſt it might be here anſwered, that all Deacons of other Churches are tied to this rule, but the Cardinall deacons of the Church of Rome are exempted: it followeth, *diſt.*93. *c.*26.*Pracipimus,&c.* We commaund, that no Deacon, in what dignitie or office ſoeuer he is, ſhall ſit before a Prieſt. So likewiſe, *part.*2.*cauſ.*2.*qu.*4.*c.*2. *Præſul non damnabitur,&c.* A Prelate ſhall not be condemned but with 72. witneſſes; a Cardinall prieſt with 44. a Cardinall deacon of the citie of Rome with 27. witneſſes. By this Canon a ſimple Prelate or Biſhop is preferred before a Cardinall prieſt or Deacon. Thus wee ſee how enormous, vnlawfull, and repugnant to the Canons the office of Cardinals is: but I haue ſtaied too long in this argument, I will therefore proceede.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERNING THE keyes of the Church, committed for the execution to the paſtors and gouernours thereof.

THis queſtion hath foure parts. Firſt, wherein the authoritie of the keyes conſiſteth: ſecondly, to whom they are committed: thirdly, whether there is abſolute power of binding and looſing in the Church, or miniſterially only: fourthly, whether they that haue the diſpenſation of the Keyes, doe alwayes neceſſarily bind and looſe before God: of theſe in order.

THE FIRST PART, WHEREIN THE AVTHORITY and power of the Keyes conſiſteth.

The Papiſts.

BY the Keyes and power of binding and looſing, they chiefly and principally vnderſtand the cenſures of the Church, as Excommunications, Anathematiſmes, ſuſpenſions, Degradations, and the whole Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, *Rhem.Annot.Matt.*16.*ſect.*14.*Bellar.lib.*1.*de pontif.cap.*13. Secondly, they tye remiſſion and retayning of ſinnes to their imagined and deuiſed ſacrament of penance, ſaying, that where Chriſt gaue authoritie to remitte ſinnes to his Apoſtles, Ioh. 20.23. he inſtituted the ſacrament of penance, *Rhemiſt. Iohn.*20. *ſect.*3. The ſacrifice alſo and ſacraments of the Church, ſay they, are miniſtred for remiſſion of ſinnes, *Rhemiſt.*2.*Corinth.*5.*ſect.*3. Thirdly, they ſeeme to grant in words, that by preaching alſo of the Goſpell, ſinnes are retained, and remitted, *ibid.* but they make ſmall account thereof: for as we haue heard, they make it not of the eſſence of their prieſthood to preach, neither doth it properly appertaine vnto that office: yea, ſay they, abſolution cannot be rightly ſought for at the prieſts hands, but by confeſſion of our ſinnes, which is done in penance. *Rhem.Ioh.*20.*ſect.*5. This then is their opinion, that by their deuiſed ceremony and Sacrament of penance, ſins are properly forgiuen, and that the preaching of the word is not thereto neceſſary. 73.Error.

Their chiefe argument is, by abuſing that place, Iohn 20.23. where they ſay Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament of penance, when he gaue power to his Apoſtles to remit and retaine ſinnes.

Anſw. Firſt, your Sacrament of penance, is neither grounded vpon this, nor any other place of Scripture: here in the words of Chriſt there is no inſtitution of a Sacrament, becauſe there is no viſible element giuen, whereunto the word being added, may make a Sacrament. Secondly, here the commiſſion is but renewed, which was granted before to his Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors, Matth.18.18.*Fulk. Annot.Iohn* 20. *ſect.*3.

The Proteſtants.

THe keyes of the Church, that is, the power to binde and looſe ſinners, to open or ſhut vnto them the kingdome of God, conſiſteth both in the external diſcipline and gouernment of the Church lawfully executed according to the word of God, as alſo in preaching of the Goſpell, by aſſuring in Chriſts name all faithfull and penitent perſons remiſſion and forgiuenes of their ſinnes, and in denouncing and threatning the wrath of God againſt the diſobedient and impenitent: Alſo as the Sacraments are ioyned to the word, as ſeales and pledges of the promiſes thereof, glorious pompe ſhould be brought into the Church: Their meaning is, that it was not ſeemely for a Biſhop to ſend foorth his legates and meſſengers, as temporall princes haue their ambaſſadours.

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Thirdly, he findeth fault, becauſe many beardleſſe youths were made Cardinals: as alleaging an ancient Canon of *Syluester*, he thus inferreth: *Eccleſia Romana, &c.* In times paſt the Church of Rome had no Cardinals vnder 60. yeeres old: which Canon would now be reuiued, there being in theſe daies ſo many beardleſſe, or but yong bearded Cardinals, *Eſpenc. commentar. in* 1. *Timoth. p.*238. *b.*

Fourthly, the Cardinals of Rome are ſome them, no fewer alwaies then ſixe Cardinall Biſhops:

by which meanes the Churches, whereof they are Biſhops, are neglected: which alſo is contrarie to their owne Canons, *Decret.Gregor.lib.1.tit.5.c.3. Innocentius* 3. would not ſuffer a Cardinall of Rome to be Biſhop of Rauenna, though he were deſired of the Clergie there, *quia præſentia eius vtilior,&c.* becauſe his preſence is more profitable to the Church of Rome, then Rauenna.

Fiftly, another notable abuſe in Cardinals is this, that whereas ſome of them are but Deacons, yet they ſit and take their place before Prieſts and Biſhops. Hereof complained *Bernard* in his time to *Engenius* the Pope, *de conſiderat.lib.4. Ridiculè miniſtri veſtri,&c.* It is very ridiculous, that your Miniſters or Deacons take vpon them to be preferred before your Prieſts. To this effect alſo their owne decrees, *diſt.93.c.15. Non oportet,&c.* It becommeth not a Deacon to ſit in the preſence of a Prieſt. *Ibid.c.17. Diaconi,* Let Deacons know that they are the Prieſts miniſters, as well as the Biſhops. But leaſt it might be here anſwered, that all Deacons of other Churches are tied to this rule, but the Cardinall deacons of the Church of Rome are exempted: it followeth, *diſt.93. c.26. Pracipimus,&c.* We commaund, that no Deacon, in what dignitie or office ſoeuer he is, ſhall ſit before a Prieſt. So likewiſe, *part.2.cauſ.2.qu.4.c.2. Præſul non damnabitur,&c.* A Prelate ſhall not be condemned but with 72. witneſſes; a Cardinall prieſt with 44. a Cardinall deacon of the citie of Rome with 27. witneſſes. By this Canon a ſimple Prelate or Biſhop is preferred before a Cardinall prieſt or Deacon. Thus wee ſee how enormous, vnlawfull, and repugnant to the Canons the office of Cardinals is: but I haue ſtaied too long in this argument, I will therefore proceede.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERNING THE keyes of the Church, committed for the execution to the paſtors and gouernours thereof.

THis queſtion hath foure parts. Firſt, wherein the authoritie of the keyes conſiſteth: ſecondly, to whom they are committed: thirdly, whether there is abſolute power of binding and looſing in the Church, or miniſterially only: fourthly, whether they that haue the diſpenſation of the Keyes, doe alwayes neceſſarily bind and looſe before God: of theſe in order.

THE FIRST PART, WHEREIN THE AVTHOrity and power of the Keyes conſiſteth.

The Papiſts.

BY the Keyes and power of binding and looſing, they chiefly and principally vnderſtand the cenſures of the Church, as Excommunications, Anathematiſmes, ſuſpenſions, Degradations, and the whole Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, *Rhem. Annot. Matt.16. ſect.14. Bellar. lib.1. de pontif. cap.* 13. Secondly, they tye remiſſion and retayning of ſinnes to their imagined and deuiſed ſacrament of penance, ſaying, that where Chriſt gaue authoritie to remitte ſinnes to his Apoſtles, Ioh. 20.23. he inſtituted the ſacrament of penance, *Rhemiſt. Iohn.20. ſect.3.* The ſacrifice alſo and ſacraments of the Church, ſay they, are miniſtred for remiſſion of ſinnes, *Rhemiſt.2. Corinth.5. ſect.3.* Thirdly, they ſeeme to grant in words, that by preaching alſo of the Goſpell, ſinnes are retained, and remitted, *ibid.* but they make ſmall account thereof: for as we haue heard, they make it not of the eſſence of their prieſthood to preach, neither doth it properly appertaine vnto that office: yea, ſay they, abſolution cannot be rightly ſought for at the prieſts hands, but by confeſſion of our ſinnes, which is done in penance. *Rhem. Ioh.20. ſect.5.* This then is their opinion, that by their deuiſed ceremony and Sacrament of penance, ſins are properly forgiuen, and that the preaching of the word is not thereto neceſſary. 73.Error.

Their chiefe argument is, by abuſing that place, Iohn 20.23. where they ſay Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament of penance, when he gaue power to his Apoſtles to remit and retaine ſinnes.

Anſw. Firſt, your Sacrament of penance, is neither grounded vpon this, nor any other place of Scripture: here in the words of Chriſt there is no inſtitution of a Sacrament, becauſe there is no viſible element giuen, whereunto the word being added, may make a Sacrament. Secondly, here the commiſſion is but renewed, which was granted before to his Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors, Matth.18.18. *Fulk. Annot. Iohn 20. ſect.3.*

The Proteſtants.

THe keyes of the Church, that is, the power to binde and looſe ſinners, to open or ſhut vnto them the kingdome of God, conſiſteth both in the external diſcipline and gouernment of the Church lawfully executed according to the word of God, as alſo in preaching of the Goſpell, by aſſuring in Chriſts name all faithfull and penitent perſons remiſſion and forgiuenes of their ſinnes, and in denouncing and threatning the wrath of God againſt the diſobedient and impenitent: Alſo as the Sacraments are ioyned to the word, as ſeales and pledges of the promiſes thereof, ſo by the right adminiſtration of the Sacraments together with the preaching of the word, ſins are retained or remitted.

The Rhemiſts therefore doe vs great iniurie, in falſely charging of vs, that we ſhould hold that the ſpirituall power of the Church ſtandeth onely vpon the preaching of the word; whereas we grant, that it is exerciſed alſo in the Eccleſiaſticall gouernment of the Church, both in puniſhing, excommunicating and cenſuring of offenders, which is the binding of them, and in releaſing and abſoluing them againe, which is the other power of looſing: *Rhemiſt.2. Corinth. cap.10. ſect.1.* Leauing now this part of ſpirituall power in Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, which is not in this place in queſtion betweene vs, we muſt touch that other part, which is exerciſed in the word and ſacraments.

1 That the Sacraments doe bind and looſe, it is proued out of the word of God: they doe binde, Whoſoeuer eateth and drinketh vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, 1. Cor. 11.29. They doe alſo looſe, As oft as ye ſhall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, you ſhew the Lords death till he come, verſ.26.

But here is a double caution and condition to be annexed. Firſt, that all Sacraments worke not this effect, but onely thoſe of Chriſts inſtitution, which are but two, baptiſme and the ſupper of the Lord: for *Paul* ſaith, I haue receiued of the Lord, that which I deliuered vnto you, 1.Cor. 11.23. If the Apoſtles would not, neither might deliuer any Sacraments, but thoſe which were inſtituted of Chriſt, what great preſumption is it in any other to doe it? Secondly, we muſt not thinke, that remiſſion of ſinnes is neceſſarily tied to the Sacraments, as though there could be no remiſſion without them, for the grace of remiſſion may be effectuall in the name of Chriſt, by the preaching of the word without a Sacrament, *Ioh.20. ſect.4. Fulk.* For the word may be preached without a Sacrament, but the Sacrament cannot be miniſtred without the word: for that were as though a man ſhould deliuer a ſeale without a writing. Neither is it our meaning, that as the Rhemiſts cauil with vs, the Sacrament cannot be adminiſtred without a ſermon of the death of Chriſt: for though that were alwayes to be wiſhed, yet where it cannot be had, there muſt and ought to be a briefe ſhewing and declaration of the death of Chriſt out of the word, ſo oft as the Sacrament is adminiſtred, as it is obſerued in our Church, *Fulk. annot. 1. Corinth. 11 ſect. 15.*

And as touching this conueniencie, and in ſome ſort neceſſitie of hauing ſermons and admonitions before the Sacraments, our aduerſaries haue no cauſe to miſlike our opinion, ſeeing it hath been of late yeeres by themſelues in ſome of their Councels ſo decreed: As in the Councell of Colen, *anno.* 1549. *Parochus ſub adminiſtrationem cuiuſlibet ſacramenti ſacra concione breuiter populum admoneat, quid ea in re agatur:* Let the pariſh Paſtor in the adminiſtration of euery Sacrament briefly admoniſh the people, what is done therein. Likewiſe, *Synod, Auguſtenſ. anno.* 1548. *Volumus populum, quid in cuiuſque ſacramenti collatione agatur in concionibus et ſacramentorum adminiſtratione frequenter doceri:* We would haue the people taught often in ſermons, and in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, the meaning thereof: now to returne to the matter.

2 We muſt take heed, we conceiue not thus, as though the Sacrament gaue grace by the worke wrought, and that by the very vſe, forme, and externall act of the Sacrament we obtaine remiſſion of ſinnes, as the Rhemiſts would beare vs in hand, 1. *Corinth.* 11. *ſect.* 15. But the Sacraments are onely effectuall to the worthy receiuers, and to the worthy receiuing, faith is requiſite, as S. *Paul* willeth all men to examine themſelues, 1. Corinth. 11.28. which is, as he himſelfe interpreteth it, to proue whether they be in the faith, 2. Corinth. 13.5. Theſe conditions then being obſerued, we deny not, but that there is an exerciſe of the keyes euen in the Sacraments.

But chiefly and principally, is this power diſpenſed by the preaching of the word, as S. *Paul* ſaith, We are the ſauour of death vnto death, vnto ſome: there is the binding: And to other the ſauour of life vnto life: there is the looſing, 2. Corinth. 2.16. So our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, He that refuſeth me, the word that I haue ſpoken, ſhall iudge him in the laſt day, Ioh. 12.48. Here is the power of binding. Againe, the truth ſhall make you free, Ioh. 8.32. Here is the power of looſing. Who therefore can doubt of this, that the preaching of the word is the moſt proper and principall way and meane, for the exerciſing of this Eccleſiaſticall power? for ſeeing faith is the key of heauen, thereby we haue free acceſſe vnto the throne of grace, Rom. 5.2. and faith commeth by hearing, Rom. 10.17. and hearing by the word: It remayneth that by the word the keyes are diſpenſed.

Auguſtine alſo ſubſcribeth vnto this: for ſpeaking of reformation of life and repentance with remiſſion of former ſinnes, thus he ſaith, *Quid empturus es vt facias, quæ emplaſtra quæſiturus? ecce cùm loquor, muta cor, & factum eſt, quod tam ſæpe & tam diu clamatur, vt fiat. in Pſal. 63.* What medicine or plaiſter wilt thou buy to heale thy ſinne? Behold euen now, while I preach vnto thee, change thy heart, and it is alreadie done, which we ſo often call vpon you to be done. See then by the preaching of the word our heart is changed, our life amended, and our ſinne remitted.

Thus alſo it was decreed *Concil. Colonienſ. part. 10. cap. 6. Nihil gladio illo ſpiritus, qui eſt verbum*

Dei, potentius ad deyciendos, ac viciſſim conſolandos animos noſtros, &c. Nothing is more mightie or powerfull either to caſt down, or againe to comfort our ſoules,then the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God: to caſt downe is to binde,to comfort,that is to looſe.

Their owne Canons alſo here helpe vs: *Cauſ.*33.*diſtinct.*1.*c.*50.*Verbum dei dimittit peccata,&c.* The word of God doth forgiue ſins,&c. And *diſtinct.*20.*c.*1.There were two keyes giuen to *Peter, clauis ſcientiæ,*the key of knowledge to diſcerne,*clauis poteſtatis,* and the key of power to binde or looſe. And this is confirmed, *Extrau.Ioann.tit.*14.*c.*5. *Reſtat quod ad aliquid definiendum,&c.* It remaineth,that to determine the buſines of the Church,both keyes are neceſſarie,the key of diſcerning,and the key of determining,&c. that like as the materiall eye doth direct the materiall key, ſo the ſpirituall eye of knowledge,&c. Whereupon I conclude, that if ſpirituall knowledge bee one of the kyes,and true knowledge cannot be had without the word; *For the not knowing of the Scriptures is the cauſe of error,*Mark.12.24. then it doth neceſſarie follow, that the keyes conſiſt in the knowledge of the word.

The holy Martyrs haue ſealed this doctrine; *Walter Brute:* The keyes of the kingdome of heauen are not knowledge to diſcerne,and power to iudge,becauſe theſe nothing auaile in baptiſme, by the which the kingdome of heauen is opened: therefore in my iudgement it ſeemeth,that the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, are faith and hope; for by faith in Ieſus Chriſt,and hope in him for remiſſion of ſinnes we enter the kingdome of heauen,*Fox* p.492. But faith commeth by the word: *Ergo,*in the power of the word doe the keyes conſiſt.

George Wiſehart holy Martyr: I ſay,that an vnlearned man not exerciſed in the word of God, &c.whatſoeuer ſtate or order he is of,hath no power to binde or looſe, ſeeing he wanteth the inſtrument,by which he bindeth or looſeth,that is to ſay,the word of God,pag.1270.

THE SECOND PART, TO WHOM THE authoritie of the keyes is committed.

The Papiſts.

THe authoritie and power of excommunication,ſay they,is not in the whole Church, but onely in the Prelates: neither was the power of binding and looſing giuen vnto the whole Church: but in their owne name,not in the name or right of the Church,doe the Paſtors and Prelates exerciſe this power,*Rhemiſt.*1.*Corinth.*5.*ſect.*3. *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de Clericis cap.*7. The Church is ſaid to binde and looſe, becauſe the Prelates doe binde and looſe, as a man is ſaid to ſpeake,and ſee,though he onely ſpeake with the tongue,and ſee with the eyes. 74.Error.

*Argum.*1. They ſeeme to proue it by S.*Pauls* example, 1.Cor.5. *I abſent in bodie, but preſent in ſpirit, haue decreed:* Saint *Paul* vſeth here his Apoſtolike power, in ſending his letters and *Mandatum,* to haue the inceſtuous perſon excommunicate: *Ergo,*the right was in him and not in the Church,and ſo conſequently in the Biſhops his ſucceſſors.

Anſ. Firſt,Saint *Paul* ſendeth no *Mandatum,* but ſheweth his Apoſtolike power, in decreeing the inceſtuous perſon worthie of excommunication, and requiring the ſame to be executed by the Church,*Fulk.*1.*Cor.*5.*ſect.*2. Secondly,though *Paul* gaue the ſentence,yet was it done both in the power of Chriſt and the name of the whole Church: for he had decreed onely that he ſhould be excommunicate: it was not actually done: but to the due performing thereof there is required the congregating of the Church in Chriſts name,the preſence of *Paul* in ſpirit by his Apoſtolike power,and that it ſhould be done in the name of Chriſt. All this ſheweth,that *Paul* gaue ſentence in the name of the whole Church. Thirdly, the words of the text are plaine, that the power was giuen to the whole Church: for that power, whereby he was deliuered to Sathan,was the power of Ieſus Chriſt,1.Cor.5.4. but the power of the Lord Ieſus was committed to the whole congregation: *When ye are gathered together and my ſpirit,in the name of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt:* that is,in the power of the Lord Ieſus. So that this place which they vrge for themſelues, affordeth a better argument for vs.

*Argum.*2. *Paul* (they ſay) by the preeminent power of his miniſterie, pardoneth the inceſtuous perſon whom he had excommunicate,*Rhemiſt.argument.in* 1.*ad Corinth.*

Anſ. The text is plaine,that he conſenteth the Church ſhould pardon him,2.Corinth.2.10.*To whom you forgiue any thing I forgiue alſo.* Here not *Paul* onely,but the whole Church pardoneth.

Againe,the Ieſuites *ſimile* may be returned vpon his owne head: for as the eye and tongue in the bodie are but inſtruments of the life and power of the ſoule,which quickeneth the whole bodie: ſo the gouernours of the Church doe execute the diſcipline of the Church by the ſpirit of Chriſt,which is giuen to the whole bodie.

The Proteſtants.

THe authoritie of excommunication pertaineth to the whole Church, although the execution and iudgement thereof, to auoide confuſion, bee committed to the gouernours of the

Church, which exerciſe that authoritie, as in the name of Chriſt, ſo in the name of the whole Church, *Fulk.totidem verbis,annot.*1.*Cor.*5.*ſect.*3.

*Argum.*1. Matth.18.17. *If he will not heare thee, tell the Church:* This place prooueth, that although the exerciſing of the keyes be referred to the gouernours of the Church; yet the authoritie and right is in the whole Church: for the keyes were giuen to the whole Church. The Paſtors and gouernours, though they bee excellent and principall members of the Church, yet are they improperly called the Church, *Argument.Illyrici.*

Their anſwere here commonly is, that *dic eccleſia,* tell it to the Church, may bee vnderſtood of the Prelates of the Church: yea *Bellarmine* will haue it beare this ſenſe, that to tell the Church, is to referre it to the ſentence of the Pope: So that in effect he maketh the Pope the Church.

Anſ. Firſt, that the Prelates and Paſtors of the Church, haue the adminiſtration of the keyes committed vnto them for order ſake, wee denie not: yet the right and power thereof reſteth in the whole Church: and to them offences are to bee brought, as the miniſters and officers of the Church. Secondly, how ridiculous a gloſſe that is, that, *dic eccleſia,* ſhould be all one as to ſay, *dic Papa,* tell it to the Pope, as though one man ſhould bee the Church. Saint *Hierome* ſheweth in the like caſe concerning a great man in his time, *Iohn* Patriarch of Ieruſalem: *An tu ſolus eccleſia es,&c.* Are you onely the Church, that whoſoeuer offendeth you, is ſtraightway excluded from Chriſt? *ad Pammach. aduerſ.Iohann.*

*Argum.*2. We conclude the ſame alſo out of S. *Pauls* words, 1.Cor.2.21. *All things are yours, whether Paul, Apollos, or Cephas, whether things preſent, or things to come, and ye are Chriſts, and Chriſt Gods: Ergo,* whatſoeuer power is in the Church, it is the Churches, not onely the common vſe and the benefit thereof, (becauſe it may be anſwered, that although the keyes be onely granted to the Prelates, yet they vſe them to the good of the Church) but the right alſo and poſſeſſion thereof, euen as the Church is the inheritance and proper poſſeſſion of Chriſt.

3 *Auguſtine* conſenteth: *Eccleſia, quæ fundatur in Chriſto, claues ab eo regni cœlorum accepit in Petro. Tract.in Iohann.*124. The Church, which is founded vpon Chriſt, receiued in *Peter* the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: But the whole Church, and not onely the Paſtors, is founded and builded vpon Chriſt: *Ergo.*

Interrelig.Caſarea.cap.9. Ad Eccleſiam pertinet verbum dei, pertinent ſacramenta, pertinent claues ligandi & ſoluendi: Vnto the Church appertaineth the word of God, the Sacraments, the keyes alſo of binding and looſing. From hence we reaſon thus, to whom the word and the Sacraments belong, to the ſame alſo appertaine the keyes: but they belong to the whole Church: *Ergo.*

And yet more euidently out of their owne decrees: *Cauſ.*24. *qu.*1.*c.*6. *Petrus quando,&c. Peter,* when he receiued the keyes, ſignified the whole Church: *Si hoc Petro,&c.* for if it were ſaid onely to *Peter,* then the Church doth it not: but if the Church binde and looſe, &c. And *cap.*20. *Domus eccleſia,&c.* The houſe of the Church receiued the keyes. And your Maſter of Sentences, *lib.*4.*diſt.* 19.*c.* out of *Hierome: Habet omnis eccleſia in Epiſcopis & presbyteris:* The whole Church hath this power in Biſhops and Prieſts: that is exerciſed by them, yet the power is in the whole Church.

Walter Brute holy confeſſor of Gods truth, who liued in the raigne of *Richard* the ſecond, thus teſtifieth with vs: In the 20. of *Iohn* our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Receiue you the holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſinnes you remit, they are remitted,&c.* Seeing therefore that all Chriſtians that are baptized in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghoſt, receiue the holy Ghoſt, it appeareth that they haue power giuen them of Chriſt, to remit ſinnes, *Fox* pag.492. His argument is this: to whom the holy Ghoſt is giuen, to them alſo is giuen the power and right of binding and looſing: but to the whole Church and all faithfull Chriſtians is the holy Ghoſt giuen: *Ergo,*&c. And therefore the Paſtors and Miniſters doe execute this power in the name of the whole Church.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE PASTORS of the Church haue any abſolute power to remit ſinnes, otherwiſe, then as Miniſters onely.

The Papiſts.

75.Error. They ſpare not to ſay, that Prieſts haue full right to remit ſinnes, and are not miniſters onely thereof, and diſpenſers, but haue full power as Chriſt had, and he that doubteth of their right herein, may as well doubt whether Chriſt had authoritie as man to remit ſinnes, *Rhemiſt.annot. Ioh.*20.*ſect.*3. And againe, they call it an expreſſe power and commiſſion, yea a wonderfull power which is giuen vnto prieſts to remit ſinnes, and therefore it followeth neceſſarily, that men ſhould ſubmit themſelues to their iudgement, for releaſe of their ſinnes, *Annot.Ioh.*20.*ſect.*5.

*Argum.*1. They reaſon thus out of our Sauiours owne words, Ioh.20.21. *As my father hath ſent me, ſo I ſend you.* He ſheweth his fathers commiſſion giuen to himſelf, and then in plaine termes moſt amply imparteth the ſame to his Apoſtles: But Chriſt had full right to remit ſinnes: *Ergo,* alſo the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors: for they haue the ſame power that Chriſt had, *Rhemiſt.annot.Ioh.*20.*ſect.*3.

Anſ. Firſt, it is great preſumption, and ſpoken without any ground, to ſay, that Chriſt, by ſending his Apoſtles into the world, gaue them as full, large, and ample commiſſion, as he himſelfe had: for neither the Pope, in whom remaineth, as they ſay, the Apoſtolike authoritie, by their owne confeſſion, can doe all that Chriſt did, as to ordaine and inſtitute Sacraments: and Chriſt (ſay they) might forgiue ſinnes without the Sacraments, which the Pope cannot doe, and ſo conſequently neither the Apoſtles, whoſe full iuriſdiction he hath, in this behalfe, *Bellarm.de pontif.lib.*5.*cap.*4. Secondly, the power here granted to the Apoſtles, is in the name of Chriſt, to declare and pronounce remiſſion of ſinnes, according to the will of God, not properly in their owne power to releaſe or abſolue ſinners.

*Argum.*2. He breathed vpon them, and gaue them the holy Ghoſt, verſ.22. Therefore he that denieth the Prieſts authoritie to forgiue ſinnes, he muſt denie the holy Ghoſt to be God, and not to haue power to remit ſinnes, *Rhemiſt.ibid.ſect.*4.

Anſ. What a blaſphemous conſequent is this? The holy Ghoſt hath abſolute power to forgiue ſinnes: *Ergo*, the Apoſtles alſo, and all other prieſts haue the ſame power. Firſt, by this meanes they make no difference betweene the fulnes of power in our Sauiour Chriſt, and the communication of that power to other Miniſters: of Chriſt it is ſaid, that the Spirit was not giuen him by meaſure, Ioh.3.34. and that the holy Ghoſt dwelleth in him bodily: but it were great blaſphemie ſo to ſay of any man, Apoſtle or Miniſter beſide, which haue receiued of the ſame grace, but not in the like meaſure that Chriſt hath; but the ſpirit is giuen to euery one in meaſure, as they haue need in their ſeuerall places and callings. Secondly, though wee ſhould graunt, that the Apoſtles had the full authoritie of Chriſt actually to remit ſinnes, which they ſhall neuer proue, yet it may bee doubted, whether all Miniſters, whom they call Prieſts (which name we refuſe not, if it bee taken according to the ſenſe of the originall word *Preſbyter*, and not for a ſacrificing prieſthood) haue as full power, in this caſe, as the Apoſtles had, nay it is plaine they haue not: for the Apoſtles and other in the Primitiue Church, had power to diſcerne ſpirits, 1.Cor.12.10. and after a ſtrange manner to exerciſe power ouer their bodily life, as *Peter* did vpon *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, Act.5. Yet we rather ſtand vpon this point, that neither the Apoſtles nor any other Miniſters haue power actually to remit ſinnes, then onely as diſpenſers and ſtewards in the name of Chriſt.

The Proteſtants.

AL the power of binding and looſing committed to the Apoſtles and to the Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments, is, by declaring the will and pleaſure of God out of his word, both to pronounce forgiuenes of ſinnes to al, that are truly penitent, and the retaining of them to the obſtinate and impenitent, *Fulk.annot. Ioh.*20. *ſect.*3. So that Miniſters are not made iudges in this caſe, but onely as the Lords ambaſſadours, to declare the will of God out of his word.

*Argum.*1. There is a notable place for this purpoſe, 2.Cor.5.18. *God hath reconciled vs vnto himſelfe through Ieſus Chriſt, and hath giuen vs the miniſterie of reconciliation.* So then Chriſt is the onely author of reconciliation, the Apoſtles are but miniſters: how then ſay the Rhemiſts that Chriſt himſelfe is but a miniſter alſo of our reconciliation, yet a chiefe miniſter, whereas the Apoſtle maketh him the author? God was in Chriſt reconciling the world to himſelfe, verſ.19. We are but ambaſſadours for Chriſt, and pray you in Chriſts ſtead, to be reconciled vnto God. This then is the office of Miniſters, not to reconcile men vnto God, but to pray them to bee reconciled through Chriſt: Chriſt onely is the reconciler, they but miniſters of reconciliation: they are but meſſengers and ambaſſadours, onely to declare their princes pleaſure; their commiſſion is certaine, beyond that they cannot goe. Wherefore that is a blaſphemous decretall, and cleane contrarie to the Scripture, which is aſcribed, but falſely, to *Pontianus* Biſhop of Rome, which ſaith, that God hath Prieſts ſo familiar, that by them he forgiueth the ſinnes of others, and reconcileth them vnto him. But S. *Paul* ſaith, that God onely by Chriſt reconcileth vs vnto himſelfe.

*Argum.*2. *Auguſtine* doth very freely vtter his minde concerning this matter, who putteth this obiection: If men doe not forgiue ſinnes, then it ſhould ſeeme to be falſe which Chriſt ſaith, *Whatſoeuer you binde in earth is bound in heauen.* He anſwereth: *Daturus erat Dominus hominibus ſpiritum ſanctum, &c.* God was to giue vnto men the holy Ghoſt, by whom their ſinnes ſhould be forgiuen them. *Spiritus dimittit, non vos; ſpiritus autem Deus eſt: Deus ergo dimittit, non vos:* The ſpirit therefore remitteth ſinne, and not you: And this is recited in the decrees, *Cauſ.*2.*qu.*1.*cap.*82. the ſpirit is God; God forgiueth ſinnes, and not you. Here is one argument, God onely forgiueth ſinnes: *Ergo*, not man. Againe, *Quid es homo niſi ager ſanandus? vis mihi eſſe medicus? mecum quære medicum:* O man what art thou that takeſt away my ſinnes, but a ſicke man thy ſelfe? wouldeſt thou be my Phiſition? nay, let vs both together goe ſeeke a Phiſition that may heale vs. Loe, another argument: He cannot be a Phiſition to others, that needeth a Phiſition himſelfe: he cannot reconcile others to God, who hath himſelfe neede of a reconciler. Further, he ſaith: *Qui dimittit* *per hominem, poteſt dimittere præter hominem: non enim minus eſt idoneus per ſe dare, qui poteſt per alium dare:* He that can forgiue ſins by man, can forgiue alſo without man: for he may as well forgiue by himſelfe, as he can do it by another. Here is then the third argument: If man doe actually forgiue ſinnes, then Chriſt ſhould not forgiue ſinnes without man: for the whole power is committed to man. Yea, the Rhemiſts affirme the ſame, that it is neceſſarie we ſhould ſubmit our ſelues to the iudgement of the Prieſt for releaſe of our ſinnes: if it be neceſſarie, then ſinnes cannot be remitted without the Prieſt: then is Chriſts power limited, he cannot forgiue without man, which is contrarie to that *Auguſtine* affirmeth here.

To this agreeth the Councell *Cabilonenſ. ſub Carolo. can.* 33. in theſe words: *Confeſſio quæ Deo fit, purgat peccata; quæ ſacerdoti fit, docet, qualiter ipſa purgentur peccata: Deus enim ſalutis & ſanitatis largitor & author, plerunque hanc præbet ſua potentia inuiſibili adminiſtratione, plerunque medicorum operatione:* The confeſſion which is made to God, purgeth our ſinne; that which is made to the prieſt, ſheweth how our ſinne ſhould bee purged: for God the author and giuer of health and ſaluation doth many times ſaue by his inuiſible power, and many times by the worke or labour of the Phiſition. Hence we learne, that the Miniſter doth heale the ſinnes of the ſoule no otherwiſe then the Phiſition doth cure the diſeaſes of the bodie, that is, miniſterially onely: and that he actually forgiueth not ſinnes, but onely ſheweth and declareth how they are forgiuen.

We haue plentifull teſtimonie from their owne Canons: *Decret. p. 2. cauſ.* 11. *qu. 3. c. 87. Petra tenet, &c.* It is the rocke (that is Chriſt) which retaineth ſinnes, the rocke remitteth ſinnes. *Part. 3. diſtinct. 4. c.* 141. *Nemo tollit, &c.* No man taketh away ſinne but onely Chriſt, which is the Lambe that taketh away the ſinne of the world.

Their Maſter of Sentences alloweth that ſaying of S. *Ambroſe: Ille ſolus peccata, &c.* He onely forgiueth ſinnes, that died for our ſinnes, *lib. 4. diſtinct. 18. d.* And againe, *ibid. f. Sacerdotibus tribuit poteſtatem, &c.* Chriſt giueth power to Prieſts to binde and looſe, that is, *oſtendendi, &c.* to ſhew or declare that they are bound, or looſed: like as the Prieſts in the law had power to diſcerne betweene leper and leper. And *diſtinct. 19. c. Sacerdotes non propria virtute, &c.* Miniſters doe not bleſſe by their owne power, but as they beare the figure of Chriſt, that is, repreſent Chriſt: *Ergo,* the Miniſters of the Church not iudicially, but miniſterially onely forgiue, or retaine ſinnes, that is, only declare them ſo to be.

This truth hath been ſealed by the blood of holy Martyrs: *George Carpenter* burned in Bauaria, *anno* 1527. for this article with others, *that he did not beleeue that a Prieſt could forgiue a mans ſinnes:* that is, by any actuall or inherent power in himſelfe.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: I ſay, that onely Chriſt looſeth a ſinner, which is contrite, by his word and promiſe, and the Prieſt doth nothing but ſhew and declare that word. And this teſtifieth S. *Paul* in the 2. to the Corinthians, ſaying, *God hath reconciled vs vnto him through Chriſt Ieſus:* See it is God that through Chriſt, looſeth our ſinne. *And he hath* (quoth S. *Paul*) *ordained vs miniſters of the ſame attonement.* See how Chriſts Apoſtles called not themſelues the authors of binding and looſing, but Miniſters, *Fox* pag. 1105.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER STRAIGHTwaies whatſoeuer be looſed or bound by the miniſterie of men vpon earth, be ſo in heauen.

The Papiſts.

76. Error. AN expreſſe power (ſay they) is giuen vnto Prieſts to remit and retaine ſinnes: And Chriſt promiſeth, that whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer they forgiue, they are forgiuen of God, and whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer they retaine, they are retained of God, *Rhemiſt. annot. Ioh. 20. ſect. 5.* Whereby this appeareth to bee their opinion, which is manifeſt alſo by the practiſe of their Church, that at the will and pleaſure of euery Prieſt exerciſing the keyes vpon earth, men are bound and looſed in heauen.

They ground this their opinion vpon the generalitie of the words: Whoſoeuers ſinnes you remit, they are remitted, Ioh. 20. 23. And Matth. 18. 18. Whatſoeuer you binde in earth, ſhall bee bound in heauen.

Anſ. Theſe places are not ſo to be vnderſtood, as though God were bound to ratifie euery decree of men vpon earth: for firſt this power is giuen to all lawfull Paſtors which doe hold the Apoſtolike faith, not to Idolatrous, ignorant, and blaſphemous prieſts, ſuch as moſt, if not all, of the popiſh ſort are. Secondly, they muſt decree in the earth according to Gods will: Wherefore Ioh. 20. 22. firſt Chriſt breatheth his ſpirit vpon his Apoſtles, and then giueth them their commiſſion: ſignifying hereby, that they muſt execute this power as they ſhall be directed by Gods ſpirit: and Matth. 18. 20. it followeth, that they muſt bee aſſembled in the name of Chriſt; that is, according to Chriſts rule and the direction of his word, they muſt binde and looſe, and not at their owne diſcretion.

The Proteſtants.

THat no ſentence or decree of men bindeth or looſeth before God in heauen, but that which is pronounced according to the will and pleaſure of God, and by the warrant of his word, the Scripture euery where teacheth vs.

*Argum.*1. Prouerbs.26.2. *As the ſparrow by flying eſcapeth, ſo the curſe that is cauſeleſſe ſhall not come.* Iſai.5.20.*Woe vnto them that ſpeake good of euill, and euill of good. He that iuſtifieth the wicked and condemneth the iuſt, they are both an abomination to God,* Prou.17.15. Wherefore a Prieſt binding a penitent man, and looſing a wicked man, doth flatly tranſgreſſe the law and rule of Gods word: neither ſhall his ſentence be ratified in heauen.

*Arg.*2. In ſaying that whoſoeuers ſins the Prieſt bindeth or looſeth, his ſentēce ſtandeth in effect before God, they muſt needes admit one or both of theſe abſurdities: either to grant, that a Prieſt cannot erre in diſpenſing of the keyes, which were too ſhamefull a ſaying, to giue ſo great a priuiledge to euery ignorant and ſimple prieſt, (ſuch as their Church hath great ſtore of) which no mortall man can haue; Saint *Paul* giueth warning to *Timothie,* who was more then a common or ordinarie Miniſter, that he lay not his hands ſuddenly vpon any, *ad* 1.*Timoth.*5.*verſ.*22. But if *Timothie,* ſo excellent a man, had been free from erring in executing his function, this exhortation of S. *Paul* had been needleſſe and ſuperfluous:

Or elſe, they muſt ſay that the iudgement of mens ſoules is committed vnto them: for if, looke, how they pronounce vpon men on earth, euen ſo it fareth with them before God; then the ſaluation and damnation of men dependeth of their ſentence. But the Scripture ſaith, *Doe not iudge thy brother, for we ſhall all appeare before the iudgement ſeate of Chriſt,* Rom.14.10. Men therefore are not iudges to pronounce who are ſaued or damned, but the iudgement muſt bee committed to Chriſt.

But who knoweth not that the popiſh Church doth arrogate vnto themſelues this power, to define who are Saints in heauen, and whoſe ſoules are tormented in hell? Thus they dealt with *Iohn Huſſe;* hauing condemned him, they ſet a crowne of paper vpon his head pictured with diuels, ſaying vnto him: Now we commit thy ſoule to the diuell. At the burning of that worthie ſeruant of God and bleſſed Martyr *Iohn Frith,* one Doctor *Cooke,* a foule mouthed Papiſt, bid the people to pray no more for him, then they would for a dogge. And thus they take the Lords office out of his hand, in taking vpon them to be iudges of men.

Fox.pag.1030

*Argum.*3. I will conclude with *Auguſtines* words, he ſaith, that ſinnes are forgiuen, or not forgiuen: *non ſecundum arbitrium hominum, ſed ſecundum arbitrium Dei, & orationes ſanctorum:* not after the will and pleaſure of men, but according to the will of God, and at the prayers of deuout and holy men.

With *Auguſtine* accordeth all antiquitie, *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. cap.*37. *Tunc vera eſt abſolutio præſidentis, cùm æterni arbitrium ſequitur iudicis, vt Lazarum prius Chriſtus mortuum viuificauit, qui viuus egreſſus poſtea à diſcipulis ſolutus eſt:* Then the Rector abſolueth aright when he followeth the will of the eternall Iudge, as Chriſt firſt did reuiue *Lazarus* being dead: and then bad his Apoſtles looſe him.

Nicholaus 1.*epiſt.ad Michaëlem: Qui ligati ſunt ligare, & qui ipſi mortui ſunt alios mortificare non poſſunt:* They cannot binde others that are bound themſelues, nor mortifie others being dead themſelues. But many prieſts themſelues are dead and bound in their ſinnes; how then can they binde others?

*Leodienſ.epiſtol.cont.Paſchal.*2. *Dicimus cum Gregorio ligandi & ſoluendi poteſtate ſe priuat, qui ſubiectos pro ſuo velle, non eorum merito ligat, aut ſoluit:* We ſay with *Gregorie,* he doth depriue himſelfe of the power of binding and looſing, which doth binde or looſe his inferiours after his owne fancie, not according to their deſert.

This alſo is the ſentence of their decrees; *Cauſ.*11.*qu.*3.*c.*46.*Gelaſius: Neminem poteſt iniqua grauare ſententia:* An vniuſt ſentence can hurt no man: therefore he neede not deſire to be abſolued from that ſentence, wherewith he is not bound. *Cap.*62.*Gregor. Tum vera eſt abſolutio, &c.* Then the abſolution of the Preſident or Prelate is good, when he followeth the will of the internall iudge.

Likewiſe the Maſter of Sentences, *diſtinct.*18.*lib.*4.*h. Interdum, qui foras mittitur, &c.* Sometime he that is thruſt out of the Church is within, and he that is within is out of the Church.

Walter Brute holy confeſſor, ſheweth how that Prieſts taking vpon them to bee iudges of men, doe more then Chriſt did in the daies of his fleſh, who would not take vpon him to be a iudge, or to puniſh ſinners according to the quantitie of their ſinnes, but hath reſerued that for his ſecond comming: And againſt ſuch he applieth that ſaying of S. *Paul,* 1.Cor.4. *Iudge not before the time, vntill the comming of the Lord, who ſhall diſcloſe the ſecrets of hearts, &c. Fox* pag.492.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: The declaration or miniſterie of the Prieſt doth not any thing auaile to looſe any perſon, vnleſſe he that ſhould bee looſed giue credence vnto the word miniſtred or ſhewed by the Prieſt, *Fox* pag. 1105. *Ergo,* the ſentence of the Prieſt doth not abſolutely binde.

THE FIFT QVESTION, CONCERNING the lawfulnes of mariage in Miniſters.

THis queſtion hath three parts: firſt, whether it bee expedient or requiſite that all Miniſters ſhould be tyed vnto ſingle life. Secondly, whether men twice married are to be admitted into the Miniſterie. Thirdly, whether Miniſters hauing entered into holy orders, ought to renounce the ſocietie of their wiues before married.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER IT BE lawfull for Miniſters to marrie.

The Papiſts.

77. Error. BEllarmine confeſſeth, that ſingle life is not impoſed vpon Miniſters by the law of God, for there is no precept either in the old or new Teſtament, that forbiddeth Miniſters to marrie: but it is a poſitiue law of the Church, moſt ancient and moſt iuſt, kept and obſerued euen ſince the Apoſtles time. And therefore it is not now lawfull for Miniſters to marrie, *cap.* 18. *lib. de Clericis.*

Argum. 1. 1. Timoth. 2. 3. The Apoſtle ſaith, that no man that warreth, entangleth himſelfe with the affaires of this life: But to bee married and to haue care of houſehold, are counted amongſt the affaires and buſines of this life: *Ergo,* a Miniſter who is the Lords ſouldier, ought not to entangle himſelfe therewith, *Bellarmine.*

Anſ. Firſt, the Ieſuite before confeſſed, that they had no Scripture againſt Miniſters mariage, how is it then, that now he pleadeth Scripture? Secondly, wee muſt put the Ieſuite in minde of his owne expoſition of this place, *lib.* 5. *de pontif. cap.* 10. where, this place being alleaged againſt the temporall dominion [illegible] Eccleſiaſticall perſons, he anſwereth, that this place onely forbiddeth *negotiationes,* and *mercimonia,* merchandiſe and trafficke in the world, not *regimen politicum,* politicall regiment. If then the politicall care of a Citie, Prouince, or Common-wealth bee no impediment, in his iudgement, to the ſpirituall warfare: much leſſe without all queſtion is the domeſticall care of one familie, the charge of wife and children. Thirdly, we vtterly denie, that marriage is an hinderance or let to the calling of Miniſters: nay, we ſay, that it is an helpe and comfort to thoſe that haue not the proper gift of continencie.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* would not haue women admitted to be widowes of the Church, that had a purpoſe to marrie, 1. Timoth. 5. 11. much leſſe they that are married ſhould bee admitted to miniſter the Sacrament, *Rhemiſt. annotat. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, the reaſon is not alike: for ſuch women as had no husbands were fitteſt for the ſeruice of the Church, becauſe they were free from other domeſticall attendance, as wiues are not, which muſt waite of their husbands: but mariage in this behalfe is no impediment to Miniſters, but rather an helpe, while they haue one at home that careth for their domeſticall affayres. Secondly, if the maried eſtate be not fit to miniſter or receiue the Sacrament, then in thoſe churches where they receiued the Sacrament euery day, there ſhould haue been no mariage at all. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* would haue no widow choſen vnder 60. yeeres, in which age, the heate of luſt being abated, there is no neede of mariage: but the caſe is otherwiſe in Miniſters, who in the ſtrengh of their age are admitted, and had neede of that remedie, if they be not endued with the gift of continencie. But if it were ſo, that a Miniſter ſhould not bee admitted before 70. or 80. yeeres, which in a man is no more, in reſpect of procreation, then 50. or 60. in a woman, the iniunction then of ſingle life would not ſeeme ſtreight. Thus then is this argument anſwered.

Argum. 3. The Ieſuite giueth diuers inſtances, wherein mariage is a let and impediment to Miniſters: As, it hindereth their prayer, their preaching, their almes and liberalitie to the poore, for they haue wife and children to care for, *Bellarmine.*

Anſw. Firſt, belike you eſteeme of marriage, as of an vnholy and vnpure thing, that a man can neither pray, not do the office of a Chriſtian, perfourming the dutie to his wife: and indeed one of your companions calleth mariage a prophanation of ſacred orders. *Greg. Martin. diſcouer. cap.* 15. *ſect.* 11. Whereas the Apoſtle calleth it an honourable ſtate, Hebr. 13. And it was inſtituted in Paradiſe, whereas before the fall of man there was no vncleane thing. Secondly, we denie not, but that abuſe of mariage both in Miniſters and other lay-men, is an impediment to all holy actions: and therefore S. *Paul* giueth generall counſell to all, both Miniſters and others, that they which haue wiues ſhould be as though they had none, 1. Corinth. 7. 29. that is, ſhould liue ſoberly in mariage, and not giue themſelues to the wantonneſſe of the fleſh. Thirdly, neither doth mariage hinder hoſpitalitie: for S. *Paul* requiring that a Miniſter ſhould be harborous, 1. Timoth.3.2. giueth alſo rules concerning the gouernement of his familie, his wife and children. verſ.4.11. For to whom may he better commit the care of houſhold affaires then to his wife? And that familie which is guided by a carefull and godly huſwife, wee ſee by experience, to yeeld more reliefe to the poore, and giue entertainement to ſtrangers, then thoſe houſes which haue none. And where it is obiected, that Miniſters will care altogether for their children: It hath bin ſeene that ſingle prieſts in time of Poperie, haue been more couetous and greedie to enrich their kindred, then maried Miniſters haue cared for the prouiſion of their children. And hereupon diuers Canons were made to reſtraine their couetous deſires to aduance their kinred; as *Cauſ.*12. *qu.*1.*c.*27.*Pelag.*2. *Nulli Epiſcopor.&c.* It ſhall not be lawfull for any Biſhop, to conuert the moueable or immoueable thinges of the Church to his owne vſe. *Cauſ.*16.*qu.*7.*c.*3. *Gregor.*7. decreeth againſt ſuch Biſhops, as did conferre oblations vpon their ſeruitors, and kinſmen. And as for a moderate care to be taken to make prouiſion for wife and children, your owne Canons allow it, *Cauſ.*12.*qu.*1.*c.*19. *Epiſcopi de rebus proprijs &c.* Biſhops may leaue to their heires, their owne gotten goods: and *c.*21. *Poteſtatem habeat moriens &c.* A Biſhop dying hath power to diſpoſe of his proper goods to whom he will; *Fortaſſis vxorem habet &c.* It may be he hath a wife, children, kinſemen, or ſeruants &c.

*Argum.*4. Single life by the Apoſtle is preferred before the married eſtate, and therefore fitteſt for Miniſters: for hee that is married careth for the things of the world, 1. Corinth.7.33. *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Firſt, ſingle life is preferred before mariage, in all men, and not onely in Miniſters: And therefore as lay-men are not bound to ſingle life, though it be in it ſelfe more conuenient; ſo neither ought miniſters to be. Secondly, though a thing in it ſelfe be beſt, yet is it not vniuerſally beſt for euery man: as riches are better then pouertie, becauſe they are Gods bleſſing; yet is it not beſt for euery man to be rich; God ſeeth it good, that ſome men ſhould be poore: So ſingle life is the beſt for thoſe that haue the gift of chaſtity, that can with a quiet conſcience liue ſingle: otherwiſe matrimony were much better: for Saint *Paul,* that wiſheth that euery one would liue ſingle as he did, yet afterward ſaith, It is better to marry then to burne. So that by the Apoſtles iudgement, to marrie is beſt for him that hath not the gift of continencie, *Iewel.* pag.232. *defenſ. Apolog.*

*Argum.*5. *Winchester* reaſoneth thus, As a father may forbid certaine of his children to marrie, ſo may a King in his kingdome forbid certaine of his ſubiects to marrie, that is, all the Prieſts of the Realme, *Fox.* pag.1793.

Anſw. Firſt, the father hath no ſuch power to keepe his child from mariage, if neede require: for the fathers will herein dependeth vpon the neceſſitie which his childe hath to marrie, as S. *Paul* teacheth, 1. Cor.7.37. Secondly, that which the word of God hath left free for all men, by the law of the prince cannot be reſtrained; and if the King may forbid marriage to any, he may as well enioyne laymen ſingle life, as prieſtes: but ſuch a law to reſtraine the lay ſorte from mariage, were manifeſt tyrannie, and therefore the other reſtrainte would ſeeme hard and vniuſt. Thirdly, by this argument it appeareth, that theſe cruell prohibitions of marriage, are built vpon the lawes onely and ordinances of men, neither warranted by Gods word, nor allowed by the ancient practiſes of the Church, as our aduerſaries would beare vs in hand.

Bellarmine here countenanceth out this matter with great ſhew of antiquitie; and firſt he produceth diuers Canons of Councels, which I will briefly take a view of. Firſt, *Ancyran.concil.c.*10. it was decreed, that Deacons in their ordination not proteſting that they would marrie, ſhould not be ſuffered afterward; but if they did proteſt to marrie, they might, for they are therein diſpenſed with by the Biſhop.

Anſw. Firſt, this Canon maketh more againſt them for Miniſters mariage, which is here vpon proteſtation permitted, which is not ſuffered now in the popiſh Church. Secondly, if the Biſhop may diſpenſe with mariage of Miniſters, then is it not a diuine or apoſtolicall, but an humane and politicall deuiſe. Thirdly, it is not the diſpenſation of the Biſhop, that maketh mariage free, but the libertie granted by the Apoſtle, which is not to be abridged; as *diſtinct.*27.*c.*5. it is alledged out of the Toletan councel, that ſubdeacons being asked in their ordination, of their deſire or purpoſe of mariage, ſhould not be denied, *conceſſam ab Apoſtolo licentiam*; the licence granted vnto them by the Apoſtle. Fourthly, Marriage was then free by proteſtation, but now, *velit nolit,* will they, nill they, the decree of Pope *Martin* is in force, a man is not left to his choiſe, *decret. Martin. Cauſ.*27.*qu.*1.*c.*8. Why do they then alledge antiquitie, and yet take away the priuiledge of antiquitie?

Secondly, he obiecteth the councell of Neocæſarea. *can.*1. *Preſbyter ſi vxorem &c.* If a Presbyter marrie a wife, he ſhall be depoſed from his order.

Anſw. Firſt, this Canon may be ſuſpected, for how is it like that the Greeke Church would decree againſt the mariage of prieſts, ſeeing that *Stephanus* before this affirmeth in his decrees; *Aliter ſe habet Orientalis &c.* The Eaſt Churches haue an other tradition then the Romane Church? for their prieſts, deacons and ſubdeacons are coupled in marriage: either *Stephanus* muſt be accuſed of vntruth, or this Synode of forgerie. Secondly, though this Synode permit not prieſts to take new wiues, yet they forbid them not to retayne their old, *can.* 8. He that keepeth an adulterous wife, muſt not miniſter: they might then keepe a wife, not an adultereſſe. Thirdly, this Synode *can.* 7. ſeemeth to condemne ſecond mariage: they forbid the Miniſter *conſentire*, to conſent to ſecond mariage, or to be preſent at the marriage feaſt. Fourthly, this Synode was prouinciall, conſiſting of 17. Biſhops, and ſeemeth to be of no great authoritie.

Thirdly, he vrgeth the Nicene councel 1. which was generall, *can.* 3. *Interdixit ſancta Synodus*: The ſacred Synode forbiddeth a Biſhop, Prieſt or Deacon, to haue any woman in their houſe, beſide their mother, ſiſter, Aunt: a wife is not here mentioned.

Anſw. Firſt, this Synode forbiddeth them to haue, *mulierem extraneam, vel ſubintroductam*, any ſtrange woman, ſecretly or by ſtealth brought in, beſide thoſe, which are named: now, the wife is no ſtrange woman, and therefore not forbidden. Secondly, if the Councell had concluded againſt marriage, they had done contrarie to the ancient tradition, which was, and is yet in force in the Greeke Church, as *Stephanus* ſaith in his decree, which is not like. Thirdly, *Socrates lib.* 1. *c.* 8. reporteth how that the Synode would haue decreed againſt the mariage of Miniſters, but was ſtayed by *Paphnutius*, who ſhewed the inconuenience thereof, whoſe ſentence the whole Synode commended: and therefore it cannot be, that any ſuch thing was decreed. Fourthly, the Canons of the Nicene councel may be ſuſpected, that they are not the right Canons; for *Athanaſius* ſayth, there were 70. canons of this Synode, *diſtin.* 16. *c.* 12. but now there are but 20. And *cap.* 13. *Stephanus* ſaith, that many of them are loſt: and beſide it appeareth to be ſo, becauſe there is not one Canon extant againſt the Arrian hereſie, for the which the ſynode was chiefely aſſembled: as alſo another notable thing concluded in the Nicene, was as touching the vniforme obſeruation of *Eaſter*, whereof there is not any mention in theſe 20. Canons: ſo that it is very like that theſe ancient Canons are changed and altered, and as ſome haue been left out, ſo other are put in their ſtead

Fourthly, the Trullane Synode being the 6. generall, *can.* 6. decreeth, that neither Biſhops, prieſts, deacons or ſubdeacons, ſhould after their Ordination take them wiues.

Anſw. Firſt, this Synode *can.* 13. permitteth Prieſts and Deacons to haue the companie of their wiues, whom they married before, and thoſe that would ſeparate them, they decree to be depoſed: and this the Synode agreed vpon, though they knew the cuſtome of the Romane Church to be contrary; ſo that this Synode maketh as much for the mariage of Miniſters, as againſt it. Secondly, *Bellarmine*, though he now be contented to vrge this Councell againſt vs, yet at other times, taketh to himſelfe great libertie to confute and reiect it: And indeed it ſeemeth to be of no great authoritie: for *can.* 2. they allow the Canon of *Cyprian* for rebaptizing of heretikes: And this Synode hath beſide ſome ridiculous Canons, as *can.* 56. they forbid the eating of cheeſe and egges in Lent; *can.* 67. *Damnamus eos &c.* Wee do condemne them, that do by any kind of act dreſſe the bloud of beaſts, and ſo eate it: they forbid the eating of puddings. Thirdly, *can.* 55. this Synode preſcribeth a law to the Romane Church, that whoſoeuer ſhould faſt Saturdayes, ſhould be depoſed: if this Synode ſerue their turne againſt mariage, it ſerueth our turne as wel againſt their ſaturday faſt. Fourthly, *can.* 12. this Councel forbiddeth Biſhops the companie of their wiues, contrary to the 5. Canon of the Apoſtles, and they take vpon them in direct words, to correct the Apoſtles Canons: *Non diuinis Apoſtolis &c.* We do not contrary the Apoſtles, thus decreeing, but willing to bring the Church to a better order, &c. They do take vpon them to make better orders for the Church, then the Apoſtles, which is great preſumption. We ſee then, what is to be thought of this Councell, yet it maketh as much for vs, as againſt vs.

Fiftly, hee obiecteth *Carthag.* 2. *can.* 2. *Carthag.* 5. *can.* 3. *& concil. African. can.* 37. in all which Canons, Biſhops, prieſts, deacons, are enioyned to abſtayne from their wiues.

Anſw. Whether ſhall we take to be of greater authoritie, the Canons of the Apoſtles, or the canons of councels, generall Synodes or prouincial? The 6. Canon of the Apoſtles decreeth Biſhops and Prieſts to be excommunicate if they refuſed their wiues: *Trullan.* 6. *generall. can.* 13. decreeth them to be depoſed, that forbid Prieſts or Deacons the companie of their wiues: they only reſtrayne Biſhops. But theſe Africane councels make a generall reſtraint for Biſhops, prieſts and deacons. Secondly, they notwithſtanding giue libertie to all other degrees, ſubdeacons, and other; as *African. can.* 37. *Cateros autem Clericos &c.* But other of the Clergie wee will not haue compelled to forbeare their wiues, but let the cuſtome of euery Church be obſerued: but afterward ſubdeacons alſo were reſtrayned. Thus we ſee how theſe Councels are contrary one to an other.

Sixtly, hee produceth *concil.*1. *ſub Silueſt.can.*1. *Arelatenſ.*2.*can.*2. *Turonenſ.*2.*can.*20. *Agathenſ.c.*9. *Aurelianenſ.*3.*can.*2. in all which Canons it is not permitted, that any of the Clergie from ſubdeacons vpward, ſhould either marrie wiues, or companie with their wiues, if they had any.

Anſ. Firſt, ſome of theſe Synodes are thought to be depraued and corrupted: as firſt, the councel held at Rome vnder *Silueſter*; firſt, it beginneth with a lie, *can.*1.that *Conſtantine* was baptized by *Silueſter*, whereas other ſtories ſay, that he was baptized by *Euſebius* Biſhop of Nicomedia. *Theod.lib.*1.*c.*32. Secondly, this Councell is ſaid to haue been celebrate the very ſame time, that the Nicene councel was held; and that *Conſtantine* was preſent, and ſubſcribed to this councel, and 133. Biſhops of the Greeke Church beſide: but how could they be there, and here to at the ſame time? Thirdly, *c.*1.it is decreed, that none of the lay ſort ſhould be preſent, and yet *cap.*10. *Calphurnius* Preſident of the Citie, was preſent and ſubſcribed. Fourthly, this Synode beareth date *cap.*20. 3.*Calend* of Iune, when *Conſtantinus* and *Priſcus* or rather *Criſpus* were Conſuls: the Nicene beareth date when *Paulinus* and *Iulianus* were Conſuls, which was the yeere after: ſo that this ſynode by this account, ſhould go before the Nicene, which is vntrue, for that was the firſt generall, and the Epitomizer of the Councels confeſſeth in theſe words, *In exemplaribus &c.* In the copies of this Romane ſynode there is *intolerabilis deprauatio*, an intolerable deprauation: *Barthol. Caranza.* Fiftly, if there were ſo many Biſhops of the Greeke Church preſent, it is not like that they would agree to any ſuch Canon contrary to the cuſtome of their owne Church. Sixtly, *can.*2 *Silueſter* approueth all the acts of the Nicene Councell, whereof this was one, that they would not preſcribe ſingle life to the Clergie at the motion of *Paphnutius*, how then is it like that he would decree the contrary in this Romane Synod? Seuenthly, the inhibition for the mariage of ſubdeacons was not generall, no, not in the Latine Church, till *Gregorie* his time: for in Sicilie til then they had a cuſtome for their ſubdeacons to marrie: as it may appeare *diſtinct.*32.*c.* But ſuch a cuſtome contrary to a decree of a general Councel at Rome could not haue ſo long continued.

Concerning the ſecond Councell of Arles: firſt, I anſwere, that many things therein may bee thought to be forged; for it is ſaid to haue been celebrate in the time of *Sylueſter*: yet *Can.*28. mention is made of the Vaſenſian Councell, which was held vnder *Leo* 1. aboue an hundred yeere after. Secondly, *Can.*3. this Councell onely inhibiteth the companie of women, *à gradu Diaconatus*, from the degree of Deaconſhip and vpward: ſo that Subdeacons are exempted. Thirdly, it giueth leaue, that they may haue, *in ſolatio ſuo*, for their ſolace in their houſe, their mother, ſiſter, daughter, neece, *& vxorem conuerſam*, and their wife conuerted: But what ſolace ſhould they haue in their wiues, if it were not lawfull to enioy them as their wiues.

Now to the Councell of Turone we anſwere: Firſt, it doth mitigate certaine Canons made before againſt the mariage of the Clergie. *Can.*2.*Vt ſacerdos, vel Leuita, &c.* That a Prieſt or Deacon, that begetteth children, ſhould not be barred from the Communion, as our predeceſſors haue decreed: but we willing to moderate the ſtrictnes of this conſtitution, doe decree, that ſuch bee not promoted to a higher degree. Thus it doth appeare to be but an humane conſtitution, which they did ſometimes mitigate, ſometimes aggrauate as they thought good. Secondly, in the decree againſt Miniſters mariage, they doe abuſe that place of Scripture, *qui in carne ſunt*, They that are in the fleſh, cannot pleaſe God: which hath no ſuch meaning: and in their ſenſe then, none that are maried, that is in the fleſh, can pleaſe God. They alſo call maried Miniſters, *coinquinatos, & contaminatos*, defiled and contaminate: but contrarie the Apoſtle calleth, the mariage bed vndefiled, Hebr.13.4. I thinke the Papiſts themſelues are aſhamed of ſuch ſtuffe. Thirdly, it was but a prouinciall Councell of eight Biſhops, and of no great authoritie.

Concerning the Councell of Agatha, we anſwere: Firſt, it hath diuers Canons againſt ſome ſuperſtitions of Poperie: as *Can.*19. they admit no women to profeſſe ſingle life before 40. yeeres. *Can.*56. they condemne the idle life of Monkes. *Can.*61. they count it inceſt for a man to marrie his coſine germane, or brothers wife, contrary to the practiſe of the Church of Rome. If this councell ſerue their turne againſt vs in this point of mariage, we will oppoſe it againſt them in the reſt. Secondly, they onely enioyne Prieſts and Deacons to abſtaine from their wiues, no mention is made of Subdeacons. Thirdly, *Can.*10. they allow Miniſters to haue their neece with them in the houſe, and by the Popes law a man may marrie his neece, though the woman cannot marrie her nephew. Now, who ſeeth it not how vnreaſonable a thing it is, that a ſtrange woman ſhould bee receiued into a Miniſters houſe, and his owne wife excluded? it is euident that ſuperſtition was working euen in thoſe daies.

In the ſeuenth place, he alleageth, *Concil.Elibertin.c.*33. *Toletan.*2.*cap.*1. *Toletan* 4.*cap.*26. *Toletan.*8.*cap.*6. in all which Canons both Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons are forbidden the vſe of their wiues.

Anſ. Firſt, concerning the Elibertine Councell, we anſwere: firſt, it is not like, that this Councell being kept not long after the Nicene, which at the motion of *Paphnutius*, would decree nothing

thing concerning the abſtaining of Clergie men from their wiues, *ſed hoc in vniuſcuiuſq; voluntate dimiſit*, but left euery man to his owne will: as *Gratian* witneſſeth, *diſtinct*.31.*c*.12. that this prouinciall would decree againſt a generall. Secondly, whereas the 6. Canon of the Apoſtles doth excommunicate them of the Clergie, that ſeparate their wiues from their companie, as the 6. generall Trullane expoundeth that Canon: how dare any prouinciall conclude againſt the Apoſtles, whoſe Canons, they ſay, they are? And this anſwere may ſerue in generall to the reſt of the Spaniſh Councels vrged by *Bellarmine*. Thirdly, this Synode ſeemeth to bee contrarie to it ſelfe: for *can*.65. He of the Clergie, that doth not *proijcere*, caſt off his wife, committing adulterie, ſhall bee put from the Communion: for whereas, *can*.33. they would haue them refraine their wiues companie, what is that elſe, but to giue them occaſion to commit adulterie? and what need they now caſt off their wiues for diſhoneſtie, whereas they are commaunded before to caſt off their honeſt wiues? theſe things agree not. Fourthly, this ſeemeth to be an erronious Councell, and may bee thought to condemne Magiſtracie as a prophane thing: for *can*.56. the Magiſtrate, during the yeere of his office, is forbidden to come to the Church: as though the Church were by his preſence prophaned.

Secondly, the ſecond Toletan Councell maketh nothing againſt the mariage of Miniſters, but onely forbiddeth the familiaritie of women, *cap*.2. and *cap*.1. it decreeth rather the contrarie, that both Clergie men which were ordained to that profeſſion by their parents in their infancie, and Monkes alſo at eighteene may marrie, if they will.

Thirdly, the fourth Toletan, *cap*.43. decreeth againſt thoſe Clerkes that doe marrie, *ſine Epiſcopi conſultu*, without the leaue or aduice of the Biſhop: ſo that with his leaue it might be lawfull for them to marrie. And *cap*.26. which is alleaged by *Bellarmine*, Prieſts and Deacons are required, when they are ordained to make profeſſion to the Biſhop, *vt caſtè & purè viuant*, to liue chaſtly and purely, which may be done in mariage. And then it followeth, *vt dum eos talis profeſſio obligauerit*, that their profeſſion may binde them: ſo then their promiſe onely and profeſſion bindeth them, not the law of God. Therefore by this Canon, where no ſuch promiſe or profeſſion is made by Miniſters at their ordination, they may lawfully marrie.

Fourthly, to the eight Councell Toletan our anſwere is this: Firſt, wee doe not greatly force of this Councell, being after the yeere of our Lord 640. when as ſuperſtition began to gather ſtrength. Secondly, as it may appeare by this, that this Synode ſeemeth to make the mariage of Miniſters worſe then fornication: *can*.6. *Relatum eſt nobis*, It is tolde vs, that certaine Subdeacons are not onely defiled with the vncleannes of the fleſh, but alſo (which is a ſhame to ſpeake) are coupled to new wiues. This parentheſis, *dictu nefas* (it is a ſhame to ſpeake) and the other clauſe, but alſo, being referred to their mariage, and not to their fornication, doe ſerue to aggrauate the firſt, and extenuate the other. So *Toletan*.9.*c*.10. they call the mariage of Miniſters *deteſtandum, deteſtabile*, and their children, *proles pollutione nata*, borne in pollution, or vncleannes: which is a foule aſſertion, and not farre from blaſphemie. I marueile *Bellarmine* would conceale this ſtuffe, that maketh for him. Thirdly, this Synode, *can*.7. imposeth ſingle life vpon Clerkes againſt their will, contrarie to all ancient Canons: as *cap*.7. it decreeth againſt thoſe, *Qui quoniam, &c.* Who, becauſe when orders were impoſed vpon them, they pretended it was againſt their will, therefore they will not forſake their former mariage: the Synode decreeth thus; That as baptiſme is imparted to many both vnwilling, and not knowing what is done vnto them, and yet it holdeth; ſo orders alſo, will they, nill they, ſhould hold. It is againſt all reaſon, that either orders or ſingle life ſhould be impoſed vpon any againſt their will: as for the compariſon of baptiſme, the caſe is not like. Firſt, baptiſme is Gods ordinance for all both men and children; ſo is not ſingle life for Miniſters. Secondly, children are baptized, not knowing any thing becauſe they are infants, and yet vnderſtand not, but orders are not fit for children. Thirdly, that any againſt their wils are baptized, it can no way be iuſtified: if they meane children, it is an improper ſpeech, to ſay they are vnwilling, hauing as yet no vſe of their will: if they ſpeake of men, none are to bee baptized, but vpon confeſſion of their ſinnes, and profeſſion of their faith, Matth.3. which ſheweth they are willing. And herein this Councell is directly contrarie to the 2. Toletane, *cap*.1. which giueth libertie to Subdeacons, if they proteſt, at the time of their ordination, that they will marrie, they gaue them leaue ſo to doe: and this is ratified in your owne decrees, *diſtinct*.28.*c*.17. And *Gregorie* alſo is more equall, who thus writeth of certaine Subdeacons in Sicilie, that were married: *Durum & incompetens, &c.* It ſeemeth to me an hard and inconuenient thing, that he, which neuer promiſed chaſtitie, ſhould be compelled to be ſeparated from his wife, *diſtinct*.31.*c*.1. Wherefore this decree is hard and intolerable, that impoſeth ſingle life, where they proteſted the contrarie. Fourthly, I doe oppoſe againſt this 8. Councell Toletane, the firſt Toletane, which as it was more ancient by more then two hundred yeeres, ſo is it of greater authoritie: there in the preface of the Synode, *Patronus* the Preſident thus proteſteth: *Mihi placet, &c.* I thinke it meete that wee keepe the ſtatutes of the Nicene Synode, and depart not from the ſame. But the Nicene decreed nothing as touching the ſingle life of the Clergie, but left it free. Againe, in the 21. Canon, *Qui dixerit coniugia hominum,&c.* He that ſaith the mariages of men, which are lawfull by the diuine law to be execrable, accurſed bee he. But the mariages of Miniſters are lawfull by Gods law; this our aduerſaries doe confeſſe, making it but a conſtitution of the Church: *Ergo*, they which condemne their mariages, are vnder this curſe. And thus I thinke wee haue ſufficiently anſwered the Ieſuites oppoſitions out of the Councels: which I haue ſhewed either to bee forged, or elſe erronious, or contrarie one to another, or concluding directly againſt Scripture. Now it followeth for further anſwere, that the Canons alſo which doe eſtabliſh and ratifie the mariage of Miniſters, be likewiſe produced, which I haue inſerted in the end of our arguments that here follow.

The Proteſtants.

THat it is not onely lawfull but conuenient, that all men both Miniſters and others, that haue not receiued a proper gift of continencie, ſhould marrie; and that it is agreeable and conſonant to the word of God: thus we ſhew it.

1 The Scriptures are moſt playne for the mariage of Miniſters, 1. Tim. 3. 2. S. *Paul* ſaith, a Biſhop and generally euery Miniſter, may be the husband of one wife: and verſ. 11. their wiues are deſcribed how they ought to behaue themſelues: Let their wiues be honeſt: *Ergo*, it is lawfull for them to be married. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of the wiues which they had before their calling and ordayning, not thoſe, which they ſhould marrie after. But there appeareth no ſuch thing out of the text, but rather the contrarie. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith verſ. 2. *Oportet Epiſcopum eſſe,&c.* A Biſhop muſt be the husband of one wife: he ſheweth not what he hath been, but what he is, not of the wife which he had, but now hath. Secondly, verſ. 11. He deſcribeth what manner of women their wiues ought to be, indued with like qualities to their husbands: but if they were not ſtill as their wiues, what are they more to them, then other women? neither ſhould they neede to be otherwiſe qualified, then all other Chriſtian women. Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of hoſpitalitie, of bringing vp of Children, of well gouerning his houſe, and of Biſhops wiues; how then can he be otherwiſe vnderſtood, but that their wiues ſhould be with them, as helping toward all thoſe domeſticall duties? Fourthly, S. *Paul* alſo ſheweth in another place, that he had libertie as well as others, To leade about a ſiſter a wife, euen after he was an Apoſtle, 1. Corinth. 9. Wherefore it is as lawfull afterward as afore. *Bellarmine* anſwereth: We muſt thus reade, a Siſter a woman: and it is like they were women, that did miniſter vnto the Apoſtles and followed them. We replie: Firſt, the word Siſter, doth implie a woman, and therefore it had been an improper and needleſſe ſpeech, to ſay, a Siſter a woman: therefore we muſt rather reade, a Siſter a wife. *Bellarmine* replieth: Firſt, if the Apoſtle vnderſtoode a wife, he would haue ſet downe the greeke worde with an article, τὴν γυναῖκα. *Anſw.* This is a falſe obſeruation, for the Apoſtle, 1. Timoth. 3. 2. 11, 12. making mention of Biſhops wiues, leaueth out the article. Secondly, S. *Paul* ſaith, a Siſter a woman, inuerting the order, for a woman a Siſter, as *Peter* Act. 1. ſaith, *Viri fratres*, Men and brethren. *Anſw.* In deede your latine tranſlation hath preſumed to correct the text, reading thus, a woman a Siſter: but what boldnes is this, when you haue no other ſhift, to take vpon you to amend the text? and ſeeing the Apoſtle ſaith, a Siſter a wife, or as you would haue, a woman, in the ſingular; it muſt needes implie a wife: for they had other women, more then one, that miniſtred to them. Secondly, if they were other women which miniſtred of their ſubſtance, what neede the Apoſtles to be maintained of the Churches? If they miniſtred but in their ſeruice and attendance, who were more fit to doe it and to follow them from place to place then their wiues? And beſide, if the Apoſtle did meane other women beſide wiues, how could he alleage this inſtance to ſhew that he departed from his right? for he himſelfe refuſed not the miniſterie and beneuolence of other women; as of *Phebe*, Rom. 16. 1, 2. Wherefore this libertie, which the Apoſtle vſed not, was as concerniug wiues. Thirdly, the phraſe of leading about a Siſter, importeth a ſuperioritie and authoritie, ſuch as the husband hath ouer his wife. *Bellarmine* replieth, the Apoſtles had this power ouer theſe women, not as husbands ouer their wiues, but as teachers ouer their Diſciples. *Anſw.* Firſt, the Apoſtle vſeth the ſame word, 1. Cor. 7. 4. *The woman hath not power ouer her owne bodie,&c.* The vſe of the word ſheweth, what power he meaneth. Secondly, the Apoſtle onely had not power, but in deede did vſe that power ouer both men and women, as his Diſciples, as it may appeare, Act. 16. 13. but here he ſpeaketh of a power, which he vſed not. Laſtly, S. *Hierome*, though in other places he varieth from himſelfe, yet giueth this rule for the vnderſtanding of this word: *Tom. 3. ad Ocean. Mulierem autem,&c.* A woman (which word is ambiguous in the Greeke tongue) in all theſe places vnderſtand a wife. S. *Ambroſe* alſo, *Comment. in* 1. *Tim.* 3. vpon theſe words, *hauing children*, expoundeth it of Biſhops ioyned in mariage: *Ideo inferiorem poſuit,&c.* The Apoſtle put the caſe of the inferiour order, that is, ſuch as were maried; that no man might doubt of the ſuperiour, that is, ſuch as were not coupled in mariage. Another place we haue, Heb. 13. 3. Mariage is honorable among all men: *Ergo*, amongſt Miniſters. *Bellarm.* If it were meant of all mariages, then to marrie within the degrees of Conſanguinitie, were alſo honorable. *Anſ.* This is a ve-

ry childiſh cauill : Firſt, he might haue read further, And the bed vndefiled : S. *Paul* therefore ſpeaketh of lawfull mariage. And indeede the other ioyning and coupling of men and women together contrary to Gods law, is not to be counted Matrimonie or Wedlocke, but Inceſt rather and Fornication, as the brother to marrie his brothers wife, and ſuch like. Secondly, S. *Paul* ſaith, not all mariages are honorable, but mariage is honorable for all men ; the generalitie is not of the thing, but of the perſons : wherefore we doe fitly conclude out of this place, that mariage is lawfull and commendable euen among miniſters, *argum. Caluin.*

Further, Saint *Paul* ſaith, For auoyding of fornication, let euery man haue his owne wife, 1. Corinth. 7. 2. Here is no reſtraynt for Miniſters. *Bellarmine*, this is to be vnderſtoode of thoſe that haue not made a vow of continencie. *Anſwere.* Firſt, our Sauiour Chriſt commandeth no ſuch vowes : it is a cruell Antichriſtian yoke layd vpon Miniſters, to binde them, when they receiue orders, to vowe ſingle life : and therefore your Antichriſtian decree ought not to abridge the generall libertie granted by the Apoſtle. Secondly, the ende of mariage is generall, to auoyde fornication, and therefore the remedie alſo is generall : for euery man hauing not a proper gift of continencie, may be in danger of that inconuenience, if he be denyed the ordinarie helpe. *Melancthon.*

Secondly *Bellarmine:* This is not a precept of the Apoſtle, but a permiſſion and libertie, that they which feared to fall into fornication, ſhould be ioyned to their wiues.

Anſ. If then the Apoſtle gaue libertie to marrie, where fornication is feared; how dare you abridge that libertie, which God hath made common and free for all ? as it is recited in your owne decrees, *diſtinct.* 28. *c.* 5. out of the ſecond Toletan Councel, *Conceſſam ab Apoſtolo licentiam, &c.* The licence to marrie graunted by the Apoſtle, we cannot take away. And the Councell there ſpeaketh of the mariage of Miniſters, confeſſing that this libertie to marrie is generall to all, both Miniſters and others.

Againe, 1. Tim. 4. to forbid mariage is called a doctrine of diuels : but the Popiſh Church forbiddeth mariage. *Bellarm.* We do not forbid mariage to any, but we require ſingle life of al that are entred into orders, which, it is at their owne choyce to receiue or to refuſe. *Anſw.* Firſt, it is neceſſary that ſome ſhould receiue orders, and be conſecrate to the Church miniſtery : wherefore requiring this condition of all ſuch to liue ſingle, though particularly you prohibite not this man or that to marrie, yet generally you prohibite the whole calling, which is worſe. Secondly, if you ſay you doe not forbid mariage ſimply to all : no more did the *Manichees*, for they ſuffered their ſchollers and auditors to marrie. And Saint *Auguſtines* words are generall : *Ille prohibet matrimonium, qui illud malum eſſe dicit :* He forbiddeth mariage, that thinketh it is euill : you therefore forbidding mariage, muſt needs hold opinion that it is wicked and euill. The Councell of Turone, *Can.* 2. calleth married Miniſters, *contaminatos*, contaminate, or defiled. *Toletan.* 8. 9. 20. *Deteſtandũ connubium*, ſaith their mariage is deteſtable. The Papiſts allow theſe Councels, and ſo conſequently condemne mariage in this caſe as euill, counting that vnholy and vncleane, which the Lord hath made holy and honourable. There is a ſeuere decree againſt ſuch, *Toletan.* 1. *can.* 21. *Qui dixerit coniugia hominum &c.* He that ſhall ſay that the mariages of men, which are lawfull by the diuine law, are execrable, is accurſed. But ſo do the Papiſts count the mariages of Miniſters prophane and vncleane, which are lawfull by the word of God : *Ergo*, they are accurſed.

Com. Fauſt. lib. 30. ca. 6.

Argum. 2. This reſtraint of the mariage of Miniſters hath not been of auncient time in the Church, but impoſed vpon the Church of late, 1000. yeares after Chriſt : *Polycrates* Biſhop of Epheſus *anno.* 180. had ſeuen of his progenitors before him Biſhops of the ſame See. In the *Nicene* Councell *Paphnutius* ſtoode vp, and ſtayed the decree that ſhould haue paſt, for reſtrayning of the mariage of Miniſters, and it is ſaid, *Synodus laudauit ſententiam Paphnutij :* The Synod commended *Paphnutius* ſentence. *Sozomen. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. *Bellarmine* here ſetteth a good face vpon it, and ſtoutly denieth the ſtorie, and maketh the author a lier that reporteth it. Thus, when they haue no other ſhift, they will refuſe, authors, bookes, antiquitie. But *Gratian* doth report it for a true ſtorie, *diſtinct.* 31. 12. who is of better credit, I thinke with Papiſts, then any of this vpſtart popiſh ſect.

Gregorie the Father of *Gregorie*, was Biſhop of Nazianzum. *Symphoroſa*, which was put to death with her ſeuen ſonnes vnder the perſecution of *Adrian* the Emperour, was the wife of one *Getulius* Miniſter in the citie of Tyber, *Fox.* pag. 45. *Cheremon* Biſhop of Nilus, vnder the tyrannie of *Maximinus* fled with his wife into the mountaines of Arabia, and was neuer ſeene againe, *Euſeb. lib.* 6. *cap.* 42. *Fabianus* Biſhop of Rome and Martyr was a married man. Saint *Cyprian* maketh mention of one *Numidicus* a presbyter, that was married ; *lib.* 4. *epiſtol.* 10. Likewiſe *epiſtol.* 6. *ad Cornelium*, he reporteth thus of *Nouatus* a prieſt, *vterus vxoris, &c.* Hee ſtrooke his wife with his heele being with child, and killed the child, that ſhe went with : yet hee findeth no fault with him, for being married, but for abuſing his wife. Diuers of the Biſhops of Rome beſide were Biſhops and prieſts ſonnes : *Bonifacius* the firſt, the ſonne of *Iucundus* a prieſt:

Felix presbyter, the father of *Felix* the third: *Agapetus* the firſt, *Gordianus* his ſonne a prieſt: *Sylverius* the ſonne of *Hormiſda* Biſhop of Rome: *Theodorus* Pope, ſonne to *Theodorus* Biſhop of Ieruſalem: *Hadrianus* ſecond ſonne to *Talarus*, Biſhop *Benedictus* the eight, and *Iohn* 21. his ſucceſſor both ſonnes to *Georg. Epiſcop. Portuenſ.* And diuers other of them beſide. The Ieſuite can anſwere here nothing els, but that theſe ſonnes of prieſts were borne before their fathers prieſthoode: But this is their vaine ſurmiſe and coniecture, ſeeing no ſuch thing is mentioned in the ſtorie. And this ſurmiſe is taken away by the direct words of *Gratian.diſtinct.*56.*c.*2. where after he had rehearſed the names of the foreſaid Biſhops of Rome, concludeth thus: *Quamplures etiam alij inueniuntur, de ſacerdotibus nati, &c.* And many beſide are found to haue gouerned the Apoſtolike See, being borne of Prieſts or Miniſters: which is more then to haue ſaid, ſonnes of Prieſts; for they might be Prieſts ſonnes, though borne before their prieſthood: but to bee borne of Prieſts, implieth, that they were at the time of their birth, Prieſts. Ex pontif. Damaſi.

The Greeke Church neuer yet receiued this popiſh decree of ſingle life, and their Biſhops are maried at this day. *Bellarmine* ſaith, that the Church of Rome hath diſpenſed with them, *cap.*18. *Ergo:* if the Pope would diſpence with the Latine Church, it might be lawfull enough then for Miniſters to marrie; wherefore it is but a humane conſtitution. Againe, it is falſe that they haue diſpenſed with the Greeke Church: they care not for their diſpenſations, but vſe their owne Chriſtian liberty: neither was the Greeke Church euer ſubiect to the Biſhop of Rome. This alſo may appeare by the 13.Canon of the Trullane Synode the 6.generall, where it was decreed, that notwithſtanding the contrarie cuſtome of the Church of Rome, Prieſts and Deacons might enioy the companie of their wiues. And *Innocent.*3.ſaith, *Orientalis eccleſia votum continentiæ non admiſit:* The Eaſt Church hath not admitted or receiued the vow of continencie, *decr.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*3.*c.*6. Wherefore it is vntrue that the Greeke Church alloweth the mariage of their Miniſters by vertue of the Popes diſpenſation, they doe it without and beſide his leaue. And we ſhall finde few ages, wherein ſome Prieſts, notwithſtanding ſo many prohibitions, were not married. In *Gregorie* the 7. his time, who by excommunication forced Miniſters from their wiues, there were 24.Biſhops with their Clergie that ſtood in defence of their mariage. *Anno* 1191.the nation of the Danes gaue licence to their Miniſters to marrie, and were for that cauſe excommunicate by *Clemens* the 3. *ex Baleo.* *Anno* 1372.the Archbiſhop of Colen was married: *ſic Præmonſtratenſ.* *Paulus* 2. is ſaid to haue taken aduice about the reſtoring of the mariage of Miniſters, *ex Baleo.*

Thus we ſee, that in times paſt mariage was lawfull for all men, vntill Pope *Nicholas* the ſecond, *Alexander* the ſecond, and *Gregorie* the ſeuenth, that notable ſorcerer and adulterer: for theſe three comming together, one not long after another, began by publike decree to reſtraine prieſts mariage: not long after them, *Anſelme* began to play the *Rex* here in England, *anno.*1104. who ſtoutely proceeded in his vngodly purpoſe, and enacted that maried prieſts ſhould either leaue their wiues, or their benefices. At which time 200. Prieſts at once came barefoote to the Kings palace, to make complaint: and for all *Anſelmes* Pope-like and outragious proceedings againſt maried prieſts, yet they continued maried well nie two hundred yeares after *Anſelmes* time, do what he could: and thus it is manifeſt, that the reſtraint of Miniſters mariage is no ancient thing, but then began moſt to bee vrged, when Antichriſt fully was reuealed to the world, when as the orders of Friers came in and were confirmed and priuiledged vnder *Boniface* the eight about *anno.*1300. Fox.pag.1166. Fox pag.1167.

*Argum.*3. What better argument can we haue againſt this Popiſh decree, then the great vncleannes, and foule enormities that haue been brought, by the meanes thereof, into the Church? In the time of *Gregorie* the firſt, who enioyned his Clergie to liue ſingle, commanding on a time his ſeruants to catch him ſome fiſh, out of his Motes and Pondes, in ſtead of fiſhe they brought vnto him ſixe thouſand heads of young children: whereupon, he fetching a great ſigh with himſelfe, commended then the ſaying of the Apoſtle, It is better to marrie then to burne. *Bellarmine* hath no better anſwere then to deny the ſtorie, which notwithſtanding is found in the Epiſtle of *Hulderieus* Biſhop of Auguſta, which he ſent to Pope *Nicholas*, *Fox*.pag.1155.

In *Anſelmes* time, after the reſtraint of Miniſters mariage, great rumors, and complaint was brought to him, of the execrable vice of Sodomitrie, which began to raigne in the Clergie. Pope *Pius* the ſecond ſaid, he ſaw many waightie cauſes, why wiues ſhould be taken away from prieſts, but he ſaw more why they ſhould be reſtored to them againe. The ſame Pope *Pius* alſo diſſolued certaine houſes of the Brigidines, bidding them to goe forth of their celles, *ne amplius vrerentur*, that they ſhould no longer burne in luſt, *ex Baleo.* *Bernard* ſaith, *Tolle de Eccleſia honorabile coniugium, &c.* Take from the Church honorable Matrimonie, ſhall you not repleniſh it with inceſtuous perſons, concubinaries, Sodomiticall vices? Hereupon the popiſh Catholikes ſeeing their owne infirmitie, began thus to ſalue vp the matter, *Si non caſtè, tamen cautè:* If thou deale not chaſtly, yet deale charily. Yea they are not aſhamed thus to write, If any of the prieſts ſhould be found imbracing of a woman, it muſt be expounded and preſuppoſed, that he doth it to bleſſe her. Fox.pag.1165. Sup.Cant. Serm.66. Iuel.p.231. Fox.pag.785.

Reade Maſter *Bales* preface to his booke entituled, *De actis Romanor. pontificum:* there you ſhall finde how that the Kinges viſiters appointed to viſite the Abbeyes, *anno.* 1538. found in ſome irreligious houſes fiue, in ſome ten, in ſome twentie Sodomites and adulterers: whereof ſome kept fiue, ſome ſeuen, ſome twentie harlots. O filthie vncleannes vnſpeakeable! Who would not now thinke, that it had been much better for theſe profeſſed votaries to haue maried? This was well foreſeene of that good man D. *Collet*, founder of Paules ſchoole, who wiſhed that the Maſter and Vſher of the ſchoole ſhould be rather of maried men, then ſingle prieſts. *Fox*. pag. 139.

Among the Heluetians it was an ancient vſe and cuſtome, that when they receiued any new prieſt into their Churches, they would premoniſh him to take his concubine leaſt he ſhould attempt any miſuſe with their wiues and daughters: *Fox*. pag. 866. theſe things conſidered, who can not but approue and highly commend the ſaying of Pope *Pius* before alleadged, if he had done as he ſaid?

I but (ſaith *Bellarmine*) theſe are the abuſes of ſingle life, will you condemne a good thing, becauſe of the abuſe? by the ſame reaſon (ſaith he) *cælum & terra tollenda ſunt*, Heauen and earth muſt be taken away, becauſe they were abuſed of the heathen and taken for Gods. *cap.* 21.

Anſw. Firſt, we ſay not, that theſe be the fruites of ſingle life, which S. *Paul* commendeth in all thoſe that haue the gift, but of this coacted and conſtrained Popiſh Virginitie, which is impoſed indifferently vpon all, and cannot haue any good vſe. Secondly, when you can proue that reſtrayning of Miniſters mariage is of Gods ordinance, as it is certaine Heauen and earth are of his making, then we will grant vnto you, that it may haue a right vſe, and for the abuſe ought not vtterly to be aboliſhed.

De ſanct. Virgin. cap. 34.

Saint *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Quæ nubere volunt, & ideo non nubunt quia impunè non poſſunt, melius nuberent, quàm vrerentur, id eſt, quàm occulta flamma concupiſcentiæ in ipſa conſcientia vaſtarentur.* Thoſe Virgines, which would marry, but cannot, becauſe of reſtraint, and reproch, might better marrie then burne, that is to ſay, then with the ſecret flame of concupiſcence to be waſted and conſumed in their conſcience. Wherefore it followeth, that all they, both Miniſters, votaries and Virgines, that haue not power to abſtaine, ſhould doe better, for all their profeſſion and vow, to marrie, then to burne.

Argum. 4. The teſtimonie of antiquitie is very full and plentifull for the lawfulnes of Miniſters marriage: *Stephanus* Biſhop of Rome, *Decretal. Aliter ſe habet orientalis Eccleſiæ traditio, aliter Romanæ Eccleſiæ: Nam illorum ſacerdotes, diaconi & ſubdiaconi Matrimonio copulantur:* The tradition or cuſtome of the Eaſt Church is diuers from the vſe of the Romane Church: for their Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons are maried. See then, how is this like to be an Apoſtolike tradition, that Miniſters ſhould liue ſingle, ſeeing it was neuer vniuerſally receiued? And Cardinall *Campeius* is here found to be a lier, who was not aſhamed openly to ſay in the aſſemblie at Noremberg. *anno.* 1524. that the Greekes did not permit their Prieſts to marrie, *Fox*. pag. 865.

Bellarmine anſwereth, firſt, that this Canon of *Stephanus* is of no authoritie, being not found in any of his Epiſtles, &c.

Contra. Thus he taketh to himſelfe great libertie in denying of authorities alledged, refuſing his owne authors; as he denieth the ſtorie of Pope *Ioan*, witneſſed by 13. authors of account, as I haue ſhewed before: he giueth no credite to *Sozomone* his report of *Paphnutius*: the Epiſtle alſo of *Hulderícus* Biſhop of Auguſta written to Pope *Nicholas*, is of him refuſed: and now he giueth *Gratian* the lie, the compiler of their owne decrees; theſe are but beggerly ſhifts.

Secondly, ſaith he, the Canon is to be vnderſtood according to the practiſe of the Greeke Church, that it is not lawfull for their prieſts to marrie new wiues, but onely being married before, to vſe and exerciſe that mariage, which cuſtome notwithſtanding the Church of Rome condemneth.

Contra. Firſt, the wordes of this Decree are plaine, *Matrimonio copulantur*: The Prieſts, deacons and ſubdeacons in the Eaſt Church, are coupled or ioyned in marriage: which ſheweth a libertie as well to take wiues as to vſe wiues. Secondly, the ſame alſo is affirmed by *Clemens* 3. *decret. Greg. lib.* 5. *tit.* 38. *c.* 7. *Sacerdotibus Græcis legitimo matrimonio vti licet*: The Greeke prieſts may vſe lawful mariage: If marriage be lawful, then both before their prieſthood and after. Thirdly, *Innocentius* 3. thus teſtifieth; *decret. Gregor. lib.* 3. *tit.* 3. *cap.* 6. *Orientalis in minoribus &c.* The Eaſterne Churches do contract matrimonie in the lower degrees, and in the higher degrees they vſe matrimonie alreadie contracted. Wherefore it is vntrue that *Bellarmine* ſaith, it is not lawfull in the Greeke Church for any, *in ſacris exiſtentes*; that are in orders, to marrie wiues. Fourthly, neyther do they contract mariage in the lower degrees onely, but in the higher alſo: as deacons are counted amongſt the greater orders, for whom, by the Ancyrane councel, it was lawfull to marrie, *can.* 10. as it is alledged in the decrees, *diſtinct.* 28. *c.* 8. If the 6. Canon of the *Trullane* be obiected, that maketh it vnlawfull for Deacons to marrie; wee anſwere, first, that the Ancyrane councel is more ancient by more then 300. yeere, being celebrate *anno.* 308. the other about 670.

and therefore to be preferred. Secondly, the Ancyrane is confirmed *can.* 1. of this Trullane Synode, and therefore therein the Synode is contrarie to it ſelfe. Thirdly, as this Synode prohibiteth deacons to contract marriage, ſo *can.* 12. it forbiddeth Biſhops to vſe marriage contracted, contrarie to the generall vſe of the Greeke Church.

Concil. Ancyran. ann. 308. *can.* 10. *Diaconi, ſi in ordinatione proteſtati ſunt, ſe non poſſe continere, & velle Vxores ducere, hi poſtea, ſi ad nuptias venerint, maneant in miniſterio, &c.* Deacons, which when they are ordained doe proteſt, that they cannot containe, but doe purpoſe to marrie, if afterward they marrie, let them continue ſtill in their miniſterie.

This Canon is alſo alledged by *Bellarmine,* to proue that marriage is not lawfull for Miniſters, vnleſſe they be diſpenſed with by the Biſhop; becauſe it followeth in the Canon, *Quia Epiſcopus &c.* Becauſe the Biſhop gaue them leaue, that is, Deacons, to marrie, they may be ſuffered ſo to doe.

Anſw. Firſt, if the Biſhop may diſpenſe with the marriage of Miniſters, then is it no Apoſtolicall conſtitution; for then it were not in the Biſhops power to diſpenſe. Secondly, the marriages then of the Miniſters of the Goſpell by your owne Canon are lawfull, becauſe both they and their Biſhops are enabled to marrie by the law of the Prince; which is more then the diſpenſation of a Biſhop. Thirdly, it is not the diſpenſation of the Biſhop, but the libertie of the Apoſtle, that maketh the marriage of Miniſters lawfull, as *diſtinct.* 27. *c.* 5. *ex Toletan.* 2. *cap.* 1. *Conceſſam ab Apoſtolo licentiam, &c.* We can not take away the licence, or libertie of mariage graunted by the Apoſtle.

Concil. Gangrenſ. cap. 1. *qui mulierem fidelem cum viro ſuo dormientem, abominandam crediderit, anathema eſto:* He that abhorreth a faithfull woman becauſe ſhe ſleepeth with her husband, accurſed be he. And more apertlie chap. 4. the Councell approueth the marriage of Miniſters, decreeing thus: *Si quis diſcernit Presbyterum coniugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quòd offerre non debeat, & ab eius oblatione ideo ſe abſtineat, anathema:* If any man make queſtion of a married Prieſt, that by reaſon of his mariage, he ought not to Miniſter, and therefore refraineth from his oblation and ſeruice, let him be accurſed. This Canon alloweth as well of the ſeruice of a married miniſter, as of a ſingle: And although this were a prouinciall Councell, yet is it confirmed *concil. Roman.* 6. *ſub Symmacho,* and in the ſixt generall Trullane Councell. Can. 1.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that they are condemned, which condemne mariage in Miniſters as ſimply euill, as *can.* 1. and this Canon ſpeaketh of him, *Qui habuit vxorem,* that had, not hath a wife.

Anſw. Firſt, the firſt Canon of this Synode condemneth thoſe that diſpraiſe mariage as euill, but in this 4. Canon, it alſo decreeth againſt them, that miſlike mariage in Miniſters: ſo that theſe being two diuers Canons, they can not be thought to decree one and the ſame thing. Secondly, the words are plaine, *Tanquam occaſione nuptiarum,* If by occaſion of mariage, they ſay not as euil, a man diſcerne betweene a prieſt married and vnmarried; they ſay not, condemne, but preferre one before another, for that onely, that he is married: but thus do the Papiſts, *occaſione nuptiarum,* by reaſon of mariage, put Miniſters by from miniſtring: *Ergo,* they are *anathema.* Thirdly, the right tranſlation is, *Presbyterum coniugatum*: as *Peter Crab* readeth, a married Presbyter, which implieth the preſent time, not one, which had a wife, which is your owne gloſſe, and contrary to the cuſtome of the Greeke Church, who ſuffered their Miniſters to hold their wiues. Alſo your owne decrees do thus reade, *diſtinct.* 28. *cap.* 15. *Si quis diſcernit presbyterum coniugatum*: If any man diſcerne a prieſt married, the Greeke word is γεγαμηκότος, married or ioyned to a wife, not which had a wife: ſo that the reading in their owne Canons, doth ouerthrow this new tranſlation of theirs.

Concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Alexandro. 3. *part.* 18. *cap.* 4. *Si ſubdiaconi contraxerint matrimonium, eos, dummodo ante tales fuerint, quod timendum ſit, ne pro vna pluribus abutantur, diſſimulare poteris cum ſuis vxoribus remanere, quia tolerandum eſt malum, vt peiora vitentur:* If Subdeacons marrie, if they were ſuch before, that it is to be feared, leaſt in ſtead of one, they would abuſe many, you may winke at them, and ſuffer them to enioy their mariage: for an inconuenience muſt be ſuffered to preuent a miſchiefe.

Ibid. cap. 4. *Nullus veſtrum eum à contracto matrimonio prædicti ordinis obtentu, prohibere præſumat, nec ſibi propter hoc moleſtiam, aut grauamen inferat:* Let none of you hinder him (meaning a certaine Subdeacon) from his mariage contracted, vnder colour and pretenſe of his orders, nor for that reſpect moleſt or grieue him any way. Farre off were thoſe times, though euill enough, from ſuch crueltie and outrage, as of late many haue ſeene and felt, when the mariage of Miniſters was made felonie, by that bloodie act of the ſixe articles, *Fox.* pag. 1135.

Argum. 5. In the fift place, that the impoſition of ſingle life vpon the Clergie is no Apoſtolike inſtitution it may appeare, both becauſe the authors and firſt deuiſers of this hard conſtitution may be aſſigned, as alſo, for that the obſeruation thereof is diuers, and not vniformely kept.

For the firſt, *Syricius* is held to haue been the firſt impoſer of this yoke, who was Biſhop of Rome almoſt foure hundred yeere after Chriſt: which although it bee ſtoutly by *Bellarmine* denied, *cap.19.lib.1.de Cleric.* yet is it by *Cleotonaus,* a popiſh writer of great credit amongſt them, affirmed, and by *Innocentius* the 3. who, although the other bee by *Bellarmine* reiected and confuted, ought to beare more ſway with him: he thus writeth, *diſtinct.82.c.2. Si ad aliquos forma illa eccleſiaſtica vita, &c.* If that forme of Eccleſiaſticall conuerſation and diſcipline, which was ſent from Biſhop *Syricius* to the prouinces, doe appeare not to haue come to the knowledge of ſome, to thoſe that are ignorant, pardon ſhall not be denied. By this it is euident, that this iniunction of ſingle life firſt proceeded from *Syricius,* both becauſe he is ſaid to haue preſcribed a certaine forme of life; and for that, many were ignorant thereof: whereby it is manifeſt, that it is not Apoſtolicall, for then no Church could haue pretended ignorance.

This *Syricius* onely inhibited Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons to marrie; for Subdeacons it was yet free, till *Pelagius* the 2. his time, who was Biſhop of Rome about the yeere 580. as *Gregorie* the firſt thus teſtifieth, *diſtinct.32.c.2.* We haue heard by the relation of many, that your Subdeacons doe companie with their wiues: which thing that no man ſhould afterward preſume to doe, it was prohibited, by the authoritie of our predeceſſor; which was this *Pelagius.* And the ſame decree againſt the mariage of Subdeacons is againe reuiued by *Gregorie, diſtinct.31.cap.1.*

Again, it ſhould ſeeme that the mariage of Presbyters was not generally inhibited till the firſt Toletan Councell, which was celebrate about *anno* 407. in the which Synode, *Can.1.* it is thus decreed: *Si quis preſbyter ante interdictum:* That if any Presbyter, yea before the interdiction, had begotten children, he ſhould not bee preferred, &c. So that it ſeemeth, that mariage began then firſt to be interdict, or forbidden.

Secondly, the diuerſitie hath been very great, and much alteration in the vrging of this inhibition.

1 The Greeke Church alloweth their Clergie to enioy their wiues before married, but ſome of them are not permitted to marrie againe: the Latin Church inhibiteth both the one and the other: So witneſſeth *Innocent.decret.Gregor.lib.3.tit.3.c.6.*

2 The Greekes alſo differ much in their opinion and practiſe: firſt, Deacons were ſuffered to marrie after their ordination, if they made ſuch proteſtation, when they receiued orders: *concil. Ancyran.can.*10.*ann.*308.

3 Biſhops were firſt inhibited in the Greeke Church the companie of their wiues before maried; in the Trullane Synode, *Can.*12. whereas it was lawfull before: which Synode was celebrate about the yeere 673.

4 In the Latin Church Subdeacons were not a long time prohibited to marrie, as it may appeare *concil.Carthag.5.c.3,* which was about the yeere 438.

5 At the firſt they were not enforced to make profeſſion of ſingle life at the receiuing of their orders, but it was left free, as it is extant, *concil.Toletan.2.c.1.* about the yeere 530. but afterward it was decreed, that Prieſts and Deacons ſhould make ſuch promiſe and profeſſion, *Toletan.4.c.26. anno* 680.

6 Mariage was free in the Latine Church for all the inferiour orders and degrees of the Clergie, vnder Subdeacons, more then a thouſand yeeres, as it is extant in the decree of *Leo* the 9. *anno* 1049. *diſtinct.*32.*c.*14. But about an hundred yeere after, *Alexander* the 3. decreed, that if any of the lower degrees did take a wife, he ſhould be depriued of his benefice, *decret.Gregor.lib.3. tit.3.cap.3.*

Thus, as we ſee, there hath been great difference in the Church, concerning the degrees of the Clergie, which of them ſhould bee reſtrained mariage: firſt, Biſhops were inhibited, after that Prieſts and Deacons, then next Subdeacons, and laſt of all the inferiour orders alſo, as of Readers, Exorciſts, and the reſt: Whereby it appeareth, that this inhibition of mariage was not Apoſtolicall, for then it ſhould haue been knowne at the firſt, to whom the inhibition did appertaine. And as the diuerſitie hath been great concerning the degrees, ſo the cenſures alſo of the Church as touching the mariage of Miniſters haue been as diuers.

7 Firſt, they that were married, and had children after their ordination, were but forbidden to aſcend to a higher degree, as *concil.Taurinat.c.7.anno* 400. or thereabout.

8 Afterward, *anno* 438. in the 5. Councel of Carthage, *Can.3.* Clergie men, not abſtaining from their wiues, were decreed to be remoued from their office: but yet they were not ſuſpended from the Communion, *Aurelianenſ.5.cap.4.*

9 Then the cenſure was aggrauated, and Miniſters, that were married, were depriued of the Communion: which heauie decree is reuerſed: *Concil.Turonenſ.1.c.7. anno* 480. or thereabout, they decree, that they ſhould not bee kept from the Communion, but onely depriued of their office.

10 As yet Miniſters, though they were enioyned abſtinence, yet were not forbidden cohabitation with their wiues: as *concil. Arelatenſ.2.can.3.* it was lawfull for a Miniſter to haue his wife

with him in the houſe,as well as any other kinſewoman : but afterward they were commaunded to be ſeparated from their wiues,*anno* 680.in the 4.Toletan.Can. 43.

11 Yet was it put to the Miniſters choiſe, whether they would leaue their wiues, or bee ſuſpended from their office : as *Gregor.*1.maketh mention of one *Speciosus* a Subdeacon, that was content to leaue his calling,rather then to forſake his wife, and ſo maintained himſelfe being a Notarie,*diſtinct.*32.*c.*2.and this was *an.*600. or thereabout : But afterward *Gregor.*7.*an.*1070.did enforce Miniſters by excommunicatiō to leaue their wiues,not leauing them to their choiſe at al.

12 All this while they only proceeded againſt the mariage of Miniſters by Eccleſiaſticall cenſures,as yet no ciuill or corporall puniſhments were deuiſed, till *Vrbanus* 2.*anno* 1086. who decreed, that it might bee lawfull for the Prince, *mancipare ſeruituti,&c.* to make Miniſters wiues bondwomen,*diſtinct.*32.*c.*10.

13 But hitherto the life of married Miniſters was not touched,till of late it was made felonie, by the bloodie act of the ſixe articles, *Fox* pag.1135. ſuch was the crueltie of Papiſts. Thus wee ſee how variable and diuers the conſtitutions of former times haue been concerning the mariage of Miniſters : whereby it is euident,that the Apoſtles haue not impoſed this yoke of ſingle life;for their conſtitutions are generall,and ought vniformely to bee kept of all Churches.

Now becauſe *Bellarmine* taketh vpon him to iuſtifie this laſt heauie cenſure of the mariage of Miniſters,which doth ſuſpend them not from their liuings only,but from their life,I cannot paſſe ouer with ſilence ſo great impietie,that it may appeare how this blood-ſucking generation of vipers intendeth nothing but crueltie.

His reaſons,for the iuſtifying of this cruell law, are two : the firſt, that married Miniſters are worthie to die,becauſe they doe breake their vow : the ſecond is taken out of the ſaying of *Hierome*,that a Biſhop begetting children,*quaſi adulter damnabitur*,ſhall be condemned as an adulterer, and not reputed as an husband : but adulterie (ſaith he) in *Hieromes* time was death : *Ergo*, maried Biſhops and Miniſters are worthie of death,*cap.*21.*reſp.ad vltim.argument.Philippi.*

*Anſ.*To the firſt reaſon our anſwere is this : firſt, if not the mariage of Miniſters,but the breaking of the vow be worthie of death,then haue you dealt moſt cruelly with many Miniſters of the Goſpell,which were neuer votaries, and yet haue been condemned, and put to death for their mariage. Secondly, mariage after a vow made is permitted both by the Ciuill and Canon law, and therefore the ſentence of death is vniuſt,and againſt law in this caſe. Firſt,the Ciuill law permitteth,that if a widow haue taken a ſolemne oth that ſhe will not marrie againe, may notwithſtanding that oth,goe vnto ſecond mariage : *Cod.lib.*5.*tit.*35.*Valentin.Theodoſ. In optione huiuſmodi nulla cogatur:* Let no woman be compelled,but left to her choiſe. If this be lawfull after an oth, there is the ſame reaſon of a vow : for a vow doth not more binde before God,then an oth.

2 Your owne Canons alſo doe warrant mariage after a vow,as *decr.Gregor.lib.*4.*tit.*6.*c.*5.*Alexander* the 3.thus reſolueth concerning a woman, that had made a vow not to marrie,*Nos attendentes,&c.*We conſidering,that it is more ſafe for the woman after a vow ſimplie made to contract mariage, then incurre the guilt of fornication,&c. It will here bee anſwered, that after a ſimple vow mariage may be tolerated,but not after a ſolemne : they call that a ſimple vow,when the partie neither changeth habit,nor place,profeſſing to liue ſingle.

*Contra.*Firſt,*Celeſtinus* the 3.of this matter thus decreeth:*Simplex votum non minus,&c.*A ſimple vow doth no leſſe binde before God,then a ſolemne,*decr.Greg.lib.*4.*tit.*6.*cap.*6. Wherefore if mariage be lawfull after the one,then after the other likewiſe: for they both binde alike before God. Thus it appeareth,that to marrie after a vow made,is agreeable to your own Canons; and authorized alſo by the Ciuill law: and therefore cannot be iudged worthie of death.

To the ſecond reaſon collected out of S.*Hierome*, our anſwere is : firſt, he doth not directly affirme,that a maried Biſhop is an adulterer : *ſed quaſi adulter*,but as an adulterer. Secondly, there is no great heede to be taken what *Hierome* ſaith,for he many times in his heate is ſo caried away with the commendation of virginitie, that he miſliketh not onely the mariage of Miniſters, but condemneth generally both firſt and ſecond mariage ; as of the maried eſtate he thus ſpeaketh : *Fæminæ maritatæ tumentibus vteris præferunt fœditatem* : *epiſtol.ad Latam.* Married women with their great bellies bewray their filthines. And writing to *Furia* : *An vereris ne ex te parens tuus non habeat puſionem*, *&c.* Art thou afraid leaſt thou ſhouldeſt not bring to thy father a little dwarfe, to creepe vpon his breaſt; *& ceruicem eius ſtercore linat*, and to beray his ſhoulder? Thus vnreuerently hee ſpeaketh of children which are the fruite of mariage : and yet I doe not tranſlate his words as they are ſet downe. And againe,*ad Gaudentium : Seruos carnis,&c. Paul* calleth them that are married, ſeruants of the fleſh. Thus he wreſteth Scripture to ſerue his turne ; thus hee counteth marriage, filthines, vncleannes, fleſhlines. And hee is no more equall toward ſecond mariage, as thus he noteth vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle, 1.Timoth.5.*I will younger widowes to marrie, for certaine are turned backe after Sathan : Maritum potius accipiat, quam diabolum :* Let younger widowes rather chooſe an husband,then the diuell : a goodly matter,

ter,and much to bee deſired, that is receiued in compariſon of the diuell, *ad Saluinam*. If *Hierome* had this conceit of ſecond mariage,making it in the next degree to the diuell,I doe not maruell, that he calleth the mariage of Miniſters adulterie. But *Hierome* himſelfe hath giuen vs a rule,what we ſhould doe in this caſe: *Non conſueui eorum inſultare erroribus, quorum miror ingenia:* I doe not vſe to reioyce in their errors, whoſe wits I commend, *Pammach. & Ocean.* That libertie then, which *Hierome* had in iudging of others,is not denied to vs in diſcerning of him.

Thirdly, *Hierome* ſaith thus of himſelfe in another caſe, *Imitati eſtis errantem, imitamini & correctum:* As ye followed me when I erred,ſo imitate me now being corrected. So I would wiſh *Bellarmine*,as he is readie to take hold of this vnequall ſentence of *Hierome* pronounced of the mariage of Miniſters: ſo to giue him the hearing, where he ſpeaketh in fauour, as he thus writeth: *Qui dixit, vnius vxoris virum, ipſe mandauit, &c.* He that ſaid,a Biſhop muſt be the husband of one wife, he alſo ſaid,he muſt be without reproofe,ſober,wiſe,apt to teach, &c. *Ad hac omnia, &c.* We winke at all this,onely we can ſee their wiues: they paſſe by that,which they ought not, *& obijciunt, quod conceſſum eſt*,and they obiect that which is granted, *Hieron. Ocean.* Here he directly affirmeth that it is granted vnto Miniſters to haue wiues.

Fourthly,he vrgeth the cuſtome of *Hieromes* daies, when adulterie was puniſhed with death, which cannot be denied: but he is not able to proue that the mariage of Miniſters was then puniſhed by death: *Ergo*,it was not reputed for adulterie. And I would aske him this queſtion, whether he approue that law or not that iudgeth adulterers worthie of death: if he doe, why is it not practiſed in Poperie? if he doe not, how can it ſerue his turne againſt the mariage of Miniſters? Againe,and doth this popiſh champion ſpeake as he thinketh? would he haue maried Miniſters put to death? what then are adulterous and fornicating Prieſts worthie of? doth he thinke mariage a greater ſtaine to orders,then fornication? But your fornicators,inceſtuous, or adulterous Prieſts,were not adiudged to death: the heauieſt cenſure againſt them, was to bee depoſed from their office, *diſtinct.81.c.12.* and afterward this cenſure was thought to be ſomewhat too hard,and therefore was mitigated, and chaunged into certaine yeeres penance, *diſtinct.82.c.5.* If then by your owne law adulterous and fornicatorious Prieſts are not to die; how much leſſe maried Miniſters? for they doe tranſgreſſe Gods law, the other breake but a conſtitution of your Church. Thus we ſee,how by the practiſe of the popiſh Church,in puniſhing more cruelly the honeſt mariage,then the vncleane conuerſation of Miniſters,they do preferre the one before the other: and thus,as S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Lupanaria thalamis præferentur*, Brothel-houſes ſhall be preferred before the mariage bed. And thus much by the way for the anſwere to *Bellarmines* vniuſt defence of their cruell proceedings againſt the mariage of Miniſters euen vnto death.

Fiftly,and laſtly,I will ſhew the conſent both of the Ciuill and Canon law, for the lawfulnes of Miniſters mariage.

Firſt, *Cod.lib.5.tit.27.leg.1. Conſtantin.* That they, *quos ſacerdotij ornamenta condecorant*, which are honoured by the Prieſthood, ſhould not marrie any abiect or vile perſons: they are not forbidden ſimply to marrie,but preſcribed of what condition. But if it be anſwered,that this word, *ſacerdotium*, Prieſthood,is here taken for an office or place of gouernment,as ſome thinke; though that vſe of the word cannot be proued in the Ciuill courſe,there are other lawes beſide to ſtrengthen this: as *Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.2. Conſtantius: Clerici, coniugia, & liberi immunes, &c.* Clergie men,their wiues,and children, are freed from baſe ſeruices. And *leg.20. Clericorum bona poſt liberos & vxorem ad eccleſiam deferuntur:* Clergie mens goods, after their children, and wife, muſt bee giuen to the Church, *Theodoſ. Ergo*,by the imperiall law it was lawfull for Miniſters to be maried. It will be here anſwered,that they are called their wiues, whom they had maried before their ordination,but had now left their companie. *Contra.* Firſt, the law ſaith, *coniugia*, not *coniuges*, the mariages or the wedlocke of Miniſters,not their wiues,muſt bee free; ſhewing a preſent vſe of mariage. Secondly, if they had now left their wiues,being maried to the Church, then the Church ſhould haue been preferred before their wiues, to inherit their goods: but now their wiues were preferred before the Church, and ſo they are in the neereſt degree to them that might be: and therefore they are their wiues ſtill, as before. Thirdly, the law being generall of all Miniſters wiues,not excluding them that are maried after,no more then the firſt, it muſt bee ſo vnderſtood, vnleſſe by the law it ſelfe,they could ſhew a reſtraint: for the law muſt be taken according to the letter.

I come now to their owne Canons: firſt, *Innocentius 3. diſtinct.26.c.3.* thus teſtifieth, *Vxorem ducere, non eſt crimen, &c.* It is no fault to marrie a wife: if it bee a ſinne, the author of mariage ſhould be in fault. And againe, *Nuptiarum copula Dei mandato perficitur:* The mariage bond is perfected by Gods commandement. If then it be no ſinne to marrie a wife,it is not ſinfull in a Miniſter to take a wife. *Decret.p.2.cauſ.12.qu.1.c.21. Poteſtatem habet Epiſcopus, &c.* A Biſhop when he dieth hath power to leaue his goods to whom he will,&c. *fortaſſis enim vxorem habet, &c.* it may bee he hath wife,and children: the Canon ſaith not, *habuit*, he had a wife, but he hath. *Sext. decret. lib.3.tit.2.*

*Bonif.*8.*Clericus coniugatus, &c.* A Clergie man, that is maried, doth enioy the priuiledge of the Clergie, &c. Their mariage then is lawful, for otherwiſe, they could not enioy their Clergie.

We haue alſo direct places of the Canons, that do affirme the mariage of the Clergie, *Legitimum*, to be legitimate, or lawfull: as *concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Alexand.*3.*c.*2. *In ſacerdotio geniti, &c.* They which are borne in the Prieſthood, may be admitted to be Prieſts: but none which were not borne in lawful mariage, could be preferred to be Biſhops or Prieſts, *part.*3.*cap.*3. *Ergo,* mariage in the Prieſthood is lawfull. Likewiſe *Lateran. ſub Innocent.*3.*cap.*14. *Clerici, &c.* Clergie men falling into fornication, ought to be more grieuouſly puniſhed, *Cùm legitimo matrimonio poſſint vti,* ſeeing they may vſe lawfull matrimonie, *decret. Gregor. lib.*5.*tit.*38.*c.*5.*Clemens* 3. *Græcis legitimo matrimonio vti licet*: The Greekes may ſafely vſe lawfull Matrimonie. In all theſe places, the mariage of the Clergie is called lawfull.

Now I will ſhew in particular, that it hath been lawfull for the ſeuerall degrees of the Clergie to marie: for Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Exorciſts, Singers and the reſt: firſt, for the foure inferior orders, of Doorekeepers, Lectores, Exorciſts, Acolythi, that they may take a wife, the decree of *Leo* the 9. is extant, *diſtinct.*32.*c.*14. Secondly, Subdeacons are permitted to marrie, *diſtinct.*84.4. out of the Councell of Carthage 5.*c.*3. Thirdly, it was lawfull for Deacons alſo to marrie, *diſtinct.*27.*c.*7. *Gregorie* maketh mention of one *Ioannes* a Deacon, *Qui paruulam habuit filiam*, that had a little daughter, whom the Citizens of Naples elected to be their Biſhop: the yong infant was begotten in his Deaconſhip: for it is not like they would chooſe one to be their Biſhop, that had bin Deacon but a while. Fourthly, Prieſts alſo were married, *diſtinct.*28.*c.*17. *Nicholaus* thus writeth to the Balganons, *Deijcere non debetis &c.* I would not haue you to depriue him of his place, ſpeaking of an Elder or a Prieſt that was married. Fiftly, for the lawfulneſſe alſo of Biſhops mariage, we haue a direct Canon, *diſtinct.*28.*c.*13. Where *Pelagius* conſenteth to the election of a married Biſhop elected to Syracuſa, though hee deferred it a whole yeere, yet at the length gaue conſent. Thus haue we the teſtimonie of their owne Canons for the approbation of Miniſters mariage.

Let vs adde the ſeale of Martyrs, M. *Lambert* Martyr out of S. *Paul* thus ſaying, *They that cannot abſtaine let them marrie, &c.* 1.Cor.7.9. inferreth thus, this proueth well, that all Prieſts wanting continencie of heart, had need to marrie to auoyde burning luſt, *Fox.* pag. 1104.

M. *Tindal* Martyr: A prieſt ought to haue a wife for two cauſes, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme vnapt for ſo chargeable an office, which hath no houſehold to rule: and againe, becauſe chaſtitie is an exceeding ſeldome gift, &c. *Fox.* pag. 1250.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER ANY OVGHT to be admitted to the Miniſterie after ſecond marriage.

The Papiſts.

78.Error.

THey deny not, but that Biſhops and Miniſters, hauing been once maried, are rightly ordeyned, ſo that afterward they doe not companie with their wiues: but they which haue been either themſelues twice married, or haue married a widowe, which had a husband before, are vtterly vncapeable of holy orders, *Bellarmin. cap.*23. *Rhemiſt. Timoth.*3.*ſect.*4. And this they call Bigamie.

*Argum.*1. They reaſon thus out of S. *Pauls* words. 1.Tim.4.2. A Biſhop muſt be the husband of one wife: that is, ſay they, that no kinde of way was *Bigamus*, or had two wiues either at once, or one after another. And they proue their interpretation thus. Firſt, as S. *Paul* deſcribeth a widow of the Church, 1.Tim.5.9. that hath been the wife of one husband, ſo here he ſaith of a Biſhop, that he ſhould be the husband of one wife: But that is meant, *ſucceſſiuè,* of one husband after another: for it was neuer ſeene that one woman ſhould haue more husbands then one at once, nor neuer ſuffered either amongſt the Iewes or Gentiles: therefore it muſt be ſo taken here, a husband of one wife, that is, who hath been but once maried, as it is taken there, a wife of one husband, that neuer had more, not onely *ſimul,* at once, but not *ſucceſſiuè,* not ſucceſſiuely one after another, *Bellarm. cap.*23.

Anſw. Firſt, there were many women both among the Iewes and Gentiles, that had forſaken their firſt husbands, and were vnlawfully coupled to others, and ſo had moe husbands at once; and likewiſe many men that had done the like to their wiues, but afterward repented, and were conuerted to the Chriſtian faith; but yet were not admitted to any publike office in the Church, becauſe of their former infamous life. Of ſuch the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in both theſe places, and not of thoſe that maried one wife, or one husband after another. It is therefore great boldnes, and a greater vntruth to ſay, that there were none ſuch heard of in thoſe dayes: for although it were neither lawfull then nor now, yet both many ſuch were heard of in thoſe dayes, and it were no hard matter to finde out ſome now among the papiſts, that haue had more then one wife at once.

Secondly, the Ieſuite might haue remembred himſelfe, how elſe where, helping to excuſe the Councell of Neocæſarea,which decreed thus, *Can.7. Preſbyterum conuiuio ſecundarum nuptiarum intereſſe non debere*, That a Prieſt ſhould not be preſent at a ſecond mariage feaſt; hath deuiſed this ſhift, *Concilium loqui de eo,qui duas ſimul Vxores habet*, That the Councell calleth that ſecond mariage,when as a man hath two wiues together, *Bellarm.de concilijs lib.2.cap.*8. Why then ſhould he thinke it ſtrange, that we ſo vnderſtand S.*Paul*, as giuing a caueat againſt ſuch, as had two wiues together?

Thirdly, S.*Hierome* thus expoundeth the Apoſtle, writing in this manner, *Hoc, quod dicit vnius vxoris virum,&c.* This, which the Apoſtle ſaith, the husband of one wife, may be otherwiſe expounded: the firſt Church of Chriſt did conſiſt of the remnant of Iſrael: the Apoſtle did know that it was tolerated in the law to haue children by diuers wiues, yea, the Prieſts themſelues vſed that libertie: wherefore he commandeth, that the Miniſters of Chriſts Church ſhould not challenge the ſame licence, that they ſhould haue two or three mariages together, but at one time euery man his ſingle wife; *Hierom.Ocean.tom.*3.

Fourthly, he is not to be counted *Bigamus* or *Digamus*, that is coupled and ioyned to one wife after another lawfully,but he that vnlawfully at once enioyeth more then one. *Fulk.annot.*1.*Tim.*5.*ſect.6.& cap.3.ſect.*4.

To this agreeth that decree of *Nicholaus* the firſt: *Vt Laicus Vxorem ſimul & concubinam habens non communicet Eccleſiæ*, That a lay man, keeping a wife and a concubine together,ſhould not communicate with the Church. And againe, *Decret.ſeptim.de regibus. An non diſtricta vltione feriendus es,qui in duabus Vxoribus adulterium & flagitium Lamech imitatus es?* Are you not ſeuerely to be cenſured, which haue played the adulterer with two wiues? Thus he writeth to King *Lotharius*,who had two Wiues together, *Teberga*,and *Gualdreda:* And ſuch as theſe,are truely called Bigami. And thus is this worde taken both in the Ciuill and Canon law: as *Cod.*5.*leg.*2. *Dioclet.Binas habens vxores eſt infamis*: He that hath two wiues (that is, at once) is infamous. And to this agree the Canons, *decret.Greg.lib.*1.*tit.*21.*c.*4.*Innocent.*3. *Qui duas ſimul vxores habet,&c.* Hee is counted infamous, that hath two wiues at once. And in the ſame place, *Licet in veritate non ſit Digamus,&c.* A Clergie man twice married, though in trueth he be not Bigamus; yet incurreth the penaltie of Bigamie. Here in direct termes ſecond mariage is denied to bee Bigamie. So alſo in the Decrees,*cauſ.*31.*qu.*2.*cap.*10.*Primus Lamech &c.*Firſt the homicide *Lamech* brought in two wiues; *Fratricidium & Digamium*:But the ſame puniſhment of the Deluge,did meete both with his Fratricide and Digamie: Here *Lamech* is called Digamus,hauing two wiues at once. Againe *Innocent* 3.decreeth, that he is not to be counted Digamus,that hath many concubines,one after another, *decret.Gregor.lib.*1.*tit.*21.*c.*6. How much leſſe is he Digamus, that hath had many wiues,one after another? vnleſſe they will preferre whoredome before mariage.

*Argum.*2. Againe ſay they, the high Prieſt in the lawe was not permitted to marrie a widow, Leuit.21.13. Which lawe being obſerued in the high Prieſt, ought much more to be kept now, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. That law concerning the high Prieſt, did onely appertaine to himſelfe,who was a figure of Chriſt,neither can it be extended to the Miniſters of the Goſpell,no more then any other parts of his office,that were peculiar to that ſtate and calling. Secondly, in the ſame place the Prieſt is enioyned to marrie a Virgine: if then the prieſthoode of the lawe is for them againſt the marying of a widowe,it maketh alſo with vs for the marying of a Virgine.

The Proteſtants.

THat it is not by the word of God forbidden, that any man ſhould marrie the ſecond, yea the third time, after the deceaſe of his wife, neither that he is to be counted vnchaſt or giuen to wantonnes in ſo doing (much leſſe he that in his firſt mariage taketh a widowe,) neither that,to haue been twiſe maried ought to be a barre or a ſtop from entring into the ſtate and calling of the Miniſterie, if otherwiſe the man be qualified and furniſhed with ſufficient graces for that calling; thus it is proued.

*Argum.*1. They that cut off ſuch, as haue been twiſe married, from hauing any calling in the Church,doe ſauour of the hereſie of *Montanus*,into the which alſo *Tertullian* fell, who condemned ſecond mariage: for if once mariage be no impediment nor preiudice to him that is to be ordayned, but ſecond mariage be; then doe they diſallow ſecond mariage, (becauſe a man is thereby diſabled to be a Miniſter) if not ſimply,yet they make it leſſe lawfull,nay more offenſiue,and ſubiect to obloquie and reproch. But the Scripture maketh no difference betweene firſt and ſecond mariage: S.*Paul* ſaith, For auoyding of fornication, let euery man haue his owne wife: he ſaith not, his firſt wife; but generally: ſo that it is lawfull for auoyding of fornication to marrie the ſecond or the third wife,as well as the firſt.

*Argum.*2. If it be as lawfull to marrie the ſecond wife, as the firſt, if it be for auoyding of fornication; then ſecond mariage doth no more hinder the receiuing of orders then the firſt: but the antecedent is true: for what ſhould make the ſecond mariage leſſe lawfull? not any dutie that the wife or the husband oweth to the partie deceaſed: for they are free in that reſpect, and ſet at libertie, Rom.7.3. Neither is the end of mariage made fruſtrate more now then before: for he that marieth the ſecond time, may haue as good cauſe to doe it, for auoyding of fornication, as he had at the firſt.

3 Second mariage, make the worſt of it you can, is not ſo great a blot as fornication, or adulterie, or to haue a Concubine: but theſe were no lets of Prieſthood in poperie: Nay, we reade that *Auguſtine* in the purer age of the Church, that confeſſeth he had two Concubines, yet afterward was made presbyter, and at the laſt a Biſhop for all that. Wherefore, there is no reaſon that exception ſhould be taken againſt a twice maried man, ſeeing a fornicator is free. And by this reaſon, if after a ſecond concubine a man may be admitted to orders, but not after a ſecond wife: then as S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Coniugales ergò tabulæ, non coitus &c.* Not vnlawful companie, but the mariage bond ſhould be by the Apoſtle condemned: *Imputatur infælicitas vxoris mortuæ & libido meretricia coronatur:* Then a wife ſhould be counted vnhappie, and whoriſh luſt crowned. *Hieron. Ocean. Tom.*3. Wherefore, if *Pelagius* the Pope admitted one to be made a Deacon, who had a concubine after his firſt wife, *diſtinct.33.c.7.* with how much greater reaſon, may he be admitted, that had one lawfull wife after another?

Confeſſ.lib.6. cap.15.

Laſtly, of this opinion *Auguſtine* ſeemeth to be: That it is as lawfull to marrie the ſecond time and the third, as the firſt. *Ait Apoſtolus, mulier alligata eſt viro, quamdiu vir eius viuit; non dixit primus, ſecundus, tertius, aut quartus:* The woman is bound (ſaith the Apoſtle) ſo long as her husband liueth; he ſaith not, the firſt husband, ſecond, third, or fourth. So the woman is as free after the firſt or ſecond husbands death, as when ſhe was a Virgine. Yet if ſhe can content her ſelfe with her widowes eſtate, and haue the gift of continencie, ſhe ſhall doe better not to marrie: but if ſhe haue not, it is better to marrie (S. *Paul* ſaith not, the firſt, ſecond, or third time, but ſo often as ſhe hath neede) rather then to burne.

De Bon.viduitat.c.12.

Concerning twiſe maried Miniſters, though ſome in times paſt thought it inconuenient, yet were they not ſo fierce againſt them, as our aduerſaries now are, to thinke ſuch vnworthie their calling, and to depriue them both of office and maintenance. *Concil. Arelatenſ.2.can.26. Clerici quibus duplicata inciderint Matrimonia non vltra ſubdiaconatum Eccleſiaſticas capiunt dignitates,* Clerkes, that chance to be maried twiſe, let them not be capable of any Eccleſiaſticall dignitie more then the ſubdeaconſhip.

Concil. Agathenſ.can.1. Placuit, vt digami, &c. Preſbyteri vel diaconi nomen obtineant, officium non exequantur: it ſeemeth good to vs, that they which are twiſe maried in the Miniſterie, ſhould reteyne the name of Prieſt, or Deacon, though they execute not the office: yet this is not ſo hard, as to be depriued both of name, office, and dignitie.

But we haue yet clearer teſtimonies: *Innocentius 1. Epiſtol.25. can.2.* reaſoning againſt thoſe, which counted it not bigamie, if a man had one wife before Baptiſme, and another after, *Quia in Baptiſmo, inter cætera crimina dimiſſum eſt,* Becauſe it is forgiuen them amongſt other crimes in Baptiſme, ſay they: he thus writeth, *Vxorem ducere crimen eſt, an non eſt crimen? ſi crimen, author eſt in culpa qui conſtituit, vt crimen in paradiſo conſtitueretur: quod Deus ergo coniunxit nefas eſt appellare, &c.* Is it a ſinne to marrie a wife, or is it none? if it be a ſinne, the authour is to be blamed, who ordayned ſinne in Paradiſe: therefore that which God hath ioyned together, it is not lawfull to call ſin. Hence we gather thus: ſecond mariage is it a ſin or no? if it be a ſin, then the blame reſteth vpon God, which were blaſphemie to thinke; if it be no ſin, why ſhould it be an hindrance to the calling of a Miniſter? How can he be polluted, and made vnapt for that calling, by an act not ſinfull?

*Leo Epiſtol.*90. hath this ſaying: *Ancillam à toro abijcere, & vxorem certæ ingenuitatis accipere, non duplicatio eſt coniugij, ſed profectus honeſtatis:* For a man to barre a bondwoman or concubine from his bed, and to take a freewoman to his wife, is no doubling of mariage, but a profiting in honeſtie. Say then, is it an honeſt part after a man hath knowne a concubine, to gette a wife? And is it not a like honeſt part, after a man hath had one wife, to marrie, if neede require, another? If it be then *profectus honeſtatis,* a profiting in honeſtie, to marrie a ſecond wife for neceſſitie, as it is to take a wife after a concubine: for otherwiſe we make marriage worſe then fornication: Why ſhould not a man profiting in honeſtie, that is twiſe married, be admitted to the miniſterie?

Now for the iudgement of the ciuill law concerning ſecond mariage, thus we find, *Cod.lib.6. tit.*40.*leg.*2. *Iuſtinian* doth reuerſe the law *Iulia,* which did not permit ſecond mariage, vnleſſe the widow did take an oth, that ſhe did it for procreation ſake: wherefore he giueth libertie for ſecond mariage without any ſuch oth, alledging this reaſon of that law; *Augeri magis noſtram rempublicam, &c.* For we deſire rather our common wealth to be encreaſed, and by many men lawfully borne to be frequented, &c. The reaſon of this law ſerueth as well for the approbation of the ſecond mariage of Miniſters.

And as for your Canons, they allow the ſentence of S. *Hierome*, that he is not counted Bigamus, that had one wife before Baptiſme, and another after, *diſtinct.26.c.1.* and ſo it was no let vnto orders. And *Hierome* himſelfe maketh mention of one *Carterius* a Spaniſh Biſhop, that had had two wiues, one before baptiſme, another after: yea, ſaith he, *Omnis mundus his ordinationibus plenus, &c.* All the world is full of ſuch Ordinations, I ſpeake not onely of Prieſts, but of Biſhops, whom if a man would number, he ſhall finde ſuch a companie, as may well compare with the Synode of Arimine for multitude: *Hieron. Ocean. Tom.3.* Thus we ſee, it was an vſuall thing in S. *Hieroms* time, for men twice maried, once before baptiſme, and once after, to be receiued to orders: yet afterward *Innocent.3.* decreed the contrary, that ſuch mariage ſhould be counted Bigamie, *diſtinct.26.c.3.* But we preferre *Hieromes* time as more ancient, and neerer the practiſe of the Primitiue Church.

Concerning the iudgement of holy Martyrs: it is cleare by their practiſe, for diuers of them being in orders, were twiſe married, as Biſhop *Cranmer* holy Martyr, ſee his ſtorie, *Fox.* pag.1860. *& deinceps.*

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER MINISTERS ought to refraine the companie of their wiues, being entred into orders.

The Papiſts.

79.Error. THey confeſſe, that *Peter* and other of the Apoſtles were maried; but after their calling they had no company with their wiues, *Rhemiſt. Math.8.ſect.3.* And ſo ought the Miniſters of the Goſpell (ſaith *Bellarmine*) be kept from the vſe of their wiues, to whom they were maried before their calling.

Argum.1. The Prieſts of the law were bound to withdrawe themſelues during the time of their ſeruice, while they attended vpon the ſacrifice, and to forbeare the companie of their wiues: much more the Prieſts of the law, that muſt alwayes offer ſacrifices, muſt be alwayes free from matrimonie, *Rhemiſt. Luk.1.ſect.10.*

Anſw.1. The Leuiticall prieſthood did repreſent and ſhadowe forth the prieſthood of Chriſt, and their legall cleanſings, waſhings, abſtinence, purifyings, did ſhewe forth the holines and perfection of the prieſthood of Chriſt: wherefore the law of their abſtinence doth no more binde vs, then other of their legall purifications: they haue their end in the prieſthoode of Chriſt. Thus alſo ſaith S. *Hierome, Noſter Pontifex ſecundum ordinem, &c.* But our Biſhop according to the order of *Melchiſedech*, is without father or mother, without kinred, without marriage, *lib.1. contra Iouinianu.* 2. We acknowledge no ſacrificing prieſthood in the newe teſtament, nor any ſacrifice in the Church for ſinne, but onely that ſacrifice of attonement vpon the Croſſe: but our ſacrifices are ſpirituall, of praiſe and thankeſgiuing; therefore the argument followeth not from the Prieſts of the lawe, to thoſe that are no prieſts, *Fox.*pag.1166. 3. Purenes of life, we grant, is as much required now in Miniſters of the Goſpell, as it was then in the prieſts of the lawe: therefore they ought as well to haue libertie to marrie, ſeeing Matrimonie is the beſt remedie againſt fornication and vncleannes of life. 4. The Prieſts of the law did onely abſtaine during the time of their ſeruice, not while they liued: and ſo was it decreed in the ſixt generall Synode, *cap.13.* as it is alleaged, *diſtinct.31.c.13. Non in perpetuum, ſed tempore oblationis, &c.* That Miniſters ſhould abſtaine from the companie of their Wiues, not for euer, but during the time of the offering onely.

Argum.2. Another argument they picke out of S. *Pauls* words, 1.Cor.7.5. Defraud you not one another, vnleſſe it be by conſent for a time, that you may giue your ſelues to prayer. If the lay man cannot pray, vnleſſe he abſtaine from his wife; the Prieſt, that muſt alwayes pray, muſt alwayes abſtaine, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw.1. The lay man is bound to offer prayers alwayes as well as the Prieſt, and ſo by this reaſon, neither ought any lay man to performe his duety to his wife, if it were an hinderance to praier. 2. S. *Paul* ſpeaketh not here of all prayer, but of a ſpeciall kind, which, to be made more feruent, requireth faſting and abſtinence, which kind is not alway neceſſarie, but vpon ſome certaine occaſion. 3. It is ſo farre off that a lay man cannot pray, vnleſſe he abſtaine from his wife, that many times he prayeth more quietly then he that is vnmaried, or abſtaineth, if he haue not dominion ouer his luſt, *Fulk. annot. 1.Cor.7.5.*

The Proteſtants.

NEither the Apoſtles forſooke the companie of their wiues, after they were called and choſen of Chriſt, neither ought the miniſters of the Goſpell to renounce, abandon, and forſweare the ſocietie and fellowſhip of their wiues: but rather to liue with them in all temperance and ſobrietie, for the good example of others.

*Argum.*1. It is proued out of the 1.Cor.9.5. that *Peter* and the other Apoſtles did leade about their wiues in their companie, and S.*Paul* there ſaith, that he alſo might vſe the ſame libertie. Likewiſe, 1.Tim.3.5. S.*Paul* giueth rules concerning the houſe and familie of the Miniſter, his children, the behauiour of their wiues, verſ.11. But where, I pray you, is it fitter for the Miniſters wife and children to be, then with her husband? By theſe places it is apparant, that Miniſters wiues were not excluded from their husbands company: as a thouſand yeere after and more it was decreed by *Anſelme*, that they ſhould not dwell in houſe with their husbands, nor talke with them without two or three witneſſes, *Fox*.pag.1167.

*Argum.*2. It is cleane contrarie to the ſcripture. Firſt, our Sauiour ſaith, whoſoeuer putteth away his wife, except it be for fornication, cauſeth her to commit adulterie, Matth.5.32. By this rule, therefore a Miniſter ought not for any other cauſe to put away and diſmiſſe his wife, but for fornication: *Ergo*, it is not lawfull becauſe of his calling, or vpon any other colour to ſend her away. Secondly, S.*Paul* ſaith, They ought not to defraud one another but for a time, and that with conſent, 1.Cor.7.5. Therefore if the wife will not conſent, her husband cannot goe from her: nay, though there be conſent, yet they muſt be aſunder but for a time: they cannot by conſent altogether breake off, and diſſolue their marriage, which was made before God, though they would neuer ſo fayne themſelues, vnleſſe it be for fornication, then without conſent the mariage knot is broken.

*Argum.*3. ***Peter*** left not the companie of his wife after he was made an Apoſtle: for he had a daughter called ***Petronilla***, of whom the popiſh legends write much holines, which muſt needes be borne after he was called ***Peter***. And againe, it is proued by her age, for ſhe was ſo young in the perſecution vnder ***Domitian***, that ***Flaccus*** the Countie deſired her in mariage: but if ſhe had been borne before ***Peters*** Apoſtleſhip, ſhe muſt haue been threeſcore yeere old at that time, or hard vpon, *Fulk. Matth.*8.*ſect.*3.

4 ***Auguſtine*** thus writeth of this matter: ***Vna ſola eſſe cauſa poſſet, qua te id quod vouiſti, non ſolum non hortaremur, verumetiam prohiberemus implere, ſi forte tua coniux hoc tecum ſuſcipere animi, ſeu carnis infirmitate recuſaret, Epiſtol.***45. There may be one cauſe, and no more, which would make me, not onely to moue you to performe that which you haue vowed, but to diſſwade and forbid you, namely, if your wife by reaſon of her weakenes, ſhould refuſe to beare the yoke with you. Therefore, by ***Auguſtines*** ſentence, neither ought a Miniſter that is maried, performe the vow of continencie which he made, without conſent of his wife: for he ſpeaketh generally of vowes made by thoſe that are ioyned in Wedlocke: Let vs ſee alſo the decrees of generall Councels.

Trullan. ſynod general.6.Can.13. It was decreed, ***Deponendos eos, qui audeant poſt ordinationem diaconos & ſacerdotes cum ſuis prioribus legitimis vxoribus conſuetudine priuare, & ipſos, qui ordinantur vxores ſuas pietatis prætextu expellentes, excommunicandos:*** That they ſhould be depoſed, which preſumed to depriue Deacons and Prieſts, after the receiuing of orders, of their lawfull wiues companie, and that they, which after the taking of orders, vnder pretenſe of greater holines, ſhould put away their wiues, ſhould be excommunicate.

Lateranenſ. ſub Alexandro 3.*part.*19.*cap.*2.*&* 3. ***Qui in ſacerdotio geniti ſunt, admitti poſſunt ad ſacerdotium, ſed paternas eccleſias habere non debent, alijs tamen eccleſijs præfici poſſunt:*** They which are borne in the Prieſthoode, may be admitted to the Prieſthoode, but their Fathers Churches or benefices they cannot haue, yet other Churches they may be ſet ouer. And *part.*3.*cap.*3.thus, ***Ne quis non de legitimo Matrimonio natus, Epiſcopus fieret,*** That none not borne in lawfull Matrimonie, ſhould be a Biſhop. Then we conclude thus, A Prieſts ſonne borne in the Prieſthoode may be made a Biſhop, and ſet ouer Churches, but he that is not borne in lawfull wedlocke cannot: therefore the mariage of Prieſts, and the ſober vſe thereof, euen in the Prieſthood, is lawfull.

*Lateranenſ. ſub Innocentio.*3.*cap.*14. ***Clerici, qui ſecundum religionis ſua morem, non abdicarunt copulam coniugalem, ſi lapſi fuerint in fornicationem grauius puniantur, cum legitimo Matrimonio vti poſſunt:*** Clergie men, which after the cuſtome of their profeſſion, doe not abrogate the mariage knot, if they fall into fornication, let them be more ſeuerely puniſhed, ſeeing they may vſe lawfull Matrimonie. The Matrimonie of Clergie men is called lawfull, and made free vnto them in reſpect of the vſe: what clearer teſtimonies can any man require?

We haue alſo the warrant of both lawes, that Miniſters ſhould not leaue or forſake the companie of their wiues: as firſt, ***Cod.lib.***1.***tit.***6.***leg.***19.***Honor. Theodoſ. Illas non relinqui, &c.*** The affection of chaſtitie doth exhort not to leaue or forſake thoſe women, which before their husbands prieſthood deſerued lawfull mariage: ***neque enim Clericis incompetenter adiunctæ ſunt, &c.*** neither are they incompetently ioyned to Clergie men, which by their conuerſation made them worthie the prieſthood. By this law it appeareth, that Miniſters wiues muſt not be caſt off, but ioyned ſtill to their husbands.

The Canon law alſo alloweth that decree of the Synode, ***Gangrenſ. diſtinct.***30.3. ***Si qua mulier, &c.*** If any woman forſaking her husband, will depart, and diſſolue the mariage bond, and ſo condemning mariage, let her be accurſed. This Canon forbiddeth all forſaking or departing of them that are maried one from another: and ſo conſequently neither is any ſuch departure lawful for Orders ſake. It will be anſwered, that this Canon forbiddeth ſuch departure, as condemneth mariage. *Contra.* Mariage is condemned two waies, either abſolutely, as by counting it vncleane in it ſelfe, as the Manichees wickedly taught; or elſe by way of implication, as to thinke any calling diſgraced or polluted by it, as the Papiſts ſay Orders are. This Synode in generall decreeth againſt all condemnation of mariage, both the one and the other: as it may appeare by the 10. Canon of the ſame Synode: *Si quis propter Deum virginitatem profeſſus, &c.* If any profeſſing virginitie for Gods cauſe doth arrogantly diſpraiſe thoſe that are maried, let him be accurſed. So the popiſh votaries doe deſpiſe the maried Miniſters of the Goſpell, and therefore are vnder the cenſure of this Canon. Likewiſe the ſame Synode in the laſt Canon decreeth thus againſt the condemners and deſpiſers of mariage: *Hos condemnamus qui ſe extollunt, &c.* We doe condemne thoſe, that extoll themſelues againſt the Scriptures, and eccleſiaſticall Canons, and bring in new precepts. But the popiſh Church in impoſing ſingle life, bringeth in new precepts contrarie to the Scripture and the Canons. *Ergo.*

I will ſet to the ſeale of the holy Martyrs: Doctor *Taylor* preacher, holy Martyr, when his ſeruant *Iohn Hull* had brought his ſonne *Thomas* vnto him, he put off his hat, and thus ſaid to the people: Good people, this is mine owne ſonne begotten of my bodie in lawfull Matrimonie, and God be bleſſed for lawfull Matrimonie, *Fox* pag. 1525.

Lawrence Saunders preacher, holy Martyr, when his childe was brought vnto him into the priſon, he ſaid thus to the ſtanders by, which praiſed the goodlines of the childe: What man fearing God would not rather loſe this life preſent, then to adiudge this boy to bee a baſtard, his wife a whore, and himſelfe a whoremonger? Yea if there were no other cauſe, for which a man of my eſtate ſhould loſe his life, yet who would not giue it to aduouch this childe to bee legitimate, and his mariage to be lawfull and holy? *Fox* pag. 1497.

THE SIXT QVESTION, CONCERNING THE maintenance of the Church by tithes.

Concerning the maintenance of the Church, there are diuers points, wherein wee and our aduerſaries agree: The maintenance of the Miniſters of the Church is either by temporall poſſeſſions, which haue been beſtowed vpon the Church, by the gift of deuout and religious men; or elſe they haue inheritance from their friends and a patrimonie of their owne; or elſe they liue of the tithes and oblations of the people.

1 We graunt, and agree vnto them, that the Church Miniſters, beſide the portion of tithes, may lawfully enioy temporall lands, which the Church of ancient time hath been endowed withall. But we yeeld vnto them vpon certaine conditions: Firſt, there muſt be a moderation vſed in all ſuch gifts, which are bequeathed to the Church: for eccleſiaſticall perſons ought not to be too greedie and haſtie in receiuing whatſoeuer in ſimplicitie and blinde deuotion any man ſhall giue vnto them: as if they ſee that others are impoueriſhed by the gift whereby they are inriched. Thus the Prieſts offended in our Sauiour Chriſts time, who allured the people to bring their offerings to the Altar, though their parents wanted in the meane time, whom they were bound to relieue by the law of God. This alſo was a common practiſe in time of poperie: So the prieſts might be enriched, they cared not greatly, though all the ſtocke of their patrones and founders were vndone: who becauſe they were vnſatiable, and had no meaſure in entiſing ſimple men, to giue ouer their lands and Lordſhips into their hands, the ſtatute of *Mortmaine* was made, not without iuſt cauſe, to be a rule vnto them, that otherwiſe could not rule themſelues. At the firſt it was lawfull by the Imperiall conſtitutions for any man to giue to the Church, as much as he thought good, as it may appeare by the law of *Conſtantinus, Cod. lib. 1. tit. 5. leg. 1.* when as yet the Church was poore, and newly deliuered from perſecution: but afterward, when as ambitiouſly Clergie men ſought to enrich themſelues, and without meaſure heaped poſſeſſions together, it ſeemed good that a reſtraint ſhould bee made; as *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 5. leg. 16. Iuſtinian* made a law, that no gift made to the Church aboue 500. crownes ſhould bee good, without inſinuation, that is, ſome act done before the Magiſtrate. And there is a law more ancient made by the Heathen Emperours, *Diocleſian, Maximinian*, that a Colledge, not priuiledged, that is licenced, ſhould not be capable of any inheritance, *Cod. lib. 6. tit. 34. leg. 8.* Yea their owne Canons alſo haue made prouiſion againſt the inſatiable deſire of the Church, *Decret. par. 2. cauſ. 12. qu. 2. can. 49. Gregor. Eccleſia rapacitatis ardore, &c.* The Church muſt not greedily inuade the things pertaining to another. And, *Can. 74. Non vltra quinquageſimam partem, &c.* That a Biſhop ſhould not giue aboue the 50. part of the Church goods to a Monaſterie. *Auguſtine* doth highly commend *Aurelius* Biſhop of Carthage, and worthely, for this one act: A certaine rich man of Carthage hauing no children, gaue all his

ſubſtance to the Church, reſeruing onely the vſe thereof for his life time: afterward the man had children: *Reddidit Epiſcopus nec opinanti ea, quæ donauerat:* The Biſhop reſtoreth vnto him that which he gaue, not looking for it, nor making any account of it: *In poteſtate habuit Epiſcopus non reddere; ſed iure fori, non iure poli?* It was in the Biſhops power not to reſtore the gift, but by the law of the court, not by the law of heauen. I pray you how many ſuch examples can ye ſhew me in the time of popiſh ſuperſtition? This then is the firſt thing required, that although it be lawfull for the Church to enioy the bequeſts of their benefactors, yet it ſhould be done with ſome limitation; as the Leuites, beſide their tithes, had cities appointed them: but the number was ſet down, they ſhould not exceede 48. in all: and to euery citie was a quantitie and circuite of ground allotted, which ſhould in length and bredth containe euery way three thouſand cubites, Numb. 35. verſ. 5. 8.

Ad fratres in Eremo Serm. 52.

2 It muſt alſo bee prouided, that the gifts and legacies beſtowed vpon the Church, bee for the maintenance of pietie and true religion, and to good vſes, not to nouriſh idolatrie and ſuperſtition: or if they bee giuen through ignorance of the time, to ſuch vnlawfull purpoſes, they ought by the Prince to bee conuerted to better and more godly vſes: As now in England, the lands of Colledges, which were firſt giuen to maintaine that abominable Idoll of the Maſſe, are turned to the maintenance of learning and true religion. So was the law of *Moſes*, that the gold and ſiluer, braſſe, yron, tinne, lead, which the Iſraelites ſhould receiue of the Heathen, firſt ſhould paſſe through the fire, and ſo be made cleane, and fit for holy vſes: Euen thus according to this law, the lands conſecrate to ſuperſtition, hauing now paſſed through the fire of Gods word, and triall of the truth, may ſafely be vſed to the glorie of God, in aduancing and ſetting forward true religion and vertue: As *Cod. lib. 1 tit. 8. leg. 8. Valentin. Martian.* It is made a law that the houſes, wherein heretikes did meete, ſhould bee adiudged to the orthodoxall Church: *tit. 12. leg. 11. Honor.* That the habitations of certaine heretikes called Cælicolæ, ſhould be annexed to the true or right beleeuing Church. Likewiſe, *leg. 17.* The Synagogues of the Iewes are confiſcate to the vſe of the Church. *Theodoſ. Valentin.*

Numb. 31. 23.

3 Another thing muſt bee required: that Church-men ought not to abuſe the poſſeſſions of the Church, to maintaine pride, idlenes, and riotous liuing: for in caſe they doe notoriouſly ſpend and waſte the Church goods, the Prince (by whoſe authoritie they were giuen to the Church) may iuſtly take from them their ſuperfluities, not leauing the Church deſtitute of ſufficient maintenance. This is notably proued by *Iohn Huſſe*, in the defence of *Wickliffes* articles: And we haue ſeene the practiſe thereof in England, in the late ſuppreſſion of Abbeyes; wherin (though ſome of thoſe lands might otherwiſe haue bin diſpoſed of) yet the prouidence of God notably appeared in bringing deſolation vpon thoſe Cels of ſin, and vncleane cages of birds. Neither hath this been an vnuſuall and vnaccuſtomed practiſe in the Church, for Princes to correct the miſdemeanour of Prieſts, by cutting them ſhort of their temporalties: for in *Auguſtines* time the Chriſtian Emperors diſpoſſeſſed the Donatiſts of their Churches and poſſeſſions, and gaue them to the Catholike Biſhops. And at that time the Donatiſts cried out, as the Papiſts now doe, *Quid mihi eſt imperator?* What hath the Emperour, the King to doe with our lands? *Auguſtine* anſwereth, *Secundum ius ipſius poſſides terram:* by the law of Princes the Church enioyeth her poſſeſſions: *Recitemus leges imperatorum, videamus ſi voluerint aliquid ab hæreticis poſſideri:* Let vs then rehearſe the lawes of Emperours, and ſee whether they ſuffer heretikes to enioy the Church poſſeſſions.

Fox. pag. 457.

Tractat. in Iohann. 6.

That it is lawfull for the ciuill Magiſtrate to diſpoſſeſſe Eccleſiaſticall perſons of their liuings and maintenance abuſing them to wantonnes and impietie, ſee *Concil. Colonienſ part. 9. cap 21. Fraternitates, quæ vocantur, &c.* The brotherhoods, as they are called, which are made in the honour of ſome Saints, haue a ſhew indeede of godlines, but as they are now vſed, both Clerkes and lay men doe follow nothing els in ſuch places but ryot and drunkennes, and ſometimes they intend conſpiracies againſt potentates, we thinke it better that they ſhould be cleane taken out of the way, and their reuenewes giuen to the poore.

Now, whereas there is a great complaint amongſt malecontents and ſuperſtitious fauourites of the popiſh profeſſion, that the Abbey lands were taken away from their Cels, confiſcate to the Prince, and conuerted to lay vſes: for the better anſwere thereof, I will briefly ſet downe theſe concluſions. Firſt, that it hath been alwaies lawfull for the Prince, to ſeaze vpon ſuch goods and lands as were abuſed to idolatrous and ſuperſtitious purpoſes, which afterward being in the Princes right, were at his deuotion and diſpoſition to bee employed. See the law of *Conſtantine, Cod. lib. 1. tit. 14. leg. 1.* That the goods of ſacrificing Prieſts were confiſcate to the Prince. And *leg. 5. Honor. Theodoſ. Omnia loca, quæ ſacris veterum error deputauit, noſtræ rei iubemus ſociari:* All thoſe places, which haue been in the error of former time appointed to ſacred vſes, we bid to be ioyned to our treaſurie: excepting ſuch things as were beſtowed by the liberalitie of Princes vpon priuate perſons. So S. *Ambroſe* anſwereth *Symmachus*, making the like obiection, for that the Emperours had ſpoyled the Idoll prieſts of their reuenewes, *Sublata ſunt prædia, quia non religioſè vtebantur ijs, quæ* *religionis iure defenderent:* Their lands were taken away, becauſe they did not religiouſly vſe thoſe things which they held vnder colour of religion. The ſame anſwere may we make our aduerſaries in the like caſe.

Secondly, we ſay it had been very meete, that a greater part of the Abbey lands had been conuerted to godly vſes, as it was religiouſly by the Prince intended, if his godly purpoſe had not bin by the couetouſnes of ſome other hindered: according to the law of *Anaſtaſius, Cod.lib*.1.*tit*.8. *leg*.9. who decreed that the poſſeſſions of heretikes ſhould be confiſcate to the Prince, yet ſo, that the oratories and places of praier be ſtill maintained.

Thirdly, if any were rather led with the expectation of their priuate gaine, then the hatred of ſuperſtition in the diſſolution and ſpoyle of Abbeyes, we defend them not, neither hold them excuſed: as *Auguſtine* ſaith to the Donatiſts, and it is alleaged in the decrees, *Cauſ*.23.*qu*.7.*c*.1. *Quiſquis occaſione huius legis, &c.* If any man by occaſion of this law, which Kings ſeruing Chriſt haue promulgated to correct your impietie, doth greedily couet your goods, he pleaſeth not vs.

Bellarm.c.27.

Secondly, concerning the ſecond kind of maintenance, which ariſeth by the proper and peculiar inheritance, which Church Miniſters haue: wee alſo yeeld our conſent, that a Miniſter, to whom ſome inheritance is befallen, is not bound to diſclaime therefore the maintenance which he hath of the Church: for the Leuites, beſide the allotment of the tithes, had their proper houſes, which they might ſell, and redeeme againe, Leuit. 25.32. As alſo that place, 1.Timoth.3.2. will beare it, where the Apoſtle would haue a Biſhop to be harborous, and giuen to hoſpitalitie: which he ſhall be much better able to performe, hauing ſome helpe, beſide the Church liuing, of his own inheritance. So then it is not to bee doubted, but that Eccleſiaſticall perſons may, together with ſpirituall liuings, retaine their owne proper inheritance: referring them both to one and the ſelfe ſame end, that is, to countenance their Miniſterie, and to be the better able to performe the externall duties thereof, in relieuing the poore, helping the needie, and ſuch like. Yet notwithſtanding there was an imperiall law, that he which liued of the Church, ſhould renounce his owne patrimonie: of the which law S. *Ambroſe* maketh mention, writing againſt *Symmachus: Nobis etiam priuatæ ſucceſſionis emolumenta recentibus legibus denegantur:* We alſo by a late law are forbidden to reape any aduantage by priuate inheritance. And the ſame is ratified in the decrees, *cauſ*.1.*q*.3. *c*.6. *Clericos illos, &c.* Such of the Clergie ſhould bee maintained by the Church ſtipends, as haue no goods nor patrimonie from their parents. As then this law, that, whereas a man hath ſufficient maintenance beſide of the Church, his patrimonie ſhould paſſe to the next heire, is not of it ſelfe vniuſt, nor vnreaſonable, where the ſtate of the Common-wealth doth require it: ſo where there is no ſuch poſitiue law, it is both lawfull and conuenient, that Miniſters together with their eccleſiaſticall calling, ſhould enioy their patrimonies, for the gracing and dignifying of their Miniſterie.

Thirdly, as touching the proper maintenance, and reuenue of the Church, which is by tithes: diuers points are agreed of and accorded betweene vs. Firſt, that tithes are due onely to the Church, and cannot be alienated to any other vſe, nor be turned to the maintenance of lay-men: for there muſt be, where tithes are paied, a matter of giuing and receiuing, Philipp.4.15. *Wee giue ſpirituall, and receiue temporall:* which becauſe lay-men doe not performe, they haue nothing to doe with the tithe: for not keeping the condition, they cannot claime the couenant.

Damaſus, decret.3. thus writeth of this matter: *Qua fronte, qua conſcientia oblationes vultis accipere qui vix valetis pro vobis, nedum pro alijs deo preces offerre?* With what face or conſcience can you receiue tithes and oblations (ſpeaking of lay-men) ſeeing ye are neither able to pray for your ſelues, nor others?

Lateranenſ. ſub Alexand.3.*part*.26.*cap*.8. *Qui decimas laico in ſeculo manenti conceſſerit, eſt deponendus:* He that granteth tithes to a ſecular lay-man, ſhould be depoſed. And many ſuch decrees they haue beſide againſt the appropriating of tithes to lay-men, as *decret.Greg.lib*.3.*tit*.30.*c*.15. *Decimæ laicis, &c.* Tithes can in no caſe be granted to lay-men for their inheritance. *Cauſ*.16.*qu*.1. *c*.68. *Vſus decimarum, &c.* The vſe of tithes muſt in no wiſe redound to ſecular men. It may therefore iuſtly be marueiled at, how contrary to their owne Canons, they made ſo many impropriate benefices: for it is certaine, that impropriations (which may more fitly ſo bee called, then appropriations) haue been founded of ancient time in poperie, and by the Popes themſelues maintained; for in King *Henrie* the 3. his raigne, ſuite was made vp to Rome to Pope *Alexander* the 4. by the Biſhops of this land, that benefices appropriate to religious houſes might bee reſtored: but they could not be heard, *ex Flor. Hiſtor.*

Firſt, it may bee ſaid, that by the Canons it was not lawfull for the Ciuill Magiſtrate to make a benefice appropriate, but the Biſhop might.

Contra. Cauſ.16.*qu*.7.*c*.1. *Periculum animæ, &c.* They of the lay ſort incurre the daunger of their ſoule, that receiue tithes either of Biſhops or Kings. Secondly, though it be not permitted to euery Biſhop, yet the Pope hath authoritie to doe it.

Contra. Cauſ.16.qu.7.c.3.Gregor.7.Si quis amodò Epiſcopus,&c. If any Biſhop hereafter do grant the tithes to lay-men, let him bee counted amongſt the greateſt heretikes. This Pope maketh no exception, but includeth all Biſhops, and ſo the Pope to, if he will be a Biſhop.

Thirdly, it will be anſwered, that they made no graunt of tithes to lay-men, but onely to religious houſes and Cathedrall Churches, and ſuch like.

Contra. Firſt, the multitude of Canons made againſt the holding of tithes by the lay ſort, doth euidently ſhew, that it was a continuall practiſe in poperie, to alienate the tithes of the Church to lay-men. Secondly, it is alſo againſt their owne Canons, that benefices ſhould be annexed or appropriate to houſes or Churches of religion. *Decret.Gregor.lib.3.tit.5.c.30.Innocent.3.* decreeth, that no penſions ſhould be granted out of benefices: which is a leſſe matter, then to alienate all the tithes, and reſerue onely a penſion. Againe, *ibid.c.33.* mention is made of a generall Councel, that would not ſuffer Chappels or Churches to be annexed to Prebends. Likewiſe, *Clement.lib.1. tit.5.c.1.Vt prælati beneficia non applicent menſis:* That prelates ſhould not employ benefices for the maintenance of their table. Thus if they had obſerued their owne Canons, this pernicious deuiſe of appropriating benefices ſhould not haue found entertainment.

2 The people are bound in conſcience, to giue of their goods vnto their lawfull paſtors, according to the determination of the Church, and the poſitiue lawes of Princes made in that behalfe, the which they are bound to obey: and the tenth being the hire of the labourer and the wages of the Lords workman, Matth.10.10. it ſhall be as great a ſinne to defraude the Miniſter of his portion, as to keepe backe the meate or wages from the hireling and labourer, Iam.5.4.

Cabilonenſ.cap.18. Qui decimas dare neglexerint, excommunicentur: They that neglect to pay their tithes, let them bee excommunicate. It is no ſmall ſinne therefore which deſerueth excommunication.

3 We vtterly denie alſo, and herein conſent with our aduerſaries, that tithes are not pure almes, as ſome haue been of opinion in times paſt, but are a plaine debt of the people to their Miniſters. Firſt, the wages or reward of the labourer is no almes, but his due, and of right belonging to him: but tithes are ſo vnto Miniſters who labour in the Lords harueſt, 1.Timoth.5.16. *Ergo,* no almes. Secondly, almes doe alway exceede the deſert of the almeſman, they ſhew the beneuolence and free heart of the giuer, not any merite or worthines in the receiuer: but tithes and all other temporall gifts, are farre inferiour to the labours of Miniſters: for what are temporal things to ſpirituall, 1.Cor.9.11? *Ergo,* no almes. Thirdly, the tenth is the Lords part, and by him it is aſſigned to his faithfull Miniſters, which in Gods ſtead doe teach vs, 2.Cor.5.20. But almes cannot be giuen vnto God. Againe, the tenth is as an inheritance to the Church, and to bee counted as the corne of the barne, or the abundance of the winepreſſe, Numb.18.verſ.26.27. it is vnto them as the fruite of the earth, and increaſe of the ground to the husbandman: Therefore to be counted no almes from men, but the bleſſing of God both vpon the paſtor and the people.

Bellar.cap.25.

Concil.Moguntienſ.ſub Arnulpho.cap.17. Admonemus, vt decima omnino dari non negligatur, timendum eſt enim, vt quiſquis Deo debitum abſtrahit, Deus propter peccatum ei auferat neceſſaria: Wee ſtraightly charge, that no man neglect to pay his tithes: for it is to bee feared, that as a man doth withhold from God his due, ſo God ſhould for his ſinne depriue him of things neceſſarie. Tithes therefore are *debitum,* a due debt, therefore no almes.

Concil.Aquiſgranenſ.lib.1.cap.34. Attende diligenter lector, quod omnes primitiæ, & quicquid ad ſanctuarium oblatum eſt ſacerdotis ſint, & ad ius eius pertineant: Vnderſtand diligent reader, that all firſt fruites, and whatſoeuer was offered in the ſanctuarie, was the prieſts, and belonged to him of right. Therefore tithes are more then almes.

Likewiſe, *decret. Greg. lib.3. tit.30.c.14. Cum decima, &c.* Seeing tithes were not inſtituted of men, but of God, *quaſi debitum exigi poſſunt,* they may be exacted as a due debt.

4 We alſo agree, that it is not meete that the maintenance of Miniſters ſhould be voluntarie, or left to the peoples choiſe: but that it is conuenient, iuſt, equall, requiſite, that both by lawes of Princes, and conſtitutions of the Church, prouiſion ſhould be made, as there is, for the neceſſarie, certaine, and competent maintenance of the Church. Firſt, the tenths in the lawe were eſtabliſhed by a perpetuall ordinance: *Ergo,* the maintenance of miniſters ought now alſo to be confirmed by poſitiue lawes, as then tithes were: the argument followeth: for if their Miniſterie deſerued ſuch aſſurance of their maintenance, which did but ſerue at the Altar, much more now doth the Miniſterie of the Goſpell deſerue it. And the Apoſtle alſo ſeemeth ſo to reaſon, 1.Cor.9.14.15. that as they which wayted on the Altar were partakers of the Altar: ſo God hath ordained (ſaith he) that they which preach the Goſpell, ſhould liue of the Goſpell. That is, as then the people did not onely giue tithes voluntarily, but were bound by lawe to doe it: euen ſo God hath ordained, that Miniſters ſhould liue of the people: and by this ordinance of God, the people may as well be bound vnto it now, as they were then. Secondly, if Miniſters, bound in conſcience to feed and inſtruct the people, may alſo be enforced & vrged by the conſtitutions of the Church

and lawes of Princes to doe that, which in conſcience they are bound: why may not the people likewiſe be conſtrained by publike law, to performe that dutie to their paſtors, which their owne conſcience doth vrge them vnto? Thirdly, experience teacheth, that men are hardly (euen liuing vnder a lawe) brought to pay their rights to the Church, no not in thoſe places where they can take no exception againſt their paſtors: how much more vnwilling would they be (I ſpeake of thoſe which are not yet wonne to a through liking of the Goſpell) if they were left to their owne libertie?

Neither is it ſafe to giue the people this libertie to detaine their tithes from vnſufficient Clerkes, leſt vnder this colour afterwards they might deny them to thoſe which were worthie. Sometimes indeede it was put to the peoples choyce to pay their tithes to whom they would, and to withhold them, if they ſaw cauſe, for as yet there was no poſitiue lawe made, but ſince it hath been otherwiſe determined by ciuill conſtitutions of Princes, as *Concil. Ticinenſ. ſub Lodouico Pio: Vt non pro ſuo libitu Clericis laici decimas tribuerent, &c.* That the lay ſort ſhould not pay tithes at their pleaſure to the Clergie: *Synod. Auguſt. cap.* 19. *Qui iuſtas non ſoluunt decimas, ter moniti, eis neganda communio:* They that being thriſe admoniſhed doe not pay their full tithe, let them be denied the Communion. *Anno.* 1538. King *Henrie* the eight of excellent memorie, made this poſitiue lawe concerning tithes: For as much as by a lawe eſtabliſhed euery man is bound to pay his tithes, no man ſhall by colour of dutie omitted by their Curates, detaine his tithes, or be his owne iudge, but ſhall truely pay the ſame, as hath been accuſtomed without any reſtraint, or diminution; and ſuch lacke and default as they finde in their Parſons or Curates, to call for reformation thereof at their Ordinaries, and other ſuperiours hands; *Fox*. pag. 1006. Such ciuill conſtitutions of Princes not contrarie to the word of God, doe binde ſubiects to obedience.

5 We alſo acknowledge (as *Bellarmine* ſeemeth to grant, chap. 25.) that to pay preciſely the tenth, is not now commanded by the lawe of God: as though that order could not be changed by any humane lawe, as the Canoniſts hold, but men neceſſarily were bound to pay tithes. But thus farre forth we hold, that it is grounded vpon Gods lawe: firſt, in reſpect of the equitie of the lawe, in paying of tithes, which is this, that the Miniſters ought to liue of the people, and to haue ſufficient and competent maintenance by them: which equitie and ſubſtance of the lawe is morall, and ought alwayes to continue, being grounded vpon the lawe of nature: Thou ſhalt not mouſle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth out the corne. Secondly, in as much as the lawes of the land and of the Church doth confirme this ancient conſtitution of tithes, (which is left indifferent of it ſelfe) we are bound to obey ſuch lawes, being agreeable to the word of God: And in this ſenſe alſo, tithes may be ſayd to be due by the lawe of God, becauſe Gods word commandeth obedience to our Magiſtrates, in all lawfull ordinances.

1.Cor.9.6.

*Synod. Moguntin. cap.*75. *Statuimus, vt decimæ, quæ iure debentur diuino, ſoluantur ſine fraude:* We appoynt, that tithes, which are due by the diuine lawe, be payd without any fraude. This Councel doubteth not to affirme, tithes to be due by the word of God.

6 Though the lawe of tenths be not now neceſſarie, as it was a ceremonious dutie: but it is lawfull either to keepe that or any other conſtitution, for the ſufficient maintenance of the Church, whether it be more or leſſe then the tenth part: yet we doubt not to ſay, that this prouiſion for the Church maintenance by paying of tithes, is the moſt ſafe, indifferent and ſureſt way, and no better can come in the place thereof. Firſt, it is the moſt equall way, to haue euery thing in the kinde, according to the Apoſtles rule: Let him that is taught make his teacher partaker of all his goods, Gal. 6.6. But this cannot be ſo conueniently done any other way, as by erecting of a ſet ſtipend, or ſuch like, as by paying the tenth in the kind.

2 Whereas S. *Paul* requireth, that the Paſtor ſhould be giuen to hoſpitalitie, 1. Tim. 3.2. who ſeeth not, that for the better and more conuenient maintenance of his houſe, it is the fitteſt courſe to receiue the tenth in his owne nature and kinde: being ſo more able to relieue the poore, hauing ſufficient prouiſion and ſtore of his owne?

3 The tenth is as the corne of the barne, and the abundance of the winepreſſe Numb. 18.27. that is, it is more or leſſe, as God giueth encreaſe to the fruites of the earth: which is the moſt equall and indifferent way: for then the Miniſter, as God bleſſeth them, ſhall be partaker of the bleſsing; and if they ſuffer loſſe, he likewiſe ſhall beare the burthen with them.

4 This manner of tithe-paying is farre more ſafe and ſure, then any way can be deuiſed, becauſe of the long cuſtome and continuance, which without great hazard of the Church cannot be broken. Neither is it poſsible by any act of parliament, to make ſtipends ſo certaine, as this conſtitution of tithes is: for the people will hardly yeeld to breake their cuſtome: and when an olde cuſtome is broken, a new is not ſo ſoone receiued: nay, many yeeres muſt runne to make a cuſtome. Againe, whatſoeuer may be obiected againſt tithes, that they breede much trouble, wrangling and contention, may be more iuſtly feared, in the collection, leuying, impoſing, and demanding of ſtipends.

5 Hitherto we haue ſhewed, that it is moſt naturall, that the Miniſters portion ſhould be payed in the kind. Now, concerning the tenth, though it be not neceſſarie, yet that proportion being firſt appoynted by the wiſedome of God, is verely thought to be moſt equall and indifferent betweene the paſtor and the people, as both affoording competent ſuſtenance for the one, when he liueth of the tenth, rather then the fifteenth, or twentith part, which were too skant allowance; nor yet grieuing or oppreſſing the other, whē the owner hath nine parts reſerued to himſelfe. And ſo if it be moſt meete, that things ſhould be anſwered in their kind, no proportion can ſerue better, then that which was firſt deuiſed by the Lord himſelfe: yet we hold neither the one nor the other to be neceſſarie.

It hath been an olde obiection, that the owner ought firſt to deduct his ſeede, and of the reſidue to pay his tithe: thus was it articulated againſt one *Thomas Clarke, Fox.* pag.830. But this notwithſtanding, people ought to pay the full tenth, and not to be ſo ſtraight handed, ſeeing God hath giuen them nine parts for that one tenth: See to this purpoſe, *Concil. Triburienſ. cap.*13. *ex Auguſtino. Da mihi decimam, &c.* Giue me thy tithe (ſaith the Lord,) if thou wilt not giue me the tenth, I will take away thy nine parts: if thou giueſt me the tenth, I will multiplie thy nine: If any man aske why tithes are giuen, let him know, that they are giuen, both that God being well pleaſed therewith, ſhould giue vs things neceſſarie, and that the Miniſters being thereby relieued, ſhould more freely attend their ſpirituall ſeruice, and haue to giue to the poore. Thus we ſee why both the tenth is to be giuen, and why in the kinde.

Hitherto for the moſt part we and our aduerſaries are agreed, both concerning tithes, as alſo other maintenance of the Church: but we differ about tithes in two poynts. Firſt, there is a queſtion betweene vs and the Rhemiſts about the neceſſitie of paying of tithes: Secondly, concerning the right whereby the Miniſters of the Goſpell may demaund their duties, which they ſay, is by reaſon of their Prieſthood: of both theſe now briefly in their order.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE PAIment of tithes be neceſſarie.

The Papiſts.

80.Error. THe payment of tithes is a naturall duetie, that men owe to God in all Lawes, and to be giuen to his Prieſts in his behalfe for their honour and liuelihood, *Rhemiſt. annot.*7. *Hebr. ſect.*4.

*Argum.*1. *Iacob* vowed to pay tithes to God, before the lawe, Geneſ.28. *Ergo*, it is a perpetuall law. *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. One Papiſt ſhall anſwere another at this time. **Bellarmine** proueth by this example the cleane contrarie, that the payment of tithes is not morall, becauſe it did not bind before the law of *Moſes:* for *Iacob* made a voluntarie vowe to pay his tithes, vpon a condition: but if he had been bound abſolutely to pay tithes, they ſhould haue been payed without any ſuch condition: It was therefore a voluntarie and a franke offering in *Iacob*.

*Argum.*2. Chriſt confirmeth the lawe of tithes, Matth.23.23. though he preferre the workes of mercie and iudgement, yet he ſaith that the other ought not to be left vndone, ſpeaking of the paying of tithes, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſw. We muſt conſider in what time our Sauiour Chriſt ſo ſpake vnto the Phariſies: for as yet neither the lawe nor the ceremonies thereof were fully abrogated: Chriſt was circumciſed, and Mary his mother purified according to the lawe, Luk.2.21.22. Our Sauiour alſo biddeth the Leper to ſhew himſelfe to the prieſt, and offer a gift as *Moſes* commanded, Matth.8.4. Yet none of all theſe ceremonies doe now ſtand in force, though Chriſt did them at that time, and bad them to be done. The ſame anſwere may ſerue alſo concerning his iniunction to the Phariſies as touching their tithes

The Proteſtants.

THe lawe of paying tithes did borrowe part of the morall, part of the iudiciall, and part of the ceremoniall lawe. The morall part therefore, is the equitie of the lawe, which is perpetuall, that as the Leuites then liued of the tenth, ſo the Miniſters at all times ought ſufficiently to be prouided and cared for. The iudiciall part was in this, that as the Leuites were not much leſſe in common account then the tenth part, being one of the tribes, (though in proportion of number, they made welneere the thirtith part: for the reſt of the tribes were numbred to ſixe hundred, 603550. three thouſand, fiue hundred and fiftie perſons, Numb.1. the Leuites made but two and twentie thouſand, Numb.3.) As I ſay the Leuites made one whole tribe, and were not much leſſe then the tenth part in that account, being in number the thirteenth tribe, for there were twelue beſide: So it was thought reaſonable that the tenth part of their brethrens goods ſhould be allotted vnto them; which being a iudiciall and politike conſtitution of that countrey, doth neither neceſſarily binde Chriſtians now, neither is forbidden, but left in that reſpect indifferent. Thirdly, the ceremonie of the lawe was in this, becauſe the tenth was due to the Prieſts and Leuites for their ſeruice at the Altar, and as belonging to their prieſthood: In which ſenſe tithes are neither due now vnto Miniſters, nor in any ſuch reſpect can be challenged, ſeeing the Prieſthood of the lawe is gone, and all the ceremonies thereof: wherefore although it be a wiſe and politike conſtitution, that the people ſhould pay their tithes, and may conueniently be retained, yet is it not now of neceſſitie impoſed vpon Chriſtians, as though no other prouiſion for the Church could ſerue but that.

*Argum.*1. *Bellarmine* thus reaſoneth (for herein he is an aduerſarie to our Rhemiſts) (one Ieſuite againſt another) If the lawe of tithes be morall, then the other precept annexed to this law was morall alſo, that the Leuites, becauſe they liued of the offerings and tithes, ſhould haue no patrimonie or inheritance beſide. And by this reaſon euery Miniſter now ought to reſigne ſuch inheritance and poſſeſſions, as are left him by his friends: which is not to be admitted: *Ergo*, neither the other lawe ſtandeth neceſſarily in force, *Bellarm.cap.*25.

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* ſaith in flat words, If the prieſthood bee changed, of neceſſitie there muſt alſo be a change of the lawe, Hebrew.7.12. But the prieſthood of the lawe is altered and changed: *Ergo*, alſo the lawe of the prieſthood, and ſo conſequently the ceremoniall dutie of tithes.

3 In *Auguſtines* time, it was no generall lawe nor cuſtome in the Church, that tithes ſhould
In Pſal.146. be payed. *Pracidite & deputate aliquid fixum ex annuis fructibus vel quotidianis quaſtibus:* Defaulke, ſaith hee, and appoynt ſome certaine portion, either of your yearly fruites, or your ordinarie and daylie gaines. *Decimas vis? decimas exime:* Will you make choyce to pay tithes? then let that be the portion. And yet this is no great matter: for the Phariſies, whoſe righteouſneſſe you ought to exceede, payed their tithes: *Tu vix milleſimam das:* Thou ſcarce payeſt the thouſand part: *Ta-*
De tempor. ſerm.205. *men non reprehendo, vel hoc fac, ſic ſitio, vt ad iſtas micas gaudeam:* Yet I finde not fault: doe ſo ſtill: for I ſo thirſt after your weldoing, that I refuſe not your very crummes. We ſee then, that then the payment of tithes was voluntarie: *Auguſtine* refuſeth not the ten hundred, that is *milleſimam partem*, the thouſand part, which he calleth their crummes.

*Concil. Aurelianenſ.can.*17. *Sicut in arbitrio dantis eſt, vt tribuere, quod voluerit, debeat, ita ſi inobedientia vel contumacia, in aliquo accipientis extiterit, in arbitrio ſit praſentis, vtrum debeat reuocare:* As it is in the will of the giuer, to giue what pleaſeth him, ſo if he finde him ſtubborne and froward, which receiueth it, it is in his power to reuoke the gift. Wee ſee then that the word of God hath layd no ſuch neceſſitie vpon tithes, for then this Councell would not haue permitted ſuch libertie.

Let vs adde the ſeale, The profeſſed Bohemians thus deliuer their opinion, who endured much for Gods cauſe: *They preach and ſay, that men are bound to giue them tithes, wherein they ſay falſely, for they cannot proue by the new Teſtament, that our Lord did commande it, and his Diſciples warned no man to doe ſo, neither did they themſelues receiue them: exhortat. Bohemor.articul.*15. Therefore tithes are not neceſſarily due by the word of God.

THE SECOND PART, BY WHAT RIGHT tithes are due to the Miniſters of the Goſpell.

The Papiſts.

81. Error. Tithes or their equiualent are due to Chriſt and the prieſthood of the newe Teſtament, *Rhemiſt. annot. Hebr.*7.4. This then is their opinion, that the prieſthood of the Goſpell being more excellent then the prieſtood of the Lawe; and their ſacrifice, which they offer vp in the Maſſe, being of greater worthines, they may with better right challenge tithes, then the Prieſts of the lawe did for their ſeruice at the Altar: So that tithes are due to the Church onely becauſe of the prieſthood, not for any other dutie appertaining to that office, as preaching the word, miniſtring the Sacraments, or any ſuch.

Abraham payed tithes, they ſay, to *Melchiſedech*, which was the prieſt of the moſt high God, in offering the formes of bread and wine, wherein *Melchiſedech* did ſacrifice: *Ergo*, tithes are now due to the prieſts of the Goſpell and new lawe, which are all after the order of *Melchiſedech*, *Rhemiſt. Heb.*7.*ſect.*4.& 8.

Anſw. Firſt, *Milchiſedechs* prieſthood conſiſted not in offering bread and wine to God, but brought them forth to refreſh *Abraham:* neither were they formes of bread and wine onely, as you imagine, but very materiall bread and wine: for if *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood had conſiſted therein, the Apoſtle would not haue omitted the chiefe thing, wherein Chriſts prieſthood was
Rhemiſt.Heb. 7.ſect.8. ſhewed foorth, as he doth, making no mention at all of it, Heb.7. Againe it is great blaſphemie to ſay, that euery popiſh prieſt is after the order of *Melchiſedech*, nay that the proper act of Chriſts prieſthood

prieſthood conſiſteth in the perpetuall offering of his bodie and bloud in the Church: for by this reaſon euery impure prieſt doth more properly offer the bodie of Chriſt in the Maſſe, then it was offered by himſelfe vpon the Croſſe: then the which, what greater blaſphemie can be vttered? And yet they are not aſhamed to ſpeake it: yea the ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe, (ſay they) was after the order of ***Aaron***; and not after the order of ***Melchiſedech***; and ſo they preferre euery Fulk. Heb. 7. popiſh prieſt offering in the Maſſe, before Ieſus Chriſt ſacrificing himſelfe vpon the Croſſe: con- ſect. 9. 12. trary to the Scripture, which maketh this difference betweene the prieſthood of ***Aaron*** and the prieſthood of ***Melchiſedech***; that the prieſts of the law were many, becauſe they were taken away by death: but Chriſts prieſthood is eternall, becauſe he dyeth not, Heb. 7. 23. But if there ſhould be many prieſts after ***Melchiſedechs*** order, there ſhould herein be no difference at all. Wherefore ſeeing ***Melchiſedechs*** prieſthood onely reſteth in Chriſt, and is not tranſlated to any other; and that there is now no ſacrifice left but ſpirituall, of praiſe and thankſgiuing, Heb. 13. 15. it followeth that by ***Melchiſedechs*** right no tithes are now due vnto the Church, neither in any ſuch regard ought to be challenged.

The Proteſtants.

Tithes, or their equiualent are not due to the Church in reſpect of any ſacrificing prieſthood, of which ſort there is none in the new Teſtament ordayned to continue: but for other paſtorall duties, and principally the preaching and diſpenſing of the word, and inſtructing of the people.

Argum. 1. If there were any ſuch prieſthood, and tithes in that right did appertaine to the Church; it is moſt like that our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles would haue challenged them: But there is no one precept in the new teſtament concerning paying of tithes, but onely for a ſufficient maintenance for the Miniſters of the Goſpell, 1. Cor. 9. 14. Gal. 6. 6. *Fulk.* Heb. 7. ſect. 4.

Argum. 2. Saint ***Paul*** euery where, ſo oft as he ſheweth the dutie of Chriſtians in relieuing and maintayning their paſtors, maketh onely mention of ſowing of ſpirituall things, 1. Cor. 9. 11. and of teaching and inſtructing, Gal. 6. 6. ***Ergo***, tithes are due vnto Paſtors and miniſters onely or eſpecially for their feeding and inſtructing, and ſowing ſpirituall ſeede, which is the word of God.

Argum. 3. There is no ſuch ſacrificing prieſthood now in the Church, as wee haue partly ſhewed before, and ſhall of purpoſe more fully declare it afterward: for euery where in the new Teſtament ſpirituall ſacrifices are commanded: and all Chriſtians are made Kings and Prieſts vnto God, Apocal. 1. 6. Other prieſthood we reade of none. Wherefore in that reſpect tithes cannot be due.

Laſtly, ***Auguſtine*** ſaith: ***Si mendicum non contemnis, quanto magis bouem, per quem trituratur hæc*** In Pſal. 103. ***area***: If thou deſpiſeſt not a begger, how much more oughteſt thou to haue regard of the oxe that part. 2. treadeth out the corne on the floore: That is, the Miniſter that preacheth the Goſpell: for ſo S. ***Paul*** expoundeth it, 1. Tim. 5. 17. The Elders, ſaith he, that labour in the word and doctrine are worthie double honour: and then it followeth, verſ. 8. for the Scripture ſaith, Thou ſhalt not mouzle the mouth of the oxe, that treadeth out the corne. Sufficient maintenance therefore to the Miniſters is due for their labour and trauaile in the word.

Concil. Ticinenſ. ſub Lodouico Pio: Vt decimæ Eccleſijs tribuerentur vbi baptiſmum, prædicationem, & alia Chriſti ſacramenta percipiunt: That tithes ſhould be payed to theſe Churches, where men receiue baptiſme, preaching of the word, and other Sacraments. ***Concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Alexand.*** 3. ***part.*** 48. ***cap.*** 1. ***Illi eccleſiæ decimæ ab his perſoluendæ, qui ab ea eccleſiaſtica percipiunt ſacramenta***: To that Church men muſt pay their tithes, where they receiue the ſacraments of the Church. So likewiſe their Canon law giueth two reaſons for the payment of tithes, one in reſpect of God himſelfe; ***In ſignum vniuerſalis dominij***: To ſignifie the vniuerſall dominion and ſoueraigntie, which God hath, ***decret. Gregor. lib.*** 3. ***tit.*** 30. ***c.*** 33. ***Innocent***. Another reaſon is in regard of the Miniſters themſelues, as ***eod. libro. tit.*** 28. ***c.*** 1. ***Leo*** 3. tithes and other rights are due vnto that Church, ***In qua cœleſti pabulo refici conſueuit***; Where a man hath vſed to bee refreſhed with the heauenly foode. Tithes therefore are due not in reſpect of any ſacrifice, but for the Sacraments and the word preached.

W. Thorpe holy confeſſor: ***Tithes were the hire and wages limited to the Prieſts and Leuites in the law, for bearing about the tabernacle, for ſlaying of beaſts, and for burning of ſacrifice, &c. But now, as Saint Paul ſaith, ſeeing the prieſthood is changed, there muſt alſo be a change of the law, &c.*** pag. 537. The argument is framed thus: By what right tithes were payed vnder the lawe, they are nor payable now, becauſe the lawe is changed; but then they were due for ſacrificing: ***Ergo***, they are not ſo due now.

THE SIXTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE SVPERSTITIOVS ORDERS, AND SECTS OF MONKS AND FRIERS.

MOnkes in Latine, called *Monachi*, deriued of the Greeke word, were ſuch as liued ſolitarilie, and thereupon had they their name: And they were at the beginning of three ſorts: ſome were called Eremites, that liued in woods and deſerts by themſelues: there were other which were mued vp and incloſed in Cels and walles, which had not ſo much libertie as Eremites had; but kept alwaies in their cages and cloſets, and ſo in miſerie ſpent their daies: and theſe were called *Anchorites*, that is, ſeparated, ſet apart from all men and liuing by themſelues. There was a third ſort called *Cœnobites*, which liued in companies, as it were in Colledges by themſelues, and had all things common: and theſe properly were called Monkes, *Bellarm. lib.2. de monach. cap.*3. This controuerſie hath many queſtions.

1 Concerning the beginning and originall of Monkes, and of their diuers ſects, two parts.

2 Concerning Counſels of perfection, whether they differ from Euangelicall precepts.

3 Concerning vowes in generall, three parts: Firſt, whether it bee lawfull for Chriſtians to make vowes. Secondly, in what things lawfull vowes conſiſt. Thirdly, whether voluntarie vowes are any part of the worſhip of God.

4 Concerning Monaſticall vowes in particular, three parts. Firſt, of the vow of voluntarie pouertie. Secondly, the vow of obedience. Thirdly, the vow of continencie.

5 Concerning Monaſticall perſons. Firſt, whether the yonger ſort ought to bee admitted to profeſſe Monkerie. Secondly, whether children can profeſſe without conſent of their parents. Thirdly, whether maried perſons may with mutuall conſent. Fourthly, whether either of the parties, the mariage not conſummate, may enter into profeſſion.

6 Concerning the rules and diſcipline of Monaſticall life. Firſt, of their ſolitarie and ſeuere kinde of life. Secondly, of their canonicall houres. Thirdly, their habite and apparell. Fourthly, of their maintenance, whether they ought to liue by begging, or labour of their hands. Of theſe in order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE BEGINning and originall of Monkes, and of their diuers ſects.

THis queſtion hath two parts: Firſt, of their originall. Secondly, of the diuerſitie of their ſects.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE ORIGInall of Monkes.

The Papiſts.

82.Error. THey make this profeſſion to bee as ancient as the time of our Sauiour Chriſt, and prooue the beginning thereof both out of the new and old Teſtament.

*Argum.*1. *Elias* and *Elizeus* were Eremites, and liued without wiues, neither poſſeſſed any riches: *Ergo*, this profeſſion of life is moſt ancient, *Bellarm. cap.*5. *Rhemiſt. annot. in Mark*.9.3.

Anſ. Firſt, the argument followeth not; they had no wiues, nor riches: *Ergo*, were Eremites: for euen amongſt the Papiſts themſelues many were kept from wiues, (as their prieſts) and yet were neither Monkes nor Eremites. Secondly, though we reade not that *Elizeus* was married, yet the ſonnes of the Prophets were, that liued as it were in the ſame Colledge with him, 2.King.41. which *Bellarmine* maketh a Colledge of Monkes and Eremites: and ſaith very vntruly, that they all liued without wiues, *cap.*5. Thirdly, though *Elias* and *Elizeus* were ſometime in the wilderneſſe, yet they alwaies remained not, neither liued there.

Argum.2. *Iohn Baptiſt* a perfect patterne of Eremiticall life, for liuing in the deſert and wilderneſſe, for his rough apparell, for abſtaining from all delicate meate, *Rhemiſt. annot. Matth.3.1.*

Anſ. Firſt, *Iohn Baptiſts* calling was ſingular and extraordinarie, and therefore cannot bee made an author of any ordinarie profeſſion. Secondly, wee denie not but his life was auſtere, and that he made his abode in a ſolitarie place, yet there were houſes and villages not farre off: his apparell alſo was courſe cloath, made of the hard haires of Camels: his foode was of locuſts and wild honie, the vſuall and common meate of that countrey: he was an extraordinarie preacher of repentance, and ſhewed in himſelf an example of auſtere life, as it became the forerunner of Chriſt: but being no miniſter of the Goſpell, but the laſt prophet of the law, he cannot bee a patterne of an ordinarie profeſſion vnder the Goſpell, *Fulk. annot. Matth.3. ſect.1.*

Argum.3. Nay, *Bellarmine* fetcheth his Monkiſh order from a more ancient beginning, then from *Elias*, and *Iohn Baptiſt*; yea from before the flood: for *Enos* (ſaith he) ſeemeth to haue brought in ſome ſtricter kinde of life, and peculiar manner of worſhipping God: whereas the text ſaith, that he began to call vpon the name of God: that is, after another manner: for *Adam, Seth, Abel*, before this time called vpon the name of God, *cap.5.*

Anſ. Firſt, who would haue thought, that there had bin Monks and Eremites before the flood, if the Ieſuite had not ſaid it, or that this text, which he alleageth, could haue proued it? The argument followeth not: *Enos* brought in a peculiar worſhip of God, therefore was founder of the Eremiticall life: for he brought in the true worſhip of God: but the other is ſuperſtitious and erronious. Secondly, *Tremellius* readeth more agreeably to the Hebrue, *Tum nomen Dei cœptum eſt inuocando profanari:* Then the name of God began to bee prophaned in calling vpon, that is, his worſhip began to bee corrupted: for the Hebrue word ſignifieth, both to inuocate and call vpon God, as alſo to corrupt, pollute, or prophane. Thirdly, if we reade as they do, The name of God began to be called vpon: it only ſheweth a reſtoring and renuing of the true worſhip of God, which was polluted by the poſteritie of *Cain*, whoſe ſtocke and familie is ſet downe in that chapter, Gen.4.

Argum.4. *Bellarmine* alſo ſaith, that the inſtitution of Monkes proceeded from the Apoſtles, who appointed all things to be common, as it may appeare, Act.4. and the Apoſtles were the firſt Chriſtian Monks: So that his argument concludeth thus, Al things were common in the Apoſtles time: *Ergo*, there were Monkes then, *lib.2. de monach. c.5.*

Anſ. 1. If the Apoſtles were the firſt Monkes, how then is *Iohn Baptiſt, princeps monachorum*, prince of the Monkes, as *Bellarmine* hath affirmed a little before? he cannot bee the firſt, and the Apoſtles the firſt to. 2. If the communitie in vſe amongſt the beleeuers in thoſe daies, made them Monkes, then the whole congregation was of Monkes: for as many as beleeued had all things common, Act.2.44. which were reckoned to the number of three thouſand ſoules, verſ.41. So then by this reaſon all Chriſtians muſt bee Monkes. 3. There was a communitie amongſt them, but not like the Monkiſh communitie: for firſt their communitie was voluntarie, not impoſed vpon them; but the other is inforced by vow: ſecondly, their communitie was not, in relinquiſhing their goods, and not to meddle with them themſelues, as men were perſwaded in Monkerie, but an equall diſtribution of them to as many as needed: thirdly, that communitie was in reſpect of that preſent neceſſitie in the time of perſecution; but Monkiſh communitie is not vpon neceſſitie, but vpon ſuperſtitious curioſitie, whereby they thinke to merit heauen. 4. We grant there was ſuch a communitie, as wee ſay, amongſt them, but they cannot ſhew a profeſſion of ſingle life amongſt the beleeuers in thoſe daies, of whom many were married, as *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, Act.5. and therefore they could not be Monkes. 5. I oppoſe againſt them the iudgement of their owne *Thomas*, who affirmeth, that there were no Monkes in S. *Pauls* time: *ex citat. Eſpenc. in 2. Timoth. p.189. c.*

The Proteſtants.

WE ſee then that this Monaſticall and ſolitarie kinde of life hath no proofe nor ground out of the Scriptures, either by precept or example: Nay, this kinde of profeſſion was not knowne in the Church, for diuers hundred yeeres after Chriſt; how could then the Apoſtles bee the founders of this order? And though the name of Monks be of ſome antiquitie in the Church, yet they were farre vnlike vnto Popiſh Monkes, that for theſe many yeeres haue peſtered the Church.

1 It is certaine, as *Hierome* witneſſeth, that *Antonius*, and his diſciples *Amathas* and *Macarius*, were the firſt beginners of Monkiſh profeſſion almoſt three hundred yeere after Chriſt, *Fulk. annot. Mark.9.3.*

Anno 260. when *Sixtus* the 2. was Biſhop of Rome, *Paulus* began the profeſſion of Heremites, as *Mantuan* writeth:

Iſta ego crediderim per noxia tempora Paulum:
Niligenam ſole ardentem, qui primus eremum

Incoluit, liquiſſe vrbes, &c.
About this time *Paul* was the firſt, I geſſe,
Who neere to *Nilus* dwelt in wilderneſſe.

Hierome alſo reporting diuers opinions of the originall of Monkes, as how ſome ſhould fetch their beginning from *Elias* and *Iohn Baptiſt*, which conceit he miſliketh, at the laſt alleageth the common opinion, *Antonium huius propoſiti fuiſſe caput,* that *Antonie* was the head or beginning of this profeſſion: to the which he ſubſcribeth, *in vita Pauli*. And he ſaith of *Hilarion: Nec quiſquam monachum ante ſanctum Hilarionem in Syria nouerat:* There was no Monke knowne in Syria before *Hilarion*. But the Apoſtles were not vnknowne in thoſe countries.

Fulk. Math. 3. ſect. 3.

2 The beginning of Monkes, was not for the more merite, and to doe penance for their owne ſinnes and the ſinnes of the world; for *Antonius* the firſt Monke confeſſed, that Chriſt onely ſuffered for the ſinnes of the world: But the firſt occaſion was giuen in the time of perſecution, when as men were not ſuffered to worſhip God aright publikely: and therefore they fled into the wilderneſſe, *Rhemiſt. Matth. 3. ſect. 3.* As *Hierome* reporteth of *Paulus* the Heremite, who being perſecuted of his ſiſters husband vnder *Decius* and *Valerian*, fled to the mountaines, *& ſic neceſſitatem in voluntatem vertit,* and ſo made a vertue of neceſſitie, *vita Pauli.* But now ſeeing the Chriſtian faith is openly profeſſed, they haue no ſuch cauſes to ſeeke ſolitarie and ſecret places.

3 The popiſh Monkes are altogether vnlike theirs: Firſt, they liued in ſolitarie places, farre from reſort of people: but the popiſh Mock-monkes liue in cities and the frequencie of the people, *Fulk. annot. Matth. 3. ſect. 3.* Secondly, the Monkes in times paſt laboured with their hands: but the popiſh fat-bellies pampered themſelues in idlenes. Thirdly, they are altogether vnlike in life and doctrine, as we ſhall ſee more at large afterward, *Fulk. ibid.*

Concil. Colonienſ. part. 10. cap. 1. Vita monaſtica non multo poſt Apoſtolorum tempora cœpit, quanquam multis perſuaſum ſit, aliam tunc fuiſſe, quàm nunc eſt, monachiſmi rationem: The Monkiſh life began not long after the Apoſtles time, although many thinke, that the profeſſion of Monkes was farre otherwiſe in thoſe times, then now.

This Councell maketh Monkerie not to bee ſo ancient as the Apoſtles, and beſides ſaith, that the Monkiſh life now, is farre vnlike the life of the ancient Monkes: as it followeth, *cap. 9. Videmus monaſteria mulierum in pleriſque locis, in ſuſpectas de incontinentia domos, ne quid grauius dicam, eſſe commutatas:* We ſee the monaſteries of women, to be turned into wanton houſes ſuſpected of incontinencie, to ſay no more. But ſuch were not the ancient Colledges and aſſemblies of Monkes.

Their owne Extrauagant alſo ſaith, that the rule of S. *Francis* is not grounded vpon the example of Chriſt or his Apoſtles: *Quæ vtique nec Chriſtus, nec Apoſtoli, &c.* Which neither Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles did either teach by word, or confirme by example, *Ioann. 22. Extrau. tit. 14. c. 5.*

I will adioyne the teſtimonie of Sir *Iohn Borthwicke* Knight, who endured much trouble for the faith of Chriſt: What ſhall I call the cloyſters of Monkes in theſe our daies otherwiſe then brothelhouſes, ſwine-ſtyes, and dennes of diſcord, &c? Wherefore I conclude, that this their kinde of life is wicked and naught, which is not grounded nor eſtabliſhed of any certaine calling of God, *Fox* pag. 1265. In this holy mans iudgement therefore, the profeſſion of Monkerie tooke not beginning neither from Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles.

THE SECOND PART, CONCERNING the diuers ſects of Monkes and Friers.

The Papiſts.

83. Error.

THey ſay that imitation of diuers holy men, as of S. *Francis*, S. *Benet*, S. *Dominicke*, which hath brought in diuers ſects and orders of Religious men, doe tend all to the imitation of Chriſt, *Rhemiſt. annot. Philip. cap. 3. ſect. 2. 1. Theſſ. 1. 2.*

This their aſſertion they would ground vpon the Apoſtles words, Philip. 3. 17. *Be ye followers of me brethren, Rhemiſt.*

Anſ. Firſt, Saint *Paul* would haue them no otherwiſe to follow him, then he did Chriſt, 1. Corinth. 11. 1. Neither gaue any other rules to his followers, then he had learned of Chriſt, as the patrones of the Monkiſh ſects haue done. Secondly, neither did S. *Paul* erect a new order of *Paulians*, as *Franciſcus* did of *Franciſcanes*, *Dominick* of *Dominicanes*. Thirdly, S. *Paul* was a perſwader of vnitie, not a maker of diuiſions among Chriſtians; as the Monkes and Friers haue done, one ſort perſecuting another for their opinions euen to death. *Fulk. annot. 1. Theſſ. 1. ſect. 2. Fox* p. 798. Fourthly, if the rule of S. *Francis*, the beſt approued ſect amongſt you, bee no other then this, as witneſſeth one of your Popes; *Domini noſtri ſanctum Euangelium, &c.* to obſerue the holie Goſpell of our Lord, *ſext. decr. lib. 5. tit. 12. c. 3. Nicol. 4.* then is the rule of S. *Francis* ſuperfluous, ſeeing euery man is bound, that is called a Chriſtian, to follow the Goſpell of Chriſt.

The Proteſtants.

CONtrariwiſe wee affirme, that it is a great derogation to Chriſt when the people ſhall ſay, I follow the religion of *Auguſtine,* the religion of *Francis,* another ſaith, I hold of *Dominicke,* another, I hold of Ieſus, as the Ieſuites doe, *Fulk. Philip.* 3. *verſ.* 17.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* reprooueth the Corinthians, becauſe they made the like ſects amongſt themſelues: one ſaid, I am *Pauls,* another, I am *Apolloes*; and concludeth, that therefore they were carnall, 1. Cor. 3. 4. And further, he ſaith, they ſhould not reioyce in men, for al things were theirs, whether *Paul, Apollos,* or *Cephas,* verſ. 21. 22. That is, they were not maſters of their faith, to inſtitute new religions and ſects, but the miniſters and ſeruants of the Lords inheritance. If therefore it was not lawfull to ſay, I hold of *Paul,* I hold of *Cephas*: neither is it lawfull to ſay, I hold of *Dominicke,* I hold of *Francis*, I hold of Ieſus: for ſeeing they make their ſects, and Ieſus maketh his, it is euident that they are not all referred to the imitation of Ieſus: for then they might all as well be called Ieſuites. So then in the Apoſtles time there was not any ſuch following of ſects, or calling of men by the names of their patrones and authors, as it is now in Poperie; but all that beleeued in Chriſt, were called of his name Chriſtians, Act. 11. 26.

Argum. 2. The number of Monkes and Friers was almoſt infinite, ſects vpon ſects, and new orders dayly were deuiſed, as *Auguſtinians, Bernardines, Carmelites, Carthuſians, Dominicans, Franciſcans,* and a great ſort more, to the number of an hundred ſects, as they are reckoned by Maſter *Fox* pag. 260. And *Tilmane Heſhuſ.* ſetteth downe 65. ſeuerall ſects or rather ſchiſmes of Monkes, *loc.* 25. *error.* 10. This yrkeſome rabble therefore of Monkes is fitly ſhadowed forth by the ſwarme of Locuſts, which came vp out of the bottomleſſe pit, Apoc. 9. 4. And verily as the Locuſts and Graſhoppers conſume and deuoure the fruites of the earth, ſo the begging Friers, and idle Monks deuoured the goods of the people, and corrupted the doctrine of the Church.

3 Laſtly, this diuiſion of Monkerie into ſects and ſundrie orders, is of no great antiquitie: they were not knowne in *Auguſtines* time, who knew no other name of them, then Monkes: for he wrote a booke of purpoſe, *De opere Monachorum*; Of the labour of Monkes: But other names of *Carmelites, Carthuſians, Franciſcans,* or ſuch like, were not heard of in the Church in thoſe dayes; but came in long after in the time of *Innocentius* the 3. about *anno* 1212. many yeeres after *Auguſtine, Fox.* pag. 259.

The time by peruſing the ancient monuments and records, may eaſily be aſſigned, when moſt of theſe Frierly and Monkiſh ſects began. *Anno* 1100. *Vrbanus* the 2. confirmed the ſects of the *Carthuſians* and *Ciſterſians*: *Anno* 1118. vnder *Paſchal* the 2. began the ſect of the *Templaries*: *Anno.* 1125. *Calixtus* the 2. confirmed the order of the *Pramonſtratenſes*: *Anno* 1150. *Eugenius* the 3. confirmed the order of the *Gilbertines* in England. *Anno* 1223. *Honorius* the 3. receiued vnder his protection the *Auguſtinians, Carmelites, Franciſcans, Dominicans. Anno* 1295. vnder *Celeſtinus* the 5. the order of the *Celeſtines* began. *Iohn* the 23. confirmed the ſect of the *Grandimontenſes. Anno* 1371. *Vrban* the 5. confirmed S. *Bridgets* order. *Gregorie* the 12. did approue the ſect of the *Hieronymites* and *Montolibetenſes*, *anno* 1410. *Iohn* the 24. ratified the order of the *Friſonarians, anno* 1418. *Anno* 1555. *Paulus* the 3. or thereabout, confirmed the ſect of the *Ieſuites*: *ex Mario, Cælio* 2. *Vergerio, Balæo & alijs.*

This inuention of Sects and new Profeſſions, hath bin by the Emperiall lawes prohibited: as *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 12. *leg.* 11. *Honor. Theodoſ. Cælicolarum nomen inauditum, &c.* The ſtrange and vnknowne name of *Cælicolites,* that is, Inhabitants of heauen, hath found out a new ſuperſtition: and ſo the law proceedeth, *Niſi ad fidem Chriſtianam conuerſi fuerint, &c.* Vnleſſe they be conuerted to the Chriſtian faith, ſhall be puniſhed as heretikes: this law approueth no name or faith to be vſed, but of *Chriſtians*; the name of *Cælicolites* was a goodly title, as the name of *Ieſuites* is; but as that name was made a cloake for ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, ſo is this: and, howſoeuer they are called, if they ſwarue from the name and faith of Chriſtians, by this law they are accounted heretikes.

This innumerable rabble of Monks hath miſliked alſo their owne patrons the Popes of Rome: *Concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Innocent.* 3. *cap.* 3. *Firmiter prohibemus, &c.* We do ſtreightly forbid, that no man from henceforth inuent a new Religion, leaſt the too great diuerſitie of religious perſons do bring great offence into the Church of God; but he that will enter into religion, let him chooſe ſome one of them which is alreadie approued: and he that is diſpoſed to erect an houſe of religion, let him follow ſome rule alreadie in vſe. But yet for all this decree, many ſects of religions were afterward inuented. Likewiſe *Gregorie* 10. doth not onely forbid new religions to be inuented, but condemneth, *Ordines mendicantes*, all the orders of begging Friers, begun ſince that generall Councell of Laterane, *ſext. decret. lib.* 3. *tit.* 17. *c.* 1. *Ioann.* 22. doth alſo reuerſe and diſſolue the order of the *Fratricelles,* who were after the order of *Francis, extrau. Ioan. tit.* 7. *c.* 1. *Clemens* 5. deſtroyed the ſect of the Beguines; which is reuiued notwithſtanding by *Iohn* 22. *extrau. commun. lib.* 3. *tit.* 9. *c.* 1. Thus we ſee what good opinion the Popes themſelues haue of their owne Sects.

Adde the ſeale of holy Martyrs, ***Iohn Wicliffe*** holy Confeſſor; ***Benedict, Francis, Dominicke***, with all ſuch as haue been Patrones of priuate religion, except they haue repented, with ſuch as haue entred into the ſame, are in a damnable ſtate. *Fox*.p.450.

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr, to follow the rules of ***Auguſtine, Benedict, Francis***, and ſuch other, is to leaue the Faith. *Fox*.p.1251.

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING the Counſels of perfection.

The Papiſts.

34.Error. THis they ſay is the very foundation of the Monaſticall life, which is the moſt perfect eſtate and calling of Chriſtians: for they performe more then Chriſt hath commanded, not onely his precepts, but euen his Counſels alſo; which, they ſay, do much differ: for the precepts are inioyned to all Chriſtians, and to leaue a precept vndone, is ſinne: but the Euangelicall Counſels are giuen onely to thoſe that are perfect, which they are not bound to keepe, neither do they ſinne in leauing them vndone? yet if they obſerue them, they do merite more and ſhall haue a greater reward: Such Counſels of perfection are theſe; To giue all we haue to the poore; to abſtaine from eating of fleſh; to vow chaſtitie and ſuch like, ***Bellarm.cap.7. Rhemiſt. annot. Matth.19.ſect.9.***

Argum.*1.** Matth.19.verſ.21. Chriſt ſaith, ***Goe and ſell all thou haſt, if thou wilt be perfect. This was a Counſell of perfection, not a precept giuen to all Chriſtians.

Anſw. Firſt, this was both a Counſell and precept, though not to all, yet to this one man, to diſcouer his hypocriſie and vayne confidence which he had in himſelfe, as though he had kept the law, when he was farre from it, ***Fulke*** Matth.19.9.Mark.10.3. Secondly, it is a generall precept vnto all, to loue the Lord with all the heart, and to be content, when the Lord requireth, for Chriſts ſake, to leaue all we haue, ***Caluin.Inſtitut.4.cap.13.ſect.13.***

Bellarmine replieth; Firſt, it is not like, that this yong man was an hypocrite, or a vaine boaſter of himſelfe, becauſe it is ſaid Chriſt loued him; but he loueth no hypocrites or proud men.

Anſw. Firſt, it was prophecied of our Sauiour, as it is alledged, Matth.12.20. that hee ſhould not quench the ſmoaking flaxe; that is, that Chriſt ſhould accept and approoue the leaſt good things, that he found in men, increaſing, and not extinguiſhing them: as it is alſo ſaid, Zach.4.10. ***Who hath deſpiſed the day of ſmall thinges?*** ſo Chriſt is ſaid to haue loued this young man, becauſe he ſaw ſome beginning and likelyhood of goodneſſe in him, though in the reſt he approued him not. Secondly, the like example we haue, Mark.12.34. where our Sauiour ſaith to a certaine expounder of the Law, that had anſwered him diſcreetly, ***Thou art not farre from the Kingdome of heauen***; which was a great commendation of him: and yet the other Euangeliſt Saint Matthew reporting the ſame ſtorie, ***cap.22.35.*** ſaith he came to tempt Chriſt: he was not then void of ſome diſſimulation, yet Chriſt commendeth him.

Secondly, ***Bellarmine*** ſaith, that a man may loue God with all his heart, and yet is not bound to do all, which God counſelleth; but, which he commandeth, ***Bellarm.lib.2.de Monach.c.9.in argum.5.***

Contra. This is a moſt groſſe anſwere, and contrary to the Scripture: for he that loueth God with all his heart, is bound to keepe the Counſels of God, and it is damnation to tranſgreſſe them: as Prou.1.25.26. ***You haue deſpiſed all my counſell, and therefore I will laugh at your deſtruction***: and ***Daniell*** ſaith to ***Nabuchadnezzar***, 4.24. ***Let my counſell be acceptable vnto thee, breake off thy ſinnes by righteouſneſſe, &c.*** Will they ſay now, that the King was not bound [illegible] obey this counſell?

Argum.*2.** Act.2.44. They had all things common. This is not a rule or precept to all Chriſtian men to liue in common, but a life of perfection and counſell followed of the religious, ***Rhemiſt.

Anſw. This liuing in common among the brethren in the Apoſtles time, is the ſame that ought alwayes to be among all Chriſtians, that no man accouut that to be his owne, which the neceſſitie of his brother requireth to be beſtowed vpon him: this the rule of [illegible]aritie requireth, which is one of the great commandements. ***Fulke in hunc locum.***

Argum.*3.** 1.Corinth.7.25. Concerning Virgins I haue no commandement of the Lord, but I giue mine aduice. A precept therefore is one thing, a Counſell of perfection another, ***Bellarm. cap.9.

Anſw. Firſt, ***Paul*** hath no generall commandement from God to impoſe the yoke of continencie vpon any, becauſe God had left mariage free, and therefore no man is to be barred and kept from it: But the Apoſtles particular aduice and ſentence (being moued by the ſpirit of God, verſ.40.) is not onely a Counſell, but a commandement, that both they which haue the gift of continencie, ſhould glorifie God by that gift, verſe 7. and they which haue it not, ſhould marrie rather then burne, and ſo diſhonour God, verſ.9. Therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, ***Let euery man***

wherein he is called therein abide with God, verſe 24. If a man be called to liue ſingle, he ought to obey his calling, hauing receiued the gift: if a man be called to the maried eſtate, he muſt not preſume beyond his ſtrength, to liue vnmarried. Wherefore it is both a Counſell and a precept, to thoſe that haue receiued the gift of ſingle life: for otherwiſe they diſobey Gods calling, which is ſinne. And our Sauiour ſaith, he that is able to receiue it, let him receiue it, Matth.19.12. He that hath the gift, is commanded to vſe it, for in leeſing it he ſinneth. And laſtly, euery man by commandement is bound to the vttermoſt of his power to ſet forth Gods glorie: But God is moſt glorified by the ſingle life of thoſe, which are able to conteine, and therefore they ought in dutie ſo to doe.

Againe, in that the Apoſtle ſaith he had no commaundement of the Lord, his meaning is, that he was not directed in this caſe of virginitie by any generall precept out of Scripture, otherwiſe then by the counſell of the ſpirit ſpeaking in him: but that the aduice of the Apoſtle is of the ſame nature and authoritie with a precept, it may appeare, for that he ſpeaketh not of himſelfe, but by the ſpirit of God, verſ.40. and he had receiued mercie to be faithfull, verſ.25. Wherefore if it bee faithfulnes in the Apoſtle to giue this aduice, it was faithfulnes in them to follow it. Vnleſſe any man will entertaine *Origenes* light conceit, that thinketh S.*Paul* to haue ſpoken of himſelfe, without warrant from God: as he vntruly ſaith of the Prophets, that they ſpake ſome things of themſelues, as namely, when that came not to paſſe which they prophecied: as that of Ionas 3. that within three daies Niniue ſhould be deſtroyed: and that of *Gad*, that ſpake of three daies peſtilence to *Dauid*, 2.Sam.24. whereas it ceaſed the ſame day: So he ſaith S.*Paul* ſpeaketh of himſelfe in this place. But he is both there and here deceiued: for the Prophets ſpake as God bid them, who notwithſtanding vpon their repentance ſeemed to chaunge the decree, as when he ſent the Prophet to tell *Hezekiah* he ſhould die: but this by the way of *Origens* error. Hom.16.in 3. cap.Ionæ.

Thirdly, as Saint *Paul* ſaith here concerning Virgins he had no commaundement, but gaue aduice; ſo he ſaith of mariage, verſ.6. *I ſpeake this by conceſſion, or as giuing aduice, not by commaundement:* that is, that to auoide fornication a man might marrie: but this is a commaundement, as verſ.9. to marrie rather then burne; and yet the Apoſtle calleth it an indulgence, or conceſſion.

Fourthly, verſ.12. the Apoſtle ſaith in the ſame ſenſe, to the remnant I ſpeake, and not the Lord, that is, I giue counſell, hauing no preſcript commaundement in the word; that is, that a faithfull man ſhould not leaue his vnbeleeuing wife, if ſhe be content to dwell with him. But this is a commaundement, and not to be tranſgreſſed; as it may thus appeare: firſt, by the manner of ſpeech, being imperatiue, *let him not forſake her*, verſ.12. Secondly, verſ.15. if ſhe will depart, the man is not in ſubiection: therefore if ſhe will not depart, but abide, the man is in ſubiection, that is, bound to keepe her. Thirdly, verſ.16. The beleeuing man may bee an inſtrument to ſaue his vnbeleeuing wife: but wee are bound to doe all that may further anothers ſaluation: *Ergo*, euen this counſell alſo of the Apoſtle is a commaundement. And thus hath *Bellarmine* gained nothing by this place.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe truely affirme and according to the Scriptures, that it is impoſſible for any man to performe the lawe and commaundements of God, much leſſe to fulfill more then is commaunded: And therefore it is falſe, that beſide the precepts of Chriſt there are Counſels of perfection, which are at a mans choyce to doe or not to do: for whatſoeuer is to the glorie of God, we are bound to doe. We acknowledge then no ſuch euangelicall Counſels, as they imagine, *Caluin.*

*Argum.*1. Matth.5.48. Our Sauiour ſaith: Yee ſhall be perfect, as your heauenly father is perfect. Therefore all Counſels tending to perfection, are commaundements. If there be any thing whereby we may more neerely attaine vnto perfection, that we are bound and commanded to doe: As if a man can better obtaine this perfection of godlineſſe, by liuing ſingle, if he haue the gift, he ought to doe it: for hauing not the gift, and yet preſuming, he burneth in luſt, and ſo is ſet further backe in the courſe of godlines, *Caluin. argument.*

Bellarmine diſtinguiſheth, there are (ſaith he) two kindes of perfection; a leſſe which conſiſteth in the full keeping of the law, which is neceſſarie to ſaluation: ſuch a perfection is commanded, Matth.5. There is a greater perfection, not ſimply neceſſarie to ſaluation, but to obtaine a more excellent degree of glorie, in obſeruing the counſels: and this our Sauiour meaneth, when he biddeth the young man to ſell all he had, to be perfect, Mark.10.21. *Bellar. cap.9. argum.*5.

Contra. Firſt, there can bee no greater perfection, then in the abſolute fulfilling of the law: for the beſt perfection in this life is in loue, 1.Iohn.4.12.16,17. But loue is the fulfilling of the law, Rom.13.10. Wherefore, that which he calleth the leſſe perfection is the beſt, ſeeing it fulfilleth the law. Secondly, the perfection ſpoken of, Matth.5.48. is the beſt perfection, to be perfect as God is perfect: for what greater perfection can there be, then to bee perfect according to the example of God? Thirdly, that thing, to the which Chriſt exhorteth the young man, to ſell all he had to giue to the poore, is not ſo great point of perfection, as this, whereof Chriſt ſpeaketh, that wee ſhould loue our enemies, and ſo be perfect as God is perfect: for a man may giue all his goods to the poore, and yet bee without loue, 1. Cor. 13. 3. but he cannot loue his enemies, vnleſſe he haue loue: wherefore this point of perfection ſeemeth to bee greater then the other, and ſo *Bellarmine* hath loſt a good diſtinction. Wherefore, this remaineth a ſtrong place, notwithſtanding all his cauils, that exhortation to perfection containeth not onely a counſel, but a precept alſo and commaundement.

Argum. 2. We are bound to loue God with al our heart, with al our ſoule, with al our ſtrength: Therefore whatſoeuer thing there is, whereby we may expreſſe the loue of God, we are bound by commaundement to doe it; it is not left to our owne will: for not to loue God more then thou doeſt, if it be in thy power, it is a grieuous ſinne, *Martyris argument.*

Bellarmine anſwereth thus: *Qui deum diligit ſuper omnia, etiamſi eum non tam ardenter amet, quàm forte poſſet, vel non faciat pro eo omnia, quæ poſſet; ille habet Deum pro ſummo bono, cap.* 13. He that loueth God aboue all things, although he loue him not ſo entirely, as perhaps he may, neither doth all things for his ſake that lie in his power: yet for all this, he eſteemeth of God as his chiefe good. I pray you ſee what contradictorie ſpeeches theſe be: The Ieſuite ſaith, a man may loue God perfectly and aboue all, and yet not loue him ſo much as he is able, that is, imperfectly: ſo a man, by his Monkiſh diuinitie, may loue God aboue all, and yet not loue him aboue all: for if he did, he would refuſe to doe nothing for Gods loue that is in his power.

Argum. 3. Luk. 17. 10. When you haue done all thoſe things which are commanded you, ſay, We are vnprofitable ſeruants, and did nothing but that which was our dutie to doe: *Ergo,* we are bound to doe all things that are to be done, and we cannot doe that which we ought, much leſſe more then we ought to doe, *Martyris argument.*

Bellarmine anſwereth: Firſt, Chriſt ſaith, when you haue done all which I commanded you, not which I counſelled you.

Anſw. As though the argument followeth not ſtrongly: you cannot doe the leſſe, that is, keepe my commandements, therfore you cannot do the more, that is, ſpeaking now (as the Ieſuite doth) the Counſels of perfection, which are more then the precepts. It is a precept of neceſſitie to diſpenſe our goods to the vſe of the poore; it is a counſell of perfection, as they ſay, to giue all away to the poore: But if a man cannot performe the firſt, that is, keeping his goods to vſe them aright, much leſſe is he able with a reſolute minde to giue them all away.

Secondly, he anſwereth: Chriſt biddeth them to ſay ſo, as ſhewing their humilitie, not that they were indeede vnprofitable ſeruants. A poore ſhift, as though Chriſt enuied the good of his ſeruants, or would obſcure their wel-doing, and doth not rather aduance it to the vttermoſt, and make the moſt of the ſeruiceable workes of his children, as wee ſee, Matth. 25. 34. And Chriſt being a faithfull Prophet, would not ſurely deceiue his Diſciples, and tell them one thing, and himſelfe know and thinke another. Some anſwered in *Bernards* time to this place, as the Ieſuite now doth: *Hoc (inquies) propter humilitatem Chriſtus monuit dicendum eſſe:* Chriſt onely would haue vs thus to ſpeake, namely, that wee are vnprofitable ſeruants, to ſhew our humilitie. He anſwereth, *Planè propter humilitatem, ſed nunquid contra veritatem:* You ſay true, for humilitie, but not againſt the veritie, *de triplici cuſtod. ſerm.* So likewiſe was it decreed, *Concil. Mileuitan. can.* 6. *Placuit, quod ait S. Iohannes, ſi dixerimus, quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipſos ſeducimus, &c. quiſquis ſic accipiendum putat, vt dicat propter humanitatem non oportere dici nos non habere peccatum, non quia veritas eſt, anathema ſit:* Whereas S. *Iohn* ſaith, If we ſay we haue no ſinne, wee deceiue our ſelues, &c. Whoſoeuer thinketh it is ſo to be vnderſtood, that for humanitie ſake it becommeth vs not to ſay that we haue no ſinne, not becauſe the truth is ſo indeede, let him be accurſed. But theſe Frierlike miſts and ſmoake of Locuſts, are not able to dimme the cleere light of this Scripture, which ſheweth, that when we haue done all we can doe, we come farre ſhort of our dutie.

Argum. 4. *Bellarmine,* the better to perſwade that there are certaine Euangelicall counſels beſide precepts, ſetteth downe certaine differences betweene them, *cap.* 7. which differences if they ſhall appeare to be none, then precepts and counſels ſhall be all one.

1 His firſt difference is, in reſpect of the matter, precepts (ſaith he) are more eaſily kept; but counſels more hardly and with greater difficultie.

Contra. It is an harder matter to loue our enemies, then for a man to giue all his goods to the poore: and therefore the loue of Chriſt is ſet forth to be the moſt excellent kinde of loue, becauſe he died for his enemies, Rom. 5. 8. But the firſt is a precept of perfection, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, Matth. 5. 48. the other a counſell of perfection, Matth. 19. 21. confeſſed alſo by *Bellarmine: Ergo,* a precept is more difficult then a counſell.

2 The ſecond difference in reſpect of the ſubiect: a precept is general, preſcribed to all; a counſell is particular, belonging onely to ſome, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. They confeſſe that ſingle life appertaineth to counſell, as the Apoſtle ſaith, he giueth counſell concerning virgins, 1.Cor.7.25. but this is generall, verſ.7. *I would that all men were as I am*, that is ſingle. Againe, to marrie to auoide fornication is an indulgence or counſell, 1.Cor.7.6. yet generall, verſ.2. *To auoide fornication, let euery man haue his wife:* ſo theſe counſels are generall, that euery man hauing the gift of virginitie ſhould vſe the ſame; and euery one not hauing it, ſhould vſe the remedie.

3 A third difference, a counſell not obſerued deſerueth no puniſhment, as a precept doth, being obſerued it hath a greater reward.

Contra. Firſt, to marrie rather then burne, is an Apoſtolicall indulgence or counſell, 1.Cor.7.6. but to burne rather in luſt then to to marrie, is ſinne, and deſerueth puniſhment: *Ergo.* Secondly, to feede the poore with all a mans goods is a counſell, Matth.19.21. but this counſell may bee obſerued, and yet no reward follow, 1.Cor.13.3. *If a man giue all to the poore, and haue no loue, it profiteth nothing.* Wherefore ſeeing the Ieſuite can make no ſound difference betweene precepts and counſels, we muſt needes conclude that they are all one.

4 ***Auguſtine***, though ſometime he ſeeme to make ſome difference betweene a precept and a counſell: *Præceptum eſt*, ſaith he, *cui non obedire, peccatum eſt: Conſilium, quo ſi vti nolueris, minus boni adipiſceris, non mali aliquid perpetrabis: de Virginit. cap.* 15. A precept is that, which not to obey, is ſin: A counſel is that, which if thou wilt not follow, thou doeſt not commit any euill, yet thou haſt the leſſe good. Though he ſeeme in words, I ſay, to make difference, yet his meaning is this, That a precept is of things neceſſarie, as to follow vertue, to eſchue vice: A counſell is of things indifferent, as to vſe or not to vſe, as to eate or not to eate fleſh. But yet the occaſion may ſo ſerue, that euen this counſell is neceſſarie: for we ought not to eate fleſh to offend our brother: *Multa facienda ſunt non iubente lege, ſed libera charitate:* Many things are to be done (ſaith he) not by force of any law, but by the rule of charitie: that is, we haue no particular law, but the general rule of charitie. A counſell then is ſeene in things indifferent, which are alwaies lawfull, but not alway expedient: and it is nothing elſe but a particular application of the generall rule of charitie: Charitie wiſheth that nothing ſhould be done to offend our brethren, 1.Cor.10.32. The Scripture likewiſe giueth libertie to eate fleſh, there is no generall precept or prohibition: yet the Apoſtle giueth counſell, that is, according to the rule of charitie ſaith, that although all things are cleane, *Malum tamen eſt homini, qui per offenſionem manducat:* yet it is euill to the man that eateth with offence, Rom.14.20. Here we ſee the tranſgreſſion of an Apoſtolicall counſell is ſinne. And though we be not bound by any particular precept, at this time or that to abſtaine from fleſh, yet, *quæ facienda ſunt libera charitate*, the things that are to be done in the dutie of loue, doe as well binde vs, as if we had a direct commaundement: for loue is the fulfilling of the commaundements, yea it is one of the great commaundements to loue one another. Yet the counſell or libertie concerning indifferent things, remaineth in it owne nature free ſtill: as the Apoſtle counſelleth to eate, not asking any queſtion: in ſuch a caſe it is neither euill not to eate, nor good to eate; but if any man bee preſent that may take offence by our eating, then is it euill to eate. So ***Auguſtine*** concludeth: *Multa mihi videntur licere & non expedire, quæ per iuſtitiam, quæ coram Deo eſt, permittuntur, ſed propter offenſionem hominum vitanda ſunt:* Many things are lawfull, but not expedient, lawfull before God, but not expedient becauſe of the offence of our brethren, *de Adulter. coniug. lib.* 1. *cap.* 14.17. Thus we ſee ***Auguſtine*** doth nothing fauour the popiſh diſtinction of precepts and counſels: for by his ſentence, euen counſels, that is, the libertie and freedome of things indifferent, are reſtrained, and made neceſſarie in the externall vſe, by the rule of charitie.

That precepts, and counſels or monitions are confounded, and both taken for one, their owne Canons doe teſtifie, *decret. p.* 2. *cauſ.* 28. *qu.* 1. *c.* 9. *Quæ iubet Dominus, non eſt indignum, ſi eadem monet Apoſtolus:* That which the Lord commaundeth, it is not vnfit, if the Apoſtle doe moniſh the ſame. *Sext. decret. lib.* 5. *tit.* 12. *c.* 5. *Nonnulla conſilia ſub verbo præcepti:* Many counſels are contained vnder the word precept. *Clementin. lib.* 5. *tit.* 11. *c.* 1 *Nichol.* 4. there it is determined, That the rules of *Francis* giuen to his diſciples, that they ſhould goe barefoote, and not ride but in caſe of neceſſitie and ſuch like, are precepts: which notwithſtanding according to their definition are but counſels.

This truth the holy Martyrs haue ſealed: *Iohn Huſſe*, There are ſo many Counſels and determinations of God in the Goſpell, as there be lawfull and honeſt things ioyned with precepts and commaundements of God, binding vs thereto vnder paine of deadly ſinne: for euery ſuch thing doth the Lord commaund vs to fulfill in time and place, &c. *Fox* pag. 617.

Claudius Monerius French Martyr; No man can vow to God ſo much, but the law requireth much more then he can vow. This holy Martyr died in this confeſſion, and was burned at Lyons, *anno* 1551. *ex Iohanne Criſpin. lib. tert.* Thus then it appeareth, that before the Lord, there is no difference betweene his counſels and commandements, but that we are bound to keepe them both.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING vowes in generall.

THis queſtion hath three parts: firſt, whether it be lawfull for Chriſtians to make vowes. Secondly, in what things lawfull vowes conſiſt. Thirdly, whether voluntarie vowes be any part of the worſhip and ſeruice of God.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER VOWES PERtained onely to the old law, and are not now permitted vnto Chriſtians.

The Papiſts.

85.Error. THey hold it as lawfull, and as free a thing for Chriſtians to binde themſelues by vowes vnto God, as it was vſed and practiſed of the Iewes in the time of the law.

*Argum.*1. Iſai.19.21. *They ſhall know the Lord in that day, and doe ſacrifice and oblation, and vow vowes vnto God and performe them.* This prophecie is concerning Chriſtians, which ſhould in the time of the Goſpell make vowes vnto God, *Bellarm.cap.*17.

Anſ. The Prophet doth, by the externall ſeruice of God vſed in the Church at that time, ſet forth the ſpiritual worſhip of God in the Church of Chriſt: for Iewiſh vowes ſhal be no more then in force, then their ſacrifices and oblations. Alſo verſ.19. the Prophet ſaith, that an Altar ſhall bee ſet vp in Egypt: and verſ.18. They ſhall ſpeake the language of Canaan: But theſe things were not literally, but myſtically performed, neither is it neceſſarie the other ſhould.

*Argum.*2. Pſalme 76.11. *Vow vnto God and performe: Ergo,* vowes now are lawfull, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. It appeareth by the text, that it was a commandement vnto the Iewes, and for that time: for it followeth, *All ye that are round about him*: that is, the Leuites and Prieſts that dwelt round about the temple. *And bring preſents to him that ought to be feared.* But now Chriſtians bring no ſuch externall preſents and gifts, therefore it cannot be properly vnderſtood of them. This appeareth alſo by the beginning of the Pſalme, that this charge appertained to the Iewes: as verſ.1. *God is knowne in Iudea,* and verſ.2. *in Salem is his tabernacle &c.* Therefore while the tabernacle continued in Salem, and God was worſhipped onely in Iudea, ſo long vowes were in force.

*Argum.*3. Vowes did not take beginning from *Moſes*, for *Iacob* vowed, Geneſ.28. therefore neither are they to ceaſe with *Moſes. Bellarm.cap.*17.

Contra. Firſt, the Argument followeth not, for there were altars and ſacrifices before the law, yet they wil not ſay, that they muſt remaine ſtill after the law of ceremonies determined. Secondly, ſuch a vow, as *Iacob* made, is lawfull for Chriſtians to make ſtill; for he voweth, that the Lord ſhall be his God: the vow then of obedience, and of more ſtrict ſeruing of God is commendable in Chriſtians. And as for the vow of tithes, *Iacob* maketh it, not as it were in it ſelfe a principall ſeruice of God, but as a ſigne of the worſhip of God and obedience, which he vowed.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe not condemne all vowes, neither denie, but that a Chriſtian in ſome caſes may vow, as preſently it followeth to be ſhewed: but Iewiſh vowes are vtterly vnlawfull, ſuch as the vowes of the Nazarites were, Numb.6. as to abſtaine from wine and ſtrong drinke, not to ſhaue their haire, and ſuch like: if we place religion in ſuch vowes.

*Argum.*1. Their vowes were ceremonious, and conſiſted in externall rites, which were ſhadowes and ſignifications of ſpirituall things: as not to cut their haire, not to touch any dead thing, to abſtaine from wine and ſtrong drinke. But all ſhadowes are now gone and aboliſhed: and ſuch externall vſages are vnprofitable, as were thoſe precepts of the falſe Apoſtles, Touch not, taſte not, handle not: which all periſh with the vſing, and are the commandements of men, as S.*Paul* ſaith, Coloſſ.2.21.22. Such precepts notwithſtanding, Monkes and Friers at this day doe binde themſelues vnto: for it is not lawfull for them to touch ſiluer, nor to taſte fleſh, according to the ſtrict and ſuperſtitious rules of their patrones. The Apoſtles reaſon ſtandeth thus, religion conſiſteth not in any thing, that periſheth with the vſe: but vowes not to taſte, not to touch, not to handle, periſh in the vſe: *Ergo,* there is no religion in ſuch vowes.

*Argum.*2. It was ordained in *Moſes* law, Leuit.27.26. that no man ſhould vow vnto the Lord the firſt-borne, for it was the Lords alreadie. From whence this argument may bee drawne, That which is the Lords alreadie, cannot be vowed vnto him: but wee are Chriſts, 1.Cor.3.23. and all that we haue, verſ.21. Wherefore it is a ſuperfluous thing to vow any thing, which wee haue, as therein placing the ſeruice of God; ſeeing alreadie we are deuoted to Gods ſeruice. If it bee here obiected, that by the ſame reaſon neither was it lawfull for the Iewes to offer any thing at all, becauſe

cauſe the earth is the Lords, and all things therein, Pſalm.24. they ſhould offer vnto God of his owne. I anſwere, that it is true all the earth was the Lords in right of the creation; but the firſt-borne were due in a ſecond right of their deliuerance and redemption from Egypt: and ſo wee in reſpect of our ſpirituall deliuerance are bound to ſerue God all the daies of our life, Luk.1.74. And therefore it is no more in our power to vow or be vowed vnto God, then it was lawfull for the Iewes to dedicate their firſt-borne.

*Argum.*3. Saint *Paul* ſaith, He that is circumciſed is bound to keepe the whole law, Galat.5.3. He that keepeth any one ceremonie of the law, doth make himſelfe a ſeruant to the whole law: for if after the profeſſion of the Nazarites, they will vow not to drinke wine, not to ſhaue their heads, hereby the better to pleaſe God; why are they not alſo purified, and bring an offering according to the law, as *Paul* did, who becauſe of the infirmitie of the Iewes, was agreed with foure other men which had a vow, to be purified according to the law? But this Saint *Paul* did being amongſt the Iewes, who cried out againſt him as a breaker of the law, leaſt he ſhould bee ſcandalous vnto them. Hence alſo we reaſon thus; that which S. *Paul* did for that time to auoide offence, namely, to be purified with them that had a vow, is not now lawfull for the people of God to doe, as Act.21.25. Wee haue determined concerning the Gentiles, that they obſerue no ſuch thing: *Ergo*, it is not lawfull now after the manner of the Iewes to make a vow.

Auguſtine thus notably writeth concerning this matter: *Sicut defuncta corpora neceſſariorum officijs deducenda erant quodammodo ad ſepulchrum, non deſerenda continuò, vel ſicut canibus proijcienda:* The ceremonies of the law (ſaith he) were not preſently to be caſt off, but as dead bodies muſt be brought to the graue with ſome ſeemely pompe of their friends, and not to bee caſt vnto dogges: Thus he ſaith, that in the Apoſtles time all Iewiſh ceremonies were not in act aboliſhed, though they were alreadie as dead carkaſſes, that is, by right depriued of life: yet they required ſome ſpace to be honourably laid downe, and as it were buried. But whoſoeuer would now goe about to renew the Iewiſh ceremonies againe (ſaith he) *Tanquam ſopitos cineres eruens, non erit pius deductor vel batulus corporis, ſed impius ſepultura violator:* He ſhould as it were rake in dead mens aſhes, and not bee a ſeemely bringer of the bodie to the ground, but a wicked violator of Chriſtian buriall: Euen ſo *Auguſtine* maketh it as wicked a part, to bring in vſe any Iewiſh rites, as to pull one, honeſtly buried, out of his graue.

There is a rule in the Ciuill law, *Cod.lib.7.tit.6.leg.*1.*Iuſtinian. Abſurdum eſt, ipſa origine rei ſublata, eius imaginem relinqui:* It is abſurd, the originall being remoued, the image or reſemblance to remaine ſtill. According to this rule, ſeeing that the Iewiſh ceremonies are ceaſed, it is not fit that Iudaicall vowes ſhould haue any place in the Church.

The Canon law alſo ſaith, *Vmbra legis euanuit, illuxit veritas Euangelij:* The ſhadow of the law is vaniſhed, and the light of the Goſpel hath ſhined, *decr.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*47.*c.*1. Vpon which ground *Innocentius* 3. decreeth, the law of *Moſes*, concerning the purifying of women, not to be in force: of the which nature alſo is the law of vowes.

To this agreeth the ordinarie gloſſe, *de* 4.*Concil.Primitiua Eccleſia. Modus colendi Deũ per externos ritus & ceremonias legis, quia hæc fuerunt vmbra Chriſti tum venturi & myſteriorum eius, ideo adueniente veritate Euangelica illicita facta ſunt, & euanuerunt:* The manner of worſhipping God by externall rites and ceremonies of the law, becauſe theſe were a ſhadow of Chriſt to come and of his myſteries, the truth of the Goſpell being come are made vnlawfull, and are vaniſhed away. But vowes are a part of the externall and ceremonious worſhip of God. *Ergo*.

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr, hath ſealed this truth: Vowes are againſt the ordinance of God: let them ſhew where theſe vowes in all the new Teſtament be ordained of God, eſpecially ſuch vowes of ſingle life and wilfull pouertie, &c. *Fox* pag.1250.col.1.articul.3.

THE SECOND PART, WHAT THINGS MAY lawfully bee vowed by Chriſtians, and whether baptiſme be properly a vow.

The Papiſts.

THey hold that the proper vowes of Chriſtians are voluntarie, not of ſuch things which Chriſtians are bound in dutie to doe, but of ſuch as they may leaue vndone, if they will; ſuch as are their popiſh vowes of continencie and voluntarie, or rather wilfull pouertie. 85.Error.

*Argum.*1. Deuteron.23. *When thou ſhalt vow a vow vnto God, thou ſhalt not bee ſlacke to pay it; it ſhould be ſinne vnto thee: but when thou abſtaineſt from vowing, it ſhall bee no ſinne vnto thee.* By this the Ieſuite proueth, that the vowes of Chriſtians are voluntarie, and not of neceſſarie duties, for it were ſinne to leaue any thing vndone, that we are in dutie bound vnto, *cap.*19. And hereupon he inferreth, that the promiſe made in baptiſme is no vow, becauſe it is neceſſarie.

Anſ. Firſt, we denie not but that the Iewes had voluntarie vowes, and might binde themſelues by vow to performe many things, which being not vowed, it was no ſinne to leaue vndone: As the Nazarites vowes concerning abſtinence from wine and ſtrong drinke; which things other might lawfully vſe without ſinne, if they were not profeſſed Nazarites. But theſe ceremoniall lawes do nothing appertaine to Chriſtians.

Secondly, it may alſo be vnderſtood of neceſſarie vowes, which we are bound vnto of duetie, and then the ſenſe is this: If you abſtayne from vowing ye ſinne not, that is, not ſo hainouſly as after the vow made; as Pagans and infidels do ſinne in tranſgreſſing Gods Law: but a Chriſtian ſinneth more after publike profeſſion and promiſe made of obedience vnto Gods commandements.

Thus our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith of the Iewes: *If I had not come, and ſpoken vnto them, they ſhould haue had no ſinne*, Iohn 15.verſ.21.that is, in compariſon their ſinne of ignorance ſhould haue been none in reſpect of their ſinne, which they haue now: ſo his ſinne, that bindeth not himſelfe to the obedience of Gods commandements, is not like to his ſinne, that hath bound himſelfe, and yet tranſgreſſeth.

Argum.2. The Ieſuite would thus alſo proue the promiſe made in Baptiſme to be no vow. The vowes of children vttered by their parents, are not ratified but by them, in whoſe name they were made, when they come to yeeres of diſcretion: but the promiſe made in Baptiſme doth bind children, whether they will or not: *Ergo*, it is no vow.

Anſw. Firſt, if this reaſon proue any thing, it concerneth onely the baptiſme of infants, ſo that the promiſe made in the Baptiſme of thoſe, which are *adulti*, already come to yeeres of diſcretion, ſhall be a vow, whatſoeuer *Bellarmine* ſaith to the contrarie; for they euen when they are baptized are able to giue conſent vnto the vow and promiſe then and there made. Secondly, it is vntrue, that the vowes of the parents made in the name of their children, do not abſolutely binde: for vnder the law euen in ceremonial vowes vttered by the parents, the children were bound: as 1.Sam. 1.11. *Anna* voweth to God, that a raſor ſhal not come vpon her ſonnes head; which vow was accordingly kept in her ſonne: Ierem.35.6. *Ionadab* inioyned his ſonnes, that neither they nor their ſeede for euer, ſhould drinke any wine, or ſtrong drinke; and they obeyed without any gainſaying or reſiſtance. Thirdly, but concerning neceſſarie dueties, the children are bound to keepe their parents vowes and couenant made with God: as *Ioſua* made a promiſe for himſelfe and his, *I and my houſe will ſerue the Lord*, Ioſua 24.15. And if in ciuil matters the parents may bind their children abſolutely to the couenant, which they make, as *Ionathan* and *Dauid* made a couenant for them and their ſeed, 1.Sam.20.42. much more this ſpirituall couenant bindeth, being grounded vpon the ordinance and commandement of God: notwithſtanding all that hath been ſaid, the promiſe made in Baptiſme ſhall be a vow ſtill.

Argum.3. It is both vnprofitable and ſuperfluous for a man to vow to do that, to the which he is bound already; but in Baptiſme we promiſe obedience vnto God, which we are bound to do by the law: *Ergo*, it is ſuperfluous to ſeeke to tie our ſelues with new bonds, and conſequently it ſhould be a ſuperfluous vow. *Bellarm.cap.19.argum.5.*

Anſw. Firſt, if this reaſon proue any thing, it ſeemeth to conclude, that it is ſuperfluous for any promiſe to be made in Baptiſme, as well as a vow, ſeeing we are alreadie bound to ſerue God by the law of Creation. Secondly, neither is it ſuperfluous to vow, more ſtrictly to do that, which we are bound to do; for a double bond bindeth more ſtrongly then one, and as the wiſe man ſaith, a threefold coard cannot be broken, Eccleſiaſt.4. So Iacob vowed that the Lord ſhould be his God, Gen.28. which notwithſtanding was couenanted before in his circumciſion. Thirdly, there is a common bond, which bindeth all men, namely the law of Creation; but as God hath his peculiar people, ſo is there a peculiar bond to tie them vnto God, namely, their deliuerance by Chriſt, which is profeſſed in Baptiſme: as before the commandements, God doth moue his people to obedience, not becauſe he created them, but for that he brought them out of the houſe of bondage. Fourthly, if two bonds are ſuperfluous, wherefore then doth the Lord by two immutable things, his word and his oath confirme his promiſes to vs, Hebr.6.18? let him ſay alſo that one of them is ſuperfluous.

The Proteſtants.

WE hold that to vow is not a thing ſimply forbidden Chriſtians: but our vowes are limited and reſtrained: for they are either ſuch, as directly or immediatly are referred to the worſhip of God, whereby we binde our ſelues more ſtreightly to ſerue him: and ſuch vowes are onely of ſuch things as are commanded, and neceſſarily to be done: and in this ſenſe there is but one common vow of all Chriſtians, and that is our ſolemne promiſe made in Baptiſme, which the Papiſts deny properly to be a vow, *Bellarm.cap.19.* There is another kinde of vowes, that directly concerneth not the worſhip of God, which may be of things not commanded, of the which we will intreat in the next ſection. Now wee are to proue, that Baptiſme is the onely proper vow of Chriſtians, which directly toucheth the ſeruice and worſhip of God.

Argum.1. Circumciſion was a generall vow of the Iewes, for thereby they bound themſelues to keepe the whole law, Galath.5.3. *Ergo,*Baptiſme is the vow of Chriſtians, which commeth in the place of circumciſion. And againe,it appeareth by this,that becauſe Chriſtians tranſgreſſing, do deſerue greater puniſhment, then Iewes or Gentiles,that they are more ſtreightly obliged and bound by their couenant vnto God then the other : and not onely, as the Ieſuite ſaith, becauſe they haue taſted more of the goodneſſe of God, and ſo are more vnthankefull ; for there are two parts of the couenant betweene God and vs : The Lord ſaith, Thou art my people, and ſo inricheth them with knowledge, and euery good thing : The people ſay, Thou art my God, Hoſh.2.23. And thus as the Lord doth couenant with them, ſo they do binde themſelues vnto God : The breach of which couenant, is that which ſtirreth vp principally the anger of God againſt vs.

Argum.2. A vow is that, whereby any thing is giuen vnto God ; as *Anna* 1.Sam.1.11. gaue her ſonne vnto God, which the Scripture calleth a vow: but in Baptiſme we are giuen vnto God: Rom.6.13. *Giue your ſelues vnto God,ſeeing you are aliue from the dead*: namely,by the power of Chriſts reſurrection repreſented in Baptiſme : as the Apoſtle ſheweth verſ.4. *Ergo,*in Baptiſme we doe vow our ſelues vnto God.

Argum.3. An oath bindeth as well as a vow, if not more, before God ; (this *Bellarmine* confeſſeth *cap.16.argum.3.*) for a vow is but a ſolemne promiſe, as *Iepthah* his vow is called a promiſe Iud.11.36. but an oath is more then a promiſe : but by oath wee may bind our ſelues to the performance of thoſe things, which notwithſtanding are neceſſarily inioyned vs, as Pſal.119.106. *I haue ſworne to keepe thy righteous iudgements* : and Nehem.10.9. the people bind themſelues by an oath to obſerue Gods commandements. *Ergo*, alſo theſe things are incident to our vowes. *Auguſtine* alſo vpon the 75.Pſalme writeth thus: *Vouete & reddite Domino Deo veſtro omnes communiter : Quid debemus vouere? credere in illum, ſperare ab illo vitam æternam, benè viuere, ſecundùm communem modum* : Make your vowes, and pay them vnto God generally altogether; What muſt we vow? to beleeue in him, to hope for eternall life, to liue honeſtly, not to ſteale, not to commit adulterie. Theſe then are the common and generall duties of Chriſtians : no other then we promiſed and vowed in Baptiſme.

Concil.Colonienſ.part.7. It was decreed, that the Godfathers ſhould be growne in yeeres, not children : *Ne infans infantem offerre aut ſponſorem pro alio ſe Deo conſtituere, qui quod promittit, non intelligat* : Leaſt that one child ſhould offer or preſent another, or vndertake for another before God, not vnderſtanding what he promiſeth. From hence we reaſon thus, A vow is nothing elſe, but *Religioſa promiſſio Deo facta* : A religious promiſe made vnto God, as *Bellarmine* himſelfe defineth it,*cap.14.* But in Baptiſme there is *religioſa promiſſio & ſponſio,* a religious promiſe and trothgiuing made vnto God, as this Councell ſheweth : *Ergo.*

Their owne Authors alſo are againſt them, that the things commanded of God may properly be vowed: as *Dominicus a Soto lib.7.de iuſtitia qu.1.art.3. Alphonſus a caſtro lib.1.de leg.pænal.cap.10.*

The Maſter alſo of the ſentences confeſſeth, that the common vow of Chriſtians is made in Baptiſme, namely to renounce the diuell: and in the ſame place, he thus expoundeth that place 1.Tim.5. *They haue broken their firſt faith*; which *Bellarmine* expoundeth of vowes.*cap.17.argum.3.* that is, ſayth he, *votum, vel fidem, quam in Baptiſmo profeſſa ſunt* ; Their vow or faith, which they profeſſed in Baptiſme.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING VOLVNTArie vowes,whether they be any part of the worſhip of God.

The Papiſts.

ALl voluntarie vowes (ſay they) made by Chriſtians,though not commanded of God, as not 86.Error.
to eate fleſh, not to drinke ſtrong drinke, or to liue vnmarried ; do concerne the worſhip of God, and thereby men are made more acceptable vnto him, *Bellarm.cap.16.*

Argum.1. *Iacob* vowed to pay tithes,Gen.28. *Dauid* to build a Temple vnto God,Pſal.131.2. But neither of theſe two were commanded them, and yet they were properly referred to the ſeruice of God.

Anſw. Firſt,we deny not, as we haue ſaid, but that in the lawe and before, there might be ſuch voluntarie vowes : yet it followeth not,that there ſhould be any ſuch now. Secondly, both thoſe duties were neceſſarie,and commaunded in generall,though not in particular. As firſt, *Iacobs* vow was, that the Lord ſhould be his God, verſ.21. No man can deny, but this was neceſſarie, and a commaundement : Then ſeeing the Lord is his God, it is alſo neceſſarie that he ſhould acknowledge him by ſome external worſhip,as by appoynting the Lord an houſe in that place,and bringing oblations vnto his altars : theſe are but particular duties,that doe followe that generall commandement.

Secondly, *Dauid* did vow that, which he was bound to doe being King of Iſrael, namely, to haue a care of the temple of God: for thus he ſaith to *Nathan* the Prophet, I dwell in an houſe of Cedar trees; but the Arke of God remaineth within the curtaines, 2.Sam.7.2. This belonged to the King of dutie, as it was generally commanded all Iſrael, Hagg.1.4. but that *Dauid* was diſcharged of this care, by the eſpeciall warrant of God by the Prophet.

*Argum.*2. Heb.13.16. To doe good and to diſtribute forget not, for with ſuch ſacrifices God is pleaſed. *Intelligitur* (ſaith *Bellarmine*) *de eleemoſyna non præcepta*: which is vnderſtood of almes not commanded: And if God be pleaſed with euery vertuous act, yea done without a vow, in things not commanded; much more where a vow is.

Anſw. First, it is a moſt groſſe and abſurd ſaying, that there can be any vertuous act not commanded in Scripture: the Apoſtle ſpeaketh contrarie, 2.Timoth.3.17. that the man of God by the Scriptures is made perfect to all good workes: *Ergo*, all good workes are preſcribed in Scripture. Secondly, it is alſo vntrue, that there are almes deedes not commanded, ſeeing that in this very place, it is an expreſſe charge and commandement of the Apoſtle, To do good and to diſtribute.

*Argum.*3. To keepe promiſe or faith giuen vnto God, is properly to ſerue God; a vow is a promiſe made vnto God: *Ergo.Bellar.ibid.*

Anſw. By a vow or promiſe made vnto God of that which is not lawfull, is no worſhipping of God, but rather a diſhonouring of him, as may appeare in the vow of *Iepthe*, of the which S. *Ambroſe* thus writeth, *Melius fuit nihil tale promittere, quam promiſſum parricidio ſoluere*: It had bin better neuer to haue vowed or promiſed any ſuch thing, then with parricide to performe his promiſe. *lib.*1.*de offic.c.*50.

*Argum.*4. An oath euen in a thing not commanded, is the worſhip of God, as to ſweare not to drinke wine: and ſo conſequently a vow alſo. *Bellarm.ibid.c.*16.*argum.*3.

Anſw. The conſequence or dependance of this argument I willingly yeeld vnto, hauing vrged it before againſt the Suite himſelfe (I would ſay Ieſuite;) for an oath and a vow may be well compared together: but an oath, ſuch as the Ieſuite ſpeaketh of, is not acceptable to God: First, becauſe an oath is appointed to make an end of ſtriſe betweene men, Hebr.6.16. not to determine matters betweene God and vs; men ſweare by God, not ſo properly to God. Secondly, neither is it pleaſing to God, to bind thoſe things with an oath abſolutely, which are not in our owne power, as not to drinke wine, ſeeing his infirmitie may cauſe him to drinke it, as S.*Paul* counſelled Timoth.1.5. Thirdly, yet an oath in theſe externall matters, doth not verily or properly belong to the worſhip of God, though in ſome ſort may be referred vnto it, as now followeth to be ſhewed.

The Proteſtants.

WE grant that there are other kinds of vowes then before wee ſpake of, which doe not directly concerne the worſhip of God, neither are of thinges commanded vs, nor yet is God thereby the better pleaſed: but they ſerue onely as helpes, to make vs more fit vnto Chriſtian duties: As a man that ſeeth he is by nature giuen to drunkennes, doth vowe that he will take no ſtrong drinke, leſt he ſhould offend that way: Another purpoſeth to faſt, thereby to tame his fleſh, and the more feruently to pray; as *Iob* made a couenant with his eyes not to looke vpon a maide, 31.1. But theſe things of themſelues, by the outward act, are not the more acceptable vnto God, neither is God by eating or not eating, or looking or not looking, the better worſhipped, as theſe things are conſidered in themſelues. Wherefore by the word of God we condemne all voluntarie and ſuperſtitious vowes of men, inuented to ſerue God by, as vowes of chaſtitie, of going in pilgrimage, offering to Images, and ſuch like.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* condemneth all voluntarie worſhip of God which is inuented by man, as vnprofitable, though it haue a ſhew of wiſedome in humblenes of minde, and not ſparing the bodie, Coloſſ.2.23. As ſuch are the ordinances of the world in worſhipping of Angels, and in abſtinence, *Touch not, taſt not, handle not.* But ſuch are all popiſh vowes, a voluntarie ſeruice of God, euen in the ſame things which the Apoſtle taketh exception againſt; for they make vowes to Angels, to Saints, vowes to keep dayes holy, and to faſt in them: *Ergo*, they are vnlawful.

*Argum.*2. Rom.14.23. Whatſoeuer is not of faith, is ſin, that is, grounded vpon knowledge out of the word: *Ergo*, all voluntarie vowes made to ſerue God by, are to be abandoned, becauſe they haue no warrant out of Gods word. *Bellarm.* anſwereth, that the place is not ſo to be vnderſtood, but rather, by faith, is meant the conſcience of man, and ſo whatſoeuer is done againſt the conſcience is ſinne.

Anſ. By faith, is not vnderſtood any conſcience, but the aſſurance of a right conſcience, which muſt needes be builded vpon the word: for verſ.22. S.*Paul* ſaith, If thou haſt faith, haue it with God: This cannot be ſpoken of a corrupt conſcience which is not able to abide Gods triall, but a right conſcience eſtabliſhed out of the word.

Thus *Bernard* expoundeth this place: *De fide vera non falſa puto dixiſſe Apoſtolum, omne, quod non ex fide, peccatum, quia fides falſa, fides non eſt:* I thinke the Apoſtle ſpake of a true, not a falſe faith, ſaying, what is not of faith is ſinne; for a falſe faith, is no faith: *lib. de diſpenſation.*

*Argum.*3. To mortifie the bodie, and to be renewed in the minde, is the reaſonable, that is, the true and proper ſeruice of God; but the mortifying of the fleſh, and change of the minde conſiſteth not in meate or drinke or any ſuch externall thing. *Ergo*, therein ſtandeth not the true ſeruice of God: And ſo the Apoſtle alſo euidentlie ſaith, *Meate maketh vs not acceptable vnto God, for neither if we eate haue we the more, or if we eate not haue we the leſſe, &c.* 1. Cor. 8. 8. The Apoſtle reaſoneth thus: that, which being vſed bringeth no rewarde, not vſed procureth no loſſe, doth not make vs acceptable to God: for the neglecting or not vſing of thoſe things, wherein Gods ſeruice ſtandeth is damnable: but the not vſing of meates and drinkes and ſuch like is not damnable. *Ergo*, therein ſtandeth not Gods ſeruice.

*Argum.*4. Let vs heare *Auguſtines* iudgement: *Sunt multi qui vouent, &c.* There are many that vowe, one a cloake, another oyle, another a waxe candle, another that he will drinke no wine, another that he will faſt, another that he will eate no fleſh. This is not the beſt kind of vowing: God neither careth for thy comely apparell, nor for thy oile, nor for thy faſting: but offer that vnto him which he hath redeemed, that is, thy ſoule, *De tempor. ſer.*7. We ſee by this what account *Auguſtine* maketh of ſuperſtitious voluntarie vowes, made with an intent to pleaſe God thereby.

*Concil. Arauſicane.*2. *can.*11, *Nemo quicquam Deo vouerit, niſi ab ipſo acceperit, ſicut legitur quæ de manu tua accepimus, damus tibi*, 1. *Paralippom.*29. 14. Let no man vow vnto God any thing, vnleſſe he haue receiued it, as wee reade, *thoſe things which we haue receiued at thy hand, we giue vnto thee:* Therefore no man can make a vowe of chaſtitie vnto God, nor of any other gift not in his owne power.

See alſo the rules of your owne lawes: *Decret. Gregor. lib.*1. *tit.*7. *c.*2. *Innocent. Quod non eſt ſanctorum patrum decreto ſancitum, ſuperſtitioſis non eſt adinuentionibus præſumendum:* That which is not eſtabliſhed by the decree of the holy Fathers, muſt not by ſuperſtitious inuentions be preſumed: If that be ſuperſtition, which is not decreed by the Fathers, how much more that, which is not warranted by Scripture: And as it followeth in the ſame place; *Nonnunquam intelligitur prohibitum, quod non inuenitur conceſſum:* That we vnderſtand to be prohibited, which is found not to be granted. Wherefore by this rule all voluntarie vowes of things not commaunded or graunted in Scripture, are held to be prohibited.

Iames Baineham holy Martyr: *The vowes of chaſtitie, and all goodnes are giuen of God, by his abundant grace, which no man of himſelfe can keepe, but it muſt bee giuen him of God, Fox.* pag. 1028. col. 1.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERNING Monaſticall vowes in particular.

THere are three kinds of vowes which belong vnto Monkerie: the firſt is the vowe of voluntarie pouertie: the ſecond the vowe of obedience vnto the Monaſticall preſidents and gouernours: the third is the vowe of continencie: of theſe three in order.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE vowe of voluntarie pouertie.

The Papiſts.

THey ſay it is an acceptable ſeruice vnto God, for a man to giue all he hath to the poore, and by vowe to conſecrate and addict himſelfe to voluntarie pouertie. 87. Error.

*Argum.*1. Matth. 18. 21. Chriſt ſaith, If thou wilt be perfect, goe and ſell all thou haſt, and giue it to the poore, and come and follow me. This is properly to follow Chriſt, to lacke proprietie and liue in common: and thus the Apoſtles followed Chriſt, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, this is a precept not generall to all, but giuen to this one man to diſcouer his hypocriſie, and vaine confidence that he had in himſelfe, as though he had kept the law, which he came farre ſhort of. Secondly, the Apoſtles themſelues had proprietie: *Peter* had a houſe: *Iohn* had to prouide for the Virgin *Marie*, whom Chriſt commended vnto him: *Matthew* made a feaſt of his owne goods, *Fulk. ibid.*

*Argum.*2. Act. 2. 44. They had all things common: and Act. 5. *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, after their profeſſion of common life, detaining ſome part proper to themſelues, were reproued and iudged of the Apoſtles: *Ergo*, it is acceptable to God to liue in common, *Rhemiſt. ibid. Bellarm. cap.*20.

Anſ. Firſt, that communitie vſed then amongſt the brethren, ought alwaies to be among Chriſtians, no man to count that his owne, which the neceſſitie of his brother requireth to bee beſtowed vpon him. Thus alſo witneſſeth *Vrbanus* in his Decretal, *cauſ.*12.*qu.*1.*c.*9. *Scimus vos non ignorare,&c.* We know you are not ignorant that hitherto a common life hath floriſhed amongſt all Chriſtians,and yet by Gods grace doth floriſh.Neither was euery man then bound to giue vp the proprietie of their goods : for they diſtributed to euery man as they had neede, Act.4.35. But if they had giuen vp all the proprietie of their goods, then all ſhould haue needed alike : And *Peter* ſaith not the contrarie,but that *Ananias* might haue kept the proprietie of his goods,if he had not made publike profeſſion to the contrary, Act.5.4.

2. Your owne law giueth another reaſon of that communitie among the Apoſtles, *ibid.c.*15. *Futuram eccleſiam,&c.* The Apoſtles did foreſee that the Church ſhould bee amongſt the Gentiles, and therefore they would not haue any poſſeſſions in Iudea,but tooke the price onely for the reliefe of the poore.

3. Concerning *Ananias*, wee doe not reade that he made any vow to giue his goods to the Church : nay the contrarie appeareth, in that Saint *Peter* ſaith, While it remained with thee,appertained it not to thee ? But if his vow were paſt before, the goods, though yet not ſold, could not appertaine vnto him. Againe, the principall and chiefe cauſe,why *Peter* proceeded againſt him,was his lying and hypocriſie,not for breaking his vow : for it cannot be proued that he promiſed all,but that he affirmed that he brought all,whereas he withdrew part.

*Argum.*3. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith,*Bleſſed are the poore in ſpirit*,Matth.5.3. that is,ſuch as willingly make themſelues poore : for ſo did our Sauiour Chriſt, who both in action and affection was poore,and did as he taught.And Luke 6.24.*There is a woe denounced to the rich in this world:* So that by the contrarie the bleſſing is vpon the poore,*Bellarm.cap.*20.

Anſ. Firſt,it is euident, that Chriſt ſpeaketh not of outward pouertie, but of the humilitie of the mind:firſt,becauſe it is ſo expreſſed,*bleſſed are the poore in ſpirit.* Secondly,the Prophet *Dauid* in the ſame ſenſe ſaith,*I am poore*,Pſalm.26.16.yet was he King, and abounded in riches. Thirdly, Matth.11.5. *the poore receiue the Goſpell:* yet were they not all poore in ſubſtance that receiued Chriſt, as *Nicodemus*, *Ioſeph* of *Arimathaa*, *Zachaus.* Now to anſwere likewiſe to his proofes: Firſt,where Chriſt ſaith,*woe vnto the rich*, he meaneth not all rich men, but ſuch as truſted in their riches : for ſuch onely are excluded the kingdome of heauen,Mark.10.24. Secondly, it is vntrue that Chriſt did profeſſe voluntarie pouertie,as your owne Extrauagant hath decreed, that it is an hereſie ſo to affirme:for Chriſt had both money,and a bagge for the almes of the poore,*Ioann.*22. *tit.*14.*c.*5.

The Proteſtants.

VOluntarie,or rather wilfull pouertie,for a man hauing no vrgent cauſe,to leaue all he hath, and bequeath himſelfe to a poore and needie life, onely for opinion of greater merite, and hope thereby better to pleaſe God,is neither a thing acceptable nor commendable before God, nor any where commaunded in the Scriptures.

*Argum.*1. 1.Timoth.6.17. Saint *Paul* giuing counſell to rich men, biddeth them not to caſt away their riches : *but charge them* (ſaith he) *that they be not high minded, nor put their truſt in vncertaine riches.* Surely it had been a more compendious way to wiſh them at once to leaue their riches,ſo they ſhould not be in daunger, either of pride, or vaine confidence : but the Apoſtle ſaith no ſuch thing. Againe,*God giueth vs abundantly all things to enioy:* riches are the gift of God, wee ought not to be wearie of Gods bleſſing. And as *Iob* ſaith, *The Lord giueth, the Lord taketh:* therefore a man ought not to make himſelfe poore, becauſe he made not himſelfe rich, but to waite vpon God.

Further it followeth, verſ.18. that they doe good,and be rich in good workes : he that can vſe riches well, may bee rich in good workes : but he that is poore,wanteth occaſion and meanes to doe good,as the rich man indued with grace may : wherefore he is an enemie to the glorie of God, that changeth his rich eſtate,wherein he may more glorifie God,for a poore.

Againe,if it were ſo acceptable a thing to God, and ſo meritorious to liue in pouertie,what made the Prophet to pray againſt it ? *Giue me not pouertie nor riches , but feede me with foode conuenient*,Prou.30.verſ.8.

*Argum.*2. What better argument can wee haue againſt them, then their owne practiſe ? for, though in words they much commend voluntarie pouertie,yet it is a rare thing to finde it amongſt them : for not one among a thouſand of them, if they haue lands, doe giue them to the poore,but to their owne kinſefolkes,or elſe to the Abbeyes,where they know they ſhall be wealthily maintained. The Pope alſo is good to many, and granteth them capacities to poſſeſſe temporall goods, contrary to their former vow.

*Argum.*3. The Wiſeman praieth vnto God, *Giue me not pouertie, leaſt I bee poore , and ſteale, and take the name of God in vaine*, Prouerbs 31.8.9. From this place two arguments may bee drawne : That which may lawfully be praied againſt, is not willingly to bee deſired : pouertie may bee prayed againſt ; therefore it is not to bee purpoſely ſought. Againe, no man is willingly to runne into temptation; but pouertie is a temptation to ſteale,and to take Gods name in vaine: *Ergo*,&c.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Diuitiæ ſeculares ſi deſint, non per opera mala quærantur in mundo: Si autem adſunt, per opera bona ſeruentur in cœlo: Epiſt.*1.*poſteriorum.* If ſecular riches be wanting,let not a man ſeeke to get them by euill doing in the world: but if he haue them,labour,by well doing, to ſtore them vp in heauen. He counſelleth not men to caſt away their riches: It was the hereſie of the Pelagians to perſwade rich men to caſt away their goods, *Auguſt.epiſtol.*106. and of the Manichees likewiſe, *Auguſt.cont.Fauſtum.lib.*5.*cap.*10.

Concil.Cabilonenſ.ſub.Carol.cap.6.Imputatur quibuſdam fratribus,&c. Certaine brethren are charged,that for couetouſnes they perſwade men, that renouncing the world,they ſhould giue their ſubſtance to the Church,which practiſe ſhould be rooted out of all mindes: for the paſtor ſhould ſeeke the ſaluation of mens ſoules,not earthly commoditie: becauſe Chriſtians muſt not be compelled to giue their ſubſtance, &c. But I pray you,if it were a thing ſo meritorious and healthfull for the ſoule to giue all away,why ſhould not men be perſwaded and allured thereunto?

Let vs ſee the Imperiall conſtitutions: *Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*5.*leg.*11.*Valentinian.* By this law it is made lawfull for women profeſſed (who are now called Nunnes) to make their willes and teſtaments, and to leaue to what vſes they thought good. Likewiſe, *tit.6.leg.*42. the ſonne, though a profeſſed Monke,may ſucceede his father in his inheritance, *Iuſtinian.* It ſhould ſeeme then, that in thoſe daies the vow of voluntarie pouertie was not practiſed amongſt thoſe ancient Monkes.

Their owne Canons alſo doe helpe vs in this matter: *Decret.p.*1.*diſtinct.*30.*c.*16.*Diuites,&c.* We doe not reiect rich men hauing good workes. Againe, *Cauſ.*12.*qu.*1.*c.*25.*Sine peccato poſſideant ſua,&c.* They that are profeſſed, may without ſinne poſſeſſe their owne. *Cauſ.*16.*qu.*1.*c.*68.*In pauperibus,&c.* We muſt not in the poore ſo much conſider their pouertie,as their religion: *Ergo*, pouertie of it ſelfe by your owne law is not meritorious.

And yet more euidently, whereas the order of S.*Francis* was bound to voluntarie pouertie, it being not lawfull for them to touch any money, nor yet to haue propertie or dominion in any thing,but in the ſimple vſe onely,as may appeare by the conſtitution of Pope *Nicholas, ſext.decr. lib.*5.*tit.*12.*c.*3. afterward commeth *Iohn* 22.who determineth the contrarie, ſhewing that, *in rebus conſumptilibus*,in things which conſume in the vſe,as meate,drinke,apparell, the vſe could not be ſeuered from the propertie: for then the vſe may be ſeuered from the propertie, when there ariſeth ſome profit by the vſe,(*ſalua rei ſubſtantia*) the ſubſtance being preſerued, but in vſing of meate and drinke,the ſubſtance alſo is conſumed: And ſo he concludeth, that the ſaid order had not only the vſe,but the propertie alſo in the ſaid things; and ſo conſequently it may be inferred, that where a property remained,there could be no reſolute pouertie, *Extrau.tit.*14.*c.*5.

The ſaid *Iohn* 22. condemned them for heretikes, who affirmed that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had nothing proper, *Extrau.tit.*14.*c.*5. If neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles entered into this rule of perfection,nor did betake themſelues to voluntarie pouertie, ſhall any man now ſtriue to bee more perfect then they?

Iohn Lambert (holy Martyr) ſheweth what voluntarie pouertie is required of Chriſtians,and how that precept of our Sauiour, *goe and ſell all that thou haſt,&c.* may be fulfilled,for he hath ſold (ſaith he) all that euer he had,that can finde in his heart to depart from it,when God ſhall pleaſe, or charitie ſo requireth: *Voluntas reputatur pro facto*, the will is accepted for the deede, &c. *Fox* pag.1110.

THE SECOND PART, CONCERNING the vowe of obedience.

The Papiſts.

THey that doe enter into the Monkiſh profeſſion, doe vow in all things to become obedient to their gouernour,and to follow his rules and iniunctions: as the Franciſcans follow Saint *Francis* rule,who in ſtead of a girdle, put a corde about him, went bare-foote,in winter ſeaſon couered his fleſh with yce and ſnow. It is acceptable,and gratefull ſeruice,ſay they,vnto God, to be thus obedient to their fathers and gouernours. 88.Error. Fox.pag.259.

1 Ierem.35. The ſonnes of *Ionadab* are commended,for being obedient to their father, who inioyned them to drinke no wine, nor to ſow their fields, nor builde houſes but dwell in tents: Thus they obeyed their father in things not commanded of God: *Ergo*,ſo ought religious Monkes to doe, *Bellarm.cap.*21.

Anſw. Firſt,you cannot ſhew that your monkiſh Abbots haue ſuch authoritie ouer their Monkes,as the father hath ouer his children: for Coloſſ.3.and in many other places,children are commaunded to bee obedient to their parents: but the other haue neither authoritie nor calling out of the word. Alſo S.*Paul* ſaith, Coloſſ.3. *Sonnes obey your parents in all things:* wherefore *Ionadabs*

dabs children did no more,then was commanded. **Bellarmine** anſwereth, that children are bound onely to obey their parents while they are little ones, and not afterward : as the Apoſtle ſaith, that the heire,as long as he is a child,differeth nothing from a ſeruant,Galath.4.1.

Contra. Firſt,a childe while he is yong is more in ſubiection,then afterward : for he is then kept in awe as a ſeruant ; but when he commeth to yeeres of diſcretion, he is ſtill held as a ſonne : and this to bee the meaning of the Apoſtle appeareth by the application of this compariſon ; that euen ſo we as ſeruants,were kept vnder the bondage of the rudiments of the world,and ceremonies of the law, but by the redemption of Chriſt haue receiued the adoption of ſonnes. Secondly,and that ſonnes,euen when they come to mens eſtate,muſt be obedient to their parents,it appeareth by the ſonnes of *Eli*,1.Sam.2.who is both puniſhed for not chaſtiſing his ſonnes,and they likewiſe for not hearing their father. We ſee then what goodly ſtuffe this popiſh doctrine is, that teacheth children to caſt off the yoke of obedience to their parents.

Secondly,***Ionadab*** inioyned nothing contrarie to the law of the Nazarites,Numb.6.And if you ſay,that it was not the cuſtome of the Nazarites to dwell in tents ; you ſhall finde that the Rechabites did not ſo ſtreightly obſerue this, as the other, namely not to drinke wine : for Ierem.35. ver.11.they came vp for feare of the Chaldeans that were in the land,and dwelt at Ieruſalem:they diſpenſed with the voluntarie iniunction of their father, for dwelling in their tents,but kept the other vow of abſtaining from wine ſtill , becauſe it was after the law. Wherefore this example maketh not for Monkiſh obedience, ſeeing they are inioyned things not commaunded by God, nay contrarie to his commaundements.

Argum.2. Our Sauiour ſaith,***He that will follow me,muſt denie himſelfe,*** Matth.16. but this deniall conſiſteth in the vow of obedience made to another : for then a man doth denie himſelfe, when he is bound by vow to obey; and not ſometime to obey, ſometime not to obey at his pleaſure,*Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt,then by this reaſon,none can be followers of Chriſt,vnleſſe they will be Monks : for the words of our Sauiour are generall of all, that will follow him. Secondly, to bee a follower of Chriſt, and a follower of men, are contrarie : for the Apoſtle ſaith, ***If I ſhould pleaſe men, I were no more the ſeruant of Chriſt***, Galat.1.10. Wherefore they which addict themſelues by their ſuperſtitious obedience to pleaſe men,are not the ſeruants of Chriſt,but of men.

The Proteſtants.

NO obedience to any ruler either ſpirituall or temporall is to bee yeelded vnto, but for the Lords ſake,& in ſuch matters,wherein we haue the warrant of Gods word for our obediẽce.

1 Coloſſ.3.23.***Seruants bee obedient to your maſters, and whatſoeuer you doe,doe it heartily as to the Lord.*** But if any thing be inioyned vs which is not warranted by the word of God,we cannot with a good conſcience obey as before the Lord. Againe,S. ***Paul*** ſaith, Coloſſ.2.18. ***Let no man at his pleaſure beare rule ouer you,or beguile you :*** or as the Rhemiſts tranſlate,ſeduce you wilfully: ***Ergo,*** no man muſt impoſe rules of life beſide the Goſpell,for this were to rule ouer men at their pleaſure.

2 ***Auguſtine*** ſaith,***Cum homo conſtet anima & corpore,&c.*** Seeing a man doth conſiſt both of bodie and ſoule ; in regard of that part,which the affayres of this life concerne,we ought to be ſubiect to the higher powers : but in reſpect of that part whereby wee beleeue,and are called to the kingdome of God,wee muſt bee obedient to none, ***Auguſt.in*** 13.***ad Rom.*** Therefore no man may impoſe any new religion vpon vs,which altogether toucheth the conſcience.

Argum.3. Saint ***Paul*** commandeth obedience to the Ciuill anthoritie,that beareth the ſword, Rom.13.but obedience cannot be yeelded to the Prince, if another thing be commaunded by the Monkiſh gouernour,to whom they are tied by the vow of obedience : as there is a Canon of a ſuperſtitious Councell,***Triburienſ.c.9.Si Epiſcopus placitum,&c.*** If the Biſhop doe canonically decree a Synode,and the Ciuill Iudge at the ſame time enioyne alſo a law day,his law day muſt giue place to the other: ***Ergo,*** to vow obedience to any which may hinder obedience to the Ciuill Magiſtrate,is contrarie to S.***Pauls*** rule.

Argum.4. Saint ***Paul*** alſo ſaith,1.Cor.7.23.***Ye are bought with a price,be not the ſeruants of men :*** but they which vow Monkiſh obedience in things not preſcribed in the word, make themſelues ſeruants of men.***Ergo.***

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtle forbiddeth vs to be ſeruants vnto men for mens cauſe, but it is lawfull to ſerue men for Gods cauſe.

Contra. Firſt, to ſerue men for Gods cauſe, or in the name of God, is not to be ſeruants vnto men,but vnto God : and therefore in this caſe they are not the ſeruants of men, but of Chriſt ; as Saint ***Paul*** exhorteth ſeruants to bee obedient to their maſters , as the ſeruants of Chriſt, Epheſ.6.6. Secondly, they doe not ſerue men for Gods cauſe, which are obedient vnto them in things not commaunded by God, nor warranted by his word : as Monkes that doe vow obedience euen in ſuperſtitious fancies, and meere humane inuentions : So that this place of the Apoſtle is very ſtrong againſt them.

We haue in this caſe plentifull teſtimonie from both lawes: firſt, *Cod.lib.3.tit.13.leg.7. Anaſtaſius* the Emperor hath this conſtitution, That he, which is entred into any profeſſion in a colledge, ſhould be obedient to the gouernour thereof, ſo that notwithſtanding he yeeld obedience alſo to the Preſident or Magiſtrate.

To this agreeth the Canon law: *Decret.part.2.cauſ.11.quæſt.3.c.91. Eutychianus* Pope thus decreeth, *Si quis Epiſcopus ſiue Abbas,&c.* If a Biſhop or an Abbot commaund a Prieſt or a Monke to ſay Maſſe for an heretike, he muſt not be obeyed: *Ergo,* the vow of obedience may be broken.

Further, the vow of obedience, which they vrge ſo ſtrictly, is not obſerued amongſt themſelues: as in the order of the Franciſcanes, who by the rule of S. *Francis* ſhould haue but one coate, they ought to labour with their owne hands, they ſhould make no gloſſes vpon S. *Francis* rule: yet in all theſe things they are now diſpenſed with, *ſext.decret.lib.5.tit.12.c.3.* Againe, they are forbidden by their rule to handle any money by themſelues, or others, to haue the execution of teſtaments, or granaries, or cellers, or vineyards: yet now all theſe things are permitted them, *Clement.lib.5.tit.11.c.1.* So that they themſelues are the chiefe tranſgreſſors of their vowes of obedience.

See alſo *Concil.Senonenſ.decret.morum.30. Ex nunc iuramenta,&c.* From henceforth we diſanull and forbid the othes which are accuſtomed to be made in the entrance to certaine fratries and religious houſes, for the obſeruing of their ſtatutes, that no ſuch othes ſhould hereafter be made, or exacted. This councell, we ſee, hath decreed againſt the oth of obedience, which nouices were wont to make in their entrance.

Iohn Huſſe holy Martyr: *Paulus Phariſæus propter meliorem ſectam Chriſti, ſuam reliquit ſectam, & ob hoc clauſtrales cuiuſcunque ſectæ fuerint, debent exire, & induere ſectam Chriſti: Paul* the Phariſie, for the better ſect of Chriſt, did leaue his owne ſect, and therefore all that are profeſſed in cloyſters ſhould leaue their ſects, and come forth to profeſſe the ſect of Chriſt, *ex Concil Conſtantienſ.can.15. Ergo,* the vowe of ſuperſtitious obedience bindeth not.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING THE VOWE of continencie or chaſtitie, and whether it be lawfull to marrie after ſuch a vowe made.

The Papiſts.

THe vowe of chaſt and continent life is commendable and meritorious, they ſay, in all that 89.Error. doe take it vpon them, and after the vowe made, they are ſure to receiue that high gift of continencie, if they duely labour for it, *Rhemiſt.annot.1.Corinth.7.verſ.7.* But whoſoeuer marieth after the vowe made, ſinneth damnably, and turneth backe after Sathan, *Rhemiſt.annot.1.Tim.5.ſect.12.*

*Argum.*1. Matth.19.12. Some haue made themſelues chaſte, or as the Rhemiſts do very homely tranſlate it, haue gelded themſelues, for the kingdome of heauen: This proueth the vowes of chaſtitie to be both lawfull and meritorious, *Rhemiſt.in hunc locum.*

Anſw. This is ment onely of thoſe that haue the gift of continencie, who, if they be ſure they haue receiued it, may vowe and purpoſe ſingle life: but without ſuch aſſurance no man can vowe continencie lawfully: Neither can euery man receiue this gift that will, for Chriſt ſaith verſ.11. *All men cannot receiue this thing,* ſaue they to whom it is giuen: Secondly, as for meriting heauen it commeth neither by being maried or vnmaried, but it is the free gift of God through Chriſt, Rom.6.23.

*Argum.*2. 1.Tim.5.12. Hauing damnation becauſe they haue caſt away their firſt faith: that is, the vowe of continencie, which they made to Chriſt: it cannot be meant of the firſt faith in baptiſme, for that is not loſt by mariage, *Rhemiſt.* And againe, verſ.15. They are turned backe after Sathan: we may heere learne, for thoſe to marie which are profeſſed, is to turne backe after Sathan, *Rhemiſt.in eum locum.*

Anſw. Firſt, S. *Paul* ſpeaketh not here of widowes already choſen, but to be choſen: he would not haue younger widowes to be choſen, becauſe they would waxe wanton and marrie: and therefore it is not like, that by the firſt faith here is meant the vowe of chaſtitie, ſeeing there is no cauſe that theſe younger widowes ſhould make any vowe, being excluded by the Apoſtle from Church ſeruices. Secondly, verſ.14. S. *Paul* himſelfe counſelleth the younger widowes to marrie, therefore it is not like they were votaries. Thirdly, by the firſt faith is vnderſtood the Chriſtian faith, which the younger widowes waxing wanton, and laſciuious, not caring to match with Infidels, were in danger to breake, as the Apoſtle telleth them of ſome that had done ſo alreadie, and were turned backe after Sathan. Fourthly, we ſay not that the faith of baptiſme is broken by all mariage, but with ioyning with Infidels. Fiftly, it appeareth what breach of faith *Paul* meaneth, when he ſaith, They waxe wanton, and idle, and are buſie-bodies, goe from houſe to houſe, and ſpeake things vncomely,verſ.13. Which is a ſliding backe from the Chriſtian faith, when our life iarreth with our profeſſion; not a breach of any vowe of continencie. Laſtly,your Maſter of ſentences ſo expoundeth it of that faith, *quam in Baptiſmo profeſſæ ſunt*, which they profeſſed in Baptiſme. *lib.4.diſtinct.38.b.*

*Argum.*3. We muſt vow vnto God, that which is the beſt and moſt perfect ſtate of life; but virginitie is more excellent then mariage; therefore we ought to vow virginitie vnto God: and it is better and more acceptable to God to do it with a vow, then without. *Bellarm.cap.*28.

Anſw. Firſt,we graunt, that the beſt things ought to be giuen vnto God, ſo that it be in our power to performe them,otherwiſe it is but a tempting of God: ſuch was the vow of *Iephthe*,that promiſed vnawares that vnto God, which by the law he could not performe, namely his daughter: ſo they which vow ſingle life, promiſe a thing, which is not in their power. Secondly, concerning virginitie, though in it ſelfe it be preferred before mariage, yet in them that haue not that gift, mariage is better: for as the Apoſtle ſaith, *It is better to marrie, then burne*, that is, to liue a conſtrayned ſingle life in luſt and concupiſcence. Thirdly, to the proofe of the propoſition, that it is better to do any dutie with a vow, then without,becauſe it ſheweth greater charitie and loue to God, and it better defendeth againſt the tentation of Sathan; when a man is bound,&c. We anſwere: Firſt, loue is alwayes ioyned with humilitie; *For loue doth not boaſt it ſelfe.* 1.Cor.13.4. but he that voweth, boaſteth and preſumeth of his owne ſtrength. *Ergo*, to vow a thing not in our power,ſheweth not greater charitie. Secondly,for a man to be bound to keepe a vow aboue his ſtrength, doth giue greater aduantage to Sathans tentation; that while they labour to keepe their vow, they are tempted to ſome greater euill; as fornication, or ſuch like: for now Sathan encombreth a man on both ſides; that being weake,he muſt breake his vow and marrie, or keeping his vow muſt burne in luſt. And this teſtifieth *Gregorie*, as it is in their owne decrees,*par.*1. *diſtinct.*13.*c.*2. *Nerui teſticulorum Leuiathan perplexi ſunt, &c.* Leuiathans ſtones are wrapped in together, that is, his ſuggeſtions are folded and linked together: and he putteth this very caſe of vowes,when a man is tempted and aſſaulted on both ſides.

The Proteſtants.

OVr ſentence then appeareth to bee this: that the vowe of continencie cannot lawfully be made of all,neither is indifferently to be required of them,ſeeing all are not indued with that gift. And that it is better euen for vowed perſons, hauing raſhly preſumed beyond their ſtrength, to marrie,rather then to burne.

*Argum.*1. The Scripture euery where commandeth ſuch to vſe the benefite of mariage, that haue not the gift to liue ſingle, 1.Cor.7.2. For auoyding of fornication let euery man haue his wife: and verſ.9. If they cannot abſtaine let them marrie. Wherefore they tranſgreſſe the commandement of God,and preſume raſhly,that hauing not this gift,doe vow virginitie.

Bellarmin. Anſwer. Firſt, S.*Paul* wiſheth men to marrie, not for euery temptation of luſt, but when they are ready to fall into external workes of vncleannes,as into fornication:and therefore he ſaith, For auoyding of fornication let euery one haue his wife: For S.*Paul* felt the pricke of the fleſh, that is,the luſt of concupiſcence, and was buffeted of it, yet maried not for all that, *cap.*30. *Rhemiſt.annot.*1.*Cor.*7 *ſect.*8.

Anſw. Firſt, we ſay not that for euery light temptation which by reſiſting may be ouercome, in thoſe that haue the gifte of continencie,a man is to deſire mariage, but when he is continually enflamed with luſt, ſo that the will doth conſent: though he be not yet ſo ouercome, that he fall in outward vncleanneſſe: and this is the Apoſtles meaning when he ſaith, It is better to marrie then to burne, that is, with inward luſt when his minde is diſquieted: And ſuch a man as doth burne with ſecret concupiſcence, ſtill wraſtling with that fire, and not being able to quench it, if he refuſe to vſe the lawful remedie of marriage,is in danger alſo to fal into outward fornication.

2 Concerning *Pauls* example: Firſt, the place is not ſo to be vnderſtood of the luſt of concupiſcence: for it is not like, that the Apoſtle being kept vnder with hunger, colde, impriſonment, ſhould be ſo greatly tempted that way. But either it may be vnderſtood of the particular temptation to pride and vainglorie, as he himſelfe expoundeth it, verſ.7. *Leaſt I ſhould be exalted out of meaſure through the abundance of reuelations:* or elſe generally S.*Paul* vnderſtandeth by the fleſh, the whole maſſe of corruption, and whatſoeuer was in him that reſiſted the ſpirit: In this ſenſe he crieth out,Rom.7.Who ſhall deliuer me from this body of death! *Caluin.*

3 Though we yeeld that S.*Paul* was tempted of his concupiſcence, yet he ouercame and ſubdued it,obtayning from God,after ſome ſtriuing, grace and power to quench the ſecret fire: And ſo we denie not, but that men ought by faſting and prayer to labour for that precious gift. But if they feele the fire to burne within them ſtill,then are they to vſe the remedie preſcribed by S.*Paul*, that is,to marrie.

Secondly,ſaith *Bellarmine*, S.*Paul* giueth libertie of mariage onely to thoſe which were free and had not vowed continencie,*cap.*30.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtles words are generall: Let euery man haue his wife. I, ſay the Rhemiſts, he ſpeaketh of thoſe that were maried before their conuerſion, that they might ſtill vſe and keepe their wiues. Yea but S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of all vnmaried, in the verſe next before, It is good not to touch a woman: I trow he meaneth not, it is good for a man that is maried not to touch his wife. Secondly, it is a generall libertie, which he granteth to all, verſ. 9. If they cannot containe, let them marrie: but many votaries cannot containe, as it may appeare by the vnchaſt liues of your Monkiſh rabble: therefore hauing the diſeaſe, they may vſe the remedie, that is, marrie.

The teſtimony of antiquitie in this caſe is moſt plentifull, to ſhew that raſh vowes and othes, ſuch as the vowe of chaſtitie is in him, that hath not power to keepe it, may ſafely bee broken, *Concil. Toletan* 8. *cap.* 2. *Tolerabilius eſt ſtultæ promiſſionis vota reijcere, quàm per inutilium promiſſionum cuſtodiam, exhorrendam criminum implere menſuram:* It is more tolerable, to reiect raſh and fooliſh vowes and promiſes, then by keeping vnprofitable promiſes, to fall into horrible ſinnes: As the monkiſh votaries did, who for that they wanted lawfull matrimonie, gaue themſelues to vnnaturall luſts. *Concil. Triburienſ. cap.* 21. *ex Beda: Si fortè nos incautiùs iurare contigerit, quod ſcilicet obſeruatum peiorem vergeat in exitum, liberè illud mutandum nouerimus ſalubriori conſilio:* If it chance that we ſweare raſhly, which oth being obſerued, will haue a worſe end, vpon more holeſome aduiſe we may freely change it. If an oth may be changed, much more a vowe, for an oth is greater.

The Ciuill law thus ſaith, *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *leg.* 23. *authentic. Illicitæ rei iuramentum &c.* An oath of an vnlawfull thing is not to be kept, as if one ſweare to continue in the profeſſion of ſtage plaies, &c. By the ſame reaſon alſo, whether it be a vow or an oath, that one taketh not to marrie, if he liue incontinently, it ought not to bind him.

Cod. lib. 5. *tit.* 35. *leg.* 2. *Valentinian. Theodoſ.* A mother could not be admitted to the tuition of her child, vnleſſe ſhe would ſweare not to marrie againe: notwithſtanding ſuch oath, ſhe is permitted by this law to marrie againe: *In optione nulla cogatur*; No woman ought to be enforced to her choiſe. So then after an oath made to continue a widow, which is as much as a vow, yet by the Ciuill law mariage is lawfull.

Cod. lib. 6. *tit.* 40. *leg.* 2. *Iuſtinian.* Whereas the law was, that a man dying and leauing a legacie to his wife vpon condition, ſhe ſhould remaine a widow, the woman could not haue the legacie, vnleſſe ſhe would ſweare not to marrie, but for procreation of children: By this conſtitution it was lawfull for the woman to enioy her husbands gift, and without any ſuch oath to marrie againe. So this conſtitution alloweth not any oath to be taken againſt mariage: but a vow and an oath are of the ſame nature.

Cod. lib. 9. *tit.* 8. *leg.* 2. A man ſwearing that he would neuer forgiue his ſeruant, but keepe him in continuall bonds, is not tyed by this oath; *Alexander*: no more is a man bound, that voweth to keepe his body in the perpetuall bonds of luſt and burning without mariage.

Let vs take a view of their owne Canons: *Lateranenſ. ſub. Alexandro* 3. *part.* 5. *cap.* 2. *cap.* 10. this caſe is put: A certaine woman promiſed mariage to a man being abſent, but afterward hearing more of his inhumane nature: *Votum continentiæ promiſit:* Shee vowed and made promiſe of continencie: it is thus determined: *Tutius eſſe ducimus, vt præfata mulier, poſt fidem & votum ſimplex oblatum matrimonium contrahat, quam fornicationis reatum incurrat:* Wee iudge it more ſafe, that the ſaid woman, after her ſimple vowe and faith thus giuen and made, to marrie rather, then to fall into fornication. But it will bee here anſwered, that this woman made but a ſimple or ſingle vowe; *nec veſtem, nec locum mutauit*, ſhee changed neither place nor garment: Marke then what followeth, *Lateranenſ. part.* 47. *cap.* 8. Pope *Adriane* decreeth thus: *Si quis timore mortis habitum religionis aſſumpſerit & clauſtrum intrauerit, licitè poterit ad ſeculum redire:* If any man for feare of death doth take the habite of religion, and goe into a clauſter, he may lawfully returne to his ſecular eſtate. Here is both a change of place and habite, and yet libertie giuen to diſſolue the vowe. If it be againe anſwered, that it was done of feare: ſo I ſay, that as this is one infirmitie, ſo there be many beſide; and if this infirmitie may breake a vow, why may not alſo other infirmities, as of incontinencie, and ſuch other? Now where as they thinke a ſimple vowe may be broken, which conſiſteth onely in the purpoſe or promiſe of the votarie, but a vowe ratified, by changing of place, habite, and profeſſion, cannot be broken, this alſo is but an idle ſhift: for a vowe vttered onely before God, though there be no ſuch outward teſtification, doth binde in conſcience, as if it were done in the preſence of many: *Iacobs* vowe, Geneſ. 28. was but a ſingle vowe, vttered onely in the hearing of God: and of ſuch vowes ſpeaketh the preacher, Eccleſ. 5. 3. when thou haſt vowed a vowe to God, &c. And herein their owne law helpeth vs; *decret. Greg. lib.* 4. *tit.* 7. *c.* 6. *Celeſtin.* 3. *Votum ſimplex &c.* A ſimple vow doth no leſſe bind before God, then a ſolemne: And againe, *ſext. decretal. lib.* 3. *tit.* 15. *c.* 1. *Bonif.* 8. *Voti ſolemnitas &c.* A ſolemne vow was found out onely by the conſtitution of the Church. Wherefore if mariage be lawfull after a ſimple vow, why not as well after a ſolemne?

We haue yet alſo more euident teſtimonie out of their law: *decret.Greg.lib.2.tit.24.c.3. Gregor. Propoſitum non infringit,&c.* He doth not breake his vow or promiſe, that changeth it into a better: wherefore he that changeth vnchaſt ſingle life, with chaſt mariage, doth not breake his vow.

Bonif.8.regu.iuris.6.Nemo poteſt ad impoſſibile ligari: No man can be bound to that is impoſſible: but for him to liue ſingle, that hath not the gift, is impoſſible; therefore he can not be bound vnto it with vow or without. Againe, *regul.58. Iuramentum contra bonos mores non ligat*: An oath againſt good manners bindeth not: and ſo conſequently a vow; wherefore a vow to liue without marriage in ſinfull luſt, bindeth not, being againſt good manners.

Other vowes may be altered and changed, as the vow of going in pilgrimage to Ieruſalem may be redeemed with almes, *decret.Gregor.lib.3.tit.34.c.1.* It may be altered for the benefite of the Commonwealth, *c.5.* for the neceſſitie of the Church, *c.7.* becauſe of ſickeneſſe or pouertie, *c.8.* Why then may not the vow of Continencie vpon the like conſiderations be diſpenſed with. *Sext. decretal.lib.3.tit.12.c.1.* A vow to be buried in a certaine place, may be altered. *Bonif.8.* Why may not the like alteration in other vowes be admitted?

Here wanteth now nothing, but the ſeale of the Martyrs, D.*Taylour* holy Martyr ſheweth the vnlawfulnes of ſuch othes and vowes, whereby Prieſts and others are conſtrayned to vowe chaſtitie, and forſweare mariage by the like caſe: *In Iuſtinian titulo de indicta viduitate,* where it is thus written: That if one would bequeath to his wife in his teſtament a legacie vnder a condition, that ſhe ſhould neuer marrie againe, and take an oth of her for the accompliſhment of the ſame, yet ſhe may marrie againe if he die, notwithſtanding the aforeſaid condition, and oth taken and made againſt mariage: and an othe is an other manner of obligation made to God, then a papiſticall vowe made to man, *Fox.*pag.1522.

William Flower, who was firſt a profeſſed Monke, and afterward maried, proteſteth, that therein he beleeueth he did well, and according to Gods lawes, *Fox.*pag.1575. Raſh vowes then and inconſiderate, as of chaſtitie, ſingle life and ſuch like, may lawfully be diſſolued: but let vs now proceede.

Argum.2. Virginitie, and continent life is onely to be required of thoſe which haue the gift of continencie: But all haue not that gift: *Ergo,* the vowe of Virginitie is not indifferently to be made by any. That the gift of continencie cannot be had or obtained of all, neither reſteth in our free will, it is plaine by Scripture.

1 Math.19.12. He that is able to receiue this gift, let him receiue it: *Ergo,* all are not able to receiue it.

Bellarmin. Firſt, though they are not able to receiue it yet, yet they may if they will, and aske for it by prayer: for the texte is, Some haue made themſelues chaſte for the kingdome of God: whereby it appeareth that it is in the will of man, *cap.31.* *Anſw.* He ſpeaketh cleane contrarie to the texte: for Chriſt ſaith, None receiue it but to whom it is giuen; and the words are, *qui capere poteſt,* not, *qui velit,* he that can receiue, not he that will receiue. And they are ſaid to make themſelues chaſte, not becauſe it is in their owne choyce, but being enabled of God, and hauing receiued power ouer their will, they are ſaid to make themſelues chaſte, hauing receiued power by the ſpirit of God: So our Sauiour ſaith, Come vnto me all ye that are laden, Matth.11. and yet no man commeth to Chriſt, but his father firſt draweth him, Ioh.6.44. Wherefore it being a peculiar gift of God, all cannot haue it, neither are ſure to obtaine it, though they aske it by prayer, becauſe we haue no promiſe to be heard.

Rhemiſt. When a man is bound to abſtayne by vowe, or other neceſſarie occaſion, as impriſonment, baniſhment, ſickenes, no doubt, if he labour for the gift of continencie, he may haue it. *Anſw.* They that binde themſelues to a raſh vowe, haue no promiſe to be heard praying for continencie. Secondly, they that are driuen vnto any ſuch neceſſitie as you ſpeake of, which they are not a cauſe of themſelues, neither can auoyde, as in long and perpetuall ſicknes, it is certaine that God will giue the gift being ſought by lawfull meanes: But as for baniſhment and impriſonment, they are not of ſuch neceſſitie, but that the husband is bound to follow the wife, and the wife her husband, *Fulk.*1.Cor.7.6.

Neither are many of thoſe meanes commendable, which were vſed in Monkerie: for ſome of them were ſuperſtitious and vnlawfull, as they vſed Phiſicke and medicine to correct or ſlacke, and extinguiſh nature in them: *Francis* was wont to couer his bodie with yce and ſnowe; others did whip themſelues: This was not to ſubdue and tame the bodie, but to deſtroy and kill the bodie, and make it vnfit for other duties. The Scripture preſcribeth no other meanes but prayer and faſting, and labour in our vocation. Some of them againe vſed externall exerciſe of their bodie, as by faſting, by lying hard, by watching, which in themſelues were not amiſſe: but they leaue the chiefe and principall, which is the ſpirituall meanes: for the outward exerciſe of their fleſh without this, is little worth, Coloſſ.2.23.

Bellarmin. To beleeue is no leſſe the gift of God, then to liue chaſte, yet we exhorte all men to beleeue,and they doe vowe and promiſe it in baptiſme:why may they not as well vowe continencie,although it be a peculiar gifte? *cap.*31.

Anſ. They are both indeede the gifts of God, but one is neceſſarie to ſaluation, namely,to beleeue, and is promiſed to all that will ſeeke for it: But the other gift is not neceſſarie, neither hath any ſuch promiſe.

Secondly, S.*Paul* calleth this a proper gift: But if all men were capable of it, how could it be called a proper gift? One after this manner,another after that,ſaith the Apoſtle. But if euery man might attaine to that one gifte of continencie, they ſhould not all haue their proper gifte, but all one gifte, and after the ſame manner. And though S.*Paul* ſhould meane, that to liue chaſtly in wedlocke be allſo a proper gifte of God, as *Bellarmine* vrgeth, and we deny not: yet it remaineth ſtill,that the other is a more ſingular and proper gift;and is not therefore commonly,and indifferently beſtowed vpon all.

Thirdly, S.*Paul* ſaith,that a man may marrie his Virgin if neede ſo require, 1.Cor.7.37. But if euery one labouring for the gift of continencie,might obtaine it,there ſhould then be no neceſſitie of mariage: which the Apoſtle here affirmeth. *Capitul.Græcar.Synod.*21.*collect.à Martin. Bracarenſ.Epiſcop.*and it is alleaged,*decret.part.*1.*diſt.*55.*cap.*9. *Si quis ſanus non per diſciplinam religionis, & abſtinentiæ, ſed per abſciſionem à Deo plaſmati corporis exiſtimans poſſe à ſe carnales concupiſcentias amputari,caſtrauerit ſe,Clericus ne fiat:* If any man being ſound and in health,doth caſtrate or geld himſelfe not by the diſcipline of religion, and abſtinence, but by mangling his bodie framed of God,thinking that it lieth in him to cut off carnall concupiſcence, let him not be a Clergie man. Here their opinion is reproued that thinke euery man hath power to be continent.

Further,the decree of *Martin. Cauſ.*27.*quæſt.*1.*c.*8. witneſſeth in theſe words,ſpeaking of a certaine widow,*Si ſe continere non poterat,&c.*If ſhe could not containe,ſhe was not forbid to marrie. And againe,*Cauſ.*32.*c.*11.*Si poſt nuditatem,&c.*If S.*Paul* after nakedneſſe, hunger,faſting,priſon, ſtripes,crieth out,*O vnhappie man that I am,who ſhall deliuer me from this bodie of ſinne*; do you think your ſelfe ſecure? *rectius fuerat hominem ſubiiſſe coniugium,&c.*it had been better to haue entred into mariage with other men,then ſtriuing to climbe higher,to fall downe to hell. Wee ſee by this decree of theirs, what an hard thing it is to attaine vnto virginitie, and that euery one cannot haue it.

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr hath put to his ſeale: If we haue infirmities,that draw vs from the lawes of God,let vs cure them with the remedies that God hath made; if thou burne,marrie: for God hath promiſed thee no chaſtitie,as long as thou maiſt vſe the remedie that he hath ordained: no more then he hath promiſed to ſlake thine hunger without meate: now to aske of God more then he hath promiſed, commeth of a falſe faith, &c. *Fox* pag.1251.col.1.

Laſtly,the Rhemiſts ſay,that the mariage of thoſe that haue vowed,is the worſt ſort of incontinencie and fornication,1.*Corinth.*7.*ſect.*8.

Auguſtine ſaith cleane contrarie: *Non ipſæ nuptiæ talium damnandæ iudicantur,&c.*The mariages of ſuch are not condemned, but the violating of their vow is condemned,not becauſe they afterward entred into the league of mariage, but becauſe they did breake the firſt faith of continencie. *Auguſtine* ſaith not, that ſuch mariages are no mariages, but plaine adulterie and fornication: but maketh the mariage lawfull,and reproueth their raſhnes before in making,and their vnſtedfaſtnes now in breaking their vowes.

THE FIFT QVESTION, CONCERNING MONAſticall perſons which doe enter into that profeſſion.

THere are foure ſorts of people which the Papiſts doe offer great wrong vnto, in drawing them to the profeſſion of Monkerie: Firſt,vnto the yonger ſort, which haue libertie to marrie. Secondly, to the children and ſonnes whom they make Monkes without conſent of their parents. Thirdly,they ſay,married perſons,by mutuall conſent,may betake themſelues to a Monkes habite. Fourthly,if mariage be contracted,not conſummate or finiſhed, they may one leaue another without conſent firſt had.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE YOVNGER ſort are to be admitted to profeſſe Monkerie.

The Papiſts.

IF they be come to the yeeres of diſcretion,they may,men or women at any age,take vpon them the vow of Monkerie,*Bellarm.cap.*35. 90. Error.

1 Matth.19.14.*Suffer little children to come vnto me: Ergo,*young men and maides may become Monkes,*Bellarm.*

Anſ. Firſt, the text ſpeaketh of little children: but by your confeſſion, they muſt be of yeeres of diſcretion that ſhould enter into your profeſſion: ſo are not little children. Secondly, as though none could come to Chriſt, but through a Monkes cowle: nay, I would they of all men did not goe furtheſt off from Chriſt. It followeth alſo in the text, *Of ſuch is the kingdome of heauen:* ſo by this reaſon, heauen gates ſhould bee open onely to Monkes and Friers: and this is the right hereſie of the Pelagians, and Manichees, that promiſed the kingdome of God not to any, but thoſe that caſt away their riches.

2 *Iohn Baptiſt* liued from a childe in the wilderneſſe: *Ergo,* lawfull for young ones to profeſſe Monkerie.

Anſ. Firſt, *Iohns* example is extraordinarie, as his office and calling was ſingular, and therefore is no more to bee imitated and followed in his ſolitarie life, then in his diet of Locuſts and wilde honie: He ſprang alſo in his mothers wombe; ſo I thinke all Monkes and Eremites doe not. Secondly, it is not certaine at what yeeres *Iohn* entred into the wilderneſſe: for hee was thirtie yeere old when he came and preached in the wilderneſſe, as *Matthew* writeth, 3. 1.

The Proteſtants.

Though we ſhould graunt, that a Monaſticall life were in ſome perſons, and at ſome times tolerable among Chriſtians; yet of all other the younger ſort, in whom luſt doth raigne, were moſt vnfit, and not to be admitted vnto that kinde of life.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* would haue no widow to be choſen vnder 60. yeeres, 1. Timoth. 5. 9. and I will the younger to marrie, verſ. 16. *Ergo,* it is contrarie to Saint *Pauls* rule, to ſuffer any ſuch to make vowes of continencie.

Rhemiſt. anſwere. Firſt, it was but a rule for that time, when as yet there were no Monaſteries nor diſcipline, but young widowes wandred vp and downe idlely.

Anſ. Firſt, the ſame cauſe that young women had to marrie then, they haue now; and therefore the rule is generall. Secondly, as though the walles of Monaſteries were able to keepe in virginitie: no, it is notoriouſly knowne, that vnchaſt life hath ſcaled the walles of Nunneries, crept in at windowes, and found muſes in the ground.

2 Saint *Paul* (ſay they) counſelleth young widowes to marrie, not young virgins, which hauing not experience of luſt, are not ſo greatly tempted.

Anſ. How chaſte your cloyſter women haue been, and free from theſe tentations, the ſtories of former times make mention; and the examples of ſo many vnchaſte milch-Nunnes, and filthie Monkes and Friers, are a ſufficient proofe, *Fulk.* 1. *Timoth.* 5. *ſect.* 11. But all theſe ſhifts notwithſtanding Saint *Pauls* rule muſt ſtand, that no widowes muſt be admitted vnder 60. yeere old.

Bellarmine alſo anſwereth, that the Apoſtles meaning is, that the younger women ſhould be refuſed, not from the vow of continencie, but not to bee of the number of the widowes, which were maintained of the Church.

Contra. Firſt, this is flat oppoſite to the Apoſtle, who would haue the younger women to marrie, verſ. 14. how then is it like they were votaries? therfore it is euident, that they are excluded from vow making, ſeeing they are counſelled by the Apoſtle to marrie.

To this he againe replieth, that where the Apoſtle ſaith, I would haue the younger marrie, that it is not a precept, but a counſell.

Contra. Firſt, it is a charge and commaundement which the Apoſtle giueth, that they ſhould marrie, in reſpect of their frailtie, becauſe diuers were turned alreadie after Sathan by their incontinencie, and gaue occaſion to the aduerſarie to ſpeake euill. Wherefore to auoide theſe things he not onely aduiſeth, but willeth and chargeth, they ſhould marrie. Secondly, though it bee but a counſell, yet it will follow, that the Apoſtle gaue counſell to them to marrie, which had vowed ſingle life, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, that the younger women were not barred from vowing continencie.

Secondly, if the younger women are not admitted to bee of the number of the almes widowes for feare of incontinencie, they were as vnfit to enter into any vow or profeſſion of ſingle life. And be it graunted, that it might be a greater offence for publike widowes, then priuate votaries, to breake their vow; yet in the other the offence were great enough: and therefore the Apoſtles rule of their age ought to be obſerued in both.

Argum. 2. The Manichees tooke occaſion hereby to inſult againſt the Catholikes, becauſe they admitted ſo many virgins to the profeſſion of ſingle life: *Certatim ad hanc profeſſionem eas incitatis ſuaſionibus veſtris, vt iam pene maior in eccleſijs omnibus virginum apud vos, quam mulierum numeroſitas habeatur, Auguſt. cont. Fauſtum.* 30. 4. Ye labour (ſay the Manichees) to draw women of euerie hand to this profeſſion by your perſwaſions, that now in your Churches, the number of profeſſed virgins exceedeth the number of women. And hereby the Manichees that extolled virginitie, and condemned mariage, were induced to thinke that the Catholike Biſhops alſo were of their opinion.

The Imperiall law enioyneth,that no woman bee admitted to bee a Deaconeſſe of the Church vnder 50.or 60.yeeres,according to the precept of the Apoſtle,*Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.9.Theodoſ.*

We haue alſo for this point very euident teſtimonie of their owne law: *Clemens epiſtol.1.S.Peter* is brought in ſpeaking thus: *Ad preſbyteros fiant iſta, ante omnia vt pudicitiæ ſtudentes, adoleſcentes nuptijs iungant,quo calorem feruentis ætatis,coniugali lege præueniant: item iuniores viduas nuptijs copulate:* Theſe inſtructions concerne the prieſts, firſt of all, as men carefull to preſerue chaſtitie,let them ioyne young men in mariage, that the heate of burning youth may by the matrimoniall law be preuented: likewiſe let the younger virgins be coupled in mariage.

Concil.ſub Syluestro, cap.10. Vt vidua non niſi 72.annorum eligatur: nulla porrò ſchemata monachorum oportet fieri niſi poſt 25.ætatis annum propter ſcandala,iam euacuato omni feruore diaboli, vt inueniat ſibi mundum vas ſpiritus ſanctus: That a widow bee not choſen vnder 72.yeere: let none take the habite of a Monke before he be 25.yeere old,to auoide offence,that the diuelliſh heate of the fleſh being euacuate,the holy Ghoſt may finde a cleane veſſell.

Concil.Agathenſ.can.19. Sanctimoniales, quantumlibet mores earum probati ſint, ante annum ætatis quadrageſimum non velentur: Holy virgins,though their behauiour bee neuer ſo much approoued, let them not bee vailed before the fortith yeere of their age. This is alleaged in their owne decrees,*cauſ.20.qu.1.c.13.*

And many ſuch Canons and decrees might bee alleadged, againſt the entring of the younger ſort into Monkiſh profeſſion.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER CHILdren may enter into profeſſion of Monkerie without their parents conſent.

The Papiſts.

91.Error.

IF they be of ſufficient age,as the men of 14.yere at the leaſt, the women of 12.and their parents be not driuen to any ſuch neceſſitie, that they neede their childrens helpe, they may without parents conſent enter into Monkerie.

*Argum.*1. God ſaid to *Abraham,* Get thee out of thy countrie, and from thy fathers houſe, Gen.12. And Chriſt,Matth.10.Whoſoeuer loueth father or mother more then me,is not worthie of me: *Ergo,*children may become Monkes,without their fathers leaue,*Bellar.cap.36.*

*Anſ.*Firſt,who would haue thought that *Abraham* was a Monke, but that the Ieſuite ſaith it? Secondly,by the ſame reaſon a man may not leaue his parents onely, but goe out of his countrie. Thirdly, *Abraham* was 75.yeere old at that time,when he went out of Haran,verſ.4.*Ergo,*we will conclude yͭ none ought to be made Monks before thoſe yeers.Fourthly, whē God calleth any mā to a Monkiſh life,as *Abraham* had an eſpeciall calling of God,we will giue him good leaue to go.

Concerning the other ſaying of our Sauiour,it maketh nothing for you. Firſt, Chriſt ſpeaketh of perſecution, when a man ought not for loue of his friends to denie Chriſt: but,I trow you will not graunt,that your Monkiſh life is perſecution: and yet it is after a ſort; for the Locuſts, which are none other but Monkes and Friers,Apocal.9. doe bite and ſting like ſerpents, that is, doe ſecretly wound mens conſciences. Secondly,a man may leaue his parents,as Chriſt commandeth,though he dwell in the ſame houſe with them: that is,by ſetting his loue and affection on heauenly things. Thirdly,do al go to Chriſt that come into your Monaſteries? nay,I would they went not from Chriſt: for they liue after another rule, then Chriſts: *Francis* your great founder erected a new ſect of Monkerie, and found out a new rule for them, which he called *regulam Euangelicam,*the rule of the Goſpell: as though Chriſts rule were not ſufficient.

*Argum.*2. Here the conſtitution of *Iuſtinian* may bee obiected, *Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.42.* which is, that a ſonne,*etiam inuito patre,*againſt his fathers will, may become a Monke. To the which I anſwere: firſt, this ſame conſtitution alſo decreeth, that a ſonne againſt his fathers will profeſſing monaſticall life,may ſucceed him in his teſtament,& to be his heire,*nullo eis impedimento,&c.*their ſanctimoniall conuerſation being no let vnto them. If they will haue this law ſtand in force for the one,why not alſo for the other? as it ſeemeth to make with them in one point,ſo in the other concerning voluntarie and profeſſed pouertie of Monkes,it maketh againſt them. Secondly, the Conſtitutions of *Iuſtinian,*which were laſt inſerted into the Code, more then 500.yeere after Chriſt, doe ſomewhat ſauour of the ſuperſtition which began then to ſet in foote, and therefore are not of that authoritie which the more ancient Imperials haue. Thirdly, this conſtitution is contrarie to other Imperiall lawes of greater antiquitie: as *Alexander* made a law, *Cod.lib.8.tit.47.leg.3.* That a father might chaſtiſe his ſonne if he offended him,and if he ſo continued, the Preſident,at the appointment of his father,ſhould more ſeuerely puniſh him.This law permitteth not the ſonne to bee diſobedient to his father without due correction: but to enter into a profeſſion to his diſlike,is diſobedience: *Ergo,* by the law not tolerable. Likewiſe, *tit.49.leg.4. Pater in-*

uitus non cogitur,&c. The father againſt his will cannot bee conſtrained, no not by the Princes letters to ſet free or manumit his ſonne: but he is manumitted by entring into Monkerie againſt his fathers will. This then is contrarie to the law: and thus euery Abbot and Monke ſhall preſume to doe more then the Emperour himſelfe challengeth.

The Proteſtants.

CHildren ought not by the law of God to make any vow of ſingle and continent life without the conſent and liking of their parents, *Luther. Pet. Martyr, lib. de cælibat. & votis.*

Argum.1. By the law of *Moſes* the father had power to diſallow the vowes which the daughter made being in his houſe, Numb. 30. 6. which law was not ceremonious: for it was grounded vpon the Morall law, which commaunded all obedience and dutie of the children to the parents. And that it is not abrogate, it appeareth, becauſe the ſame law is renued by S. *Paul*, 1. Corinth. 7. verſ. 36. 37. where the Apoſtle referreth the whole matter of keeping a virgin, or placing of her in mariage to the will of the father; yet ſo, that he muſt haue regard vnto the neceſſitie, the eſtate and condition of his virgin. Both theſe places doe apertly prooue, that neither the childe can bee beſtowed in mariage, nor vowed to virginitie, without the conſent and determination of the parents.

Argum.2. The father hath as great power ouer his ſonne, as the maſter ouer his ſeruant: but the ſeruant cannot take vpon him the profeſſion of Monkerie without the conſent of his maſter. *Ergo*, &c.

The ſecond part of the reaſon is proued both by the Ciuill and Canon law: firſt, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg. 16. Honor. Theodoſ. Ruſticus, &c.* A rurall ſeruant being made a Clerke, is bound to ſerue his maſter by a ſufficient ſubſtitute. But more euidently it appeareth by the conſtitution of *Anthemius, leg. 34. Iubemus aſcriptitiorum, &c.* We wil that no ſeruant make choiſe of a ſolitarie life without the conſent of his maſter: if he doe, his maſter ſhall haue the ſame power ouer him, which he hath ouer other ſeruants.

See alſo for their owne law the decree of *Gelaſius*, That ſeruants entring into Monaſteries without conſent of their maſters or patrones, ſhould be reſtored vnto them, *decret. part. 1. diſt. 54. c. 12.*

Likewiſe, *Concil. Chalced. can. 4. Decreuimus, &c.* Wee haue decreed that no ſeruant bee receiued into a Monaſterie, without the knowledge and leaue of his maſter.

The firſt part of the argument is denied by ***Bellarmine***, that ſonnes to their parents are not in like ſubiection, as ſeruants to their maſters; and therefore haue more power of themſelues, then ſeruants haue.

Contra. Though children are not in ſuch ſeruile ſubiection, for there is one feare of children, an other of ſeruants; yet the father hath as great power ouer the perſons of their children being within age, as ouer ſeruants: becauſe the law of nature, which bindeth ſonnes, is ſtronger then the law of men, which maketh ſeruants: and parents haue greater power ouer their owne fleſh, then ouer ſtrangers.

Let vs heare what authoritie ***Auguſtine*** yeeldeth to the father ouer his children: ***Agite vicem noſtram in domibus veſtris: Epiſcopus inde appellatus eſt quia ſuperintendit: vnuſquiſque ergo in domo ſua, ſi caput eſt domui ſuæ, debet ad eum pertinere epiſcopatus officium, de Sanct. Ser.*** 51. You (ſaith ***Auguſtine*** their Biſhop) muſt ſupplie our ſtead in your houſes: a Biſhop or Superintendent, is ſo called becauſe he ouerſeeth: therefore euery houſeholder, being the head of his houſe, ought to play the Biſhop in his houſe. The father then is a Biſhop ouer his children: ſhall any man then dare to take any out of his houſe, that is his Biſhopricke, or any ſheepe out of his fold, without the Biſhop and ſhepheards conſent.

The teſtimonie alſo of their owne law in this caſe is very cleere: ***Si puella in puerili ætate, &c.*** If a maiden in her childhood, or vnder yeeres, doth binde her ſelfe with an oth in her fathers houſe, without the knowledge of her father, if her father, ſo ſoone as he heareth of it, doth gainſay, her vow and oth is voyd, *cauſ. 32. qu. 2. c. 14.*

Likewiſe, *Bonif. 8. ſext. decr. lib. 3. tit. 12. c. 4. Filius pro anima, &c.* The ſonne can make choiſe of nothing concerning his ſoule, without conſent of his father, though he may chooſe ſepulture for his bodie.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER MARIED PERſons may with mutuall conſent become votaries.

The Papiſts.

92. Error. WIth mutuall conſent the man and the wife may ſeparate themſelues, and vow and promiſe ſingle life for euer, ſo long as they both ſhall liue, ***Bellar. cap. 37.***

Argum.1. *Marie* and *Ioſeph* were perfitly man and wife, yet by mutuall conſent they liued continently all their dayes: *Ergo*, it is lawfull for maried couples to ſeparate themſelues for euer, both agreeing thereunto, *Bellarm.cap.*37.

Anſw. 1. It appeareth by the text, that there was no ſuch thing purpoſed by *Ioſeph*, before he was admoniſhed by the Angell in a dreame, but that, as ſhe was already betrothed, ſo there was an intent on *Ioſephs* part, that they ſhould come together, Matth.1.18. but that in the meane time *Marie* was found with childe by the holy Ghoſt: and ſo from that time *Ioſeph* being a iuſt man neuer knew his wife: there was no ſuch purpoſe or vow before.

2 That this was an extraordinarie example, who ſeeth it not? When any man ſhall be admoniſhed by an Angell as *Ioſeph* was, and ſhall haue the like cauſe as *Ioſeph* had to abſtaine, which ſhall neuer be, he may be bold to doe as *Ioſeph* did.

*Argum.*2. I will not here conceale a certaine law of *Iuſtinian.Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*6.*leg.*42. whereby it is prouided, that if the husband or wife, *Religionis cauſa à coniugio receſſerit, &c.* Do for religion ſake depart from marriage, and chooſe ſolitarie life, the other ſhall haue ſuch dower, or gift, as if the partie ſo departed were dead.

Anſw. This law ſeemeth to allow of the departure of the married parties, euen without conſent each of other, for it ſpeaketh of the departure of one of the parties onely: and thus *Bellarmine* interpreteth this law, and refuteth it alſo, holding it to be a great error, that either partie ſhould depart without mutuall conſent: wherefore ſince that this law is refuſed by them, I ſhall not need to refute it.

The Proteſtants.

THey that are once ioyned together in mariage, and haue made a couenant each to other before God, cannot ſeparate themſelues though they both conſent, there being no other cauſe, but a purpoſe of ſingle life for more holynes ſake.

*Argum.*1. It is flat contrarie to S.*Pauls* rule, 1.Cor.7.5. *Defraud not your ſelues, except it be with conſent for a time, that you may giue your ſelues to faſting and prayer, and againe come together, leaſt Sathan tempte you for your incontinencie.* Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith directly: they ſhould but ſeparate themſelues for a time. Secondly, we doe thus reaſon out of his words: There is no cauſe of ſeparation, but to be giuen to faſting and prayer; but this may be done by a ſeparation for a time: neither is it neceſſarie we ſhould alwayes be giuen to faſting and prayer, but vpon ſpeciall occaſion: therefore perpetuall ſeparation is not needfull. Thirdly, they that are long ſeparated, are ſubiect to fall into tentation: the ſame cauſe therfore that moued them firſt to marrie, for auoyding of incontinencie, ought to moue them to come together againe: Therefore it is not good nor lawfull they ſhould ſeparate themſelues for euer.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtle ſaying, This I ſpeake by way of indulgence or permiſſion, verſ.6. ſheweth that he would rather, they ſhould abſtaine altogether; yet in reſpect of their frailtie he permitteth, that they come together againe: ſo then, they that do ſeparate themſelues at once for all, do that which is beſt agreeable to the Apoſtles meaning, *cap.*30.

Contra. Firſt, it is vntrue, that S.*Paul* had rather the married ſhould be ſeparated altogether: for where he wiſheth that all men were as himſelfe, he ſpeaketh directly to the widowes, and vnmarried, verſ.8. and not to them, which were married: and againe, he ſhould be contrary to himſelfe, verſ.24. *Let euery man, wherein he was called, abide*: and it followeth verſ.27. *Art thou bound to a wife, ſeeke not to be looſed?* wherefore they that are married, ought to remaine in that eſtate which they are called vnto. Secondly, this then, which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh by way of indulgence, is not to be referred to their comming together againe, for the Apoſtle hath for that a direct commandement, verſ.10. *I commaund, not I, but the Lord, let not the wife depart from her husband*: and againe, verſ.5. *Defraud not one another*: which is a precept, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth; but if they ſhould be ſeparated altogether, they ſhould one defraud another: wherefore this permiſſion belongeth to the ſecond verſe, where the Apoſtle to auoid fornication, granteth the remedie of mariage to euery one, that hath not the other gift.

*Argum.*2. That which God hath coupled, no man ought to put aſunder: but they that are maried haue made a couenant to God, Pro.2.17. as well as to themſelues, and are ioyned by Gods law together: *Ergo*, they cannot diſſolue their mariage by their owne power and will, the Lord hauing an intereſt therein.

Bellarmine ſaith, that by this ſeparation mariage is not diſſolued. *Anſw.* It is as much diſſolued, as by your law in caſes of diuorce: for theſe are their words: For aduoutrie one may diſmiſſe another, but neyther partie can marrie againe for any cauſe during life, *Rhemiſt.Math.*19.*ſect.*4. So ye allow onely a kind of diſmiſſion in the caſe of adulterie, and ſo you do in the vow of continencie: and thus you make this cauſe as forcible as the other, to breake off matrimoniall dutie, which is contrary to the Goſpell.

Auguſtine thus writeth, *Non licet excepta cauſa fornicationis coniugem à coniuge dirimi, nec ſterilem coniugem fas eſt relinquere, vt fæcunda ducatur, de nupt. & concupiſcen. Lib.*1.*cap.*10. It is not lawfull for maried couples, one to be ſeparate from another, vnleſſe it be for fornication : nor to leaue a barren wife to marrie a fruitfull. Therefore if fornication onely be a iuſt cauſe of finall ſeparation, there can be no other : If there were any other, it is moſt like it ſhould be for procreation of children : But neither for that cauſe is a man to leaue his wife : *Ergo*, for no other.

Nicholaus 1. *de matrimon. can.*7. *Hi, qui matrimonium ſani contraxerunt, &c.* They, which were ſound when they maried, if afterward one of them chance to be mad or franticke, or hath any other infirmitie : as if hee bee made blinde by his enemies, maymed in his bodie, or cut in his priuie members, for none of theſe cauſes is their mariage to bee diſſolued. But thoſe are greater lets and impediments to mariage, then mariage is or can bee to the exerciſe of religion : therefore not for any vowe of continencie is marriage to bee diſolued, or any ſeparation to bee admitted.

And yet we haue clearer euidence out of their owne law, *decret.p.*2.*cauſ.*33.*qu.*5.*c.*11. *Vota abſtinentia, qua mulier &c.* The vowes of abſtinence, which the wife made by her husbands leaue, if he afterward forbid, ſhe is not bound to keepe. By this Canon it is not lawfull for the wife, no not with the husbands conſent to become a Votarie. *Decret. Greg.lib.*2.*tit.*24.*c.*24. This caſe is put, a certaine man and his wife do ſweare each to other, that they would neuer deſire one the others company againe : afterward the man would haue receiued his wife, ſhe refuſed, ſaying, ſhe would be a Saracene firſt &c: *Innocentius* 3. thus reſolueth the caſe, that if the man could not be perſwaded to liue ſingle, the woman ſhould be enforced by excommunication to returne vnto him. If an oath then do not hold as touching ſeparation of the husband and the wife by conſent, no more ſhall a vow bind.

Likewiſe *decret.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*32.*c.*1. *Alexander* 3. this caſe is propounded: the husband in the preſence of diuers Prieſtes and Monkes, by the licence of his wife profeſſeth Monaſticall life: if his wife afterward ſuſpected not to liue continently deſire her husband, *Vi poteſt & debet de monaſterio reuocari* : The man may and ought to be fetched out of his Monaſterie. *Ergo*, there can be no finall ſeparation in mariage, no not by conſent, by their owne Canon law.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER MARIAGE contracted not conſummate, may without conſent be broken for the vow of continencie.

The Papiſts.

93.Error. THeir opinion is, that if the mariage be contracted only and ratified, but not yet conſummate, by the parties comming together, it is lawfull for either of them without the others conſent to vowe chaſtitie, *cap.*38. *Bellarm.*

His reaſon is, becauſe it is lawfull for a man to paſſe from a leſſe perfect ſtate of life to a more perfect, if it may be done without detriment, as this may be : for yet they haue no children, and the partie may as wel be maried to another, *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Firſt, a ſingle life is not alwayes the perfecter ſtate, nor to all, as it is not to them that haue not the gift to containe, as it is moſt like he hath not, that is contracted, and hath made promiſe of mariage : for then all this needed not. Secondly, though there be none of thoſe impediments named, yet there is a greater : namely, their faith and promiſe made each to other before God, which they ought not to violate. Thirdly, S. *Paul* ſaith, If thou be bound to a wife, ſeeke not to be looſed, 1.Cor.7.27. But they that are eſpouſed one to the other, are bound ; vnleſſe you will ſay, that the couenant made by them vnto God, Pro.2.17. bindeth not.

*Argum.*2. There is a double bond in Matrimonie, a carnall and ſpirituall, as the carnall is diſſolued by the temporall death, ſo the ſpirituall is by the ſpirituall death ; ſuch is the Monaſticall profeſſion, whereby a man dieth to the whole world, in renouncing his goods, *Bellarm.cap.*38. *ration.*2.

Anſw. Firſt, if to renounce the goods of the world, be to die to the world, then your Clergie ſhould thus die vnto the world, as well as your Monkes ; as your owne decree teſtifieth, *Cauſ.*1. *qu.*2.*c.*6. *Qui opibus ſuis, &c.* They that can be maintained by their owne goods, if they liue of the ſtipends of the Church, commit ſacriledge: wherefore your Orders are as able to diſſolue a contract of mariage, as Monkerie, which notwithſtanding you denie. Secondly, if to be a Monke, is to die to the world, then euery Monke ſhall be ſaued : for they that die with Chriſt, ſhall alſo liue with him. Rom.6.8. But I thinke they dare not ſay ſo of all Monks, ſeeing they denie not but that the Pope may be a reprobate : and yet S. *Peters* chaire will as ſoone bring them to heauen, as a Monkes coule. Thirdly, the ſpirituall death may be euen in mariage, vnleſſe *Bellarmine* wil ſay, that in marriage is no ſaluation (for where there is not dying with Chriſt, there is no liuing with him:) If a man then that is married, may die vnto ſinne, then it is falſe, that the ſpirituall death doth diſſolue the ſpirituall bond of mariage.

The Proteſtants.

MAtrimonie whether ratified onely by lawfull contract or eſpouſals, or conſummate, ought not any way to be broken with conſent or without,for Monaſticall profeſſion.

*Argum.*1. Our reaſon is, becauſe it is perfect mariage already in ſubſtance and before God, which is ratified by contract onely and ſolemne vowe and couenant made each to other: And being thus betrothed,the one giueth power of their bodie to the other,and now they are no more free.That this mariage is perfect before God,and in ſubſtance,it appeareth by the law of *Moſes*,by the which a man defiling a maide betrothed, was to ſuffer death, as well, as if he had committed vncleannes with a woman already maried,Deuteron.22.verſ.22.23.And Matth.1.18.*Marie* that was but betrothed to *Ioſeph*,is by the Angell called his wife,verſ.20.

Bellarmine anſwereth,that notwithſtanding the contract,the wife is not bound to yeeld the due debt of mariage to her husband,if it be a detriment to her ſpirituall good,as in this caſe it is,when ſhe entreth into Monaſticall profeſſion.

Contra. Firſt, this reaſon maketh as much for the diſſolution of mariage conſummate,as of the contract only: for the temporal good of mariage alſo muſt yeeld to the ſpirituall good.Secondly, we denie that it tendeth to any ſpiritual good, for monaſtical life to violate a contract made before God: firſt,becauſe the partie is not ſure to haue the gift of continencie,hauing ſo lately contracted and agreed to vſe the remedie of mariage, feeling her owne weakenes: and ſo ſhe is more like to fall into a ſpirituall euill, to liue in continuall burning and luſt of the fleſh,as many of their milch-Nunnes did. Secondly, becauſe no ſpirituall good is to bee hoped for contrarie to Gods ordinance, which euen vpon the contract giueth the husband power ouer the wife, and maketh her bound vnto him as long as ſhe liueth; 1.Cor.7.39. *The wife is bound to the husband,as long as he liueth:* but ſhe that is eſpouſed onely is a wife, as was ſhewed before in the example of *Marie*. Thirdly,the Apoſtle ſaith,verſ.27. *Art thou bound to a wife? ſeeke not to be looſed:* but he that is contracted onely, is bound: *Ergo*, he ought vpon no occaſion to ſeeke to be looſed.

*Argum.*2. The vow of continencie made in the taking of orders, *non eſt efficax*, is not of force to diſſolue matrimonie before contracted, as *Iohn.*22.decreeth, *Extrauag.tit.6.c.*1. *Ergo*, neither monaſticall profeſſion.

Bellarmine anſwereth,the reaſon is not alike, becauſe mariage is repugnant to monaſticall life of it ſelfe ſimply: but to orders it is repugnant onely by the decree of the Church.

Contra. Firſt,we take it then as graunted, that by the word of God mariage is not repugnant to orders,but only by the conſtitution of the Church. Secondly,Monaſticall life alſo is an humane inuention, as well as the ſingle life of the Clergie: for S.*Paul* knew no ſuch profeſſion, when he giueth euery man leaue, without exception,to haue his wife, 1.Cor.7.2. Thirdly, though wee ſhould graunt,that Monkerie bindeth more from mariage then Orders,yet the vow making bindeth as well in the one as the other: for to marrie contrarie to vow, is ſimply repugnant in their opinion: wherefore ſeeing that a vow after contract in Orders diſſolueth it not,neither ſhall a vow made in Monkerie.

Concerning the Ciuill law,it may appeare,*Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*6.*leg.*42. that the law did puniſh ſuch, as being contracted,betooke themſelues to ſolitarie life: the man loſt all his tokens and gifts ſent to his ſpouſe,and ſhe was to render double the value of the tokens receiued: although this law is abrogated by *Iuſtinian* the laſt law-maker of the Emperours, whoſe times ſauoured of ſuperſtition.

Their own law is alſo ſomewhat doubtful: *Decr.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*32.*c.*14.*Innocen.*3.though he dare not ſwerue from the practiſe of his predeceſſors,yet deliuereth this to be his iudgement: *Poteſt non inconſulte videri,&c.*It may with good aduiſement bee thought, that matrimonie contracted by words of the preſent, *in nullo caſu,&c.*in no caſe ſhould be diſſolued as long as the parties liue.

Likewiſe,*lib.*4.*tit.*1.*c.*16.*Alexander.*3.thus determineth, That if a man ſweare to be contracted to a woman within a certaine ſpace, and in the meane time haue a purpoſe to liue monaſtically, he ſhould firſt, to ſaue his oth,performe the contract. If then the vow or promiſe of monaſticall life be not able to diſſolue a promiſe of a contract, much leſſe the contract it ſelfe, which is more then a promiſe of mariage.

The Maſter of Sentences alſo is of opinion,that a contract made,*per verba de præſenti*,by words vttered of the preſent, cannot without common conſent be broken,*lib.*4.*diſt.*27.*I.*

Eſpenceus alſo a reuerent writer among the Papiſts holdeth,that mariage whether conſummate or contracted onely,ought not for any profeſſion of monaſticall life to bee diſſolued, *lib.*6.*cap.*4. *de continent.*

*Concil.Ancyran.can.*11.*ſic. Deſponſatas puellas,&c.* We thinke it meete,that if a maide eſpouſed to one, be defiled of another, that ſhe ſhould be reſtored, to whom ſhe was eſpouſed, although it be certaine, that ſhe hath loſt the flower of her Virginitie by the other. But the looſing of her Virginitie is more forcible to diſſolue the contract, then the vow of chaſtitie, for it is able to diſſolue mariage conſummate, and ſo is not the other without mutuall conſent, as the Ieſuite affirmeth: therefore by this canon, if the more forceable cauſe cannot breake the eſpouſals, much leſſe can the other not ſo forceable.

2 *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Coniuges fidem ſibi pariter debent: Cui fidei tantum iuris tribuit Apoſtolus, vt eam poteſtatem appellaret dicens, Mulier non habet poteſtatem ſui corporis ſed vir, &c.* Maried couples doe owe faith and troth one to the other: which mutuall troth the Apoſtle maketh ſuch account of, that he giueth it the name of power, ſaying: The woman hath not power of her owne bodie, but the man, and likewiſe the man, &c. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that by the very plighting of their troth each to other, they receiue mutuall power and intereſt one of anothers bodie. But this troth was plighted before the conſummation of their mariage: *Ergo,* they had one intereſt in another then, and can doe nothing one without the conſent of the other: *de bon. coniugal. cap.* 3.

THE SIXT QVESTION, CONCERNING the rules and diſcipline of Monaſticall life.

THis queſtion hath foure parts. Firſt, of the ſolitarie and ſeuere kind of life in Monkes and Eremites. Secondly, of their canonicall houres appoynted for prayer. Thirdly, of their habite and apparell. Fourthly, of their maintenance, whether it ought to come by their labour.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE ſolitarie and auſtere life of Monkes, and of Eremites.

The Papiſts.

94. Error. TO liue in ſolitarie places, to weare ſack-cloth, to be giuen continually to faſting, to lie hard, to fare meanely, and by other ſuch wayes to puniſh and afflict the bodie, they ſay, are notable meanes to bring the ſoule to the contemplation of heauenly things.

Argum. 1. *Iohn Baptiſt* liued in the deſart, fared courſely, and was barely apparelled, hee ate Locuſt and wilde honie, and wore a garment of Camels haire: he was a right paterne of true Eremites, *Bellarm. cap.* 39. *lib.* 2. *de Monach.*

Anſw. Firſt, *Iohns* life was not ſo auſtere, as they make it: for the place where he liued was not ſo ſolitarie, but that there were villages and houſes not farre off, as it may appeare by the peoples reſort vnto him: his apparell was of Camels hayre, and was ſomewhat courſe, yet no ſuch thing as ſack-cloth, or haire-cloth; for of the fineſt of the Camels haire Chamblets and Groggrains are made, that are had in price amongſt vs: his diet alſo in eating Locuſts and wilde honie was vſuall in that countrey. Secondly, we deny not but *Iohn* liued an auſtere life, becauſe he was a preacher of repentance, and had a ſingular office to prepare men for the comming of Chriſt: Therefore his calling being extraordinarie, he cannot be an author of an ordinary calling among Chriſtians. Thirdly, ſeeing Chriſt came eating and drinking, liued amongſt men, and was apparelled as others were, why ſhould Chriſtians rather chooſe to imitate the Baptiſt, who had no office, or miniſterie in the Goſpell, Matth. 11. 11. then our Sauiour Chriſt, whoſe life and doctrine is for our imitation?

Fulk. Mat. 3. ſect. 1.

Bellarmine replieth, notwithſtanding this which hath been alleaged, that *Iohn* verely liued in the deſart and ſolitarie wilderneſſe, where was no reſort, nor frequencie of people at all; which he would proue by theſe two reaſons chiefly: firſt, becauſe it is ſaid, Luk. 1. 80. That he dwelled in the wilderneſſe, till the time he ſhould ſhew himſelfe to Iſrael: but if he had been in his fathers houſe, he could not haue been vnknowne to Iſrael. Secondly, becauſe they aske if he were *Elias:* but if he had been conuerſant in his fathers houſe, they would not haue doubted, knowing whoſe ſonne he was, *cap.* 39.

Anſ. To the firſt reaſon I anſwere, that it followeth not, *Iohn* was not yet knowne to Iſrael; *Ergo,* he liued in the wilderneſſe: for our Sauiour was not knowne to Iſrael, till he was 30. yeere old, when he began to preach; yet liued he not in the wilderneſſe, but in his parents houſe, and was obedient vnto them, Luk. 2. 51. To the ſecond, our anſwer is, that they knew alſo whence Ieſus was, Ioh. 7. 27. yet they were doubtfull who he ſhuld be, whether the Prophet, or the Chriſt, ver. 40. 41: ſo concerning *Iohn,* though his parents were knowne, yet might they bee doubtfull of his office. Againe, though he had liued in the very wilderneſſe from a childe; yet his birth was ſo famous, bruted ouer all the countrie of Iudea, Luk. 1. 65. that his parentage could not be hid.

Now our contrarie reaſons, that *Iohn* liued not in ſuch a wilderneſſe, as where no reſort of people was, are theſe: Firſt, it is ſaid, that he was in the wilderneſſe, till he ſhewed himſelfe, &c. Luk. 1. 80. but it is not like, that ſtraight after his birth, being yet an infant, he was put forth into the wilderneſſe, vnleſſe they will imagine, that he ſucked of ſome wilde beaſt: wherefore by the wilderneſſe here muſt be vnderſtood the hillie and leſſe inhabited countrie of Iudea, where *Zacharie* dwelt, verſ.39. and where *Iohn* alſo had his education. Secondly, Matth.3.1. *Iohn* is ſaid to haue preached in the wilderneſſe of Iudea: which addition ſheweth, that it was the leſſe frequented part of Iudea, not ſimply a wilderneſſe, as Chriſt is ſaid to haue been led into the wilderneſſe, Matth.4.1. without any other addition. Thirdly, it is not like that *Iohn* would begin to preach where there was no people at all, but ſauage and wilde beaſts. Fourthly, *Iohn* preached and baptized in the wilderneſſe, and there was Ieſus baptized of him, and from thence was led into the wilderneſſe to be tempted: ſo that Chriſt was led from *Iohns* wilderneſſe, to another wilderneſſe, which was the very deſart, and not that, where *Iohn* preached. So then, our ſentence is this, that the wilderneſſe, where *Iohn* liued till he publikely ſhewed himſelfe, and where he preached, muſt of neceſſitie be taken for the leſſe peopled countrie of Iudea, which was ſo called in reſpect of the more popular and frequented places of Iudea: yet we denie not, but that *Iohn* alſo did giue himſelfe to a ſtrict and ſolitarie kinde of life, though he kept not in ſuch a deſert, as they imagine, that he ſhould giue occaſion to be called an Eremite.

The Proteſtants.

THat the ſolitarie life of Eremites, in flying the comfortable ſocietie of men, and their rigorous manner in the vnnaturall chaſtiſing of their bodies, is contrarie to the rule of the Goſpell, thus we ſhew it.

*Argum.*1. Heb.10.24.25. *Let vs conſider one another, and prouoke one another to good workes, not forſaking the aſſemblies of our ſelues together, as the manner of ſome is, but exhorting one another:* Here the Apoſtle ſpeaketh manifeſtly againſt thoſe that ſhun the ſocietie and companie of their brethren, becauſe they muſt needes fayle in the duties of charitie, as in exhorting one another, and prouoking to good workes: theſe duties Eremites cannot performe, therefore their life is vnlawfull: and Matth.24. it is a note of falſe prophets and falſe Chriſts to liue in the deſarts. Againe, they that loue ſolitarie places, doe offer themſelues to tentation, and fall into the ſnares of the diuell: God ſaw it was not good for *Adam*, no not in Paradiſe, to liue alone: but I thinke their deſarts are farre vnlike to Paradiſe: Chriſt to be tempted of the diuell was led into the wildernes: Therefore ſuch places are fit for Sathans working. The Preacher ſaith, *Two are better then one, for if one ouercome him, two ſhall ſtand againſt him*, Eccle.4.12. Wee are better able being ayded by our brethren to reſiſt Sathan, then being alone: We ought not then to tempt God, and not knowing our owne ſtrength, to go forth into ſolitarie places, and as it were prouoke Sathan to the Combat. See to this purpoſe, *Conc. Oxonienſ. ſub Stephano: Quia ſerpens antiquus, &c.* Becauſe the olde Serpent, when he found holy men ſolitarie, liuing without any mutuall comfort or conſolation, did ſo much the more eaſily inuade and oppreſſe them, we with good deliberation haue decreed, that Monkes, regular Canons, Nunnes, ſhould ſleepe together in the ſame dorters.

*Argum.*2. That cruell and inhumane kind of chaſtiſing their bodies by faſting and other diſcipline vtterly is vnlawfull. The Monkes, called *Grandimontenſes*, did weare ſhirts of maile next their bodies, the Charter Monkes hairecloth: the Monkes *Flagellants* went bare-foote in linnen ſhirts, leauing an open place in the backe where they did dayly whip themſelues before the people till the blood followed. *Moſes* a certaine Abbot did ſo afflict his body with faſting and watching, that for two or three dayes together many times he had no appetite at all to his meate, neither could ſleepe. Another Eremite (as *Caſſianus* writeth) did purpoſe with himſelfe not to eate meate, vnleſſe he had ſome gueſt or ſtranger with him, and ſo was conſtrained to abſtaine ſometime fiue dayes together: two other Monaſticall brethren, trauailing in the deſart of Thebaide, did vowe not to take any ſuſtenance, but ſuch as God ſhould ſend them; and as they went, a certaine wilde people, contrarie to their cuſtome, offered them meate, the one tooke it as ſent of God; the other refuſed it, becauſe he thought it to bee ſent rather of man then of God, and ſo died.

Baſilius magnus, and *Gregor. Nazianzene*, did ſo plucke downe themſelues by immoderate faſting; that when they were called to bee Biſhops, they were not able to ſuſtaine the labour thereof.

Where in all the Scriptures learned theſe men, thus to puniſh their bodies? This is not with S. *Paul* to ſubdue and bring vnder the fleſh: but to kill and deſtroy it; contrarie to that ſaying of Saint *Paul*, *No man euer yet hated his owne fleſh, but loueth and cheriſheth it.* See I pray you, how theſe men loued and cheriſhed their bodies?

*Argum.*3. That Religion which conſiſteth in the afflicting and not ſparing of the bodie, hath but a ſhew of wiſdome, and is a voluntarie or will worſhip, ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, Coloſſ.2.23. but ſuch is the religion of Heremites, which ſay, Touch not, taſte not, handle not, as it is in the ſame place, verſ.21. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that to afflict and humble the bodie is lawfull, ſo that it be not done ſuperſtitiouſlie, and vnprofitablie, as S. *Paul* ſaith, *I doe chaſtice my bodie, and bring it into ſubiection*, 1.Cor.9.27. *Bellarm. cap.*39.

Contra. To humble the bodie by faſting for a time, that our prayer may be more feruent, as S. *Paul* did, is a thing both commendable and commaunded, and it is neither ſuperſtitious nor vnprofitable: but continuall and immoderate abſtinence from ſuch things as are lawfull, ſuch as Eremites are deuoted vnto, is not to keepe the bodie vnder, but to kill it; not to vanquiſh the affection, but to extinguiſh it; and is both ſuperſtitious and vnprofitable: Firſt, it is ſuperſtitious, becauſe it is a will worſhip according to the doctrine of men, Coloſſ. 2. 22. So the Lord ſaith, Zach. 7. 5. *Did you faſt vnto me?* Eſay. 58. 3. *When you faſt, you will ſecke your owne will,* and chap. 1. 12. *Who required this of your hands?* wherefore, ſeeing this ſtrict vſage is but an humane inuention, I conclude it is meere ſuperſtition. Secondly, it is alſo vnprofitable: for a man to redeeme his ſinne with the fruite of his bodie, Micah. 6. 7. and ſo likewiſe with the bodie it ſelfe, is not pleaſing vnto God: but this doe Eremites, thinking by the puniſhment of their bodie to ſatisfie for their ſinnes. *Ergo.*

Concerning the rigorous and hard vſage of Monkes, the iudgement of the Imperiall lawes is this, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. leg.* 8. *authentic.* It is decreed, that Prieſts, giuing falſe witneſſe, *Monaſteriјs pro tormentis tradantur:* Should be deliuered to the Monaſteries to be tormented: So likewiſe, *leg.* 14. *authent.* a ſeditious Biſhop is condemned to the Monaſterie, for his correction. What kind of life then and profeſſion cal you this, which is appointed for a torment and puniſhment to men?

As touching ſolitarie life alſo, the Canon lawe ſaith, *Væ ſoli,* Woe to him that is alone, *Decret. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 35. cap. 2.* The decree alſo of *Clemens* 5. in the Councell of Vienna is extant, *Ne Monachi ſinguli in ſingulis, &c.* That Monkes ſhould not liue ſinglie or ſolitarilie by themſelues. And as for their ſtrict diet, and ſtaruing of the bodie, faring courſely and lying hardly: your owne Canons haue decreed, and deſcribed the *Seueriani* to be heretikes, that refuſed to drinke wine: and they reckon vp other hereſies, ſome that, *Nudis pedibus ambulant:* Walke barefoote: ſome refuſe to eate in the companie of men: *Cauſ. 24. qu. 3. c. 39.* Such heretikes are their Monkes and Heremites.

In Pſal. 49. Let vs heare what *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Tu deſeris res humanas, & ſegregas te, vt nemo te videat: Cui proderis? tu ad hoc perueniſſes, ſi nemo tibi profuiſſet? An quia veloces pedes tibi videris habuiſſe ad tranſeundū, præciſurus es pontem?* Thou leaueſt the care of humaine things, and ſeparateſt thy ſelfe that no man ſhould ſee thee: to whom doeſt thou good in ſo doing? Hadſt thou come to this perfection thy ſelfe if no man had done thee good? becauſe thou haſt quickly paſſed ouer, wilt thou cut off the bridge, that no man elſe ſhould paſſe? See then *Auguſtine* maketh the heremiticall life altogether vnprofitable to men.

THE SECOND PART, CONCERNING the habite and ſhauing of Monkes.

The Papiſts.

95. Error. BOth theſe ſuperſtitious cuſtomes, for Monkes to bee knowne by their coules and ſhauen crownes, they receiue and allow as commendable and fit for them to be knowne by. Beſide ſome ſhew of antiquitie, Scripture they haue none: but their beſt reaſon is this: that as Senators and ſouldiers, Noble men and ruſtickes are knowne by their apparell; ſo it is meete that Monkes ſhould be diſcerned from others by their habite, *Bellarm. cap.* 40. Our Rhemiſts vſe the ſame reaſon for ſhauen crownes, that it is a note of diſtinction betweene the Clergie and lay-men, *annot. 1. Pet. 5. ſect.* 2. And for prieſtlike garments, they alleage out of Apoc. 1. verſ. 13. how Chriſt appeared to *Iohn,* veſted in a prieſtlike garment.

Anſw. Firſt, we deny not, but that it is conuenient for Miniſters to be diſcerned from others euen in their apparell: which may be done by the grauity and modeſtie thereof in colour, in plainnes, not neceſſarie to bring in ſtrange and ridiculous faſhions of attire, ſuch as Monkes coules are: yet Miniſters are better diſcerned by other things, then their apparell, as they are deſcribed by S. *Paul,* 1. Tim. 3. But as for any ſuch diſtinction of Monkes we allow not: for the very calling it ſelfe ought to be aboliſhed. As for ſhauen crownes and beards, they are but tokens of *Baals* prieſts, make the beſt of them you can.

2 Chriſt appeared in a long garment downe to the feete: which they tranſlate a prieſtlike garment, as though Chriſt were then going to Maſſe: The word is, *podéres,* which ſignifieth a long veſture, downe to the feete, which was one of the high prieſts garments, and hereby is ſignified the prieſthood of Chriſt: but what is this to the attire of Monkes or prieſts? We deny not but long garments for their comlines are fit for Miniſters, according to the faſhion of the countrie, but not as neceſſarie, repreſenting more holineſſe: for in the Eaſt countries, ſhort garments were graue and comely enough: as the prophets had their mantles: and S. *Paul* maketh mention of his cloke, 2. Tim. 4. 13.

Argum. 2. The ſpeciall habite of Monkes doth bind them to liue well, for being knowne from all other men by their habite, if they ſhould doe amiſſe they ſhould be rebuked of all: *Bellarm. cap.40. ration.2.*

Anſw. Firſt, this is right Phariſaicall to doe well onely to auoide the rebuke of men, and to haue their praiſe: as our Sauiour ſaith, Matth.23.5. *All their workes they doe to be ſeene of men, for they make their Phylacteries broad, &c.* Wherefore it is plaine hypocriſie, rather for feare of men then of conſcience, not to doe euill. Secondly, their habite ſerueth not as a ſtreighter bond to doe well, but as a pretenſed cloake of their euill doing: for by this meanes they practiſe knauerie without ſuſpition, masking vnder the colours of religion: by their Monkes coules they haue entred into the preſence of Princes, and moſt treacherouſlie murdered them, as in our memorie hath been practiſed in France.

The Proteſtants.

WE condemne both the habite and ſhauing of the Monkes as ſuperſtitious, euen as their whole life and profeſſion is.

Argum.1. There is no one precepte in the new teſtament concerning formes and faſhions of apparell to be vſed by Clergie men, but onely in generall termes, that they ſhould be modeſt and ſober, and graue in their behauiour, 1.Tim.3. The Leuites and prieſts indeede in the lawe had rules and precepts ſet them, both for their veſtures in the temple, and their ordinary apparell, Num.15.39. that it ſhould be made with fringes in remembrance of the commandements. But who ſeeth not that ſuch ſignifications of apparell were Leuiticall, and meerely ceremonious? ſuch is the habit of Monkes: for their coules, ſaith the Ieſuite, ſignifie their innocencie, like vnto children that are couered with vailes like vnto coules. But to place any religion or holines in apparell, as they did, (for it was thought a great priuiledge to be buried in a Monkes coule) is abominable ſuperſtition: for ſuch Monkiſh ſuperſtition our Sauiour rebuked the Phariſies, Matth.23.5. All their workes they doe, to be ſeene of men: for they make their Phylacteries broad, and make long the fringes of their garments. If the Phariſies did abuſe to vaine-glorie and ſuperſtition, that kinde of apparrell which the law commanded: there can be no good vſe of Monkiſh habites, which the Goſpell neither commendeth nor commandeth.

As for ſhauen crownes: they were directly forbidden by the law of *Moſes,* not onely to round the tufts of their beard, as the Gentiles did, Leu.19.27. but not to ſhaue their beard, or make bald their head, Leu.21.5. And then it was a ſigne of holines not to cut the haire, as in the Nazarites it appeareth, Numb.6. It was then the cuſtome of the heathen and of their Idolatrous prieſts to ſhaue themſelues: How then dare the papiſts make that a ſigne of holines now, which was a ſigne of prophanenes, and heathennes then? And is their religion ſo beggarly, that they muſt needs borrow their ceremonies of the heathen?

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Leuitic.21.5. The Prieſts were not ſimplie forbidden to ſhaue their heads, but not to doe it in the death of their friends.

Contra. Firſt, there is no ſuch addition in the text, but the words are generall, *They ſhall not make balde parts vpon their heads:* Secondly, the prohibition in Ezechiel is generall, chap.44.20. *They ſhall not ſhaue their heads.*

Bellarmine replieth againe, that the ſhauing of their heads was not ſimplie forbidden, as euill in it ſelfe; for the Nazarites according to the lawe did ſhaue their heads, Numb.6. and S. *Paule* alſo, Act.21.24. But it was forbidden onely in reſpect of the Gentiles, among whom they dwelt, that they ſhould not be like them, *Bellarm.cap.40.*

Contra. Firſt, to ſhaue the head as the Gentiles did, was ſimplie forbidden, ſauing where the Lord himſelfe made an exception, as in the vowe of the Nazarites: neither were they forbidden to doe ſo onely, becauſe the Gentiles did the like, but becauſe it was a ſuperſtitious vſe receiued of the Gentiles, and therefore not beſeeming Gods people: And therefore this reaſon is giuen, you are the children of the Lord and an holy people to God, therefore you ſhall not make any baldnes, &c. Deuter.14.1. Secondly, the ſhauing of the Nazarites, was a ſpeciall exception, as likewiſe the ſuffering of their haire to grow long, which is ſimplie forbidden, Ezech.44.20. yet for a time tolerated in the Nazarites: ſo alſo the Prophets ſhauing of himſelfe to be a ſigne to the people, Ezech.5.1. was extraordinarie, and by the Lords direct commaundement. So that if Monkes can ſhew a ſpeciall toleration for their ſhauing, as the Nazarites had, they may doe as they did; but the profeſſion of the Nazarites is now ceaſed, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, where he ſaith, *Touch not, taſte not, &c.* which was the vſe of Nazarites, not to taſte wine, nor to touch any dead thing: that they were *but ſhadowes of things to come,* Coloſſ.2.17.

Argum.2. The great varietie of their habites, and fooliſh ſignifications of their ſhauings, doe ſhew what beginning they had. The Monks of Baſils order went in white; of Benets rule in blacke; the Ciſtercians had white rotchets vpon a blacke coate; the *Grandimontenſes* a coate of maile, with a blacke cloke vpon; ſome ſtarred Monkes; ſome Ieſuites with a white girdle, and a Fox.pag.154.

ruſſet coule: ſome Celeſtines all in blew, both cloake, coule and cap. The Franciſcans did weare ropes for girdles and treen ſhooes.

They render alſo diuers reaſons of their ſhauen crownes: ſome ſay, it reſembleth Chriſts crowne of thornes: ſome by ſhauing the haire, doe ſignifie the mortifying of the affections, as cutting off of things that are ſuperfluous: ſome by baring of the head, the ſimplicitie and plainnes of life: ***Bellarmine*** ſaith, it is a ſigne of repentance and conuerſion. Is not here good ſtuffe, thinke you? Such rites, ſuch ceremonies, ſuch ſignifications, ſuch humane traditions, I thinke, the Phariſies would haue abhorred. For theſe are worſe then their waſhing of tables, braſen veſſels, pots, cups, and ſuch like: and yet our Sauiour ſaith of them, that they did lay the commandement of God apart, to eſtabliſh their owne traditions, Mark.7.8.

Laſtly, let *Auguſtine* ſpeake: concerning the habite of eccleſiaſticall perſons, thus he writeth: *Æquè laicis patet cœli palatium Dei mandata ſeruantibus quàm ſanctimoniali habitu præditis ſacerdotibus, De ſalutar. docum. cap.* 8. The heauenly palace is as well open for Lay men, keeping the commandements of God, as for Prieſts in their holy attire. What profiteth it then, I pray you, to be buried in a Monkes coule? Againe, *Auguſtine* found fault with certaine diſſolute Monkes in that time, that ſuffered their haire to growe long: Againſt whom he vrgeth the ſaying of Saint *Paul*, 1.Cor.11.14. Doth not nature it ſelfe teach you, that it is a ſhame for a man to haue long haire? And ſo he concludeth: *Hoc quò pertinet, quæſo, tam apertè contra Apoſtoli præcepta comari?* What meaning haue you in this, to ſuffer your haire to grow, contrary to the precept of the Apoſtle? But this precept did no more belong to Monkes, then all other Chriſtians. Concerning the ſhauing of Monkes, *Auguſtine* hath not one word at al, but of polling, and clipping the haire: he ſpeaketh onely againſt certaine *crinitos fratres*, that nouriſhed their haire and ſuffered it to grow of length.

Nay, our Rhemiſts loue ſhauing ſo well, that they defend the ſhauing of Nunnes, and would proue it out of *Hierome*, who indeed ſpeaketh of the cutting off of their haire, not for any religion, but to auoyde certeine little beaſtes that bred betweene the skinne and the haire, (you knowe what beaſts they are) becauſe they vſed not the bathes, nor oyle, as other women did, *Fulk.* 2. *Theſſ.* 3. *ſect.* 2. But whatſoeuer *Hierome* ſaith, it is flat contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule, who ſaith, It is a ſhame for a woman to be ſhorne or ſhauen, 1.Cor.14.6.

Concerning the habite of Monkes, antiquitie thus ſpeaketh, *Si quis virorum putauerit ſancto propoſito. i. continentiæ, conuenire, vt pallio vtatur, tanquam ex eo iuſtitiam habiturus, & iudicet eos qui veſte communi vtuntur, anathema ſit. Concil. Gangrenſ. cap.* 12. If any man thinke that to weare a cloake, doth fit his profeſſion, as though thereby he were more iuſt, and doth condemne or deſpiſe thoſe which vſe a common veſture, let him be accurſed: but the Monkes and Friers doe put holines in their habite, as euen now ſhall be ſeene: *Ergo.*

Celeſtine Epiſtol. 2. *cap.* 1. *Diſcernendi à plebe, vel cæteris ſumus doctrina, non veſte; conuerſatione non habitu; mentis puritate, non cultu.* We are diſcerned from the people, by our doctrine, not our garments; by our conuerſation, not by our habite; the puritie of our minde, not by our apparell.

Colonienſ. part. 2. *cap.* 26. *Ex veſte apud homines opinionem ſanctimoniæ prohibuit Chriſtus, &c.* Chriſt forbad, that men ſhould haue opinion of holines in garments: who firſt biddeth that to be cleanſed, which is within, denouncing woe to the Phariſies, who to ſeeme iuſt, made broad their phylacteries, but within were full of rauening, &c. But Friers and Monkes did aduaunce themſelues as more holy, by their habite. Likewiſe in the Canon law. *Cauſ.* 33. *qu.* 5. *c.* 4. *expediret te potius candidis moribus, &c.* It were better for you to obey your husband, with white and faire conditions, then in blacke rament to reſiſt him.

Decr. Greg. lib. 3. *tit.* 31. *c.* 13. *Clemen.* 3. *Monachum facit non habitus, ſed profeſſio:* not the habite, but the profeſſion maketh a Monke.

Maſter *Bilney* holy Martyr, perſecuted to death, for this article with others: if to be buried (ſaith he) in Saint *Francis* coule ſhould remit foure parts of penance, what is then left for our Sauiour Chriſt, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world? This I will iuſtifie to be a great blaſphemie againſt the blood of Chriſt, *Fox.* pag. 1001.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr condemneth the ſuperſtition of thoſe, which ſay that a man being buried in a gray Fryers frocke, ſhall haue the remiſſion of the third part of his ſinnes, *Fox.* p. 1107. *ad articul.* 13.

Concerning the ſuperſtitious ſhauing of crownes, we haue alſo the teſtimonie of antiquitie: *Concil. Eliberin. can.* 55. *Qui tantum ſacrificantium coronam portant nec ſacrificant idolis, placuit poſt biennium communionem accipere:* They which onely beare the crowne of ſacrificing prieſts though they ſacrifice not to idols, ſhall want the communion two yeeres. Behold then it was the faſhion of heatheniſh Idolatrous prieſts, to haue their crownes ſhauen.

Concil. Gangrenſ. cap. 17. which is alleadged in the Canon law, *diſtinct.* 30. *c.* 2. *Quæcunque mulier propter diuinum cultum crines attondeat quos ad ſubiectionis materiam Deus tribuit, tanquam præceptum diſſoluens obedientiæ, anathema ſit:* If any woman for religion ſake doe poll her haire, which God hath giuen as a ſigne of ſubiection, as one tranſgreſſing the precept of obedience, let her be accurſed. Yet for all this our *Rhemiſts* commend the ſhauing of Nunnes.

Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr, calleth the Popes ſhauen crowne the beaſts marke, *epiſtol.ad matrem.*p.1625.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE MONKES Canonicall houres.

The Papiſts.

96.Error.

THe 3.6.9. houres, they ſay, are conſecrated and deuoted to prayer, which they call their Canonicall houres: at the 3. houre the holy Ghoſt deſcended: at the 6. houre *Peter* went vp to the top of the houſe: and at the 9. houre *Peter* and *Iohn* went vp to pray in the Temple; Act.3.1. And *Daniel* vſed to pray thrice in the day, Dan.6.10. *Ergo,* thoſe times ought to be conſecrate to prayer, *Rhemiſt. Act*.10.*ſect*.6.

Anſw. Firſt, we denie that it can be gathered by any of thoſe places, that theſe houres onely ought to be ſet apart for prayer. *Peter* and *Iohn* went vp at the ninth houre, which was the time of the euening ſacrifice, when the religious Iewes went vp to pray. Secondly, *Daniel* prayed three times a day, but at what houres the text ſpeaketh not: yet by this example, and by the other proofes alleadged, we do gather, that at the 3.6.9. houre, that is not preciſely at any of theſe times, but in the morning, when men riſe vp to their labours, at noone before their repaſt, and at night when they go to reſt, it is meete and conuenient that men ſhould make their prayers vnto God, and at other times alſo when they finde themſelues fit. Thirdly, the popiſh ſeruice hath nothing but the names of theſe houres: for they are all finiſhed in the forenoone, whereas the ſixt houre is at high noone, the ninth houre is the third houre before the Sunnes ſet: And this toleration, to diſpatch all in the forenoone, is agreeable to their owne ſuperſtitious decrees; *decret.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*41.*c.*1.*Presbyter mane,&c.* The Prieſt in the morning muſt performe his ſeruice, the firſt, the third, ſixt, ninth houre; and for the euening, &c. and all this may be done in the morning: for after theſe houres diſpatched, he muſt go forth faſting, *ad rurale opus,* to his field buſines, &c. Thus wee ſee how well they obſerue their houres themſelues.

The Proteſtants.

WE denie not, but that ſet times of publike prayer are commendable, as we haue our forenoone, and afternoone ſeruice: but at vnſeaſonable houres, as at midnight, or the riſing of the Sunne, to call the people together, when they cannot conueniently be aſſembled, is but a ſuperſtitious cuſtome. Againe, it is profitable for men in the morning, noone, euening, though not preciſely at any ſet houres, to direct their prayers vnto God: but ſo to ſtint mens praiers, as that they ought of neceſſitie to keepe their houres, as though their prayers were then more auaileable, it hath no ground out of Scripture.

*Argum.*1. S.*Paul* ſaith, *Pray continually,* 1.Theſſal.5.17. *Ergo,* it is lawfull to pray at all times, and one time as fit for prayer as another, if a man be prepared. Againe, the ſame Apoſtle ſaith; *I will that the men euery where lift vp pure hands without wrath and doubting,* 1.Timoth.2.8. Out of theſe words we gather two arguments: Firſt, prayers are no more bound to times, then to places: a man may pray euery where, *Ergo,* at euery time. Secondly, a man ought not to pray, but when he is voyd of wrath, and is otherwiſe prepared: but it may be, that at the ſtinted houres, of the 3.6.9. a man may be in wrath, and otherwiſe not fit; therefore hee is not neceſſarily to be tyed to thoſe houres.

2 *Auguſtine* thus writeth: *Cum quiſque orationem quærit, collocat membra ſicut ei occurrerit. Cum autem non quæritur, ſed infertur appetitus orandi: hoc eſt, cum repentè aliquid venit in mentem, quocumq; modo inuenerit hominem, non eſt vtique differenda oratio. Lib.*2.*ad Simplician.quæſt.*4. When any man deſireth to pray, let him diſpoſe his body as he thinketh beſt: But when as it commeth not of his deſire and ſeeking, but ſodainly his affection is ſtirred vp to pray, howſoeuer prayer findeth him (that is, whether ſtanding or ſitting) he muſt not in any caſe deferre it and put it off to another time. This then is *Auguſtines* mind, that a man ſhould pray ſo oft as he hath a diſpoſition thereunto, and not deferre his prayer, as they do, which bind themſelues to Canonicall houres.

*Concil.Conſtantinop.*6.*cap.*7. *Singulis diebus qui amplius non poteſt, ſaltem duabus vicibus oret, mane ſcilicet & veſpere, dicens ſymbolum, ſiue orationem dominicam:* Euery day, he that cannot oftner, let him pray twiſe, that is, morning and euening, ſaying the Creede, and the Lordes prayer. It appeareth that in thoſe dayes when this Councell was held, which was about the yeere 670. men were not tyed to their Canonicall houres.

Claudius Monerius holie Martyr: To houres and times prayers ought not to bee tied, but whenſoeuer Gods ſpirit doth moue vs, or when any neceſſitie driueth vs, wee ought to pray. *Fox* pag.905.

But who could haue ſaid better of this matter, then ***Winchester*** doth, if he had been conſtant in the truth? The obſeruing (ſaith he) of daies, houres, number, time, place, if they bee orderly and publikely commaunded by the rulers, it is but to ſet the Church in an outward and publike order: but if a man inwardly and priuately be addicted to the ſame, thinking his prayer otherwiſe not auaileable, but by obſeruing thereof, it is an error, *Fox.pag*.1791.*ex depoſition.D.Redman.* I thinke no reaſonable man will refuſe to ſubſcribe to this ſentence.

THE FOVRTH PART, CONCERNING THE maintenance of Monkes.

The Papiſts.

97. Error. THey neither denie that it is vnlawfull for Monkes to labour with their hands, where neceſſitie, bodily ſtrength, the order of the Church doth require them; neither doe they confeſſe, that it is neceſſarie for them to worke: And ſo are not aſhamed to maintaine their idle, ſlothfull, and Epicures life, *Bellarm.cap*.41.42.*Rhemiſts*,2.*Theſſal*.3.*ſect*.2. But they may either liue of the lands giuen to their houſes, or elſe by their religious begging, *cap*.44.

Argum.1. Monkes are not now bound to worke, hauing wherewithall to liue beſide of lands giuen vnto them, becauſe moſt of them are prieſts, and doe ſerue at the Altar, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, wee graunt that Miniſters of the Goſpell labouring in the Word and Sacraments, ought to be maintained by the Goſpell: but ſuch are few or none of your Monkes, who being fit for no other ſeruice either in the Church or Common-wealth, are thruſt into Monaſteries by their friends: they are idolatrous prieſts, and ſerue little better then at *Baals* Altar. If any of them bee fit for the Miniſterie, as we denie not but ſome haue come out of your Cloyſters, as *Luther, Bucer, P.Martyr*, by whom the Church of God hath receiued much good: but they muſt come firſt out of your Dennes, and relinquiſh their Monkiſh life, and labour amongſt the people; ſo ſhall they bee no more regular, but ſecular prieſts, as you terme them. Secondly, the lands which were beſtowed vpon them, were firſt giuen vpon an euill intent, that by their prayers they ſhould redeeme the ſoules of their founders, who moſt of them had committed ſome notable ſinne, and ſo *pro remedio animarum*, to helpe their ſoules, they built Monaſteries. So King *Ethelſtane* for killing his brother *Edwin*, built two Monaſteries, *Middleton* and *Michelney* for his ſoule, *Fox* pag.152. King *Offa* for killing *Ethelbert* a good Prince, who came peaceably for the deſpouſage of *Athheldred* his daughter, being pricked in conſcience, gaue the firſt *Peter* pence to Rome, pag.114. Thoſe lands therefore being giuen firſt for vngodly purpoſes, and continued by them for idolatrous vſes, ought cleane to be taken from them, and to be beſtowed vpon better vſes: neither is it lawfull for them in that ſort to enioy them.

Argum.2. They proue the impudent begging of Friers, which they call religious begging, to bee lawfull and commendable, by the example of Chriſt, who had not a place where to put his head, Luk.9. and of his Apoſtles, that were charged not to poſſeſſe gold or ſiluer in their purſes, Matt.10. *Bellarm.cap*.45.

Anſ. Firſt, I pray you where euer did you reade that Chriſt went a begging? he liued not of almes, but gaue almes, and *Iudas* was the almeſman, though he played his part but euill. *Auguſtine* flatly denieth that you auouch: He ſaith that Chriſts bagge was as *Fiſcus regis*, euen as the Kings Exchequer: and that what was giuen him, was as due as tribute money to the Prince: But the King, I trow, is not a begger: *Niſi putetis* (ſaith he) *quia dominus petebat & indigebat, cui ſeruiebant angeli, qui de quinque panibus tot millia pauit:* Vnleſſe you thinke (ſaith he) that Chriſt begged, and wanted, whom the Angels ſerued, and who fed with fiue loaues not a few thouſands, *in Pſal*.146. Secondly, if the Apoſtles were beggers, then they liued of almes, but that is vntrue: for Chriſt ſaith, The labourer is worthie of his hire: but the labourers wages is earned and deſerued, it is no almes.

Iohn the 23. defined them to be heretikes, that affirmed Chriſt and his Apoſtles to haue had nothing proper of their owne. Then by this determination, ***Bellarmine*** and the Rhemiſts are found heretikes, in ſaying that Chriſt and his Apoſtles went a begging: vnleſſe they will reuerſe the ſentence of their holy father, which were alſo no leſſe then hereſie. Thus are they intrapped on both ſides: let them vnfold themſelues as they can.

Notwithſtanding all this, yet *Bellarmine* taketh vpon him to prooue that Chriſt was a begger: firſt, becauſe he had no houſe, nor poſſeſſions of his owne, nor any place where to reſt his head: but was entertained ſometime in one place, ſometime in another, and liued of the almes, that faithfull women miniſtred vnto him, *Bellarm.cap*.45.

Anſ. All this we graunt, that Chriſt had no poſſeſſions here in earth, becauſe he ſaith, his kingdome was not of this world; and that he refuſed not the miniſterie of the faithfull: yet this proueth not, that he begged, or liued of almes. Firſt, the women are ſaid to miniſter to him of their ſubſtance, Luk.8.3. which word of miniſtration ſheweth, that they acknowledged a ſeruice in their goods vnto Chriſt, whereas he that giueth almes, hath a dominion in that he giueth, and is a Lord thereof, rather then a ſeruant. Secondly, almes are giuen to him that needeth: but Chriſt needed not, that was able of fiue loaues to feede fiue thouſand.

Secondly, he alleageth that ſaying, Pſal.40.17. *Ego mendicus*, But I am poore, and a begger: which words are vnderſtood of Chriſt: As the Apoſtle applieth thoſe words, verſ.7. *in the beginning of the booke it is written of me, &c.* to our Sauiour Chriſt, Heb.9.7. *Bellar. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, though ſome part of this Pſalme bee prophetically applied to Chriſt, yet the whole Pſalme is not, as that, verſ.12. *My ſinnes are more then the haires of my head*; let him ſhew, if he can, how it may be pronounced of Chriſt. Secondly, *Dauid* in ſaying, I am a begger, had ſpoken contrarie to himſelfe, Pſal.37.25. where he confeſſeth, that he neuer ſaw in all his time, the ſeede of the righteous to begge their bread. Thirdly, the word here vſed ſignifieth not a begger, but one that is needie, and ſo your owne vulgar tranſlation, for *mendicus*, begger, noteth in the margent, *egenus*, needie. Fourthly, *Dauid* ſpeaketh not of any want of ſubſtance, but that he needed Gods helpe to deliuer him from his enemies: as it followeth in the ſame verſe, *thou art my helper and deliuerer, &c.* So is *Bellarmine* anſwered.

Contra. Now I will inſert the reaſons of their owne law, as they ſtand in the Extrauagant of *Iohn* 22. againſt thoſe that affirmed Chriſt to be a begger, and that he had no propertie or dominion in any thing, but the ſimple vſe thereof.

Firſt, *Quis ſimplicem vſuarium:* Who can call him a ſimple vſer of a thing without any right or propertie, that hath power to giue it, &c. but Chriſt gaue almes to the poore; for one of them alwaies carried the bagge: *Ergo*, he had right and propertie, &c.

Secondly, *In rebus conſumptilibus, &c.* In things that conſume and waſte, as meate and drink, there can be no vſe without propertie: for then there may be an vſe ſeuered from propertie, when the ſubſtance reſerued, there ariſeth ſome profit to the vſer: but this cannot bee in meate and drinke, which conſume in the vſing, *Extrauag. Ioann. tit.*14.*c.*3.

Thirdly, euery vſe without a right vnto the thing vſed, is vniuſt: for that is vniuſt, where there is no right; and ſo conſequently if Chriſt had no right in the things he vſed, the vſing ſhould bee vniuſt, which were blaſphemie to affirme.

Fourthly, the contrarie may be proued out of Scripture, that Chriſt had both the vſe and propertie of the things which he vſed: for one alwaies carried the ſatchell or bagge of prouiſion for themſelues, and of almes for the poore, *tit.*14.*c.*5. So vpon theſe and other reaſons he concludeth them to be heretikes, that affirme Chriſt and his Apoſtles to haue been without any right or propertie in any thing, and ſo conſequently beggers.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt we ſay, that no idle perſons ought to be maintained in a Chriſtian Common-wealth; but they that haue not any other neceſſarie calling, ſhould labour with their hands, and therefore Monkes that are fit for no other ſeruice in the Church, ought to labour and worke.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* giueth a generall rule: *He that will not worke, let him not eate*, 2. Theſſal.3. verſ.10. ſpeaking of thoſe that haue no neceſſarie calling in the Church: *Ergo*, Monkes muſt worke, or elſe by Saint *Pauls* rule, not eate. The Rhemiſts anſwere, that this is but a naturall admonition or counſell. Nay, it is a precept and commaundement, that all in their ſeuerall places and callings ſhould labour, none liue idly: for S. *Paul* ſaith not, this I counſelled you, but this I warned you of, or denounced vnto you, and he calleth thoſe that followed not this rule, inordinate walkers.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that S. *Paul* giueth this precept to labour vnto the ſecular ſort onely, not to Monks, which, ſaith he, in the opinion of our aduerſaries, were not as yet in the Church, *Bellarm. cap.*42.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle writeth to the whole Church of the Theſſalonians, 2. epiſt. chap.1.v.1. wherefore this precept alſo bindeth Monkes, vnleſſe you will ſay they are no members of the Church, as indeede they are not of the true Church. Secondly, if you will graunt, that there were no monkes in Saint *Pauls* time, that you may finde out a colourable anſwere, then haue they not their foundation out of the Scripture, as you beare vs in hand: yet S. *Pauls* rule ſhall ſtill binde all that belong to the Church.

Bellarmine againe anſwereth, that Saint *Paul* doth not abſolutely commaund to worke, but onely to auoide offence, and idlenes: ſo that they are not bound corporally to labour, which can by other meanes, then labouring corporally, auoide theſe dangers. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle doth giue an abſolute charge to all to worke, ſetting himſelfe for an example, who could haue kept himſelfe from idlenes otherwiſe then by working, yet he laboured, verſ.7.8. Secondly, if he commaund to worke, onely to auoide idlenes and offence, then is the commaundement abſolute, becauſe theſe inconueniences muſt needes enſue vpon not working: as the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ.11. *Wee haue heard of ſome that walke inordinately, and worke not at all:* where the reaſon is giuen of their inordinate walking, euen their not working: ſo that they muſt needes walke inordinately, that worke not. Thirdly, they which haue a lawfull vocation, beſide bodily working, are not bound to corporall labour: but ſo haue not your loytering lubberly Friers, that neither preach, nor worke: neither can they keepe themſelues from idlenes and offences, by any other meanes, then by working, which they doe not.

*Argum.*2. Neither is it to bee permitted, that Friers ſhould get their liuing by begging: for what are they elſe but valiant beggers? Firſt, there ought to bee no beggers in the Common-wealth: as Deuteron.15. Though the Lord ſay, that they ſhould neuer bee without poore or beggers, which ſhould want their helpe, verſ.11. yet, verſ.5. this charge is giuen, that by them, that is, their default, there ſhould not be a begger in Iſrael: they ſhould ſo prouide for the poore, that they neede not goe a begging. There are alſo poſitiue lawes, to reſtraine the number of beggers, and therefore there is no reaſon, that by a number of idle vagrant perſons, belly-god Friers, that begging order ſhould be enlarged.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Deuter.15.4. there is no prohibition of beggers: for our Sauiour Chriſt in all the Goſpell findeth not fault with the beggers, that then abounded; but it is a promiſe onely that they ſhould haue ſuch plentie, if they kept Gods commaundements, that they ſhould haue no beggers, *cap.46.reſp.ad argum.*1.

Contra. Firſt, to ſuffer beggers is a thing diſpleaſing vnto God and forbidden: becauſe begging proceedeth either from the hardnes of mens hearts, and therefore wee are commaunded not to turne away our eyes from our owne fleſh, that is, from our poore brethren, Iſai.58.7. or elſe from idlenes; and therefore men are commanded to work, that they be not in want, 1.Theſſ.4.12. and both theſe, as hardnes of heart, and idlenes, are diſpleaſing to God and forbidden. Secondly, it is vntrue, that in the Goſpell the rich are not rebuked for ſuffering beggers; as may appeare in the parable of the rich man, Luk.16. who is puniſhed for ſuffering *Lazarus* to lie crying at his gates: and it is *Iobs* commendation, that he ſuffered not the eyes of the widow to faile, Iob.31.16. that is, ſuffered not the poore to waite for their almes, or lie begging at his gates; but he eftſoone admitted them vnto his table, as it followeth verſ.17.

*Argum.*3. Seeing it cannot be choſen, but there muſt needes be ſome beggers; they ought not to be young ſturdie lubbers, that are able to worke, as moſt of the Friers were; but ſuch as are deſcribed, Luk.14.21. where the King ſaith to his ſeruants, Goe out quickly, and bring hither the poore, the maimed, the halt, the blinde: *Ergo,* ſuch luſtie fellowes ought to liue by the ſweate of their browes, not to eate vp the bread of the poore.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that in this place alleaged, Luk.14.21. all the poore are not vnderſtood, to be blinde, lame, impotent, &c. but it muſt bee read with a diſtinction, Bring in the poore, and the maimed: ſo the poore are called, whether they are maimed or not: and S.*Paul*, Act.24.17. brought almes to the poore at Ieruſalem, yet were they not all blinde and lame, &c.

Contra. Firſt, we ſay not that almes are not to be giuen to any poore, but ſuch as are impotent; but that no poore ought to bee ſuffered to liue by asking and begging, but ſuch as are impotent, and vnfit to labour. Secondly, wherefore the example of S.*Pauls* bringing almes to Ieruſalem is impertinent, ſeeing the queſtion is of beggers, not of all poore: And beſide, we ſpeake of a ſetled ſtate in the Common-wealth, not of the daies of perſecution, when the brethren of neceſſitie muſt be relieued. Thirdly, that in the parable impotent poore onely are vnderſtood, it may bee gathered by the place from whence they were called, namely from the ſtreetes, high wayes and hedges: where in thoſe daies none were ſuffered to ſtand and begge, but onely the impotent, as blinde, lame, and ſuch like.

Serm.16.

Laſtly, in the Sermons, *Ad fratres in eremo,* which are aſcribed to *Auguſtine,* thus we reade: *Eia fratres mei, ſemper boni aliquid facite; quem tædet orare, vel pſallere non deſiſtat; quem tædet orare, vel pſallere, manibus laborare non deſiſtat:* My brethren, alwaies be ye doing of ſome good; if you bee wearie of praying, ſing; if of ſinging, then labour with your hands. And in the ſame place, olde men onely of 80. yeere old are exempted from working. And in another place *Auguſtine* ſheweth, that the Monkes in his time did ſo plie their worke, *Vſqueadeo, vt etiam naues oneratas in ea loca mittant, quæ inopes incolunt:* That they ſent ſhips laden with neceſſaries, vnto thoſe places where the poore inhabited, *de morib.eccleſ.cap.*32.*Ergo,* in *Auguſtines* time Monkes liued not by begging, but with labour of their hands.

This alſo is further proued by the generall conſent of antiquitie: that Monkes ſhould not meddle with any part of the Miniſtrie, and therefore had no right to their maintenance. *Chalcedon. Concil.can.*4.*Vt nullus monachorum tentet ciuilia aut eccleſiaſtica negotia inquietare:* That no Monke vnder paine of excommunication, meddle with ciuill or eccleſiaſticall buſines. *Leo epiſtol.*60.*Nullus præter eos, qui ſunt domini ſacerdotes ius docendi & prædicandi audeat vendicare, ſiue ſit monachus, ſiue laicus, &c.* Let no man, beſide the Miniſters of God, take vpon them to teach, or preach, whether he be a Monke, or a lay man, *Tarraconenſ.can.*11.*Vt nullus monachorum miniſterium Eccleſiaſticum præſumat agere:* That no Monke preſume to execute the Eccleſiaſticall miniſterie.

Hereunto agree their owne Canons: *Cauſ.*2.*qu.*7.*c.*54.*Pelag.Nec ſecularia, nec eccleſiaſtica negotia monachus,&c.* That a Monke ſhould not entermeddle either with matters ſecular, or eccleſiaſticall. *Cauſ.*7.*qu.*1.*c.*45.*Monachorum vita,&c.* A Monkes profeſſion is to be ſubiect, not to teach, or beare rule. Likewiſe, *Sext.decretal.lib.*5.*tit.*2.*c.*11.*Clemens* 4. *Prædicatores quæſtuarios à prædicationis officio,& c.* Begging preachers muſt be inhibited to preach, for it appertaineth only to them to aske charitable reliefe, &c. Thus Monkes in times paſt, were excluded from the office of the Clergie.

And as Monkes could not become Clerkes, ſo neither was it lawfull for Clerkes to enter into Monkerie. *Concil.Cæſarauguſt.can.*6.*Clericus,qui propter luxum,&c. ab officio ſuo ſponte diſceſſerit, ac velut obſeruatorem legis ſe monachum videri maluerit, de eccleſia repellendus:* A Clergie man, which of wantonnes doth leaue his office, and chuſeth rather to bee a Monke, that he may ſeeme an obſeruer of the law, let him be expelled from the Church.

Secondly, as there is no affinitie betweene Monkes and Clerkes, for their office, ſo haue they nothing to doe with Clerkes maintenance. Monkes ought to take no tithes, *Lateranenſ.ſub Innocent.*3.*cap.*61. *Ne religioſi ſuſcipiant decimas de manu laicali:* Religious men (meaning Monkes) ought to receiue no tithes of the lay ſort. Yet Monkes are commaunded to pay tithes: *Concil.Lateranenſ.part.*13.*cap.*6.*ſub Alexandro.*3. *Ex prædijs ruſticis traditis monachi decimas ſoluant:* Monkes muſt pay their tithes out of their farmes let out to husbandmen. And as for other maintenance by land, it is likewiſe forbidden, *Lateranenſ.part.*27.*cap.*1. *Alexander.*3. *Monachi non debent villas aut eccleſias ad firmam tenere:* Monkes muſt not take villages or Churches to farme.

3 Monkiſh idle life is condemned, *Concil.Toletan.*7.*can.*5.*Illos quos in tali propoſito ignauia impulit, quoſque nulla vitæ dignitas ornat, ſed ignorantia fœdat, decernimus à cellulis eijci,&c.* They which entred into this profeſſion for idlenes ſake, who are of no commendable life, but fouly ignorant, we would haue them caſt out of their Cels.

4 Monkes alſo and Friers are forbidden by the ancient Canons to liue by begging, *Concil.Aquiſgranenſ.cap.*107.*Ipſi pauperes, ſi ſe poſſunt ſuis artificijs & laboribus expedire, non præſumant, quod debet infirmus,& debilis accipere:* The poore, that are able to helpe themſelues by their labour, muſt not take that, which is allotted for the weake and impotent. *Colonienſ.part.*11.*cap.*3. *In hoſpitalia, nullæ aliæ quam miſerabiles perſonæ, quæ aut morbo, debilitate, aut ætate impeditæ ſunt manibus laborare:* Let none but miſerable poore perſons be receiued into hoſpitals, which are hindred by their ſicknes, impotencie, or age, from working with their hands. *Cap.*5.*Sint mendicantibus validis non ſolum hoſpitalia clauſa, ſed & publicè & oſtiatim mendicare interdictum ſit:* Not onely hoſpitals are to bee ſhut vp againſt valiant beggers, but we forbid ſuch to begge from houſe to houſe. Therfore luſtie, ſturdie, lubberly Friers ought not to goe a begging, but to get their liuing with labour.

See alſo to this purpoſe their owne Canons: *Cauſ.*16 *qu.*1.*c.*18.*Pſeudomonachi,&c.* Monks that wander to and fro, are called falſe Monkes. *Cauſ.*18 *qu.*2.*c.*10. *Monachi in ciuitate vagantes,&c.* Monkes wandring vp and downe in cities, doe but make a ſhew onely, they are not true Monkes. *Extrauag.commun.lib.*3.*tit.*8.*c.*2.*Ioann.*22.*Monachi ad tranſmarina,&c.* Monkes going beyond the ſea, muſt bee taken for Apoſtataes. Theſe Canons forbid the wandring and runnagate life of Monkes.

5 Laſtly then, that there is no meanes left to Monkes for their maintenance, but the labour of their hands, it is thus further ſhewed, *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. cap.*96. *ex Hieronym. Facito aliquid operis, vt ſemper inueniat te diabolus occupatum:* Be doing of ſome worke, that the diuell may alwaies finde you occupied.

*Concil.Carthag.*4.*can.*51.*Clericus quantumlibet verbo Dei eruditus, artificio victum quærat:* A clergie man, though very well inſtructed in the word of God, may get his liuing by ſome artificiall worke. *Can.*53. *Omnes Clerici, qui ad operandum validi ſunt, artificiola & literas diſcant:* All Clergie men, that are ſtrong to labour, let them together with letters learne ſome handicraft. If Clerkes in thoſe daies were inured to hand-labour, whoſe office was to teach; how much more did it become the Monkes, who had nothing to doe with Eccleſiaſticall functions?

Laſtly, *Iohn Wickliffe* condemned for this article with others, for ſaying, that Friers are bound to get their liuing by labour of their hands, and not by begging: and that whoſoeuer gaue any almes to begging Friers, is accurſed, *Fox* pag.435.articl.22.23.

Thus by Gods goodnes we haue finiſhed this queſtion, and this whole Controuerſie: One other queſtion remaineth; whether the Monaſticall life be meritorious or not: which we haue referred to another place, when we ſhall come to the queſtion of Virginitie in generall and the priuiledges thereof.

THE SEVENTH GENERAL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE CIVILL MAGISTRATE.

MAny things, which *Bellarmine* in this controuerſie laboureth to proue, are agreed vpon betweene vs and our aduerſaries, and therefore wee will ſpend no time in them.

1 We teach, as well as they, that there ought to be Magiſtrates, Princes and gouernours amongſt Chriſtians, contrarie to that which the Anabaptiſts hold, that there ought to be equalitie among Chriſtians. The holy Ghoſt, Iudg. 17. 6. and 19. 1. maketh this the cauſe of all diſorder: *At that time in Iſrael there was no King amongſt them, but euery man did that which ſeemed good in his owne eyes.*

2 We doe hold, that euen wicked Kings and Tyrants haue power ouer the goods and liues of men, neither that it is lawfull to diſobey them, but in matters onely belonging to our conſcience, where it is better to obey God then men: Ierem. 27. 6. I haue giuen, ſaith the Lord, all theſe lands to *Nabuchadnezzar*.

3 Concerning the power of Princes, we graunt, that they may make lawes and ordinances to gouerne the people by, Prou. 8. 15. that they may puniſh the offenders of their lawes, Rom. 13. *They doe not beare the ſword for nought*: That it is lawfull for Chriſtian Princes, vpon iuſt occaſion, to wage battaile, Luk. 3. 14. *Iohn Baptiſt* doth not condemne the calling of ſouldiers, but teacheth them to vſe it aright.

But here by the way we muſt a little ſalute the Ieſuite, who findeth great fault with *Luther*, for ſaying; That to fight againſt the Turkes, is to repugne againſt God, viſiting our iniquities by them, *Articul. 34. condem. in bulla Leonis*. As though *Luther* ſhould thinke it vnlawfull to wage battell with the Turke. Firſt I will briefly declare, that *Luther* had no ſuch meaning; and then it ſhall appeare by whom the Turkiſh warres haue been moſt hindered.

As concerning the firſt, *Luther* doth not ſimply ſpeake againſt ſuch warres, but onely the abuſes among Chriſtians, in ſuch warlike enterpriſes: the firſt is, their malice and hatred againſt the Infidels, whom they ſeeke by no meanes to conuert or winne vnto the faith, but vſe altogether violent and bloodie meanes, whereas the other way ought firſt to bee attempted, as Maſter *Tindall* ſaith; I am bound to loue the Turke with all my might, &c. after the example that Chriſt loued me, neither to ſpare goods, bodie or life to winne him to Chriſt, *Fox* pag. 1248.

The ſecond abuſe is their ſuperſtition towards the land of Iudea, which they call the holy land, for the recouering whereof principally all thoſe great warres were taken in hand: whereas there are greater motiues, as the propagation of the Goſpell, the redeeming of the libertie of Chriſtians: And therefore it is to be thought, that God in his great wiſedome, hath giuen ouer thoſe places to the poſſeſſion of the Heathen, to let vs know, that before God one place is not more holie then another.

A third fault is, for that Chriſtians ſeeing the mightie encreaſe of the Turkiſh tyrannie, doe not enter into conſideration of themſelues, and repent them of their ſinnes, which are the cauſe why Chriſtians are ſcourged with the Turkiſh yron rods. The ſinnes of Chriſtians (ſo called) are very great, and doe farre exceede the manners of the Eaſt: As one thus writeth, *Latini licèt ad ea, qua ſunt fidei, verius adhareant Deo quàm Graci, tamen quoad mores multò pluribus fœditatibus & ſceleribus implicati ſunt*: Though the Latines in things concerning faith doe more neerely cleaue to God, then the Grecians, yet are they more polluted in their manners, *Oper. tripartit. lib. 1. cap. 2. tom. 2. Concil.* But as the truth is, the Latines are more corrupt both in life, in manners: this is that therefore that *Luther* miſliketh in theſe warres, that men will not conſider, that they are chaſtiſed for their ſinnes, and ſo learne to amend their liues: and otherwiſe he thinketh not. Yea *Bellarmine* himſelfe alleageth *Luthers* owne words, whereby he ſheweth his great miſlike of thoſe preachers, that crie out the Turke ought not to be reſiſted: *Hic ſermo ſeditioſus eſt, &c.* This ſaying is ſeditious and not to bee ſuffered. Theſe are *Luthers* owne words in his booke, *De Viſitation. Saxonica*: howſoeuer the Ieſuite in other places wreſteth his meaning.

Now in the next place I will ſhew, how that not *Luther*, or any of his part, but the Pope and popelings haue been the onely hinderers of the Chriſtians couragious enterpriſes againſt the Turke, and the greateſt cauſe of his riſing.

1 The firſt aduauntage which the Infidels had, was by the diuiſion of the Chriſtian Empire, when as firſt *Gregorie* the 3. *anno* 742. began, and *Leo* the 3. finiſhed his deuice, in erecting a new Emperour in the Weſt, *anno* 800. and ſo weakened the power of the Emperour of Conſtantinople. And afterward they tooke vpon them to excommunicate the Greeke Emperour at their pleaſure: as *Clemens* 5. dealt with *Andronicus Paleologus*, excommunicating him, and all the Greeke Church beſide, charging all Princes, Earles, Barons, &c. vnder paine of excommunication, to haue no ſocietie or confederacie with him, *Extrau. commun. lib.* 5 *tit.* 10. *c.* 3. And by this meanes the Greeke Emperour being forſaken of all helpe, was vnable to reſiſt the cruell Turke.

2 After that the Empire of the Eaſt was thus weakened; by little and little the Weſt Empire began to decay: for the Popes vſurped vpon the Emperours, tooke vpon them to depoſe them, to make them their vaſſals, to hold their ſtirrup, to kiſſe their feete, to receiue their Crowne and dignitie at the Popes hands: And at the length *Gregorie* the 5. *anno* 1000. or thereabout, made a decree, that the Emperour ſhould bee choſen from thenceforth by ſeuen Prince-Electors of Germanie: ſo the maieſtie of the Empire, which before deſcended by certaine inheritance, now began to depend vpon vncertaine and corrupt election. And hereof it came to paſſe, that *anno* 1350. *Carolus* 4. that his ſonne might ſucceede him in the Empire, did lay to pledge vnto the Prince-Electors the free Cities belonging to the Empire, which to this day were neuer redeemed: and thus alſo was the Weſt Empire weakened, and a way made for the Turke to inuade Chriſtendome.

3 A third practiſe of the Pope in weakening the ſtate of Chriſtendome was, by his cruell taxes and impoſitions vpon the Clergy and others, in leuying ſometime the tenths, ſometime the firſt fruites, ſometime halfe the fruites of all Eccleſiaſticall promotions, as *Innocentius* the ſeuenth did: And vnder the pretenſe and colour of the holy warres, gathering great ſummes of money, as in the Laterane Councel *ſub Innocent.* 3. *in fine:* the twentieth part of euery ſpirituall liuing for the ſpace of three yeeres was allotted towards the expedition intended againſt the Infidels: and at diuers other times the like exactions were required. And thus by the Popes Annates, Buls, Indulgences, yeeres of Iubile, firſt fruites, pall money, diſpenſations, *Peter* pence, and ſuch other deuices, all Chriſtendome was robbed and ſpoyled, and left naked to the Turke.

4 Beſide theſe former practiſes, the Popes haue dealt vnfaithfully, and entred themſelues into league with the Infidels: *Alexander* the third *anno.* 1160. perſwaded the Emperour *Fredericke* to goe in battell in his own perſon againſt the Souldane, and ſo betrayed him into his enemies hand, ſending vnto the Souldane the Emperours counterfeit taken by a ſkilfull paynter: *Alexander* the ſixt, tooke 200000. crownes of *Baiazetes* the great Turke to poyſon his brother *Gemes*, that was fled to him for ſuccour, and ſo he did: *Eugenius* the fourth, *anno.* 1430. perſwaded *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungarie to breake the truce, and violate his faith giuen vnto *Amurathes* the great Turke: whereupon the Turke in great indignation ioyned battell with him, wherein the King himſelfe and the moſt of his Armie were ſlaine: And by this occaſion the Turke entred into Chriſtendome, and to this daye neuer could be driuen out.

5 Laſtly, if the Pope were an enemie indeed to the Turke, and would haue battell waged with him, he ſhould do as his predeceſſor *Innocentius* the third did, *Concil. Lateranenſ.* who proclaming warre againſt the Turke, *Imperauit pacem Chriſtianis ad quadriennium ſub pœna excommunicationis:* Inioyned peace and truce to all Chriſtians for foure yeere vnder paine of excommunication. So ſhould the Pope cauſe the King of Spayne to leaue of moleſting and troubling his neighbours: but now he is ſo farre from this, that the Pope is rather become the chiefe author of diſſention, and ſtrife, and ſower of diſcord among Chriſtian Princes, exciting and ſtirring them vp to warre one againſt another. Did not *Marcellus* the ſecond ſay, not long ſince, *Expeditionem magis fieri debere in Lutheranos, quàm Turcas?* That warre ſhould be made vpon the Lutherans, rather then againſt the Turkes? But as the ſaying is, it is well that a curſt cow hath ſhort hornes, for this *Marcellus* was but a Pope of 23. dayes. *Alexander Farneſius* Cardinall and chiefe Captaine vnder *Paulus* the third, againſt the Lutherans, ſaid, he would ſhed ſo much Lutheran bloud, as that his horſe might ſwim therein: *ex actis Paul.* 2.

Iudge now (Chriſtian Reader) whether by this meanes the Pope hath not greatly decayed the ſtrength of Chriſtendome, in nouriſhing of domeſticall warres: and ſo comparing this, with the other practiſes, you ſhall finde, not *Luther* nor Lutherans, as they are ſlaundered; but the Pope and his popelings, to haue been the chiefe hinderers of the Chriſtians warlike enterpriſes againſt the Turke: let vs now goe forward.

The ſeuerall queſtions, wherein we differ from our aduerſaries, and they from the truth, concerning the office of the ciuill Magiſtrate, are theſe.

1 Concerning the authoritie of the Prince in Eccleſiaſticall matters, three parts of the queſtion.

on: Firſt, whether he haue power ouer perſons Eccleſiaſticall. Secondly, whether ouer their goods. Thirdly, whether in Eccleſiaſticall cauſes.

2 Whether the ciuill Magiſtrate may proſecute heretikes to death: and whether he ought to be the iudge of heretikes, with other like queſtions.

3 Whether the poſitiue and ciuill lawes of Princes doe binde their ſubiects and oblige them ſimply in conſcience. This matter we haue diſcuſſed before, Controuerſie 4.queſt.7.part.1.

4 Whether the Pope ought or may excommunicate the Prince, or Emperour, or otherwiſe hath any temporall iuriſdiction aboue him: this queſtion alſo is handled before, Controuerſie 4. queſt.8. part.1.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING THE authoritie of the Prince in Eccleſiaſticall matters.

THis queſtion hath three parts. Firſt, whether he haue power ouer the perſons Eccleſiaſticall. Secondly, whether ouer their goods. Thirdly, whether the Prince be chiefe in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE AVTHOritie of the ciuill Magiſtrate ouer Eccleſiaſticall perſons.

The Papiſts.

91.Error. THe Clergie is not bound to keepe and obſerue the ciuill and poſitiue lawes of Princes, if they be contrarie to the Canons of the Church: neither ought they for any cauſe to be cited before the ciuill Magiſtrate, or to be iudged by him, *Bellarm.de Clericis,cap.*28.

It is abſurd (ſaith the Ieſuite) that the ſheepe ſhould iudge the ſhepheard, *Bellarm*. And the Apoſtle willeth all men to obey their Biſhops and ouerſeers, Heb.13.17. and to ſubmit themſelues vnto them, from which rule neither Kings nor Emperours are exempted: Prelates muſt be obeyed: *Ergo*, not obey, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, the obedience here required we acknowledge, that it ought to be yeelded by Kings and Emperours to thoſe that haue the ouerſight of their ſoules: for the Prince is bound to receiue and beleeue all true doctrine which is taught by the Paſtors and Biſhops of the Church, agreeable to the word of God, vnder paine of damnation: and the Paſtors are bound vnder the like paine to obey the Princes lawes, made according to the word of God. Secondly, the ſpirituall obedience of the ciuill Magiſtrate to the word of God, taught by the Paſtors of the Church, is no exemption of them from their ciuill obedience: for euery ſoule is ſubiect to the higher powers, Rom.13.1.*Fulk.annot.*13.Heb.ſect.9.

*Argum.*2. *Bellarmine* in this place much vrgeth the conſtitutions of certaine Councels, for the priuiledge of the Clergie: as *Chalced.can.*9. *Agathenſ.can.*32.*concil. Carthag.* 3.*can.*9.*Toletan.*3.*can.*13.

Anſw. Theſe Canons do not ſimply forbid Magiſtrates to haue the cogniſance of Clergie mens cauſes, or to conuent them before them: but onely, that Clergie men vpon euery occaſion, ſhould not draw one another before the ciuill Magiſtrate, but be contented rather to be ordered by their B. as the words of the Canon of the *Chalcedon* are theſe, *Si Clericus aduerſus Clericum,&c.* If a Clergie man haue a matter againſt a Clergie man, he ſhould referre it to the B.&c. the *Agathenſian* ſaith, a Clergie man without the licence of his Biſhop, ſhould not preſume to ſue to a ſecular Iudge: ſo the *Toletane, Vt Clerici Clericos,&c.* that Clergie men ſhould not draw Clergie men before the ſecular Iudge contemning the Biſhop. Who ſeeth not, that here is no limitation of the ciuill authoritie, but a monition onely, that Clergie men in ſuch matters, as belonged to the cogniſance of the Biſhop, ſhould be ordered by him rather with quietneſſe, then to runne to forraine iudgement vpon euerie occaſion. And this wee denie not, but it is practiſed in our Church, which notwithſtanding attributeth to the Prince the chiefe Soueraignitie ouer Eccleſiaſticall perſons.

The Proteſtants.

THat Eccleſiaſticall perſons are ſubiect to temporall gouernours, and are to be iudged by their lawes, the Scriptures ſpeake plainly.

*Argum.*1. Rom.13.1. Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers: *Ergo*, Biſhops, yea the Pope himſelfe, if he haue a ſoule. The like ſaith S.*Peter* 1.2.13. Submit your ſelues to all manner ordinance. *Salomon* remoued *Abiathar* from the Prieſthood, and put in *Sadock*. *Paul* appealed, and ſubmitted himſelfe to *Cæſar*. Againe, if Prieſts offend and commit any grieuous ſinne, as of murther, theft, who ſhall puniſh them? The ciuill Magiſtrate onely beareth the ſword. They muſt either grant, that prieſts are no euill doers, which were to too groſſe; or if they be, that they are vnder the ciuill Magiſtrates power: for he is the Miniſter of God to take vengeance vpon euery euill doer, Rom. 13.4.

In *Auguſtines* time, the controuerſies betweene the Catholike and Donatiſt Biſhops, were committed to the iudgement of the Emperour: *Ait quidam*, ſaith he, *non debuit Epiſcopus proconſulari iudicio purgari: Quaſi verò ipſe ſibi hoc comparauerit, ac non Imperator ita quæri iuſſerat, ad cuius curam, de qua rationem deo redditurus eſt res illa maximè pertinebat.* But, ſaith one, a Biſhop ought not to haue bin purged before the Proconſul, or ciuil Magiſtrate: As though (ſaith *Auguſtine*) the Procōſul did of himſelfe intermeddle in this matter, and was not commanded rather of the Emperour ſo to do: vnto whoſe charge that matter principally appertained, and whereof he ſhal make account vnto God. *Ergo*, by his ſentence, the cauſe of the Biſhop principally was to be iudged by the Emperour. Epiſtol. 162.

Agatho Biſhop of Rome writing to *Conſtantius* the Emperour, calleth himſelfe, *imperij famulum*, a ſeruant or ſubiect of his Empire: and againe, *Pro obedientia, quam debemus*: he confeſſeth, he oweth obedience to him.

Pope *Leo* ſubmitted himſelfe to *Lodouicus* the Emperour, 2. *queſt.* 7. as it appeareth vnder theſe words: If we haue done any thing incompetently, or haue not obſerued the path of equitie among ſubiects, we will amend the ſame, either by your owne iudgement, or els by the aduiſe and iudgement of thoſe, whom you ſhall appoynt. If the Popes therefore themſelues are not exempted from the ſecular power, I thinke inferiour Clerkes are not?

Epiſtol. Leodienſ. cont. Paſchal. 2. *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdito, qui hoc omni animæ præcipit, quem à ſubiectione terrenæ poteſtatis excepit?* Let euery ſoule (ſaith S. *Paul*) be ſubiect to the higher powers: he that inioyneth this to euery ſoule, whom hath he exempted from the ſubiection of the earthly power?

M. *Bradford* collecteth out of this place, that al men ought to be ſubiect to the temporal power, *Poteſtati, quæ gladium geſtat*: to that power which beareth the ſword, which is the temporal power. *Fox*. pag. 1607.

B. *Cranmer* holy Martyr: By the Scripture the King is chiefe, and no forraine perſon in his owne realm aboue him: there is no ſubiect, but to a King, I owe my fidelity to the Crown, &c. *Fox*. 1874.

Now whereas *Bellarmine* maketh ſhew both of Imperiall and Pontificiall conſtitutions, as though he could out of them warrant his aſſertion: I will briefely declare, what plentifull teſtimonies we haue out of both.

Firſt, for the Ciuill law, whereas *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that the Magiſtrate can neither puniſh Clergie men, nor conuent them before them: I will proue the contrarie, concerning both theſe points. Firſt, that the Ciuil power hath authoritie to cenſure and puniſh the Clergie offending, it is euident, *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 4. *leg.* 3. *Martian. Si Clericus erit &c.* If a Clergie man ſhal ſeeme to diſpute or doubt of the faith, he ſhall be depriued. *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 6. *leg.* 14. *Arcadius*, a Biſhop offending againſt the Common-wealth, ſhall be exiled.

For the conuenting of Clerkes, the law is as cleare, *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 6. *leg.* 24. *Martian. Cum Clericis, &c.* The Clergie men of Conſtantinople may be conuented before the Patriarke or Preſident of the Citie. *Leg.* 31. *Anthemius, Clerici extranei*: Forraine Clerks, and not of the citie of Conſtantinople, muſt be conuented only before the Preſident of the citie. *Ibid. authentic. In ciuili crimine ciuilis præſit iudex, &c.* In ciuill offences the Ciuill Iudge muſt beare ſway: And there criminal offences are interpreted to be murther, adultery, periury, &c. Likewiſe *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 6. *leg.* 34. *Anthemius, Præſidali iuriſdictioni, &c.* To the Preſidents iuriſdiction all of what degree ſoeuer are ſubiect, Biſhops, Clerkes, Monkes, &c.

Now let vs take a view of their owne law, *Cauſ.* 11. *qu.* 1. *c.* 20. *Gregorius*; *Paulinum Aquileienſ. &c.* I pray, ſend vnder ſafe cuſtodie vnto the Emperour, *Paulinus* Biſhop *Aquileienſ.* and the Biſhop of Millaine. This Canon attributeth this power to the Imperiall crowne, to puniſh eccleſiaſticall perſons. Alſo *cap.* 45. *Si quis cum Clerico, &c.* If a man haue a ſuite with a Clerke concerning a money matter, if the Biſhop refuſe to heare, *Tunc ad ciuilem iudicem*: Then it may be lawful to bring the matter before a ciuill Iudge: *Decret. Greg. lib.* 5. *tit.* 39. *c.* 23. *Clemens* 3. *Clericus à Comite iuſſus fuſtigari, &c.* A certaine Clerke for making ſedition, was commanded by an Earle to be beaten with a club, and thereof dyed. The Pope himſelfe determineth this to be lawfully done. Thus we ſee, how that in former time, Clerkes were ſubiect, both by the law of God and man, to the ciuill Iuriſdiction.

Now then, as by the preaching of the Goſpel, Princes are reſtored to their Imperial dignity, and made Lords of al their ſubiects both ſpiritual & temporal, whereas they were but halfe rulers before: ſo Princes likewiſe haue prouided great immunities and priuiledges for the Preachers of the Goſpel, by whom their Princely authoritie is reuiued: as *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 6. *leg.* 1. *Conſtantinus* made a law, that Clergie men, their Miniſters and ſeruants ſhould be free from all new exactions and impoſitions. Likewiſe *Conſtantius ibid. leg.* 2. exempteth Clergy men, their wiues, childrē, ſeruants, goods, from all militarie ſeruices, from cariage, poſt ſeruice, and ſuch like. And *Fredericke* made an excellent conſtitution in the behalfe of the Clergie, and eſpecially ſuch as were *Profeſſores ſacrarum legum,&c.* Profeſſors of Scriptures, *Ne à viliſſimis hominibus, &c.* That euery vile perſon ſhould not be readie to offer or do them wrong, or conuent them at their pleaſures before euery Iudge, but onely ſuch as are there named: And the reaſon of this conſtitution is rendred, *Quia illorum ſcientia,&c.* Becauſe the whole world is lightened with their knowledge: *Et ad obediendum Deo & nobis,&c.* And the Subiects are taught by them to obey God, and vs his Miniſters. Then it followeth, *Dignum exiſtimauimus,vt quadam ſpeciali dilectione eos ab omni iniuria defendamus*; Wee haue therefore thought it good, by our eſpeciall fauour to defend them from all iniurie: *Conſtit. Frederici,Cod.lib.*4.*tit.*13.*leg.*5. A worthie conſideration, that the Miniſters and Preachers of the Goſpell, which teach the people obedience, and would haue none exempted from their regal authoritie, ſhould themſelues be chiefely defended and protected by it. Agreeable to this Conſtitution, are the Imperial lawes of this nature yet in force, which forbid that any hay, corne, beaſts, cattell or any goods of Clergie men, ſhould be taken from them, by any colour of Commiſſion, without their conſent: For we do take, (as the words of the law are) the ſaid Clergie men with their poſſeſſions, goods and cattels, into our eſpeciall protection and defence: *Anno* 14.*Eward.*3.*cap.*1.*& anno* 1.*Richard.*2.*c.*3. Thus Chriſtian Princes in token of thankefulneſſe to the Goſpell and the Miniſters thereof, haue endued them with excellent priuiledges, if through the enuie, and pragmaticall attempts of inferior Miniſters and officers they might be ſuffered to enioy the ſame: But it is now farre otherwiſe, that the Goſpell with the Miniſters thereof are growne into ſuch contempt, that euery vile perſon is readie to offer them wrong, and to moleſt them with iniurious ſuites, and that with many they find ſmall fauour, neyther are reſpected according to their calling; a ſmall reward for their labours in the Goſpell. And thus we are made a ſcorne to our aduerſaries, who laugh in their ſleeues, to ſee the Miniſters of the Goſpell, that haue by their preaching enlarged the Ciuill authoritie, to receiue no more fauour from it, and in enlarging other mens libertie, to abridge their owne: which I ſpeake not, as complayning of the ſoueraigne and ſacred Princely Maieſtie, or the honourable Miniſters thereof; vnder whoſe comfortable ſhadow we liue, and haue libertie of conſcience; but of ſome inferior officers, that haue not that regard to the excellent calling and Miniſterie of the Goſpell, which is fit of all Chriſtians to be acknowledged. But leauing this complaint I will proceed.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THE PRINCE haue power ouer Eccleſiaſticall goods.

The Papiſts.

99.Error. THe goods of the Clergie both ſecular and Eccleſiaſticall, are and ought to be exempted from paying tribute to Princes: yet they haue not this libertie, ſay they, by the lawe of God, but by the grant of Princes themſelues, *Rhemiſt. annot. Rom.*13.*ſect.*5. *Bellarmine de Clericis, cap.*28.

*Argum.*1. Geneſ.47.22.and 27. The lands of the Prieſts were exempted from paying tribute: *Ergo,* it ſeemeth that this cuſtome is grounded vpon the law of nature, *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Hebrew word ſignifieth rather Preſidents, ſuch as were the Kings officers, not prieſts, as *Tremellius* ſheweth: who were maintained by the Kings prouiſion, being officers of his houſehold: for Geneſ.41.45. *Ioſeph* is ſaid to marrie the daughter of *Potyphar* Prince, not prieſt of *On*. The ſame word *Cohen* is there vſed: for it is not like that *Ioſeph* would match himſelfe with an idolatrous prieſts daughter. Secondly, but be it granted, this was but a politike conſtitution for that countrie: other Princes are not bound to *Pharao* his law. Thirdly, they gaine nothing by this, but that it is an humane conſtitution.

*Argum.*2. Some of them do thus reaſon out of our Sauiour Chriſts words, Matth.17. when he ſaid thus to *Peter, What thinkeſt thou Simon? of whom do the Kings of the Nations receiue tribute, of their owne, or of ſtrangers?* Simon anſwered, *of ſtrangers:* the Lord ſaid, *then are their children free.* But Clergie men are the children of the kingdome: *Ergo,* they ought to be free: thus reaſoneth *Marſilius de Padua,* and the *Rhemiſts Matth.*17.*ſect.*8.

Anſw. To this argument *Bellarmine* anſwereth: firſt, by this reaſon all Chriſtians, as well as Clerks ſhould be exempted from tribute, becauſe they are all the Sons of God, being borne anew in Baptiſme. Secondly, Chriſt ſpeaketh onely of himſelfe: that as Kings children are freed from tribute, ſo much more he, being the Sonne and Heire apparant of the King of kings, ſhould be exempted from all temporall tribute: thus one of them anſwereth another. Thirdly, to this anſwere may be added, that Chriſt ſtandeth not vpon any ſuch priuiledge, as hee might iuſtly alledge; but notwithſtanding leaſt he ſhould offend, yeeldeth to pay tribute: therefore by the words of our Sauiour, it is ſcandalous and offenſiue for any to pleade priuiledge in denying of tribute to Princes.

The Proteſtants.

THat Princes haue authoritie to puniſh Eccleſiaſticall perſons offending in their goods; either by diſplacing them, or by conuerting the Church poſſeſſions by them abuſed, to better vſes, we haue ſhewed before, *Contr.5.quæſt.6.part.1.* And that their goods ought to pay tribute, ſubſidie, taxe, vnto the prince, thus now it is proued.

Argum.1. Our Sauiour Chriſt payed poll money, Matth.17.25. Rom.13. Euery ſoule ought to be ſubiect to the higher powers, and there verſ.5. paying of tribute is made a part of ſubiection: the argument therefore thus followeth: Clergie men are ſubiect to Princes, therefore they ought to pay tribute.

Argum.2. Ex conceſſis, wee reaſon thus from their owne confeſſion: That which Princes gaue to the Church, vpon good cauſe they may take away: but this immunitie, not to pay tribute, was firſt graunted, as they confeſſe, to the Church, by kings and Princes: *Ergo*, they haue the ſame right, hauing iuſt occaſion, to take it from them againe. What *Auguſtines* iudgement is, wee haue ſeene in the place before alleaged.

*Concil.Lateranenſ.ſub Leon.*10.*ſeſſ.*11. there the ancient cuſtome and priuiledge of Parliaments is approued: *Quod habeant iuriſdictionem in perſonas Eccleſiaſticas:* That they haue power and iuriſdiction ouer Eccleſiaſticall perſons. And the whole Councell ratified it, ſauing onely *Iohannes Dominicus Epiſcop.Terdonenſ.* But Parliaments haue authoritie to leuie taxes and ſubſidies vpon Clergie men; ſo that conſequently herein alſo this Councell doth authorize Parliaments.

Fredericke the Emperour writeth well to Pope *Adrian* the 4. *Ab ijs, qui regalia noſtra tenent, cur homagium & regalia ſacramenta non exigimus; cum ille noſter & veſter inſtitutor ab homine rege nihil accipiens, tamen pro ſe & Petro cenſum Cæſari perſoluit, & exemplum vobis dedit, vt vos ita faciatis:* Why ſhould we not require fealtie and other regall rights of thoſe, which doe hold and enioy our regall dignities, he meaneth Biſhops, ſeeing that Chriſt the founder both of the Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, whereas he receiued nothing of any humane King; yet for himſelfe and *Peter* payd tribute to *Cæſar*, and gaue you an example ſo to doe.

This is agreeable to the Ciuil law, *Cod.lib.1.tit.6.leg.3. Conſtantius: Clerici pro ijs prædijs,&c.* Clergie men, for ſuch poſſeſſions as they hold, muſt be vrged to pay tribute.

Their owne Canons conſent: *Decret.par.1.diſtinct.8.c.1. Noli dicere quid mihi & regi,&c.* Say not, what hath the King to doe with me? for what haſt thou to doe with thy poſſeſſion, which thou enioyeſt by the lawes of the King? *Decret.par.2.cauſ.11.qu.1.cap.27. Si tributum petit imperator, non negamus:* If the Emperour require tribute, wee denie it not: for euen the lands of the Church pay tribute. But becauſe theſe Canons are but compiled by *Gratiane* out of the fathers, as the firſt out of S. *Auguſtine*, the ſecond from S. *Ambroſe*; let vs heare the decree and ſentence of their owne Biſhops of Rome: as *Vrbanus* thus determineth, *Cauſ.23.qu.8.c.22. Tributum in ore piſcis inuentum eſt,&c.* Tribute was found in the fiſhes mouth; for the Church of her externall things paieth tribute: but he was not bidden to giue the whole fiſh, but onely the piece in the fiſhes mouth: So the Church and the office of a Biſhop muſt not be yeelded to the Emperour; but that which is found in the mouth of the fiſh muſt bee paied for the defence of peace, &c. *Boniface* 8. indeed decreed al ſuch lay officers to be excommunicate that laid any taxes or impoſitions vpon the Church, & al Clergie men paying any ſuch, to bee ſubiect to the ſame cenſure, *ſext.decr.lib.3.tit.23.cap.3.* But this conſtitution is reuerſed by *Clemens 5.Clementin.lib.3.tit.17.* and by *Benedict.11.extrauag.commun.lib.3.tit.13.c.1.* where two caſes are excepted, namely, of neceſſitie, and common vtilitie, when it ſhall be lawfull for Clergie men to pay taxe and ſubſidie to the Ciuill ſtate.

Doctor *Taylor* holie Martyr, alleageth out of *Chryſoſtome*, how that the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts, and all men in euery realme were euer, and ought to bee euer, both touching bodie and goods, in ſubiection to the kingly authoritie, who hath the ſword in his hand, as Gods principall officer and gouernour in euery realme, *Fox.*pag.1523.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING THE PRINces authoritie in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.

The Papiſts.

100. Error. THe Prince, they ſay, hath no authoritie to giue voyce deliberatiue or definitiue in Councels concerning matters of religion, nor to make lawes eccleſiaſticall concerning the ſame: Only they giue them authoritie to execute the Eccleſiaſticall lawes made by the Church, *Rhemiſt.1.Corinth.14.16.Bellarm.de Pontif.lib.1.cap.7.*

Argum.1. Kings and Princes may in their owne perſons execute if they will, whatſoeuer their inferiour officers doe, as to heare and determine cauſes, as the Iudges and other Magiſtrates doe: but the Prince cannot execute any Eccleſiaſticall function, as to preach, baptize: *Ergo*, he hath no authoritie in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall: for how can the Prince impart that to others, whereof he is himſelfe incapable, as to giue Biſhops and Paſtors power to ordaine, to preach, and ſuch like: *Bellarm.Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, the authoritie of ciuill Magiſtrates doth not giue any thing to Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, which appertaineth to their office, as to ordaine, preach, baptize; neither is the Prince to deale in theſe offices: yet may the ciuill Magiſtrates commaund them to execute their charge and duties according to the word of God. Wherefore it followeth not, Princes cannot execute the paſtorall duties themſelues: *Ergo*, they ought not to ſee them executed. ***Dauid, Salomon, Iehoſaphat, Ezechias***, commaunded the Prieſts to execute their office according to the law of God, though it was not lawfull for them, neither did they execute any thing proper to the Prieſts office in their owne perſons; neither doth any Chriſtian Prince challenge any ſuch right in Eccleſiaſticall functions: wherefore it is an impudent ſlaunder of ***Bellarmine***, which he giueth forth of our Queene, *Iam re ipſa Caluiniſtis in Anglia mulier quadam ſummus pontifex*: And now (ſaith he) in England the Caluiniſts haue a certaine woman for their chiefe Biſhop, *De notis Eccleſ.lib.4.cap 9.*

2 It doth not followe, that the Prince might as well execute Eccleſiaſticall offices, as he may ciuill in his owne perſon, if he haue authoritie ouer both: no more then it followeth, that becauſe Eccleſiaſticall perſons doe teach both ciuil Magiſtrates and Church officers their duties, and may in their owne perſons execute the one, that is, ſpirituall duties, that they may as well intermeddle in the other: But theſe two offices of Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall gouernment are diſtinguiſhed, and muſt not be confounded. The Prince, though he haue authoritie to command Eccleſiaſticall perſons; yet being a ciuill Magiſtrate, is not to deale with the execution of ſpirituall duties. Biſhops and paſtors likewiſe haue a ſpirituall charge ouer Kings and Princes, to ſhew them their duties out of Gods word, yet becauſe they are perſons Eccleſiaſticall, they ought not to meddle with meere ciuill duties. The Prince hath the ſoueraigntie of externall gouernment in all cauſes and ouer all perſons, yet not alike: for ciuill offices he may both command and execute; Eccleſiaſticall duties he commandeth onely: Biſhops and paſtors haue alſo a ſpirituall charge ouer all, preſcribing out of Gods word as well the dutie of Magiſtrates, as of Miniſters, but not alike; for the one they may fully execute, ſo may they not the other. The head in the naturall bodie reſembleth the Prince in the commonwealth, in ſome ſenſe: the head giueth mouing to the whole bodie and all the parts thereof; but to the principall parts in the head the eyes, tongue, eares, it giueth beſide the facultie of mouing, the ſenſe alſo of ſeeing, taſting, hearing: So in the commonwealth, by the Princes authoritie all perſons are kept in order, and vrged to looke to their charge, both ciuil officers and ſpiritual, as all the parts of the body receiue mouing from the head: But the ciuil officers receiue power & authority beſide, & their very offices of the King, as the parts in the head receiue ſenſe frō their fountaine: but Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters receiue not their offices frō the prince, or any mortal man, but they haue their calling according to the order of yͤ Church of God.

***Argum.*2.** For the ſpace of 300. yeeres the Church after Chriſt had no Chriſtian gouernours, but all Heathen and Idoll worſhippers, yet then the Church was eſtabliſhed, and preuailed: *Ergo*, Ciuill Magiſtrates ought not to deale in Eccleſiaſticall affayres, *Bellarm.de laicis.cap.17.*

*Anſw.*1. Euen then alſo, the Heathen Emperours had authoritie in Church matters, and if they had commanded any thing agreeable to true religion, they ſhould haue been obeyed: as ***Cyrus*** in the law which he made for building the temple, Ezra.1. ***Darius*** the Median, for worſhipping the true God. The Heathen Emperours then had the ſame power, but they knewe not how to vſe it: Chriſtian Princes doe ſucceed them in the ſame office, but are better taught by the word of God how to exerciſe the ſword. Secondly, we deny not but that in the time of perſecution all things neceſſarie for the ſpirituall building thereof may be had, without the Magiſtrate, as a Vineyard may bring forth fruite without an hedge, but it cannot enioy peace, nor be in a perfect eſtate, in reſpect of the externall gouernment, but vnder good Magiſtrates; as the Vineyard may ſoone be ſpoyled, the wild bore and the beaſts of the field may breake in vpon it hauing no hedge. The child being in the wombe, though it haue as yet ſmall vſe of the head, but is fed by the nauell, which is in ſtead of the mouth, hath in it ſelfe the lineaments and proportion of a humane bodie, yet it wanteth the perfect beautie, till it be borne and come forth, and the head receiue his office: So may the Church haue a being in perſecution, and the want of the ciuill head may bee otherwiſe ſupplied, but it is not beautifull till the head bee ſet vp, and the ſword put into the Chriſtian Magiſtrates hand.

Argum.*3.** Princes haue no cure nor charge of ſoules: ***Ergo, they are not to meddle with Eccleſiaſticall lawes, *Rhemiſt.annot.1.Corinth.14.ſect.16.*

Anſw. Parents haue charge ouer the ſoules of their children, for they are charged to bring them vp in the inſtruction and information of the Lord, Eph.6.4. Therefore Princes alſo haue directly charge of the ſoules of their ſubiects according to their place and calling, by prouiding and making good Eccleſiaſticall lawes, and compelling them to the true ſeruice of God: as the Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters in another kind, and more properly are ſaid to haue the cure of ſoules, in feeding and inſtructing the people.

Concil.Matiſconenſ in fine.Guntranus the King being preſent, ſaith thus to the Biſhops: *Licet ſine noſtra admonitione, ad vos ſpecialiter prædicandi cauſa pertineat, &c.* Although without our admonition or charge, the dutie of preaching doth eſpecially belong to you: neuertheleſſe, we, to whom the higheſt King hath giuen authoritie to raigne, ſhall not eſcape his wrath, if we haue no care of our ſubiects, that is, concerning their religion. This godly King taketh himſelfe to be charged with the ſoules of his people. Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr alſo hath ſealed the ſame truth: Both the falſe teacher, and the corrupt gouernour, ſhall be puniſhed for the death of their ſubiect, whom they haue falſely taught, and corruptly led, yea and his bloud ſhall bee required at his hands. *Fox.* pag.1774.

The Proteſtants.

THe ciuill Magiſtrate, by the word of God, hath power to make and conſtitute Eccleſiaſticall lawes, and to eſtabliſh true religion, and ſee that all perſons vnder their gouernment doe faithfully execute their charge: To ſay therefore that the Church officers are to deuiſe lawes concerning religion, and the Prince onely to execute them, is to make the Prince their ſeruant, and doth derogate too much from the princely authoritie. Neither doe we giue vnto the Prince abſolute power to make Eccleſiaſticall lawes: for firſt, the Prince is not to preſcribe what lawes he liſteth to the Church, but ſuch as onely may require the true worſhip of God. Secondly, that it is expedient and meete, according to the commendable cuſtome of this land, that the godly learned of the Clergie ſhould be conſulted withall, in eſtabliſhing of Eccleſiaſticall ordinances, vnleſſe it be in ſuch a corrupt time, when the Church gouernours are enemies to religion: for then the Prince, not ſtaying vpon their iudgement, ought to reforme religion according the word of God, as we ſee it was lawfully and godly practiſed by King *Henry* the eight. Thirdly, we doe make exception of all ſuch Eccleſiaſticall canons and ordinances, the making whereof doth properly belong to the office of Biſhops and gouernours of the Church: for our meaning is not, that it is not lawfull for Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, to make Eccleſiaſticall decrees, which doe properly concerne their office, as concerning the cenſures of the Church, excommunication, ſuſpenſion, abſoluing, binding, looſing, and ſuch like, which things are incident to their paſtorall office: and yet we graunt, that the Prince hath euen in theſe caſes an ouerruling hand, to ſee that none abuſe their paſtorall office: But that any lawes ought to be made without the authoritie of the prince, which the prince is bound to execute, we vtterly deny. And ſo we conclude, that the ciuill Magiſtrate hath power ouer all perſons and in all cauſes, both temporall and Eccleſiaſticall, in ſuch manner as we haue ſaid.

Fulk.Heb.13.9.

Argum 1. S.*Paul* willeth, that prayers ſhould be made for Kings and Princes, that vnder them we may leade a peaceable life, in all godlines and honeſtie, 1.Tim.2.2. *Ergo*, it is their dutie as well to procure religion by their authoritie, as ciuill honeſtie. Againe, He beareth not the ſword for nought, Rom.13.4. He hath power to puniſh all euill doers: therefore alſo to correct euill miniſters, and to make Eccleſiaſticall lawes: for otherwiſe he ſhould haue no full power to correct the tranſgreſſors thereof.

*Argum.*2. We reade that *Ioſua, Dauid, Salomon, Ioſias*, did deale in Eccleſiaſticall matters, which concerned religion and the worſhip of God. *Bellarm.* They did it by an extraordinarie authoritie, not as Kings, but as Prophets. Nay, it was an ordinarie power: for all the good Kings of Iuda beſide, as *Iehoſaphat, Hezekiah*, and others, did take care of religion: and this was ſo properly annexed to the kingly office, that idolatrous Kings alſo tooke vpon them to command falſe religion, as *Ieroboam* ſet vp two golden calues, and *Ahaz* King of Iudah commaunded *Vriah* the high Prieſt to make an Altar according to the patterne which he ſent from Damaſcus, 2.King.16.11. This power alſo was afterward exerciſed by Chriſtian Kings and Emperours: as *Conſtantinus, Theodoſius, Martianus*, made lawes for the Church. *Iuſtinianus* the Emperour decreed many things concerning Church affayres: as how excommunication ſhould be vſed, how Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould be ordained, concerning the order and manner of funerals: that the holy myſteries ſhould not be done in priuate houſes. *Carolus magnus* decreed, that onely the Canonicall bookes of Scripture ſhould be read in the Church: he chargeth all Biſhops and prieſts to preach the word. *Lodouicus Pius* his ſonne, and Emperour after him, ordained that no entrie ſhould be made into the Church by Symonie: that Biſhops ſhould be choſen by the free election of the Clergie and the people. All theſe Emperors did lawfully exerciſe their princely authoritie in Eccleſiaſticall matters: *Ergo*, other Princes may doe the ſame ſtill.

Fox.pag.7.

3 *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Epiſtol.*50. *Quis mente ſobrius, &c?* Who in his right wits would ſay to the King, It pertaineth not to you, who in your kingdom is religious or ſacrilegious; to whom it cannot be ſaid, let it not pertaine vnto you, who in your kingdome will be chaſte or vnchaſte? And in another place, *Ad fratres in erem.ſerm.*14. *Tunc iuſtitia dicitur gladius ex vtraque parte acutus, quia*

hominis defendit corpus ab exterioribus iniurijs,& animam à ſpiritualibus moleſtijs: Then iuſtice is rightly called a ſword with a double edge, becauſe it doth both defend the bodie from externall and corporall wrongs, and the ſoule from ſpirituall vexation: That is, the ſword of the Magiſtrate ſerueth as well to prune the Church, and to cut off all errors and hereſies in religion, as to deſtroy the vices and corruptions in manners.

The conſent of antiquitie is on our ſide: *Bonifacius ad Honorium imperatorem: Angeretur plurib. Chriſtianiſſime princeps, mater eccleſia niſi apud te ſuarum eſſet ſecura cauſarum:* The Church your mother, moſt Chriſtian prince, would bee greatly grieued, if ſhe were not ſecure and confident in all her cauſes and matters, which reſt in your hand.

Leo epiſtol.7.ad Theodoſium: Vobis non ſolum regium, ſed ſacerdotalem animum ineſſe gaudemus, ſiquidem prater imperiales & publicas curas, piiſſimam ſollicitudinem Chriſtianæ religionis habetis: We doe reioyce to ſee in you not onely a kingly, but a prieſtly minde, in that beſide your imperiall cares, you are moſt godly carefull of religion.

Concil.6.Conſtantinop. Quid eſt præſertim imperatori decibilius,&c.quam præ omnibus pietate adornare ſubiectos.action.18. What can bee more comely, eſpecially for the Emperour, then to adorne his ſubiects with pietie?

Arelatenſ.ſub Carolo.can.26.Hæc imperatori præſentanda decreuimus, poſcentes eius clementiam, vt ſi quid hic minus eſt, eius prudentia ſuppleatur; ſi quid ſecus, quam ſe ratio habet, eius iudicio emendetur; ſi quid rationabiliter taxatum eſt, eius adiutorio perficiatur: Theſe things which wee haue decreed, wee purpoſe to preſent to the Emperour, that if any thing be wanting, it may bee by his prudence ſupplied; if any thing amiſſe, it may be by him amended; if any thing reaſonably inioyned, it may be by his helpe perfited and confirmed. Do not they now go againſt all antiquitie, that ſay the Prince ought to haue no voyce in Councell, nor to make Eccleſiaſticall lawes: whereas theſe ancient Canons doe ſhew, that theſe things did principally belong to the ciuill Magiſtrate?

We haue alſo moſt euident teſtimonies out of the Ciuill and Canon law. Firſt, *Cod.lib.1.tit.4. leg.1.* A law is made by the Emperours *Gratianus, Valentinianus, Theodoſius,* as touching the Catholike faith, and the right beleeuing in the Trinitie. *Leg.3.Martianus* ordaineth, that no man publikely ſhould diſpute of the faith receiued. *Tit.6.leg.26.Leo* maketh a conſtitution againſt the placing, and carying about of relicks. It is euident then that theſe Chriſtian Emperours had to doe in the matters of faith.

Likewiſe for their owne Canons: *Decret.par.1.diſt.96.Nickolaus* thus writeth to *Michael* the Emperour: *Vbi legiſtis,&c.* Where haue you read, that any of your predeceſſors were preſent in Synodes, but onely where faith was entreated of, which is vniuerſall, and common to all, as well the Laitie as the Clergie? This Canon excludeth not the imperiall preſence and authoritie euen in matters of faith.

Cauſ.16.qu.7.31.regis auribus,&c. If the Metropolitane take away any thing dedicated to the Church, intimate it into the eares of the King.

Cauſ.23.quæſt.5.cap.20.Cognoſcant reges ſeculi,&c. Let the Princes of the world know that they muſt render an account vnto God for the Church, which they receiued to defend: *Per terrenum regnum ſæpe cœleſte regnum proficit:* Oftentimes the heauenly kingdome is encreaſed by the terrene and earthly kingdome. But more euidently, *Can.21.Leo: Res humana,&c.* Humane ſtate cannot ſtand, vnleſſe ſuch things, as belong to the diuine faith, both the prieſtly and kingly authoritie defend. *c.34. Iniuria ſacramentorum, &c.* The iniurie done to the Sacraments of Chriſt, muſt bee reuenged of Kings. *c.40.Rex debet adulteria punire:* The King muſt puniſh adulterie. Thus we ſee how that by the ſentence of their owne lawe, Princes ought to beare ſway euen in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.

AN APPENDIX OR FOVRTH PART OF THE QVEſtion, whether the Prince in any good ſenſe may be called the head of his kingdome, and conſequently of the Church in his kingdome.

The Papiſts.

101. THey doe appropriate this title, to bee called head of the vniuerſall Church, to the Pope of Rome, moſt blaſphemouſly: for there can be no head of the vniuerſall bodie but Chriſt: But for Princes to bee called the head, that is, chiefe gouernours of the Churches in their kingdomes, they doe abhorre it. Whereupon *Bellarmine* is ſo ſaucie as to checke and controule King *Henrie* the 8. becauſe he was called the head of the Engliſh Church.

Argum.1. The Heathen Emperours were not heads of the Church, being not ſo much as members thereof: therefore neither Chriſtian Magiſtrates, which doe ſucceede them in that authoritie, *Rhemiſt.annot.1.Pet.2.ſect.6.*

Anſ. The argument followeth not: they were no true members of the Church, therefore could not bee heads, that is, haue the ſoueraigntie of the externall gouernment: for wicked Kings and Princes doe keepe their magiſtracie and gouernment ſtill; who though they be not true members of the Catholike Church, yet ought to be obeyed as Princes. 2. Though the metaphoricall name of head agreed not vnto them, yet were they by Gods ordinance appointed to bee heads and gouernours of his people and protectors of his Church, and ſhould haue been, if they had not abuſed their authoritie. 3. Chriſtian Princes, though they haue the ſame authoritie which they had, yet now exerciſing the ſword according to Gods law, and being Nurſes of the Church, may vſe and retaine thoſe princely titles indeede, to bee called Patrones and defenders of the faith, and head, that is, chiefe gouernours and protectors of the Church: which by right had been due vnto the other, if they had vſed their authoritie as they ſhould.

Biſhop *Cranmer* holy Martyr: Euen *Nero* was *Peters* head, and the head of the Church, that is, in worldly reſpect of the temporall bodies of men, of whom the Church conſiſteth; for ſo he beheaded *Peter*, and the Apoſtles: And ſo the Turke to is head of the Church in Turkey, *Fox* p.1877.

*Argum.*2. Chriſtian Princes are members of the Church: *Ergo*, not heads; for if they were heads, how could the Church ſtand without them, as it did in the time of perſecution?

Anſ. Firſt, as though the head is not a member and part of the bodie, though a principall one: ſo the Prince is a member of the Church, but a principall and chiefe member, not of the inuiſible Church, for ſo Chriſt is onely head; but of a particular viſible Church. Secondly, we deny not but that the inuiſible and ſpirituall Church may conſiſt without the Magiſtrate: but a viſible, flouriſhing, and wel-gouerned Church cannot want a head or chiefe gouernour, that is as a wall or hedge vnto it.

The Proteſtants.

TO bee head of the vniuerſall Church is proper onely to Chriſt, and in that ſenſe is not communicable to any creature: for he is to his Church, as the head to the naturall bodie, giuing vnto it influence of grace, ſpirit and life: he is therefore the onely myſticall head of the vniuerſall Church: But in another ſenſe the Prince may be ſaid to bee the head and chiefe gouernour of his kingdome, and of that particular viſible Church, where he is King: We make him neither the myſticall head, which is onely Chriſt, (farre bee that blaſphemie from vs) nor a miniſteriall head, as they make the Pope to bee as Chriſts Vicegerent in the Church; but a politicall head, to keepe and preſerue the peace of the Church, and to ſee that euery member doe his office and dutie. But this name we confeſſe is vnproperly giuen to the Prince, neither were we the firſt inuentors of it: for the Papiſts firſt gaue it to *Henry* the 8. And there are other titles which do ſufficiently expreſſe the office of the Prince, and may bee more ſafely vſed. If any man thinke it too high a name for any mortall man, and ſo not to bee giuen to any, we will not greatly contend about it: But if any denie it to the Prince, as thereby to abridge her of her power in Eccleſiaſticall matters, wee doe ſtand ſtiffely for it; and are bold to affirme, that with much better right is this title attributed to the ciuill Magiſtrate then it was to the Pope: yea, and that it hath been of old giuen in a modeſt and ſober ſenſe to Kings and Princes, and may with a fauourable expoſition be ſtill: and Princes alſo may receiue this honour and title at their ſubiects hands, with proteſtation of their Chriſtian meaning herein.

*Argum.*1. This phraſe, for the King to bee called the head, is not vnuſuall in Scripture, 1.Samuel 15.17. *Saul* is ſaid to bee the head of the tribes. Pſal.18.43. *Dauid* the head of the nations: Iſay 9.15. The Prince or honourable man the head of the people: yea Princes are called Gods, Pſal.82.2. which is a name of greater ſoueraigntie, then to be called heads.

Bellarmine anſwereth: Princes doe rule ouer their ſubiects as men, not as Chriſtians; and Kings are ſet ouer the people, not as they are Chriſtians, but politike perſons: ſo the Prince is head of the kingdome, not of the Church, *De pontif.Rom.lib.*1.*cap.*7.

Anſ. Stephen Gardiner taketh away this cauill very ſufficiently, wee will ſet one Papiſt againſt another: It is all one (ſaith he) to call the Prince head of the Church of England, and head of the Realme of England; for if all Engliſhmen bee his ſubiects, why are they not his ſubiects, as they are Chriſtians? If the wife or ſeruant bee ſubiect to the maſter or husband being infidels, doth their conuerſion, or name of Chriſtians make them leſſe ſubiect, then they were before? *Hæc ille.* Againe, how farre is this, I pray you, from Anabaptiſtrie, to ſay, that ſubiects, onely as men, not as Chriſtians, are in ſubiection to Princes? for doth it not follow hereupon, that as Chriſtians they ought to haue no ſuperiour or Magiſtrate? Fox.pag.1059.

*Argum.*2. It is ſufficient for vs, that this title more fitly and properly belongeth to euery Prince in his owne kingdome, then to the Pope: For the Pope can in no wiſe bee head of the Church; he is not the myſticall head, neither dare they ſay ſo; for Chriſt onely is the head in that manner: neither can he bee the Miniſteriall head of the vniuerſall Church; for the Catholike Church is a bodie myſticall, and muſt needes haue a myſticall head: neither is he the politicall head of any particular Church: for no Biſhop can be a politicall head; becauſe he that is the head

and chiefe muſt haue a coactiue power, to binde his ſubiects to obedience: ſo hath not any Biſhop. The Prince onely beareth the ſword, and enforceth obedience. Againe, in a farre diuers ſenſe is the Prince called the head, then the Pope was: for firſt the Pope challenged to bee head of the vniuerſall Church; but the Prince is chiefe onely in his owne kingdome. Secondly, the Pope would be an abſolute head, to doe all vpon earth that Chriſt did, yea and more too, to binde and looſe at his pleaſure, to depoſe Kings, to diſpenſe with the word of God, to conſtitute and make lawes at his pleaſure: inſomuch that one of his clawbacke flatterers is not aſhamed to ſay of him,
Panormitane. *Chriſtus & Papa vnum faciunt conſiſtorium, & exceptò peccato poteſt Papa, quaſi omnia facere, quæ poteſt Deus*: Chriſt and the Pope make but one Conſiſtorie, and keepe but one court; and ſinne onely excepted, the Pope in a manner can doe all things that God can doe. But wee doe limit the power of the Prince: who is not to impoſe any lawes vpon the Church, but ſuch as are agreeable to the word of God: neither doe we make him a ſpirituall officer, as the Pope would be, but a ciuill gouernour, who by poſitiue lawes is to prouide for the peace and welfare of the Church.

1.Pet.2.13. Laſtly, Saint *Peter* ſaith, ***Submit your ſelues to the King as the chiefe***, ὡς ὑπερέχοντι, or moſt excelling: what is this elſe, but as to the head? what is it to bee chiefe but to bee head? But we will not much contend for the name, ſo they will graunt vs the thing: namely, that the Prince is a commaunder euen in Eccleſiaſticall matters, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *In hoc reges Deo ſeruiunt, ſi mala prohibeant, non ſolùm quæ pertinent ad humanam ſocietatem, verumetiam quæ ad diuinam religionem. Cont. Creſcon. lib. 3. cap. 5.* In this Kings doe good ſeruice to God, if they forbid euill to be done, not onely in matters pertaining to humane ſocietie, but in things concerning religion. As for the title, to bee called head, let them ceaſe to call their chiefe Biſhop ſo who hath no right vnto it, and wee will promiſe alſo to lay it downe, though in good ſenſe we might vſe it, though the Pope had neuer laid claime thereunto.

Concil. Toletan. 8. Recceſiunthus the King thus ſaith in his preface to the Councell: *Regendorum membrorum cauſa, ſalus eſt capitis; & fœlicitas populorum, non niſi manſuetudo eſt principum*: The health of the head muſt be ſought, for the better regiment of the members; and the happines of the people, is the lenitie of their Prince. Here the Prince is called the head, the people the members.

Biſhop *Cranmer* holy Martyr: The King is the ſupreame head of all the people of England both Eccleſiaſticall and temporall, which are the viſible Church: But Chriſt onely is head of the Church, that is, of the faith and religion thereof, both of the whole vniuerſall Church, and of euerie member thereof, *Fox* pag. 1881. And otherwiſe we hold not.

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING THE authoritie of the Prince in puniſhing Heretikes.

WE doe willingly graunt, that obſtinate heretikes and peruerters of the faith, if they perſiſt in their damnable opinions, and remaine incorrigible, may and ought to bee cut off and puniſhed by death, to make others to feare: So *Seruetus* at Geneua, and one *Valentinus* at Berne, both monſtrous heretikes, not amongſt the Papiſts, but by the Proteſtants were worthily put to death. In this therefore wee and our aduerſaries agree, that heretikes may bee puniſhed by death by the ciuill Magiſtrate. If *Luther*, or any other haue held any priuate opinion to the contrarie, let them anſwere for themſelues: but although we varie not in the principall, yet there are certaine circumſtances and acceſſaries greatly materiall, wherein they both diſſent from vs and from the truth.

Bellarm. de pontif. lib. 1. cap. 7. 1 They would haue the Magiſtrate onely to be their executioner, the iudgement of hereſie, they ſay, belongeth to the Church: for they cited, examined, iudged, degraded, condemned heretikes; and then gaue them ouer to the ſecular power: this was the common practiſe, of their Church. 102.

But we hold, that the hearing, iudgement, ſentence, and condemnation of heretikes belongeth to the ciuill Magiſtrate, as well as the execution: becauſe theſe actions are proper to the ciuill ſword, which the Magiſtrate beareth, Rom. 13. and Deut. 17. 5. The falſe Prophets and Idolaters were brought to the gates of the Citie where the ciuill Magiſtrate was wont to ſit. *Auguſtine* is of the ſame minde, *Cur in veneficos vigorem legum exerceri iuſtè fatentur, in hæreticos & ſchiſmaticos nolunt fateri? cont. epiſt. Parmen. 1. 7.* Why do they graunt, that the vigour of the law may iuſtly be executed vpon witches, and not as well vpon heretikes and ſchiſmatikes? But the cauſes of witches are heard, iudged and handled before the ciuill Magiſtrate: *Ergo*, alſo the cauſe of heretikes. *Auguſtines* reaſon is out of the 5. Galath. 20. The workes of the fleſh are manifeſt, which are adulterie, fornication, idolatrie, witchcraft, and hereſies are alſo reckoned vp amongſt them: All theſe are workes of the fleſh: *Ergo*, the Magiſtrate being appointed to puniſh euill doers, hath asfull right to deale againſt them all, as ſome.

Concil.Chalcedon.action.16. Quoties ſacerdotum ſententia quoſdam indignos ſacerdotio de ſacris ſedibus depoſuit, toties imperium eiuſdem ſententiæ & ordinationis cum ſacerdotum authoritate fuit: As often as any vnworthie perſons by the ſentence of Miniſters were thruſt from their ſeates, ſo often the imperiall power did concurre with the authoritie of the Prieſtes in the ſame ſentence: the Emperour was ioyned with Clergie men in the iudgement of hereſie.

Thus teſtifieth M.*Philpot* holy Martyr, I ſeeke not to be mine owne Iudge, but am content to be iudged by other, ſo that the order of iudgement in matters of religion be kept, that was in the primitiue Church; which is, firſt, that Gods will by his word was ſought, and thereunto both the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie was gathered together and gaue their conſents and iudgements, &c. *Fox*.pag.1807.

That the iudgement of hereſie belongeth to the Ciuill power; it is euident by the Imperiall lawes: *Cod.lib.1.tit.8.leg.2.Gratian Valentinian. Hæreticorum vocabulo continentur, &c.* They are to be accounted heretikes, that do erre neuer ſo little from the Catholike faith. *Tit.12.leg.11. Theodoſ. Certum eſt &c.* It is certaine, that whatſoeuer doth differ from the Chriſtian faith, is contrarie to the Chriſtian law, therefore Chriſtian lawes do take knowledge of things varying from the faith. *Decret.p.2.cauſ.23.qu.8.c.30. Ne Clerici, quod morte plectendum eſt, propria ſententia iudicare præſumant*: That Clergy men ſhould not giue ſentence, where the puniſhment is by death. But hereſie is to be puniſhed by death; *Ergo,* Clergie men are not to giue ſentence againſt heretikes.

But if it ſhall be anſwered, that they put none to death, but deliuer them ouer to the ſecular power: this cannot excuſe them, but is flat contrary to their owne Canon, *Cauſ.33.diſtinct.1. c.23. Perniciosè ſe decipiunt, &c.* They do perniciouſly deceiue themſelues, that thinke them onely to be manſlayers, that kill with their hands, and not they by whoſe counſell and encouragement men are killed, &c. The Iewes did not kill our Lord with their owne hands; for ſay they, it is not lawfull for vs to put any to death; yet our Lords death is imputed vnto them, becauſe with their tongue and voyce they killed him, crying out, that he ſhould be crucified: *Qui ergo hominem tradidit &c.* He therefore that deliuereth a man ouer, killeth him. Wherefore the popiſh Phariſees, or phariſaicall Papiſts, in that they deliuer innocents ouer to be killed, are the killers themſelues.

103. 2 We differ about the way and meanes to trie an heretike by: They affirme that he is an heretike onely that is ſo iudged by a generall Councell, or the ſentence of the chiefe Paſtors of the Church: they would haue an heretike tryed by the conſtitutions and Canons of their Church, *Annot.tit.3.ſect.2.Rhemiſt.*

We ſay that an heretike is to be conuicted by the Scriptures, and that he that holdeth any opinion obſtinately againſt the manifeſt authoritie of Scripture, may be iudged an heretike without a general Councel: So *Auguſtine* writeth, anſwering the Pelagians, who obiected that they were condẽned without a Synod. *Ac ſi congregatione Synodi opus erat, vt aperta pernicies damnaretur, quaſi nulla hæreſis aliquando, niſi ſynodi congregatione damnata ſit.* As though a Synod need to be congregate or called, to condemñe ſuch open wickednes, as if neuer any hereſie had bin condemned but in a Synode or Councel: *Cont.2.epiſtol.Pelag.lib.4.cap.12.* This is that heretical opinion, as they call it, which the Councell of Conſtance condemned in *Iohn Huſſe*, and him together with it, becauſe he ſaid, That an heretike, whatſoeuer he be, ought firſt to be inſtructed, and taught with Chriſtian loue, and gentleneſſe by the holy Scriptures, and by reaſons drawne out of the ſame, before hee ſuffer corporall or bodily puniſhment: *Fox*.p.610.*articul*.18. Which his ſaying is grounded vpon that rule of the Goſpell, Matth.18.15. That if we ſee one offend, we ſhould firſt tell him priuatly; then before two or three: laſtly, declare it to the Church: and if he will not heare the Church, that is, by Scripture conuincing him; then continuing obſtinate, let him be as a publicane. This rule the Papiſts kept not in their bloudie perſecutions here in England: They put many hundreds to death, and were not able to conuince any one of hereſie; but in diſputation were themſelues put to ſilence and made aſhamed: Their onely arguments were the fire and fagot.

That hereſie muſt be tryed out by Scripture, wee haue the iudgement and practiſe of ancient times. *Concil. Aquileienſ. contra Palladium Arrianum: Propoſitæ diuinæ in medio ſcripturæ. præſens eſt Apoſtolus, omnes ſcripturæ præſtò ſunt, vnde vis, aſtrue, ſi putas non eſſe filium Dei ſempiternum*: The diuine Scriptures are ſet forth in the middeſt, the Apoſtle is preſent, the Scriptures are at hand: fetch thy prooues, where thou wilt, if thou thinkeſt that Chriſt is not the Sonne of God.

Leo epiſtol,44. Quia Euangelica, & apoſtolica fides omnes expugnat errores, hanc regulam mementote ſeruandam: becauſe the faith or trueth of the Goſpel and Apoſtles doth expugne all error, remember to keepe this rule.

Maſter *Philpot* putteth his ſeale to this trueth: ſhewing how in the primitiue Church after the iudgment of Gods word declared, with the aſſent of the Biſhops and the people, heretikes were condemned, or abſolued, *Fox*.p.1806.*examinat*.6.

Concerning the other point, that heretikes ought not raſhly to be condemned without ſufficient triall and examination, and euident conuincing of them, thus it is ſhewed.

The Councell of Baſile for promiſing to the Bohemians free audience, and libertie to diſpute, was therefore reprooued by ſome of the Popes accomplices: The Councell anſwereth thus, in one of their Epiſtles Synodals: *Omnis ſchola Theologorum & canoniſtarum, affirmat eam diſputationem, &c.* The whole ſchoole of Diuines and Canoniſts denieth not, but ſuch diſputation of faith to be lawfull, which is not the cauſe of tumult, of diſtruſt, or doubting in faith, but for inſtruction, and to open the truth, to conuince heretikes, and confirme the Catholikes: for as *Gregory* ſaith, as vnaduiſed ſpeech bringeth into error, ſo vndiſcreete ſilence leaueth them in error, which might be inſtructed. To this alſo agreeth the extrauagant, *lib.*5.*tit.*8.*c.*1. *Ioann.*22. *Nolentes antè credere, quam probare:* We not willing to beleeue, before we proue, haue appointed inquiſition and ſearch to be made &c. It is lawfull therefore to diſpute with heretikes: which *Winchester* denyeth to Maſter *Rogers* holy Martyr, who complaineth; that it was not permitted him to trie out the truth by conference, and writing, *Fox.*pag.1485.

Error. 104.

3 Againe, they vſed vnlawful wayes and vniuſt, in ſifting and examining, by cruel torments the poore innocents brought before them, neither ſhewing accuſers nor witneſſes: *Iohn Browne* Martyr appearing before *Warham* and *Fiſher*, two bloodſuckers, was burned with hot coales, his bare feete being ſet vpon them: *Fox*.pag.1292. *Cutbert Symſons* fingers were grated with an arrow, and he himſelfe piteouſly racked, to be made betray his innocent brethren, *Fox.*p.2032. *Tomkins* hand was burned by *Bonner,* till the ſinewes ſparkled againe, *Fox.*p.1533. And theſe were the witneſſes and accuſers that were brought againſt them.

Which practiſe of theirs is flat contrarie to the auncient Canons: *Calixtus* the ſecond, *Per ſcripturam nullus accuſare, vel accuſari poteſt, ſed propria voce, & præſente eo, quem accuſare voluerit, ſuam quiſque agat accuſationem:* Let no man accuſe or be accuſed by writing, but by his owne voyce, and in the preſence of him, who is accuſed, let the accuſation be made.

*Fabianus epiſtol.*2. *Nullus præſumat accuſator ſimul eſſe & iudex, vel teſtis, quoniam in omni iudicio quatuor perſonas neceſſe eſt ſemper adeſſe: Iudices electos, accuſatores, defenſores, & teſtes:* Let no man preſume to be an accuſer, and iudge at the ſame time, or witneſſe: becauſe in euery iudgement there muſt be foure perſons, the Iudges, accuſers, defenders, witneſſes.

*Concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Innocentio.*3.*cap.*8. *Debet præſens eſſe is, contra quem facienda eſt inquiſitio, &c.* He ought to be preſent, againſt whome enquirie is to be made, and the ſeuerall pointes and articles, which are ſought into, muſt be declared, that he may haue power to defend himſelfe: And not onely the words of the accuſation, but the perſons alſo muſt be publiſhed, that it may appeare, what, and by whom euery thing is reported. It ſhall alſo be lawfull for the partie accuſed, to take exceptions, and make replication: And all this would be done, leſt by ſuppreſſing names men ſhould take occaſion to defame others; and by cutting off of exceptions, they ſhould not be afraid to ſweare falſly.

What clearer teſtimonie can we haue, againſt this popiſh courſe and manner of proceeding in iudgement, when as without witneſſes a man is condemned, whereas the lawe, as we ſee, alloweth the accuſed, to vnderſtand the articles whereof he is accuſed, that he may haue time to anſwere, and to his accuſer, that if there be cauſe, he may take exception againſt him.

Quæſt.ex vtroque mix. 102.

This was cleane contrarie to the lawe of *Moſes:* At the mouth of two or three witneſſes, ſhall he that is worthy of death die, Deuteron.17.6. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quis iudex accuſantis ſumat perſonam? &c.* What Iudge would take vpon him to be an accuſer? Our Lord Chriſt knewe *Iudas* to be a theefe (ſaith he:) yet becauſe he was not accuſed, he did not caſt him off. He counteth it a very vnnaturall thing for the Iudge to be an accuſer, and to proceede without witneſſes: which although in ſome criminall caſes is more tolerable, yet in the caſes of life and death ought in no wiſe to be vſed. The ſame iudgement alſo *Auguſtine* giueth of that cruell cuſtome of tormenting men, to conuince them by their owne mouth, which was inuented by the heathen, but neuer more cruelly practiſed then among the papiſts: *Hoc intolerabile eſt* (ſaith he) *& rigandum fontibus lacrymarum, cum propterea torqueat iudex accuſatum, ne occidat neſciens innocentem; & fit per ignorantiam, vt & tortum & innocentem occidat, quem ne innocentem occideret, torſerat:* How intolerable a thing is it, and to be much lamented, that while the Iudge tormenteth the partie accuſed, leaſt vnwittingly he ſhould put an innocent man to death; it falleth out that he adiugeth to death a man both innocent, and beſide tormented; whom, leaſt he ſhould ſlay as an innocent, he before put to torment. His meaning is, that when a man is put to the racke, or otherwiſe tortured, that he might confeſſe the truth, and cleere himſelfe; it commeth to paſſe, that through extremitie of the paine, he maketh himſelfe guiltie, and ſo the innocent is both wrongfully tormented, and vniuſtly put to death. Which kind of forcing men by torture, though in ſome dangerous caſes, as of high treaſon, and ſuch like, where there is great perill in the concealing of the truth, and no other way to ſift it out, may be admitted: yet to vſe it as an ordinarie courſe as the papiſts did, and in cauſes of religion, it is too ſhamefull, and of all Christians to be abhorred.

Now, as touching theſe three points, to proceede without an accuſer, without witneſſe: by the parties oth, and by torments, in matters and cauſes concerning the life of him that is accuſed, I will in order ſhew, how it agreeth, or diſagreeth both with the Ciuill and Canon law.

Concerning the neceſſitie of an accuſer in matters of iudgement, the Ciuil law hath thus determined: *Cod.lib.9.tit.2.leg.16. Libellus in criminali,&c.* The libell in criminall cauſes muſt containe the name of the accuſer, the Iudge, & of the partie accuſed. *Arcadius,leg.7.Honor.Quiſquis crimen intendit in iudicium veniat,&c.* Whoſoeuer doth obiect any crime, let him come himſelfe into open iudgement, and declare the matter, and let him bee vnder ſafe keeping, as well as the partie accuſed, till the matter be examined. Againe, *ibid.leg.14.Arcad. Iudex in publicis criminibus non debet vti emendicatis ſuffragijs decretorum,&c.* The Iudge in publike crimes, muſt not bee ruled by the reports of the acts or decrees, but ſeeke out the truth of the matter. This law chargeth Iudges not to be carried, no not by the complaints or informations of the Notaries and officers of the court, without due proofe.

Hereunto their owne decrees giue conſent: *Cauſ.2.qu.1.c.10.Nicholaus: Reſtituendus, qui nec confeſſus, nec conuictus:* He muſt bee reſtored, that is neither confeſſed, nor detected. *Cap.7.Gregor. Si non alij teſtes, alij accuſatores,&c. iudicium non ordinabiliter factum:* If that there bee not ſome witneſſes, ſome accuſers, the iudgement is not orderly. Likewiſe, *Cauſ.30.qu.5.c.11.Eleuther.* preſcribeth this forme of iudgement; That the Iudge ſhould giue licence to each partie, the one to obiect, the other to anſwere, *vt actio ambarum partium illuminata ſit pleniter,* that both parties action may bee fully cleered, and inlightened: But this cannot bee, whereas there is but one partie. Wherefore both the lawes agree in this, that an accuſer muſt bee in euery lawfull iudgement produced: Yet there is a certaine caſe excepted, wherein an accuſer is not needfull: as *Cod.lib.9.tit.2. leg.7 Gordian. Niſi in notorio iudex procedit per viam accuſationis:* Vnleſſe the matter be notorious, the Iudge muſt proceede by way of accuſation. So alſo ſaith the Canon law: *Decret.Greg.lib.3. tit.2.c.8.Innocent.3. In notorijs nec teſtis,&c.* In a notorious matter, neither witneſſe, or accuſer is neceſſarie. And what is to bee counted notorious, or manifeſt, is further ſhewed, *ibid.lib.5.tit.40. c.24.Innocent.3.* That is a manifeſt crime, which is knowne, *per confeſſionem, probationem, rei euidentiam,* by confeſſion, or due proofe, or the euidence of the thing it ſelfe. If then in caſes onely notoriouſly knowne an accuſer is not neceſſarie, but in all other caſes, he muſt be produced: then haue the Papiſts been moſt iniurious to many conuented before them for hereſie (as they call it) and other crimes, who were not ſuſpected, much leſſe detected thereof, and ſo far from being notorious heretikes; & yet they proceeded againſt them, as they called it *ex officio,* ſhewing no accuſer at all.

I cannot here omit that notable place of S. *Ambroſe* to this purpoſe, *epiſtol.66.* where he reproueth one *Syagrius* the Biſhop of Verona: *Quod virginem, quam nullus argueret,&c.* For that he drew a certaine Virgin into great hazard and danger of guiltines, without any accuſer: where did he learne any ſuch forme of iudgement? if he aske the lawes, they require an accuſer; if he referre it to the Church, there in the mouth of two or three witneſſes euery word is eſtabliſhed. If *Syagrius* for proceeding againſt a Virgin for incontinencie without an accuſer, were much blamed by S. *Ambroſe,* what would he haue ſaid, if he had ſeene this practiſe vſuall in the popiſh prelacie euen in the caſes of hereſie, to which belonged the ſentence of death?

Now concerning the ſecond point, whether a man may bee vrged to accuſe himſelfe vpon his oth, eſpecially in capitall cauſes, the iudgement of the law is, that, except in certaine caſes, none ſhould be enforced to teſtifie againſt themſelues. Firſt, *Cod.lib.4.tit.20.leg.6.Diocletian. Nemo contra ſe cogitur teſtes producere:* No man is compelled to produce witneſſes againſt himſelfe: but he that by his oth maketh himſelfe guiltie, witneſſeth againſt himſelfe. So likewiſe in the Canon law, *Cauſ.35.qu 6.c.4.Vrbanus: Si negauerint, ſibipſis relinquendi:* If inceſt cannot be proued neither by oth of witneſſes, nor by confeſſion, the partie muſt bee charged by their baptiſme, their faith, &c. to confeſſe the truth: but if they denie, they muſt bee left to themſelues. This Canon preſcribeth no oth, but an earneſt obteſtation to be miniſtred vnto the ſuſpected partie.

But yet certaine caſes there are aſſigned in the law, wherein the partie accuſed may be brought to his oth: as firſt, *Propter inopiam probationum:* If the proofe doe otherwiſe faile: *Cod.lib.4.tit.1. leg.3.Dioclet.* So that all other proues muſt be vſed before the partie be driuen to his oth: that as the law is, for torments, and tortures, that they muſt not bee miniſtred in the firſt place, but other arguments muſt firſt bee vſed: *Cod.lib.9.tit.41.leg.8.Dioclet.* ſo likewiſe the oth of the partie muſt not be enforced, but other euidences and preſumptions firſt are to be produced.

Secondly, there muſt by the law a partie bee giuen, and an accuſer ſet forth, where the other partie is vrged to his oth: the reaſon is this, becauſe the guiltie partie hath 3. things put to his choiſe by the law: *Reus debet iurare, ſoluere, vel referre iuramentum:* He may either ſweare, or be content to be condemned, or refer the oth to his accuſer: that is, vrge him firſt to ſweare, *Cod lib.4.tit.1.leg.9. Diocletian.* The reaſon is giuen, *ibid.leg.12.Iuſtinian: Non debet reſpuere in perſona ſua, quod placuit in perſona aduerſarij:* He muſt not refuſe to doe that in his owne perſon, which he was pleaſed with in his aduerſarie. So then where the guiltie partie was vrged to ſweare, the accuſer alſo was by his oth to iuſtifie his accuſation. And this referring or rebounding of an oth is allowed by their law, *decret.Greg.lib.2.tit.24.cap.36.Greg.9. Quod in iudicio à parte parti defertur,&c.* An oth in iudgement betweene partie and partie may be referred.

Thirdly, where it is agreed by the parties themſelues, that the matter ſhall be decided by the oth of a partie, in that caſe ſuch oth by the law is allowed : as when there ariſeth a queſtion, whether one bee right heire; if they, whom it concerneth, be content to put it to his oth, it ſhall ſtand, *Cod.lib.4.tit.1.leg.6.*

Fourthly, the parties oth by the Ciuill law was vſed for the moſt part in ciuill cauſes, as in queſtions of debt, in matters of truſt, and ſuch like; where an apparant iniurie did ſeeme to be offered, or intended by the partie ſworne, to the other partie by whom he is impleaded : as *Cod.lib.4.tit.1.leg.5.* The pupill or ward might put his tutor or guardian to his oth, concerning ſuch things, as were committed to his truſt. *Ibid.leg.9.* In an action of debt, the debter might bee put to his oth : he muſt either ſweare or pay. *Ibid.leg.10. In actione depoſiti,&c.* In an action of a thing committed to ones truſt, the partie might be required to take his oth. In theſe and the like caſes ciuill, where the truth is concealed to another mans loſſe and hinderance, the oth of the partie ſued or impleaded, might be demaunded : but in caſes criminall, where the offence redoundeth to the hurt and dammage of the partie, rather then to the reliefe of another, it is thought hard to preſſe him with an oth againſt himſelfe ; yet in ſome criminall caſes it is allowed, as now followeth to be ſhewed.

Fiftly, then in ſuch criminall caſes, as where the offence is publike, and the puniſhment extendeth not to death, where other proofe faileth, the partie may be charged with an oth : as by a new law it is conſtituted in the Code, that if a Iudge do receiue a bribe in a cauſe criminall, if it cannot be proued againſt him, he ſhalbe put to his oth: which if he refuſe, he is held as guiltie, & ſhall forfeit all his goods and bee ſent into exile, *Cod.lib.7 tit.49.leg.1.authentic.* So then in theſe caſes rehearſed, where a partie is giuen, and all other proues beſide firſt vſed, and in Ciuill matters to relieue others from a wrong, and ſometime in Criminall, where the offence is publike, and not vnto death, it is lawfull to preſſe the defendant with an oth : But in the iudgement of hereſie, and other crimes obiected, the popiſh tyranny proceeded without any regard had of the premiſſes; preſſing the poore innocents with their owne oth in cauſes criminall vnto the execution of death, giuing no partie, nor ſtanding much vpon other euidence: Wherefore their proceedings were contrarie to law herein.

The third point followeth to be diſcuſſed, of inquiſition to be made by torments; where I will out of the law briefly declare theſe three points : firſt, in what caſes tortures are to bee vſed: ſecondly, in what manner : thirdly, what perſons are priuiledged and exempted from tortures. For the firſt, though that bondſlaues might bee put to torture, vpon diuers occaſions, as if they were fugitiues, *Cod.lib.6.tit.1.leg.4.* to know the right heire to their maſter, *Cod.lib.9.tit.41.leg.9.* and whether it be a forged will or not, *ibid leg.10.* Yea, *Seruus poteſt de ſuo facto torqueri,* A ſlaue may be examined by torture of his owne act in embeaſelling of his maſters goods, *ibid.leg.15.Diocletian.* Though I ſay bondſlaues were vpon ſundrie occaſions ſubiect to tortures : yet others but only in graue and waightie matters, were put to torture; as in caſe of treaſon againſt the Prince, *Cod.lib.9.tit.8.leg.3.* Falſifiers of coyne might be examined by torment, *lib.9 tit.24.leg.1.* A woman ſuſpected for poyſoning her husband may be tortured, *lib.9.tit.41.leg.3.* They that are accuſed of witchcraft alſo may be put to the racke, *tit.18.leg.7.* Where the woman is ſuſpected of adulterie, the ſeruants may bee enforced by torture, *tit.9.leg.3.* Likewiſe in the murder of the husband or the wife, the ſeruants may likewiſe bee vrged, *tit.16.leg.9.* In theſe and the like waightie and vrgent cauſes, the queſtion by torments hath been allowed: But the practiſe of Papiſts, in tormenting of men and women, to wreſt from them their faith and conſcience, being perſons of honeſt and innocent life, not guiltie of treaſon, murder, witchcraft, or ſuch like, was neuer heard of in times paſt, but is moſt cruell, and contrarie to law.

Secondly, as touching the manner to bee vſed in inflicting of torments, there are certaine rules ſet downe in the law. Firſt, *Cod.lib.9 tit.2.leg.13. Accuſatus non debet torqueri,&c.* The guiltie partie muſt not be tortured, vnleſſe the accuſer doe binde himſelfe to endure the like, if he proue not his accuſation. So then by this law, where torments are miniſtred, an accuſer ſhould be produced. Secondly, *Cod.lib.9.tit.22.leg.17. Non incipiendum à tormentis, &c.* The Iudge muſt not begin with torments, but be induced by other arguments to doe it. Thirdly, *lib.9.tit.2.leg.17.Honor. Qui torquetur non debet interrogari de ſocijs :* He that is tortured, muſt not be vrged to bewray his fellowes. And in their owne law it is thus decreed : *Cauſ.5.qu.5.c.4.Nec illi credendi, &c.* They muſt not be beleeued that of themſelues do appeach others, but let the religious tormentor fetch out the truth by putting him to paine, &c. Thus we ſee what moderation the law would haue obſerued in tormenting. But the popiſh tormentors contrarie to theſe rules haue applied torments, without any accuſer, hauing no other euidence to induce them; and onely to this end, to cauſe them one to betray another. See the ſtorie of *Anne Askew, apud Foxum.*

In the third place, let vs ſee what perſons are exempted from torments by the law. Firſt, *lib.9.*

tit.41.leg.7.Dioclet. The ſeruant muſt not be tormented againſt his maſter; nor yet ſouldiers, *ibid. leg.8.Dioclet.* nor Noblemen, *leg.11.* nor innocents, *leg.17.Honor.* Clergie men muſt confeſſe the truth, *citra iniuriam quæſtionis,* without torture, *Cod.lib.1.tit.8.Theodoſ.* But the Romiſh tormentors in their crueltie haue violated all good lawes; tormenting not onely ſeruants to confeſſe againſt their maſters, but children againſt their parents, as *Tyrrell* burned *Roſe Allins* hand with a candle till ÿ ſinewes burſt, *Fox* p.2006. They haue not ſpared moſt cruelly to handle noblemen, much more ſouldiers: ſee the ſtorie of Sir *Iohn Oldcaſtle* Lord *Cobham, apud Foxum.* They haue vexed with their torments iuſt and innocent men: as *Thomas Tomkins* a godly and deuout man, well reported of all his neighbours, had his hand ſo ſcorched with a candle by *Bonner,* that the water ſparkled out of the ſinewes, *Fox* pag.1534. Laſtly, they haue exerciſed with torments Miniſters and Deacons of the Church: as *Adam Damlip* at Calice, *Fox* pag.1229. And *Cuthbert Simſon* a Deacon of the congregation, was thrice racked in one day, ſtood three houres in an yron engine, had his fingers grated with an arrow, and all to betray the congregation: See the ſtorie, pag.2031. Thus it is euident how cruelly, contrarie to the ancient imperiall lawes, thoſe cruell perſecutors haue tormented the poore profeſſors of the Goſpell: yea and contrarie to their owne lawes; *Cauſ.23.qu.5.c.1. Scelerum confeſſionem non extendente equuleo, non ſulcantibus vngulis, non vrentibus flammis:* The confeſſion of faults muſt not bee wreſted out, by ſtretching out vpon the racke, or ſlitting or grating with engines, ſcorching with flames, &c. And thus in euery of theſe points in proceeding againſt Chriſtians without witneſſe, or accuſing, in tyrannizing againſt them vnto death euen by their owne oth, in vexing of them with vnſpeakable torments, they haue tranſgreſſed and violated both diuine & humane lawes. But now I will proceed to the reſt.

105. In the fourth place; Where haue they learned ſo hotly and fiercely to purſue ſimple men and women to death, for none or very ſmall offences, which they notwithſtanding falſly called hereſie? Was it hereſie for *Iames Brewſter* to heare one *Sweeting* to reade many good things out of a certaine booke? or for the ſame *Sweeting,* when as the ſaid *Iames* ſhould ſay, Now the ſonne of the liuing God helpe vs, to anſwere: Now almightie God ſo doe? yet for theſe hereſies were they both condemned and burnt in Smithfield, *anno* 1511. *Fox* pag.818.

A woman of Auſpurge had like to haue been burned, for asking a prieſt that carried the Hoſt to a ſicke man with Taper-light, what he meant to goe with a light at noone day, if *Mary* the Emperours ſiſter had not made ſute for her, *anno* 1550. Fox.pag.894.

Anno 1525. a Monke burned in France, becauſe he had forſaken his abominable order and maried a wife, pag.896.

Iohannes de Cadurco, being at a feaſt, where it was agreed that euery one ſhould bring forth his poſie or ſentence, becauſe he brought forth this; *Chriſt reigne in our hearts,* and proſecuted it out of the Scriptures, was burned, *anno* 1533. pag.897.

A Taylor burned at Paris *anno* 1549 for working vpon an holy day, *ex Iohan.Criſpin.Fox.*p.903.

Ralfe Hare conſtrained to abiure for ſaying before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, *The Lord is my witnes:* It is *Symbolum Hæreticorum,* ſaith Wincheſter, a marke to know heretikes by, to ſay the Lord, the Lord, pag.1225.

One *Thomas Sanpaulinus* Martyr, becauſe he rebuked a man for ſwearing, was thereupon ſuſpected to be a Lutheran, examined, condemned and burned at Paris, *anno* 1551.pag.904. Many ſuch like examples might be produced of holie Martyrs, which for theſe and ſuch other great hereſies were put to death. And as the offences were very ſmall, as wee ſee, ſo their manner of proceeding was moſt cruell, voyd of all humanitie. They ſpared not women with child: We haue not forgotten that famous example of their crueltie, which ſhall be remembred to their perpetuall ſhame and infamie: How they burned three ſimple women in the Ile of Garnſey, *anno* 1556. which had ſubmitted themſelues to their mercie, one of the three was great with childe, which braſt out of her wombe in the midſt of the fire, and was throwne in againe, pag.1944. They had no compaſſion of the tender age of children: In the towne of Byrbroke, while *Richard Chapman* did penance in the Church, being inioyned to kneele barefoote, and bare legged all the ſermon while vpon the cold ſteps of the Church; a little boy for giuing him his hat to kneele vpon, was had into the Veſtrie and piteouſly ſcourged, pag.1047. Cruell *Bonner* burned *Richard Mekins* a child of 15. yeeres, for ſpeaking againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, who notwithſtanding at the ſtake was taught to ſpeake much good of the Biſhop of London, and ſo did, pag.1202. *Iohn Fettie* his childe being of eight yeeres old, for ſaying to one of the Biſhops Chapleins, that he had *Balaams* marke, was ſcourged ſo cruelly, that within 14. daies he died. Nay, ſuch was their crueltie, they condemned to death men that were beſtraught of their wits: as *Collins* and *Cowbridge* were burned being both franticke: ſee their ſtorie, pag.1131.

Where is now that lenitie and compaſſion, which ought to be in the Miniſters of the Goſpell? Such crueltie was not heard of, no not amongſt the Heathen. Yea they breake their owne law: which ſuffereth a man once to abiure his hereſie, but if afterward he be detected, he dieth without mercie, *Fox anno* 1511. *William Carder* and *Agnes Grebil* were condemned, though they ſubmitted themſelues,and promiſed to be conformable to their religion.p.1277. Yet this law of theirs is moſt vniuſt,and contrary to the Goſpel,which ſaith,that if thy brother ſin againſt thee ſeuen times in a day,& ſeuen times in a day turne again,and ſay, *It repenteth me,thou ſhalt forgiue him,* Luk.17.4 Yet theſe men wil forgiue but once,and not that neither. But S.*Paul* ſaith, *An heretike after once or twice admonition reiect.* Tit.3.10. *Bellarmine* his beſt anſwer is by denying the text, ſaying, that it was not ſo read in former times : but thus, after once admonition. *De laicis cap.*22.

This popiſh rigor is much contrary to the ancient lenity,that was vſed in former times: *African. Conc.can.*33.it was decreed, *Vt cum Donatiſtis leniter & pacifice ageretur. Ne forte,ſicut dicit Apoſtolus, nobis in manſuetudine corripientibus diuerſa ſentientes det Deus illis pœnitentiam,&c.* 2.Tim.2. That the Donatiſts ſhould be gently and peaceably handled,if perhaps,as the Apoſtle ſaith, while we with all gentlenes correct thoſe that are otherwiſe minded,God may giue them repentance.

*Leo Epiſt.*13. *Sedis Apoſtolicæ moderatio hanc temperantiam obſeruat,vt ſeuerius agat cum obduratis, & veniam cupiat præſtare correctis:* This Apoſtolike See hath alwaies kept this moderation,to deale more ſeuerely with the obdurate and obſtinate,and to ſhew mercie to the corrigible: This moderation is now quite baniſhed from this See,as in theſe former examples is to be ſeene. There was more clemencie vſed in *Auguſtines* time: for then Biſhops did not prouoke the Magiſtrate to execute whom they had condemned,but did entreate the Magiſtrate to ſhew compaſſion vnto Heretikes, not ſtraightwaies to puniſh them with death : *Ne ſic vitam iſtam finiant* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *per ſupplicium, vt ea finita non poſſint finire ſupplicium,* Leaſt they ſhould ſo end this life by puniſhment, that the life being ended,they ſhould neuer end their puniſhment. *Epiſt.*54. And in another place: *Sic eorum peccata compeſce,vt ſint,quos pœniteat peccaſſe, Epiſt.*159. So reſtraine their ſinnes,that they may yet remaine to repent them of their ſinnes. In thoſe daies therefore, men were not by and by puniſhed with death to preuent their repentance,as in time of poperie, but their repentance was expected,to deliuer them from the ſentence of death.

Certaine notes touching the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

NOw in the laſt place I will briefly ſhew how their cruell proceeding againſt the profeſſors of the Goſpell,and chiefly in their Spaniſh Inquiſition,as it is called,is contrarie to their owne Canons. Firſt,to extort faith by ſtripes and torments,is termed in their law, *Noua & inaudita prædicatio,* A new and ſtrange learning, *diſt.*45. *Gregor.c.*1. yet vſed altogether by them in their Inquiſition. Secondly,their vſe hath been to intreate for offenders to the ſecular power, *Vt citra mortis periculum ſententia moderetur,* That the ſentence might be moderated without the perill or puniſhment of death, *decret.Greg.lib.*5.*tit.*40.*c.*27.*Innocent.*3. And againe, *Sext.decr.lib.*5.*tit.*11.*c.*1.*Innocent.*4. *Medicinalis ſit excommunicatio non mortalis:* Excommunication ſhould be medicinall,not mortall. But their excommunications were vnto death : for whom they did for hereſie (as they falſely called it) excommunicate,the ſecular power did execute to death. Thirdly,their Inquiſition is made in ſecret,the Martyrs were priuily condemned, and neuer publikely produced,till they were brought forth to execution: contrarie to the decree of *Innocent.*3.*decr.Greg.lib.*1.*tit.*29.*c.*24. *Ne eccleſiaſticum iudicium fiat in tenebris,quia iuxta teſtimonium veritatis, Qui male agit,odit lucem:* That eccleſiaſticall iudgement ſhould not bee done in the darke, or in corners : for according to the teſtimonie of the truth it ſelfe, He that doth euill, hateth the light. So then it is manifeſt,that their doings were euill,ſeeing they ſought into corners. Fourthly,they in their phariſaicall proceedings ſuppreſſe the names of the accuſers and witneſſes,though there bee no danger at all feared in the publiſhing of them : contrarie to the decree of *Bonif.*8.*ſext.decr.lib.*5.*tit.*2.*c.*20. *Ceſſante periculo,publicanda,&c.* Where there is no daunger, the names both of the accuſer and the witneſſes muſt be publiſhed. Fiftly,diuers conſtitutions haue been made concerning the perſon, qualitie,and condition of accuſers : as *Cod.lib.*9.*tit.*1.*leg.*12. A woman is not admitted to be an accuſer. Likewiſe in their decrees : *Cauſ.*2.*qu.*1.*c.*14. One brother is not to accuſe another. *Cod.lib.*9.*tit.*1.*leg.*13.nor he that is nouriſhed his patrone or nouriſher. *Ibid.leg.*17. nor the ſeruant his maſter, *leg.*20.No infamous perſon can be receiued to bee an accuſer, *Ibid leg.*15. And in their owne law, *Cauſ.*2.*qu.*7.*c.*23. Yet notwithſtanding they contrarie to theſe ancient prouiſions,haue admitted women to accuſe their husbands,children their parents, ſeruants their maſters ; yea infamous,adulterous & periured perſons haue not bin refuſed. I need not giue an inſtance here in particular, their cruell practiſes are full euery where of ſuch examples. Sixtly, concerning the vſage of ſuch, as were impriſoned for religion,the Popes owne decree is this: *Clemen.lib.*5.*tit.*3.*c.*1. *Vt fideliter & abſq; diminutione,&c.* That ſuch things as are offered to ẏ priſoners by their friends,ſhuld faithfully and without diminution be miniſtred vnto them. But their practiſe was contrary : ſee the ſtorie of *Rob.Samuel,* who was allowed but 3.mouthfuls of bread,& 3.ſpoonfuls of water by the day,till his body was ſo dried vp,ẏ he could make no vrine at al,which he oft deſired to drink. *Fox* p.1704.

Thus much of this queſtion,as likewiſe of the whole controuerſie:and thus far alſo concerning ſuch controuerſies,as are moued about the church militant here vpon earth; which we haue hitherto proſecuted by the Lords gracious aſſiſtance : In the next place wee are to deale in thoſe controuerſies,which concerne the other part of the Church triumphant in heauen.

The end of the firſt Booke,or Centurie.

THE SECOND BOOKE OR CENTVRIE, CONTAINING THE SECOND HVNDRED OF POPISH ERRORS AND HERESIES:

CONSISTING OF THREE GENERALL CONTROVERSIES CONCERNING THE STATE OF THE CHVRCH Triumphant in Heauen, the interceſſion of Chriſt, and the Sacraments of the Church Militant vpon earth in generall.

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Man, dwelling in Pater noſter rowe at the ſigne of
the Talbot. 1600.

HERE FOLLOW THE CONTROVERSIES CONCERNING THE CHVRCH TRIVMPHANT.

THey are two in number: The firſt is as touching the condition, office, and miniſterie of Angels: The ſecond of and concerning the Saints departed.

THE EIGHT CONTROVERSIE concerning Angels.

THis Controuerſie containeth three queſtions. Firſt, of the Hierarchie and degrees of Angels. Secondly, of their miniſterie and office. Thirdly, of the worſhip and inuocation of Angels.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING THE celeſtiall Hierarchie, or degrees of Angels.

THis queſtion hath likewiſe two parts: Firſt, how many degrees there be of Angels. Secondly, whether *Michael* be the prince of the Angels.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE DIVERS orders and degrees of Angels.

The Papiſts.

THey doe boldly affirme, that there are nine orders of Angels: and thoſe that doe doubt of it, they charge with infidelitie and blaſphemie. There are firſt Principalities, then Poteſtates: thirdly, Powers: fourthly, Dominations, Eph.1.21. fiftly, there are Thrones, Coloſſ.1.16. vnto theſe ad 4. other, Cherubim, Seraphim, Angels, Archangels: ſo haue we 9. in al, *Rhem. annot. Eph.* 1. *ſect.* 4. 1. Error.

The Proteſtants.

AS of the diuerſitie of names we gather, that there are diuers orders, as *Hierome* ſaith, *Sine cauſa diuerſitas eſt nominum, vbi non eſt diuerſitas meritorum:* There is no reaſon to haue diuerſitie of names, where there is no diuerſitie of merit: that is, vertue: So to enquire of them more ſubtilly, to define their number, and appoint their degrees: it is a point not onely of fooliſh curioſitie, but alſo of vngodly and dangerous raſhnes, *ex Caluino. Fulk. ibid.*

Argum. 1. That the Scripture alloweth no ſuch difference or diſtinction of orders or degrees amongſt the Angels it may thus appeare: firſt, Epheſ.6.12. the Apoſtle giueth two of the names of theſe orders to euill angels, namely, *Principalities*, and *Poteſtates:* from which place I reaſon thus: If theſe be names of orders and degrees, then they may be found amongſt the euill angels as well as amongſt the good: and if ſome of theſe degrees are amongſt the euill angels, then why not the reſt alſo? and ſo wee ſhall haue *Seraphim* and *Cherubim* amongſt the euill and reprobate angels, which were blaſphemie to affirme.

Againe, they that hold thoſe nine orders of Angels, doe make *Cherubim, Seraphim,* and *Thrones*, the three higheſt: ſaying further, that, *Superiora agmina ab intimis nunquam recedunt:* The ſuperiour orders doe neuer depart from the preſence of God, and that the angels of the inferiour orders, are ſent in embaſſage from God: *Mag. lib.* 2. *diſtinct.* 10. *a.* But contrarie to this aſſertion, Eſay. 6. we reade, that the Seraphims alſo are ſent vpon Gods meſſage: and ſo wee conclude, that Seraphims are not of the higheſt and ſuperiour order.

Further, *Michael* and *Gabriel* are ſpirits of the higheſt nature and office, as appeareth by their names: the firſt, ſignifying one that is equall to God; the other, the ſtrength of God: and yet they are called Angels. Wherefore thoſe orders are confounded in Scripture, and no ſuch preciſe difference amongſt the Angels can there be found: and the Apoſtle ſaith, *they are all miniſtring ſpirits*, Heb. 1. *adminiſtratorij ſpiritus:* therefore not commaunding ſpirits one ouer another.

Likewiſe *Origen* taketh the two Seraphims mentioned Eſay. 6. for Chriſt and the ſpirit, ſaying, *That none are able to comprehend the beginning and end of things, which he would haue ſignified in that place, by couering their face and feete with their wings*, but onely Chriſt and the holy ſpirit. Wherefore in his iudgement the Seraphim are not a diſtinct order of Angels.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Quid inter ſe diſtent quatuor illa vocabula, throni, dominationes, principatus, poteſtates, dicant qui poſſunt ſi tamen poſſunt probare quod dicunt, ego me iſta ignorare confiteor:* What diffe-

rence there is betweene theſe foure words, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, let them tell vs, that be able, ſo they can proue that they tell vs: for my part, I confeſſe I know it not, *Auguſt. Enchirid. cap.* 58. With *Auguſtine* therefore wee confeſſe, that as it appeareth by theſe ſeuerall names, there are diſtinct orders of Angels: ſo how many there be, and how they are diſtinguiſhed, the Scripture hath not reuealed vnto vs: and it were curioſitie for vs to enquire: wee ſhall then know, when we ſhall be like vnto the Angels.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER *MICHAEL* be the prince of Angels.

The Papiſts.

2. Error. THey ſay, that in heauen beſide God himſelfe, there is another commaunder and captaine of the Angels, euen *Michael* the prince of the Angels: which place the diuell had in the beginning before his fall. For as the Scripture ſaith, *the diuell and his angels*, meaning, that all euill angels are ſubiect vnto him: ſo by *Michael* and his angels, we vnderſtand all good angels, that are likewiſe ſubiect to him, *Apocal.* 12. 7. *Rhemiſt. Bellarm. de pontif. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, *Michael* in that place ſignifieth Chriſt, who is Lord of the Angels: for the Angels cannot be ſaid to be any other *Michaels* Angels, but onely the Angels of God and Chriſt, *Fulk. ibid.* This is alſo proued by the text, verſ. 10. *Now is come ſaluation, the kingdome of our God, and the power of his Chriſt, for the accuſer of the brethren is caſt out.* Here hee is called Chriſt, which before is named *Michael. Auguſtine* alſo ſo expoundeth it, *Michaëlem intellige Chriſtum:* By *Michael* vnderſtand Chriſt: *Homil. 9. in Apocalypſ.*

Secondly, it followeth not, that as there is a chiefe and captaine of the euill Angels, ſo amongſt the good there ſhould bee a chiefe Angell aboue the reſt, beſide Chriſt: for it is ſufficient that there is one Lord and prince of the Angels, euen Chriſt. Againe, neither is it proued out of ſcripture, that amongſt the diuels there is one captaine and great diuell to whom the reſt were ſubiects: for whereas the Phariſees obiected, that Chriſt caſt out diuels through *Beelzebub* the prince of the diuels, Mark. 3. if either the Phariſees did then ſo meane, or any ſhall now gather vpon their words, that there is a great maſter diuell that ruleth and commaundeth the reſt, it was in them but a phariſaicall dreame, and in the other a popiſh collection. We deny not, but that there may be degrees in power and angelicall gifts, both among the good and bad angels, as there ſhall be degrees in glorie among the Saints: yet the Saints ſhall not be princes one ouer the other, no more are the Angels now. Thirdly, marke the anſwere of our Sauiour in that place, *If Sathan caſt out Sathan*, Mark. 3. Here Sathan is made a common name to all euill ſpirits. But Apocal. 12. where mention is made of the diuell and his angels, the text ſaith, *The great dragon, the old ſerpent, called the diuell and Sathanas*, verſ. 9. Here the name *Sathanas*, is giuen to the prince of the diuels: ſo there is not one *Sathanas*, but many. And where our Sauiour calleth the diuell the prince of the world, Ioh. 14. Saint *Paul* calleth them all principalities and powers, worldly gouernours, and princes of the darkneſſe of this world, Epheſ. 6. 12. ſo there is not one prince of the diuels, but they are all princes. Thus *Auguſtine* expoundeth that place: *Draco pugnauit & angeli eius: id eſt, diabolus & homines voluntati eius obtemperantes:* The dragon fought and his angels, that is, wicked men obeying his will, *Apocalypſ. Hom.* 9. So by *Auguſtines* ſentence the diuels are not ſubiects to the great diuell, but they are all princes and commaunders of wicked men.

Argum. If *Michael* be the prince of the Angels, then it muſt needes be graunted, that he is of the higheſt order of Angels, which are Seraphim, and Cherubim: for ſo theſe Angel-makers do place them: Theſe three, Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, make the higheſt ranke: Dominations, Principalities, Potentates the middle order: Powers, Archangels, Angels the loweſt region, *Mag. lib. 2. diſtinct. 9. a.* But *Michael* being an Archangell is in the loweſt order, and therefore cannot be the chiefe and commaunder of the reſt.

Further, the Apoſtle ſaith, They are all λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, miniſtring ſpirits, Hebr. 1. 14. *Ergo*, not commaunding ſpirits one ouer another.

Homil. 6. in Ioſ. *Origen* thinketh, that there is no other prince of the Angels, but Chriſt: *Omnis cœli militia, &c.* All the hoſt of heauen, whether Angels, Archangels, Powers, Dominions, &c. were made by him, and ſerue vnder him their prince.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE ministerie and function of Angels.

THis queſtion hath two parts: firſt, of the externall miniſterie of Angels, in the protection, and defence of the Church. Secondly, of their ſpirituall office about the praiers of Gods ſeruants.

THE

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING THE defence and protection of Angels.

The Papiſts.

MIchael (ſay they) is the protector and keeper of the whole Church of Chriſt, Dan.10.21. And as earthly kingdoms haue their ſpeciall Angels for their protectors; ſo alſo haue particular Churches, *Dan.*10.*Rhem.annot.*1.*Apoc.ſect.*9. 3.Error.

The Proteſtants.

THe whole Church hath Chriſt himſelf, who is the true *Michael*, for her protector & defender: And ſo is that place in *Daniel* to be vnderſtood. *Auguſtine* alſo by *Michael* vnderſtandeth Chriſt: the name alſo ſignifieth as much: *Michael*, that is, one like vnto God: ſee more of this before: *Controu.*4.*queſt.*1. The Scripture ſaith, All power is giuen to Chriſt, and he is with his Church to the ende of the world, Matth.28.18.20. He therefore is the chiefe patrone and protector of his Church.

Secondly, it cannot be proued out of Scripture, that kingdomes haue their ſpeciall Angels protectors, for Dan.10. The Princes of the Perſians and Grecians, were not Angels but earthly Princes: for Angels doe not reſiſt Chriſt and his Angels defenders of the Church, as the Prince of Percia did, verſ.13. *Fulk ibid.* but all the Angels of heauen are readie to ſerue the Lord at his pleaſure, for the defence of his Church, without any limitation of place, Zachar.1.10. Theſe are they whom the Lord hath ſent, to go through the world. The Angels execute their meſſage, not in ſeuerall countries, but in the whole world.

The Papiſts.

EVery one hath from his Natiuitie an Angel for his cuſtodie and patronage againſt the wicked, before the face of God, Gen.48.16. *Iacob* ſaith, The Angell that hath kept me from my youth vp: Act.12.15. It is his angell, *Rhemiſt ibid.* Matth.18.10. Their Angels behold the face of my Father: *Ergo*, euery man hath his proper Angell. 4.Error.

Anſw. 1. *Iacob* by the Angell vnderſtandeth Chriſt, to whom it is proper to bleſſe Gods children: the Angell bleſſe thy children, ſaith he, Gen.48.16. This Angell appeared vnto him in Bethel, and is called the God of Bethel, Gen.31.13. with this Angell *Iacob* wreſtled, 32. which was God, as it appeareth by the name of *Iacob*, he is called *Iſrael*, becauſe hee had preuailed with God, and the place is called Peniel, I haue ſeene God face to face: Other proper Angell *Iacob* had none, for all the Angels of God were appointed for his defence, Gen.32.1. He met an hoſte of Gods Angels, and accordingly called the place Mahanaim.

2. Neither of the other places proue that men haue proper Angels, Matth.18. The children of God are ſaid to haue their Angels: not theirs, as euery man his proper Angell, but theirs in common, becauſe they were deputed for their defence: Act.12. *Peter* at that time was deliuered by one Angell, but it followeth not, that therefore he was his proper Angell.

The Proteſtants.

WE nothing doubt of the protection of Gods Angels: but that euery one hath a proper Angell appointed for his protection from his Natiuitie, out of Scripture it is not proued.

1. Sometime one Angell hath the charge of a multitude, Exod.23.20. The Lord ſaith to all the people of Iſrael, I ſend mine Angell before thee, to keepe thee in thy way.

2. Sometime many Angels are readie for the defence of one man: Gen.32.1. an hoſte of Angels met *Iacob*, Pſalm.91.11. He ſhall giue his Angels charge ouer thee, to keepe thee in all thy waies: *Ergo*, euery man hath not his particular proper Angell.

3. Luke.16.22. The poore man is ſaid, being dead, to be caried not by one Angell, but by the Angels, into the boſome of *Abraham*. But if he had one Angell appointed to be the preſident of his life from his Natiuitie, it had been alſo part of that Angels charge, to haue conueyed his ſoule into heauen. So *Auguſtine* writeth: *Si bene vixerimus, vbi à carnis vinculo anima liberata fuerit, mox in occurſum noſtrum Angelorum chorus occurret. De ſalutaribus.document.cap.*39. If we liued well here, when as the ſoule is gone from the bodie, the holy company of the Angels are readie to meet vs: he ſaith not one Angell, but the whole chore or company.

Laſtly, they that hold, that euery man hath a good Angell appointed for his cuſtodie at his Natiuitie, doe alſo affirme, that euery wicked man hath alſo an euill Angell waiting vpon him. But this cannot be, for ſeeing it is confeſſed that the good Angels are more in number then the bad, *Magiſt.lib.2.diſt.*11.*b.* but wicked men doe contrariewiſe exceede the good in number, it muſt needs follow, that there is not for euery euill man an euill Angell, or elſe that there are more good Angels, than for euery man one: the Maſter of the ſentences anſwereth, that one Angel may ſerue diuers men ſucceſſiuely, for men die; but Angels die not, and ſo notwithſtanding euerie man ſhall haue his Angell.

Anſw. 1. Yet the obiection is not anſwered, for in euery age the good men are feweſt, and the euill men moſt, and not onely in reſpect of the whole age of the world, and yet the good Angels are more then the bad: 2. To admit this diſtinction, yet ſeeing the number of good men is ſometime more, ſometime leſſe, as toward the end of the world, when faith ſhall faile, but the number of the Angels is alwaies the ſame, it cannot be that euery man ſhould haue his Angell, and euery Angell his particular charge of ſome one man.

THE SECOND PART, WHAT OFFICE the Angels haue about our prayers.

The Papiſts.

Hæreſ.5. THeir opinion is, that the Angels doe offer vp our prayers vnto God. And they would proue it by that place, Apoc.8.2. An Angell ſtood by the Altar, with a golden cenſer, and much incenſe was giuen vnto him to offer with the praiers of the Saints, *Rhemiſt. in hunc locum.*

Anſw. *Auguſtine* vpon this place ſaith, that this Angell is Chriſt: *Thuribulum aureum eſt corpus eius ſanctum,* the golden cenſer is his bodie, *ex quo Deus odorem ſuauitatis accepit,* out of the which God ſmelt a ſweet ſauour. *Homil.* in *Apocalyp.*6. And in another place he ſaith, *Vt altare ſanctificat dona, ſic Chriſtus preces noſtras,* as the altar ſanctifieth the gift, ſo Chriſt doth our praiers, *quaſt. in Euangel.*34. Firſt, therefore this place is vnderſtood of Chriſt, not of any Angell.

2. If this place might be vnderſtood of Angels, that they haue ſome miniſtery about our praiers, it maketh nothing notwithſtanding for popiſh inuocation of Angels: for the Angell heere commendeth not the praiers of the Saints by his merit, but by the much incenſe giuen vnto him, to adde to the praiers of the Saints to make them acceptable, which is the ſweet ſmell and ſauour of the precious death and merits of Chriſt. *Fulk. in hunc locum. Auguſtine* indeed ſometime aſcribeth ſuch an office vnto the Angels to carry vp our praiers to heauen, as their charge is to carry vp our ſoules: not as mediators or interceſſors, but as the Lords meſſengers and agents here vpon earth, to report vnto him our affaires: *dicuntur Angeli preces noſtras, & vota Deo offerre, non vt Deum doceant, qui omnia antequam fiant, nouit, ſed vt ſuper his Dei voluntatem conſulant.* The Angels are ſaide to offer vp our praiers and vowes vnto God, not to informe or inſtruct the Lord, but only to conſult and know his pleaſure: *tom.9. de dilection. cap.*3. *& in Pſal.*74. for the Angels haue two offices, the one, to execute the commandement of God in the world, and to attend vpon him to receiue their charge, Matth.18.10. the other, to returne vnto God as faithfull meſſengers the ſucceſſe of their buſines in the world, Zach.1.10. Now whether the Angels be appointed of God to report vnto him our ſayings and doings, as other affaires of our life, the Scripture no where euidently ſheweth. Neither, if it were granted, would it any thing helpe their popiſh inuocation of Angels.

Fulk. Apoc.8. ſect.2.

Rhemiſt. alleage Tob.12.12. to proue the offering of our praiers by Angels.

Anſw. It is neither Canonicall Scripture, nor agreeable vnto it: *Fulk. annot. Coloſſ.*2. *ſect.*3.

The Proteſtants.

THe Scripture alwaies maketh Chriſt our only Mediator, neither Angels nor Saints, by whom our prayers and all other ſpirituall ſacrifices are offered vnto God.

1. Hebr.13.15. Let vs by him offer the ſacrifice of praiſe alwaies to God, 1.Pet.2.5. You are an holy Prieſthood, to offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices acceptable to God, by Ieſus Chriſt: *Ergo,* Chriſt Ieſus is our onely Mediator.

2. Galath.3.19. The law was ordained by Angels in the hand of a Mediator: *Ergo,* the Angels are one office, and the Mediator another. *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Quòd non aliquem ex Angelis dicit Midiatorem, ſed ipſum Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum habes alio loco: Vnus (inquit) Deus, & vnus Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Chriſtus Ieſus.* That the Apoſtle calleth not any of the Angels, but onely Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Mediator, we haue in another place: There is one God, ſaith he, and one Mediator of God and man, the Man Ieſus Chriſt.

1.Tim.2.

AN APPENDIX OR THIRD PART OF THIS Queſtion, whether Angels or Saints know our hearts.

The Papiſts.

Hæreſ.6. THe Angels and other Celeſtiall ſpirits doe know our hearts and inward repentance: And betweene the Angels and the bleſſed ſoules of Saints, there is no difference in this caſe, the one being as highly exalted, and neere God, as the other, in whom and by whom onely they ſee and know our affaires, Luk.15.10. There is ioy in heauen, in the preſence of the Angels ouer one ſinner that repenteth: *Ergo,* they know our repentance: *Rhemiſt. Luk.*15. *ſect.*2.

Anſw. 1. Our hearts and inward repentance are not knowen to the Angels, but by the fruits, and the true effects thereof.

2 Although the elect, after the reſurrection ſhall be like in glorie to the Angels, yet it followeth not, that they ſhall be like in all things, much leſſe that their ſoules now in heauen, be in all things like vnto the Angels, whoſe preſence and miniſterie God vſeth in the preſeruation of his choſen.

3. That all things done in the world may be ſeene in God, as in a glaſſe, is but a prophane ſpeculation, and the deuice of an idle braine, *Fulk.ibid.*

Argum.2. *Abraham* had knowledge of things in earth, which were not in his time, as that they had *Moſes* and the Prophets bookes, which he neuer ſaw, Luk.16.verſ.29. *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Firſt, in this narration many things are ſpoken parabolically, out of the which we muſt not ground any doctrine not taught elſewhere in Scripture: for you may as well ſay, that ſoules haue fingers and tongues, and that elementall water will quench hell fire, as that *Abraham* knew what bookes were written after his death.

Secondly, albeit that the doctrine of the Church comprehended in the Scriptures, might be reuealed to *Abraham* after his death, yet it followeth not, that he knew all things, as you affirme the the Saints doe, by beholding the maieſtie of God.

The Saints therfore in heauen know ſo much as the Lord thinketh good to reueale vnto them, they know not all things.

The Proteſtants.

WE deny not, but that as Prophets and holy men in this life, may know many ſecret things reuealed vnto them by the ſpirit of God, as *Peter* found out the ſecret fraude of *Ananias* and *Sapphira: Eliſeus* being abſent found out *Gebezi* his corruption; yea, hee could tell what was done in the King of Syria his chamber: ſo the Lord may reueale vnto the Saints in heauen at his pleaſure, ſome things done vpon earth. But that they receiued any ſuch gift of God, to know all things done vpon earth, it is a great vntruth, and cleane contrarie to the Scriptures.

Firſt, *Salomon* ſaith in his prayer vnto God: *Heare thou in heauen in thy dwelling place, and giue vnto euery man according to his wayes, as thou knoweſt his heart: for thou onely knoweſt the hearts of all the children of men,* 1.King.8.29. Out of this place we thus reaſon: he onely knoweth the heart, that is the iudge of all men, and a rewarder of them according to their wayes: But the Lorde onely is iudge: *Ergo.* Againe, the words themſelues be plaine, that God onely knoweth the heart: ſo that what knowledge of ſecrets the Saints haue, it is by reuelation, not by ſearching the heart.

Againe, S. *Paul* ſaith, *No man knoweth the things of man ſaue the ſpirit of man which is in him:* ſo the things of God knoweth no man, but the ſpirit of God, 1.Cor.1.11. The Rhemiſts anſwere, that no man knoweth the ſecrets of the heart naturally, but by extraordinarie gift he may, as the Prophets did. *Anſw.* No man euer had or can haue a generall gift to know the heart, but when God ſeeth it good to reueale it: for otherwiſe the compariſon holdeth not. The ſpirit of God onely knoweth the things of God: which alſo is giuen to men to know, but not by receiuing any gift, to ſearch and looke into the nature and heart as it were of God (for then ſhould they know all the ſecrets of God, which neuer any did:) but onely by reuelation of the ſpirit, which openeth Gods ſecrets vnto them, ſo farre as it is conuenient and needfull.

Euen after the ſame manner the ſpirit of God may reueale the ſecrets of the heart of man, not by giuing them a generall gift themſelues to looke into the heart, as into a glaſſe, but by reuealing ſuch things, when the Lord ſeeth it expedient.

Neither had the Prophets an inherent gift and dwelling in them, to know ſecrets, but the word of God was inſpired into them at times, as they had neede, as we ſee in *Nathan*, 2.Sam.7.3.4. in *Eliſha*, 2.King.2.15. in *Iſaiah*, 2.King.20.4. And though *Paul* was taken vp into heauen, and ſawe many ſecrets, yet he knew not all: for thus he ſaith of himſelfe, *If I knew all ſecrets,* 1.Cor.13.2. *Ergo,* no man euer receiued this gift, to ſearch the heart: but it is proper vnto God, who will not giue his honour to another.

2 *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Neſcire mortuos quid hic agatur dum hic agitur:* That the dead know not what is done here, while it is in doing. But they vnderſtand either by relation of thoſe that depart this world, or elſe by the Angels; *Non quidem omnia, ſed quæ ſinuntur indicare: ſicut Prophetæ, nec hic omnia cognoſcebant, ſed quæ illis eſſe reuelanda dei prouidentia iudicarat. de cura pro mort. cap.* 15. Neither doe they know all things, but what God ſuffereth to be knowne; as neither did the Prophets know all things while they liued, but what God in his diuine prouidence thought good to reueale vnto them. I note out of this ſaying of *Auguſtine* three things.

Firſt, what great vncertaintie of opinion here is: How the dead ſhould come by the knowledge of humane affaires, the Papiſts thinke they haue it by Gods gift: otherwhile they ſay, they ſee all things in God, as in a cleere glaſſe. *Auguſtine* ſaith, they know them by the Angels, or by men newly departed this life: ſo that it appeareth to be but a meere conceit and imagination, that they haue any ſuch knowledge, whereof there is no ſurer ground. Secondly, *Auguſtine* ſaith, they know not things preſently done, but afterward, contrary to the Papiſts. Thirdly, they know not al things, as the Prophets alſo did not, but what the Lord reuealeth vnto them: wherein alſo he is contrarie to our aduerſaries.

The holy Martyrs haue ſealed this truth: that God onely is the knower of the hearts, and that he hath not giuen this honour to any other.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: *God knew all things before the beginning of the world, and is euery where to ſee, not onely our outward dealing, but alſo all the ſecrets of all mens hearts; ſo that he needeth no mediator, to informe him of our deſires, pag.* 1109. But Angels and Saints were not from the beginning, neither are they euery where: *Ergo*, they know not our thoughts.

Paul Luther confeſſor: *Saints in heauen cannot helpe vs, neither know na more what men doe in this world, then a man in the North countrie knoweth what is done in the South countrey, p.* 1040.*col.*2.

THE THIRD QVESTION CONCERNING THE worſhip of Angels, firſt in generall, then in particular, of inuocation.

The Papiſts.

Hæreſ.7. THey ſay that the diuine honour and adoration due vnto God alone, is not to be giuen to Angels: But there is a religious reuerence, honour and adoration, which is not to be denied to Angels and Saints, *Rhem.annot.Apocalyp.*19.*ſect.*4.

Argum. 1. *Ioſua* fell downe before the Angell and worſhipped, *Ioſ.*5.*Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. He worſhipped not an Angell, but the Lord Chriſt himſelfe the captaine of the Lords armie: for it was a diuine worſhip: He is bid to put off his ſhooes, as *Moſes* was, when God appeared out of the fierie buſh, Exod.3. But a diuine worſhip (by your owne confeſſion) is due onely to God, *Fulk.annot.Coloſſ.* 2.3. And thus *Origen* expoundeth this viſion: *homil.* 6. *in Ioſ. Ioſua non adoraſſet, niſi aguouiſſet Deum, &c. Ioſua would not haue adored him, if he had not knowen him to be God, for who elſe is the Prince of the armie of the power of God, but our Lord Ieſus Chriſt?*

Argum. 2. 1.Timoth.2.21. I charge thee before God and the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and his elect Angels, that thou obſerue theſe things: *Ergo*, Angels may be adored and reuerenced, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Saint *Paul* maketh heere the Angels witneſſes of his waightie charge: ſo *Moſes* calleth heauen and earth to witneſſe, Deut.30.19. may we therefore conclude, that he yeelded any religious worſhip to heauen and earth?

The Proteſtants.

AS for due reuerence, which is of loue, not of any ſeruice, there is no queſtion, but we ought to yeeld it vnto the Angels. But all religious ſeruice or worſhip is due onely to God, and whoſoeuer man or Angell, requireth, or receiueth any religious worſhip or ſeruice, vſurpeth that which is due vnto God. *Fulk. Apocal.* 19.*ſect.*4.

Argum. 1. Apocal. 19.10. and 22.9. *Iohn* fell downe to worſhip the Angell: but the Angell ſuffered him not: See thou doe it not, (ſaith hee:) for I am thy fellowe ſeruant, and of thy brethren, worſhippe God: *Ergo,* Angels are not to be adored with any religious worſhip.

Rhemiſt. Firſt, he forbiddeth him onely to worſhip him with diuine adoration.

Anſw. The words are generall: he ſaith not, worſhip God, with this kinde of ſeruice; but worſhip God: and the word here vſed, προσκύνησον, properly ſignifieth in falling downe to worſhip: by which word alſo Act.10.25. *Cornelius* manner of worſhipping *Peter* is expreſſed: vpon which place the Rhemiſts doe note, that euery falling downe to worſhip, is not diuine, or proper onely to God, and that *Peter* did refuſe it for humilitie ſake: the Angell then in this place refuſeth that falling downe, or worſhipping, which they ſay was giuen to *Peter*, and is not onely dew to God; and ſo doth *Peter* in the other place, not for humilitie, but alleaging hee was a man, and therefore of pietie, becauſe hee woulde not haue God robbed of his honour.

Rhemiſt. Secondly, you ſay, that *Iohn* ſo worthie an Apoſtle was not ignorant of that point, that Angels were not to be worſhipped as God: we may reply alſo, that if *Iohn* had knowne that this other kind of ſeruice was vnlawfull, he would not haue done it.

Anſw. *Iohn* ſinned not of ignorance, but of forgetfulnes, in this ecſtacie of his mind, while he beheld the glory of the Angell, as likewiſe through his frailenes and forgetfulnes he committeth the like againe, cap.22. which *Iohn* would not haue done, being once before admoniſhed, had he not preſently forgotten himſelfe. But the other error of worſhipping the creature for the Creator, was too groſſe an error for the Apoſtle.

Rhemiſt. Thirdly, he was deceiued in the perſon, taking the Angell for Chriſt, and therefore was not culpable at all in this fact, in giuing diuine honour to the Angell, for he ſinned onely materially not formally.

Anſw. Firſt, *Iohn* was not ignorant, that he was an Angell, and not Chriſt; for he ſaith, he was one of the ſeuen Angels that had the ſeuen vials. Secondly, though he ſinned of ignorance, yet was it a ſinne: for the Prophet, which beleeued the old Prophet, ſinned grieuouſly, as it appeared by his puniſhment, though he did it ignorantly, 1. King. 13. Wherefore it is a groſſe error of your Schoolemen, that ſay, a man ſinneth not, if he worſhip the Diuell in the ſhape of an Angell ignorantly.

Rhemiſt. Fourthly, the Angell would not receiue this worſhip at *Iohns* hand, whom he knew to be in great fauour with God, and greater then ſome Angell.

Anſw. Firſt, though hereafter the children of God ſhall be made equall to the Angels in glorie, yet in this mortall life they muſt needs be inferiour, ſeeing Chriſt himſelfe, in reſpect of his paſſion, was inferiour to the Angels, Hebr. 2. 9. Secondly, the Angell would not haue taken this homage at any other mans hands, beſide *Iohns*: for he giueth a reaſon, that he is not onely his fellow ſeruant, but alſo of his brethren. So for all their ſhifts and cauils, we ſtrongly conclude by this example, that no religious honour ought to be giuen to Angels.

Honoramus Angelos, charitate non ſeruitute (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *nec eis templa conſtruimus*: Wee honour Angels with the dutie of loue, not of ſeruice, neither doe we build temples vnto them. *Quod ergo colit ſummus Angelus, id colendum etiam eſt ab homine vltimo.* That therfore which is worſhipped of the higheſt Angell, the man of loweſt degree ought alſo to worſhip, *De vera religion. cap. 55. Ergo*, no worſhip due vnto Angels, but all vnto God.

Adrian. 1. Epiſt. ad Conſtantin. Imperator. Qualis eſt iſte adorationis honor? profectò non alius, quam is, quo nos peccatores quoſque inuicem proſequimur, ſalutantes nos inter nos per honoratione͂ & dilectionem: What manner of worſhip is this (he meaneth the reuerence to be giuen to Angels and Saints) ſurely no other, then that, which we ſinners amongſt our ſelues doe giue to one another, by a mutuall ſalutation of honour and loue. The argument out of theſe words may be framed thus: No other worſhip is due to Angels & Saints, but that which we giue one to another: but that is no religious worſhip: *Ergo.* Your owne decrees alſo do reckon the heretikes called *Angelici* in the number, *becauſe they worſhip Angels: decret. p. 2. cauſ. 24. qu. 3. c. 39.* wherefore it is hereſie euen by your owne law to worſhip Angels.

Iohn Lambert holy martyr, ſheweth out of *Auguſtine*, that we ſhould worſhip no men departed, be they neuer ſo good, or holy, no nor yet no Angell, ne honour the ſame, but onely the imitation of them, following their good acts in our liuing: the Angels refuſe all honour, ſauing that which is called *honor charitatis*, that is, to be loued, &c. *Fox. p. 1108. reſponſ. ad articul. 14.*

THE SECOND PART OF THE INVOCATION of Angels.

The Papiſts.

THey hold, that it is lawfull to direct our praiers vnto Angels, *Rhemiſt. Coloſſ. 2. ſect. 3.* Yea, and becauſe they for vs, and deale with God to procure mercy for vs, they may iuſtly be called our aduocates. Heræſ. 8.

Angels are deputed for our protection (which is nothing, but aduocation.) Dan. 10. 13. Matth. 18. 10. *Rhemiſt. annot. 1. Iohn. 2. ſect. 5.*

Anſw. Firſt, the argument followeth not: for the Angels at the appointment of God, may ſerue for our protection and defence, though they be not aduocates for vs, to obtaine remiſſion of our ſinnes. Secondly, the places alleaged proue no ſuch aduocation of Angels, but onely defence and protection. Dan. 10. 13. The Angell was readie at the firſt praiers of *Daniel*, but he was letted a while. This proueth, that Angels may know our praiers when it pleaſeth God, and be miniſters of his helpe vnto vs, which we denie not: not that they are our aduocates. And concerning the other place in *Matthew* our Sauiour only ſaith, *that their Angels doe behold the face of his father*; that is to know his pleaſure, and what ſeruice God wil command them for the good of his Church: this text maketh nothing for the aduocation of Angels. So then theſe two Scriptures doe ſet forth two offices of the Angels: the one their deſcending from heauen, Dan. 10. 13. the other their aſcending to heauen: Matth. 18. 10. Like as *Iacob* ſaw the Angels deſcending and aſcending vpon the ladder, Gen. 28. which ſignifieth their miniſteriall protection of vs, not an imperiall aduocation: vnleſſe they will ſay, that the Angels alſo are Chriſtes aduocates, for vpon him they are ſaid to aſcend and deſcend, Iohn. 1. 51. And further what is ſignified by the aſcending and deſcending of the Angels, *Bernard* hath very well expreſſed in this ſentence: *aſcenſio & deſcenſio via angelorum, &c.* aſcending and deſcending is the way of the Angels: *they aſcend for themſelues, and deſcend for vs; they aſcend for contemplation, they deſcend vnto vs for compaſſion; they aſcend to behold his face, deſcend at his becke: in Pſal. 90. ſerm. 11.* Wherefore they aſcend to know Gods pleaſure, they deſcend to doe Gods pleaſure, this ſheweth their ſeruice and miniſtrie, not their aduocation or maieſtie: the argument then followeth not at all, they are our protectors, *Ergo*, our aduocates.

And whereas the Rhemiſts in the ſame place would proue the aduocation of Angels by the Collect vſed in our Church vpon S. *Michaels* day, which is this: *That they which doe thee alwaies ſeruice in heauen, may by thy appointment ſuccour and defend vs in earth:* who ſeeth not, what beggerly ſhifts they are driuen to vſe, ſeeing that this praier maketh nothing at all for the aduocation or inuocation of Angels, but onely their protection and preſeruation.

*Argum.*2. Apoc.8.verſ.3. *I ſaw another Angell, that came and ſtood before the altar hauing a golden cenſer, and much odors were giuen vnto him, to offer with the praiers of the Saints vpon the golden altar, &c.* From this place the Rhemiſts conclude that angels do offer our praiers to God, *Rhemiſt. in hunc locum.*

Anſw. Firſt, though the Angels ſhould report vnto God our praiers, as the reſt of our affaires, which they ſee done (which miniſterie of theirs notwithſtanding in preſenting of our praiers, hath no direct warrant out of Scripture) yet it followeth not that we ſhould inuocate them, for the Saints in earth do inuocate God for vs, yet are not to be inuocated by vs. Secondly, if in this place we ſhould vnderſtand any of the Angels to be the preferrer of our praiers, yet they doe it not by their owne merite, but by the merite and ſweet ſauour of the death of Chriſt, which are the ſweet odors added to the praiers of the Saints: Thirdly this place is better expounded of Chriſt himſelfe, who is the Angell, that offereth vp our praiers, as Saint *Auguſtine* in his commentary vpon this text.

The Proteſtants.

THat Angels are not be worſhipped, nor inuocated, as mediators, interceſſors, or aduocates, the Scripture ſpeaketh euidently,

*Argum.*1. Coloſſ.2.18. Let no man beguile you in the humblenes and worſhipping of Angels: *Ergo*, it is not lawfull to pray vnto them, or to worſhip them.

Rhemiſt. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh here againſt the wicked doctrine of *Simon Magus*, that affirmed that the Angels both ill and good, were mediators for vs vnto God; and againſt the ſuperſtition of the Iewes, that worſhipped the Angels by whom the law was guien.

Anſw. The Apoſtle condemneth both theſe ſuperſtitions, as likewiſe the popiſh inuocation of Angels: becauſe all will-worſhippe is forbidden, which is not after the preſcript of Gods word, Coloſſ.2.23. Out of which place we reaſon thus, all will-worſhip is forbidden: but all worſhip of Angels is a will-worſhip, *Ergo*, all worſhip of Angels is forbrdden: that which the Apoſtle calleth, verſ. 18. θρησκείαν, the worſhip of Angels, verſ. 23. he termeth ἐθελοθρησκείαν, will-worſhip, which is inuented by man, and not warranted by the word.

*Argum.*2. If any man ſinne, (ſaith the Apoſtle) we haue an aduocate with the Father Ieſus Chriſt the iuſt, he is the propitiation for our ſinnes, Iohn.2.2. *Ergo*, Chriſt onely is our aduocate.

Rhemiſt. Chriſt is our aduocate in the higheſt degree, becauſe by himſelf, and his owne merits, without the aſſiſtance of any other, he obtaineth pardon for vs. The other, as Angels & Saints, are as ſecondary interceſſors, that obtain not any thing by their own merits, but only through Chriſt.

Anſw. Firſt, he onely and properly is an aduocate that can pleade the iuſtice of his clients cauſe, which euery one that prayeth for vs cannot do: for though the Angels and Saints departed ſhould pray for vs (which we know not by the Scriptures) as our brethren vpon earth doe, yet ſhould they not be mediators and aduocates, but petitioners and intreators for vs.

Secondly, we gather many ſtrong arguments out of this place, for the ſole ſufficient aduocation of Chriſt. Firſt, the ſonne is the beſt and onely ſufficient aduocate with the father; therefore where we may haue free & bold acceſſe to the Sonne, Heb.4.16. what need haue we of the ſeruants helpe? Secondly, he is the onely aduocate that is iuſt and righteous before God: ſo only is Chriſt, the Angels are impect in his ſight, Iob.4.18. *Ergo.* Thirdly, he muſt be our aduocate that is alſo the propitiation for our ſinnes: *Ergo*, onely Chriſt.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Dicitis, Angelos nos colimus: vtinam illos coleretis, facile ab illis diſceretis, illos non colere:* But yee will ſay yee worſhip not images but Angels: I would you did truly worſhip and reuerence them: for you ſhould ſoone learne of the Angels, not to worſhip the Angels, *In Pſal.96.* And *Bernard* alſo thus writeth vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle, Hebr.1. are they not all miniſtring ſpirits? *Plane miniſtri noſtri non Domini noſtri:* They are our miniſters, not our Maſters or Lords: *In Pſal.90.ſerm.*11. if not our Lords, then not to be worſhipped.

Synod. Moguntin.cap.45. Sancti, &c. Velut corporis Chriſti nobiliſſima membra, eo ſocietatis & dilectionis cultu à nobis honorari debent; quo in hac vita à nobis ſancti homines coli poſſunt: Saintes, which haue happily ended this life, as the moſt noble members of Chriſts body, muſt be honoured with the worſhip of loue and brotherly fellowſhip, as holy men in this life may be honoured. But we do not make our prayers vnto men, though neuer ſo holy vpon earth: *Ergo*, neither ought we to pray to Angels or Saints in heauen.

We will adde the ſeale of the holy confeſſors and Martyrs: Certaine godly Chriſtians were perſecuted in the dioceſſe of Lincolne, for denying to pray to Saints, ſaying; What neede wee goe to the feete, when we may goe to the head? *anno* 1521. *Fox* pag.826.col.2.

Claudius Monerius, who ſuffered for the truth at Lyons, *anno* 1551. being asked whether Saints were not to be inuocated: anſwered, They cannot pray without faith, and therefore it is in vaine to call vnto them, pag.905.col.1. The reaſon ſtandeth thus, It is in vaine to pray to them, that cannot pray for vs (ſeeing by our aduerſaries confeſſion, Saints onely helpe vs by their prayer, and mediation to God, not by any helpfull power in themſelues) but neither the Angels nor Saints can pray for vs, becauſe they haue no faith (which gift is now with them ceaſed) and without faith no prayer is acceptable: *Ergo*, it is needleſſe to pray to them.

Francis Rebezies martyred at Paris, *anno* 1558. thus reaſoneth againſt inuocation of Angels and Saints: Saint *Iohn* ſaith, 1.Epiſt.5.verſ.14. *This is the truſt wee haue in him, that if we demaund any thing after his will, he will heare vs: We muſt doe and pray therefore according to Gods will, not after our owne:* But it is not Gods will that wee ſhould pray vnto any ſuch, either Angell or Saint: for no ſuch commaundement is giuen in his word, where his will onely is to be ſeene. *Ergo.*

THE NINTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING SAINTS DEPARTED.

THis Controuerſie hath two parts: firſt, of thoſe that being departed ſuffer ſome puniſhment after this life. Secondly, of thoſe that are ſtraight receiued to ioy in heauen. The firſt part hath two queſtions: firſt, of the place of darkneſſe, where the faithfull remained till the comming of Chriſt, as the Papiſts imagine. Secondly, of Purgatorie.

THE FIRST QVESTION OF *LIMBVS PATRVM*, where the Patriarkes were imagined to be.

The Papiſts.

THey haue deuiſed and imagined in their fooliſh conceit foure infernall and ſubterreſtriall Hæreſ.9. places; Hell, Purgatorie, *Limbus infantium*, where children remaine dying without Baptiſme, and *Limbus Patrum*, where the Fathers were before Chriſts comming. Theſe places they diſtinguiſh three waies: Firſt, by the ſituation: Hell is loweſt, Purgatorie is next, *Limbus infantium* in the third place, *Limbus Patrum* vppermoſt. Secondly, they differ in meaſure of puniſhment, ſome of them haue *pœnam damni*, and *pœnam ſenſus*, a double puniſhment, both of loſſe, in that they are excluded heauen, and of paine alſo, as Hell, and Purgatorie: the other two *Limbi*, are but dungeons of darknes onely, where they ſuffer no other ſmart or paine, but are only abſent from God. Thirdly, they differ in time and continuance, ſay they, Hell and the dungeon of children ſhall abide for euer: but Purgatorie and the dungeon of the Fathers are temporall: the one, that is, *Limbus Patrum*, is many yeeres agoe diſſolued: and Purgatorie alſo ſhall ceaſe, ſay they, at the comming of Chriſt, *Bellarm.de Purgat.lib.2.cap.6.*

This then is their opinion, that the Patriarkes and Prophets before Chriſts comming were not in heauen, but were kept in an infernall place of darkneſſe, yet without paine, and were deliuered by Chriſts deſcending into hell, *Bellarm.de Chriſti anima, lib.4.cap.*11.*Rhemiſt.Heb.*9.8.

*Argum.*1. Heb.11.40. *God prouiding a better thing for vs, that they without vs ſhould not be perfect:* That is, (ſay the Rhemiſts) the Fathers of the law could not be admitted to the ioyes of heauen, till the Apoſtles and other of the new law, were aſſociate with them, and a way made into heauen by the death and aſcenſion of Chriſt, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, by this reaſon the Patriarkes could not enter into heauen before the death of the Apoſtles, if there were no entrance found, vnleſſe they were aſſociate with them. Secondly, if the way were not opened before Chriſts aſcenſion, then the Patriarkes could not aſcend before: where were they then all thoſe 40.daies? for they were deliuered out of *Limbus Patrum* before Chriſts reſurrection. Thirdly, there is therefore no ſuch meaning of this place: but it is to bee vnderſtood of the reſurrection, when as all the elect ſhall be conſummate together, and enter body and ſoule into heauen. *Fulk.*

Thus doth *Bernard* expound this place, ***Acceperunt iam ſinguli ſtolas, ſed non veſtientur duplicibus donec veſtiamur & nos, Deo melius aliquid prouidente pro nobis, vt non ſine nobis conſummarentur*** : All of them, that are departed, (he meaneth the Saints) haue receiued their ſtoles or ſingle garments, but they ſhall not be cloathed with double, vntill we alſo be apparelled, God prouiding better things for vs : that is, in the reſurrection we ſhall all receiue this double rayment, we ſhall be perfited in body and ſoule.

After the ſame manner doth this Father expound that place, Apocal.*6.9*. how the ſoules cryed vnder the Altar : ***A labore requieſcunt, qui in Domino moriuntur ; ſed non requieſcunt interim à clamore, ſub throno Dei clamant animæ occiſorum, quia nihil etſi habent, quod moleſtet, nondum habent totum tamen, quod delectet : In die Palmar. ſerm.3.*** They reſt from labour, that die in the Lord : but they reſt not from crying : The ſoules of the ſlaine cry vnder the throne of God, becauſe though they haue nothing that doth moleſt them ; yet they haue not all, that may delight them. Neither of theſe places then can bee vnderſtood of the Patriarkes in *Limbo* : for they could not bee without ſome moleſtation in that duugeon of darknes.

In ſolennitat. Sanct. Ser. 3.

Biſhop *Ridley* agreeth with *Bernard* in the expoſition of the former place : God did prouide better for vs, that they without vs, &c. They tarrie now for vs vndoubtedly, longing for the day : but they are commanded yet to haue patience, vntill the number of their fellowe ſeruants be fulfilled : *Fox*.pag.1784. He vnderſtandeth the glorious conſummation of the Saints in the reſurrection.

Argum.2. Zachar.9.11. I haue looſed thy priſoners out of the pit, where there is no water : That is out of *Limbus Patrum, Bellarm. de Chriſti anima. lib.4. cap.11.*

Anſw. Auguſtine giueth a cleane contrarie ſenſe of the place, by the pit without water he vnderſtandeth, ***Humana miſeria ſiccam profunditatem & ſterilem, vbi non ſunt fluenta iuſtitia, ſed iniquitatis lutum*** : The drie and barren dungeon of humane miſerie, where there are no ſprings of iuſtice, but the puddle and mire of iniquity : That is, the Prophet ſpeaketh of the deliuerance of the people from their cruell and vniuſt bondage and captiuitie.

De ciuitat. Dei lib.18. cap.35.

Argum.3. 1.Pet.3.19. ***In the which ſpirit he alſo went and preached vnto the ſpirits that were in priſon, which ſometime had been diſobedient in the dayes of Noe.*** This place proueth euidently (ſaith ***Bellarmine***) that Chriſt deſcended in ſoule into hell, and deliuered the fathers from thence, ***De Chriſti anima. lib.4.13.***

Anſw. The place can haue no ſuch meaning : Firſt, by the ſpirit here the humane ſoule of Chriſt cannot be vnderſtood, but his diuine power : for Chriſt went and preached in that ſpirit, by the which he was quickened, as the text is : but he was not quickened or reſtored to life by his humane ſoule, but by his diuine power his ſoule was ioyned againe to his body. ***Auguſtine*** alſo giueth another reaſon, why he cannot be ſaid to be quickned or made aliue in ſpirit, that is, in his ſoule : for then he muſt haue dyed before in ſoule. But, ***Mors animæ peccatum eſt, à quo ille immunis fuit*** : But the death of the ſoule is ſinne, from the which Chriſt was free.

Bellarmine ſaith, that by the ſpirit not Chriſts diuinity but his ſoule muſt be vnderſtood, becauſe it cannot be ſaid properly of his diuine nature, that it went or came to a place, as it may be ſaid of his ſoule : ***Bellarm. ibid.***

Contra.1. If the Ieſuite will ſtand ſo much vpon proper ſpeaking, neither can the ſoule be ſaid properly to goe, or come, which betoken an action and geſture of the bodie. 2. But to ſpeake according to the phraſe of Scripture, he cannot be ignorant, how that the Scripture ſpeaking to our capacitie, doth aſcribe ſuch humane actions vnto God : as the ſpirit is ſaid to moue vpon the waters, Geneſ.1.1. God is ſaid to walke in paradiſe, Geneſ.3. 3. Yet more vſually in the Goſpell the actions of the humanitie are ſometimes attributed to the Godhead of Chriſt, becauſe of the neere vniting and coniunction of them in one perſon : as Iohn.3.13. Chriſt is ſaid to deſcend from heauen, which was his Godhead onely, for his fleſh as yet had not aſcended. 4. This phraſe is neither ſtrange nor vnuſuall, to ſay that Chriſt went in ſpirite, or the ſpirite of Chriſt went, ſeeing ***Noah*** went in the ſpirite of Chriſt : that is attributed to the worker, which was done by the inſtrument : as whatſoeuer the Prophets did in times paſt, the Lord is ſaid to doe it, &c.

Againe ***Bellarmine*** anſwereth, that it is not vnuſuall in Scripture, to ſay that is quickened, which dyed not, as 2.Sam.8.2. ***Dauid*** is ſaid to meaſure ***Moab*** with 2. coards, one to kill them by, another to quicken them : and Act.7.19. ***Pharao*** is ſaid to caſt out their infants, ***ne viuificarentur***, that they ſhould not be quickened ; that is, remaine aliue : ſo in this place the ſpirite, that is, the ſoule of Chriſt is ſaid to be quickened, becauſe it remained aliue and could not be killed.

Contra. Firſt, the ſame word is not read in the places alleadged, which S.***Peter*** vſeth here : in the firſt place, the word is ζωγρέω, as the Septuagint tranſlate, which ſignifieth, to raiſe or reſtore to life : in the other place the word is ζωογονέω, which betokeneth to grow vp or proſper, as plants doe; but the word vſed by Saint *Peter* is deriued from the word ζωοποιέω, which is to make aliue, and the right Latine thereof is *viuifico*, I do reuiue, and I am reuiued, which is more then to reſtore one to the hope of life, as *Dauid* did the Moabites, which otherwiſe were as dead men, or to remaine aliue, which *Pharao* would not ſuffer the infants to do. Secondly, the examples are not alike, for they are ſaid to be reuiued, becauſe they might die, though they died not; but the ſoule cannot die: wherefore vnleſſe he can ſhew out of Scripture, that ſome thing is ſaid to be reuiued or quickened, that neither doth nor can die, he ſayeth nothing; but neither hath he, nor yet can produce any ſuch example out of Scripture.

2 The Apoſtle ſpeaketh onely of thoſe which were incredulous and diſobedient, not of the faithfull, ſuch as the Patriarkes were and Prophets. Yea (ſaith *Bellarmine*) they might be vnbeleeuers at the firſt, but after repented before they dyed.

Anſ. Then the Apoſtles compariſon could not hold, if any were ſaued without the Arke: for as then eight perſons onely were ſaued, all without the Arke periſhed: ſo now without Baptiſme and faith of the Church, (for by Baptiſme he vnderſtandeth not onely the waſhing of water, but the inward cleanſing by the grace of the ſpirit) none can bee ſaued. If then any were ſaued out of the Arke, there may now alſo be ſaluation out of the Church. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Ii modò, qui non crediderunt Euangelio illis intelligantur eſſe ſimiles, qui tunc non crediderunt, cum fabricaretur arca:* They which now beleeue not the Goſpell, are like to them which beleeued not then while the Arke was in making. And they which doe now beleeue and are baptized, are like to thoſe which then were ſaued in the Arke. *Auguſtine* thinketh therefore, that they were incredulous perſons, and vtterly periſhed both bodie and ſoule. And ſo is our opinion.

3 The text ſaith not, he went and deliuered, but went and preached: for *Auguſtine* calleth it an abſurd thing to thinke, that the Goſpell was preached to them that were dead, which in their life time were incredulous: for if the Goſpell be preached in hell (ſaith he) it would follow that it is not neceſſarie it ſhould be preached here in the world, if men when they are dead, may heare it, and be conuerted. And againe, it would enſue (ſaith he) that there ſhould be a Church in hell: for where the word is preached, there is a Church. Wherefore he concludeth, that it muſt needes be vnderſtood of *Noah* his preaching in the ſpirit and power of Chriſt: *Arcæ fabricatio, prædicatio quædam fuit:* The building of the Arke was a kind of preaching, *Epiſtol.* 99. So alſo he expoundeth that 1. Pet. 4. 6. The Goſpell was preached to the dead: *Ex circumſtantia loci apparet, eum intelligere eos, qui nunc mortui ſunt, ſed olim in vita Euangelium audiuerunt. Commentar. in epiſtol. ad Roman.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt in ſoule preached vnto them, *Non vt conuerterentur impij, ſed vt gauderent animæ piorum:* Not to conuert the wicked, but to reioyce the ſoules of the godly.

Contra. But S. *Peter* ſaith otherwiſe, *That the Goſpell was preached to the dead, that they might be condemned according to men in the fleſh, but might liue according to God in the ſpirit*, chap. 4. 6. What is this elſe, but to conuert the dead? of the which conuerſion there are two parts, the mortification of the fleſh, and the reuiuing or quickening of the ſpirit, both ſet downe by the Apoſtle.

4 The text is not, *that were in priſon*, but doth better beare this ſenſe, *that are:* The words in the originall are theſe: τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι, *ſpiritibus in carcere*, to the ſpirits in priſon: the participle here to be ſupplied in the Greeke οὖσι, in Latine *exiſtentibus*, is properly of the preſent tence, and ſignifieth being: and common vſe of ſpeech will giue it rather to bee vnderſtood of the preſent time, then of the time paſt: as if I ſhould ſay, the man in the houſe, or in the priſon, who would not thinke that I meane one now being in the houſe, rather then one that was in the houſe and now is not? So the Apoſtles meaning is this, that they which were incredulous and diſobedient in time paſt, when *Noah* in the ſpirit of Chriſt, or Chriſt by his ſpirit in *Noah* preached to the world, were then deſtroyed in the flood, and now for their incredulitie are puniſhed in the priſon of hell. And thus *Auguſtine* in euery point vnderſtandeth this text, of *Noah* his preaching to the old world in the ſpirit of Chriſt, ſauing that by the priſon he vnderſtandeth their mortall bodies, while they liued. *Bellarmine* taketh paines at large to confute *Auguſtines* expoſition, becauſe it commeth neere vnto ours: ſo well theſe fellowes agree with antiquitie, whereof notwithſtanding they make great boaſt.

The Proteſtants.

THat the holie Patriarkes, Fathers and Prophets dyed in the ſame faith before the comming of Chriſt, which all true Chriſtians doe now hold, and were preſently receiued into the ioyes of heauen, and not kept in any infernall place or dungeon of darknes: thus it is proued.

Argum. 1. They had all faith, and beleeued in Chriſt: yea, the ſame faith that is now preached; as it is defined by the Apoſtle, Heb. 11. 1. *They alſo by this faith obtained remiſſion of ſinnes*, Rom. 4. 7. *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen*, as it is alleadged out of the Pſalme: *Ergo*, they were bleſſed: but out of the kingdome of God there was no bleſſedneſſe to be found: therefore they alſo went to heauen.

Your owne maſter of ſentences alſo here witneſſeth with vs: *Eadem fides ſaluatoris, quæ nos ſal-*

uat, ſaluos iuſtos faciebat antiquos, &c. The ſame faith, which ſaueth vs, did alſo ſaue the ancient righteous, the great with the ſmall. For as we beleeue that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, ſo they, that he was to come: as wee beleeue that he dyed and roſe againe, ſo they, that hee ſhould die and riſe againe: And *Gregorie* compareth both, to thoſe that went before, and followed Chriſt riding to Ieruſalem, crying, *Oſanna, &c. lib.* 3. *diſtinct.* 25. *a.* From this place we may further reaſon thus: The ſame faith hath the ſame effects and fruits; the Patriarkes had the ſame faith with vs: *Ergo*, they were ſaued and went to heauen, as all beleeuers now do. Agayne, they that went before Chriſt entred into Ieruſalem, as well as they that followed: wherefore the forerunners of Chriſt, that beleeued in him, by the ſame faith entred into heauen.

Argum. 2. If the heauens were not opened before Chriſts aſcenſion, as the *Rhemiſts* affirme: then none went to heauen before Chriſt aſcended. But that is falſe: *Henoch* and *Elias* by their owne confeſſion were taken vp into Paradiſe: ſo was the ſoule of the theefe vpon the Croſſe. But Paradiſe is in heauen, yea the third and higheſt heauen, as S. *Paul* calleth it, 2. Corinth. 12.4. And ſo *Auguſtine* expoundeth that place, *Voluit Deus Apoſtolo demonſtrare vitam, in qua poſt hanc vitam viuendum eſt in æternum.* The Lord would ſhew vnto the Apoſtle that life, wherein, after this life, we ſhall liue and remaine for euer: *De Gen. lib.* 12.28. Theſe three therefore went to Paradiſe, which is no infernall or place of darkeneſſe, but a celeſtiall habitation of ioy, light and felicitie. They were not then in *Limbo Patrum*, in the dungeon of the Fathers. Wherefore we conclude, there was acceſſe to heauen before the aſcenſion of Chriſt.

Argum. 3. Beſide out of Scripture many ſtrong arguments may be gathered, to proue that the Fathers and Patriarkes were in heauen, a place of ioy, not in the imagined *Limbus*, a dungeon of darkeneſſe, before the comming of Chriſt.

Firſt, *Euery one that beleeueth, hath euerlaſting life.* Iohn 5.24. *Abraham beleeued*, Rom. 4.3. *Ergo, Abraham* had and was in euerlaſting life: *Ergo*, not in *Limbus*, which is a place of payne, as they confeſſe; but in euerlaſting life is no payne.

Secondly, the ſoules of the faithfull before Chriſt were in celeſtiall Ieruſalem, for they are the Congregation of the firſt borne, whoſe names are written in heauen, Heb. 12.23. they were the firſt borne vnto Chriſt in the world: *Ergo*, their names were written in heauen.

Thirdly, where the holy Angels were, there alſo were the ſoules of the ancient faithfull, Heb. 12.22. The companie of the Angels and the congregation of the firſt borne belong all to one place; ſo alſo *Lazarus* ſoule was caried by the Angels: but the Angels are in no other place but heauen: *Ergo.*

Further, as out of theſe words, I am the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Iacob*, our Sauiour proueth the reſurrectiõ, becauſe he is not God of the dead but of the liuing; ſo by the ſame reaſon we may conclude they were in heauen: for if it be inglorious for God to be named of the dead, euen ſo alſo it is to call himſelfe by them, that are in payne, in darkeneſſe, abſent from God, as all they are which are imagined to be in *Limbo: Ergo.*

Argum. 4. The Fathers and Patriarches, before Chriſts comming, were in *Abrahams* boſome: but that was no infernall place or priſon, ſuch as they imagine *Limbus Patrum* to be. *Auguſtine* proueth, that it could not be *membrum*, or *pars inferorum*, a member or part of Hell, or any infernall place, as the Ieſuites hold: Firſt, the text ſaith, there is *magnum chaos*, a great gulfe, a great diſtance betweene, Luk. 16.26. and verſe 23. The rich man ſaw *Abraham* a farre off: wherefore it is not like, that both thoſe places ſhould be infernall. Secondly, *Abrahams* boſome, was *quietis habitatio, & fœlicitatis ſinus*, a place of reſt and bliſſe: but ſo is not any infernall place, where there is horror, and darkeneſſe. Thirdly, the place where the rich man was, is called Hell, or infernall: there is no ſuch thing ſaid of *Lazarus*, that he was in any lower place; but aboue in ſome high and farre diſtant place: for the rich man is ſaid to lift vp his eyes. *Auguſtine* then concludeth: *Ne ipſos quidem inferos vſpiam ſcripturarum locis in bono appellatos reperire potui. Epiſtol.* 99. I do not find that this word *Infernal*, is taken any where in the Scriptures in the good part. And therefore the boſome of *Abraham*, being a place of reſt, ſaith he, cannot be any infernall place. One of your owne writers maketh *Abrahams* boſome to be the ſame place, where the ſaints now are in happineſſe and ioy, and Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe: *Intrepidè pergamus ad redemptorem noſtrum, &c.* Let vs therefore go without feare to our Redeemer Ieſus, to the aſſemblie of the Saints, &c. and to the boſome of *Abraham* with *Lazarus. Eſpenc. in* 2. *Timoth. cap.* 4. *p.* 167. *d.*

Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. lib. 3. *cap.* 3. *Confuſiones duas eſſe legimus, vnam temporalem, per quam omnis peccator pœnitendo peccaſſe confunditur: alteram æternalem, & ſine fine manſuram, quam hi, qui à ſiniſtris ſunt, audituri ſunt, quibus dicetur, ite maledicti, &c.* We reade of two confuſions, one temporal, by the which a ſinner in repenting for his ſinne is confounded or aſhamed: another eternall, to indure without ende, which they that are on the left hand ſhall heare, to whom it ſhall be ſaid, Goe yee curſed, &c. If then according to the ſentence of this Councel there be two confuſions or abaſhments, one temporall in this life, another eternal afterward: then was there neuer any ſuch *Limbus*

bus Patrum, a dungeon of darkeneſſe, for the fathers: vnleſſe they will ſay, that when the fathers were thruſt into ſuch a darke dungeon or priſon, it was no confuſion or abaſhment vnto them.

And becauſe our aduerſaries do here accumulate and heape vp many teſtimonies of the Fathers, whom we confeſſe for the moſt part of them, eſpecially the later ſort of them, to haue bin in this error; yet that it may appeare, that the trueth is yet more ancient, I will alleadge the ſentence of a moſt ancient father, namely *Origen*, vpon theſe words of *Iob*, Naked ſhal I returne &c. *Nudus ibo illuc &c.* I ſhall returne naked thither; whither? euen where *Adam* and the reſt of my Elders are gone, where the tabernacles of the righteous are, the reſt of the faithfull, the conſolation of the godly: where is *Abrahams* boſome, the company of Angels, the kingdome of Chriſt, life and light, and glorie, and ſight of God. *Orig. in* 1. *cap. Iob*. But where elſe are all theſe to be found, but in heauen, for in *Limbus* is neither light, nor comfort, nor Angell, nor Chriſt, nor the glorie of God to be ſeene? What clearer euidence of antiquitie can be required?

See this trueth ſealed by the bloud of Martyrs: *Richardus Feurus* who ſuffered for the trueth at Lions *anno* 1554. being asked where the old Fathers were before the death of Chriſt, anſwered: *They were in life eternall, which they looked for, being promiſed before to Adam, Abraham, and the Patriarkes in the ſeede to come: Fox.* pag. 913.

The ſincere iudgement of Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr we haue ſeene before.

AN APPENDIX OR APPERTINANCE OF THIS queſtion, concerning the apparition of *Samuel*.

The Papiſts.

10. Error. THey hold opinion, that it was the very ſoule of *Samuel* that appeared at the witches houſe at *Endor* vnto *Saul:* and vſe it as an argument, to proue that the ſoules of the Patriarkes were not in heauen, but in ſome infernall place, before Chriſts comming, becauſe *Samuel* aſcended out of the earth, *Bellarm. de Chriſt. anim. lib.*4. 11.

Argum. 1. Becauſe he that appeared to *Saul*, is called *Samuel* in the text. *Auguſtine* anſwereth: that the images of things, are called by the names of the things themſelues: as Geneſ. 41. *Pharao* ſaid, he ſaw eares of corne, and fat and leane kine in his dreame, when they were but the images of ſuch things: So the diuell becauſe he appeared in the ſhape of *Samuel*, *Samuel* himſelfe is ſaid to be ſeene: *Ad Simplicianum lib.*2. *quæſt.*3.

Argum. 2. Eccleſiaſtic. 46. It is ſet downe as a commendation of *Samuel*, that he propheſied being dead: *Ergo*, it was *Samuel* indeed, *Bellarm. De Purgat. lib.*2. *cap.*6.

Auguſtine anſwereth, that this booke was not receiued into the Canon of the Scriptures: It is not Canonicall. *De cura pro mortuis, cap.*15.

Argum. 3. He telleth *Saul* things to come, as how the next day he ſhould be ouercome, and ſlaine. But the diuell knoweth not things to come, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Auguſtine anſwereth, *Facile eſt & non incongruum:* It is an eaſie matter with God, and not vnlikely, that ſome things ſhould bee reuealed to euill ſpirits, for the greater puniſhment of the wicked: for otherwiſe we might meruaile; *Quomodo dæmones agnouerint Chriſtum, quem Iudæi non agnoſcebant:* How the diuels knew Chriſt, whom the Iewes did not acknowledge: *Ad Simplician. lib.*2. *quæſt.*3.

The Proteſtants.

THat it was not the ſoule of *Samuel* which appeared, who was now at reſt; but the diuell in the likenes of *Samuel*, who alſo can transforme himſelfe into an Angel of light: *Auguſtine* proueth by theſe foure arguments.

Argum. 1. Becauſe the Witch or Pythoniſt vſed enchantments, vnto the which the ſoule of ſo holy a Prophet was not ſubiect, *Dæmoniacis incantationibus vti videtur. De mirabilibus Scriptur.*2. *cap.*11. *Bellarmine* anſwereth: that *Samuel* preuented her inchantment, and came vp voluntarily.

Anſw. The text is contrarie, verſ. 11. for the woman firſt asked *Saul*, whom ſhe ſhould bring vp, that is, by her charmes and incantations: and he ſaid, bring me vp *Samuel*.

Argum. 2. *Quomodo Saul, &c.* How could *Saul* obtaine to heare a Prophet ſpeake from the dead, whom God vouchſafed not to anſwer by Prophets aliue? The text is, that God gaue him no anſwer neither by Prophets, nor by dreames: therefore I haue called for thee, verſ. 15. *Ergo*, it was not *Samuel*, for then God ſhould haue giuen him anſwer by Prophets.

Argum. 3. If it had been *Samuel*, he would not haue told a lye vnto *Saul*, ſaying, to morowe thou ſhalt be with me: *Magno quippe interuallo ſeparari bonos à malis legimus:* For we reade that the good are ſeparated from the bad by a great diſtance after this life, as it appeareth in the ſtorie of *Diues* and *Lazarus*. *Auguſt. ad Simplician. ibid.*

Bellarm. He ſaith as much, as you ſhall be dead: noting the generall condition, not the particular ſtate of the dead : and he ſaith further, Thou and thy ſonnes ſhall be with me to morrow, but *Ionathan* being a righteous man, went not to the ſame place that *Saul* did : wherefore, *ye ſhal be with me,* is as much to ſay, Ye ſhall be dead.

Anſw. This phraſe in Scripture importeth, and implieth alſo the particular ſtate of thoſe that are departed, as 2.Sam.12.23. *Dauid* ſaith of his child, I ſhall goe to him, he ſhall not come to me: And Luk.23.43. Chriſt ſaith, This day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe : In both places it ſignifieth to be in reſt and ioy, in the ſame place, where they are, with whom they are ſaid, they ſhall be : *Ergo*, it ſhould be ſo taken here. Neither is it neceſſarie to vnderſtand *Ionathan* in this ſpeech, ſeeing that he ſaith not all his ſonnes : and there were two other of his ſonnes beſide *Ionathan* ſlaine, namely, *Abinadab*, and *Malchiſhuah*. 1.Sam.31.2,6. So that the ſpeech is true, *thou and thy ſonnes*, though *Ionathan* be excluded.

*Argum.*4. If it had been *Samuel: Vtique vir iuſtus non permiſiſſet ſe adorari :* The iuſt man would not haue ſuffered himſelfe to be adored and worſhipped: as the diuell doth take it at *Saules* hands, to be worſhipped of him. For the text ſaith, he enclined his face toward the ground, and bowed himſelfe, or worſhipped : *Auguſt.quæſt.ex.veteri.teſtam.27.*

Bellarmine ſaith, that he did giue no other worſhip vnto him, then was due vnto the ſoule of *Samuel* ſo great a Prophet.

Anſw. Cornelius did no otherwiſe worſhip *Peter*, then by falling downe as *Saul* here doth, nor *Iohn* the Angell, Apocal.22. yet neither of them are permitted to do it : Wherefore, if this had bin true *Samuel*, he would not haue arrogated more to himſelfe, then either *Peter*, or the Angell: Wherefore as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Hoc nititur, vt adoretur, quaſi Deus*, he goeth about to be worſhipped as God, and therefore it was ſurely Sathan, not *Samuel* : Thoſe foure effectuall reaſons of S. *Auguſtine* are confirmed by their owne decrees, *Cauſ.26. qu.5.c.14.* howſoeuer *Bellarmine* at his pleaſure reiecteth both the one and the other.

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING Purgatorie.

THe queſtion hath three parts : firſt, whether there be any Purgatorie for ſoules to be purged and cleanſed in after this life. Secondly, of other circumſtances and matters that doe belong thereunto. Thirdly, of prayer for the dead.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THERE BE any Purgatorie after this life.

The Papiſts.

Hæreſ.11. THere is (they ſay) a certaine infernall place in the earth, called Purgatorie, in the which, as in a priſon houſe, the ſoules which were not fully purged in this life, are there cleanſed and purged by fire, before they can be receiued into heauen: *Bellarm.de Purgat.lib.1.c.1.lib.2.c.6. Rhemiſt. Matth.12.ſect.6.*

*Argum.*1. Zachar.9.11. Thou haſt looſed thy priſoners out of the pit where was no water, Pſal.66.12. We went through fire and water. Theſe and ſuch like places the Ieſuite vnderſtandeth of Purgatorie, *Lib.1.de Purgator.cap.3.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Ieſuite brought this place before, to proue that there was *Limbus Patrum*, and now he maketh it ſerue for Purgatorie : thus they can make the Scripture to ſpeake what they liſt themſelues. But Purgatorie and *Limbus Patrum*, are two diuers, yea and contrary things : for the *Limbus* was onely for thoſe that liued before Chriſt ; Purgatorie began ſince : the *Limbus* was voyde of paine and puniſhment; ſo is not Purgatorie: wherefore if the Lake or pit in *Zacharie* ſignifie Purgatorie, it maketh nothing for *Limbus:* and if it ſerue for *Limbus*, then they miſſe of a place for Purgatorie. But indeede it ſignifieth no ſuch thing : but is taken onely in that place for the affliction and miſerie of this life, as we ſhewed out of *Auguſtine*. And ſo doth he alſo expound ſuch and the like places out of the Pſalmes, as Pſalm.86.13. Thou haſt deliuered my ſoule from the loweſt graue. *Quid* (ſaith he) *eſt lacus infimus, niſi profundiſſima miſeria, qua non ſit profundior?* What els (ſaith he) is the loweſt pit or graue, but the loweſt degree of miſerie, then the which there can be no greater?

*Argum.*2. Matth.12.32. *Blaſphemie againſt the ſpirit ſhall not be forgiuen neither in this world nor the world to come: Ergo,* ſome ſinnes ſhall be forgiuen in the next world ; and therefore there is a purgatorie, for in hell there is no forgiueneſſe : *Bellarm.loc.1.ex nouo teſtamento.*

Anſw. Firſt, by the world to come, is vnderſtood the world ſucceeding this, and ſo it anſwereth to the world preſent : as Marke 10.30. *They ſhall at this preſent receiue an hundred fold, and in the world to come life euerlaſting.* Wherefore purgatorie being imagined to be now preſent, it can not be taken to belong to the world to come: ſo alſo muſt we vnderſtand that place, Epheſ.1.21. that Chriſt is exalted aboue euery name, that is named in this worlde, or the world to come: that is, in the world which ſhall be after this: I thinke they will not by the world to come, in this place, inferre Purgatorie; nor yet, where the Apoſtle ſaith, *The powers of the world to come*, Heb.6.5.

Secondly, it followeth not, ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt ſhall not be remitted in the next worlde, *Ergo*, other ſinnes ſhall: no more, then it followeth, that where Chriſt ſaith, *I will not drinke henceforth of the fruite of this vine, vntill I drinke it with you in my fathers kingdome*, Math. 26.29. that therefore he did drinke of other things; becauſe he did not drinke of the Vine, &c. And whereas *Bellarmine* would iuſtifie this argument, by that example Iohn 19. where Chriſt ſaith, *My kingdome is not of this world*, and *Pilate* inferreth thereupon, *Art thou a king then?* where an affirmatiue is concluded out of the negatiue; the reaſon is not alike, vnleſſe he will reaſon as *Pilate* did: Thy kingdome is not of this world: *Ergo*, thou haſt a kingdome: ſo blaſphemie ſhal not be forgiuen in the next world: *Ergo*, there ſhall be blaſphemie then. Thus he might conclude truely, for in hell there ſhall be blaſphemie.

Thirdly, S. *Marke* doth beſt expound S. *Matthew*, 3.29. *He that blaſphemeth, ſhall neuer be forgiuen*: ſo that to be forgiuen neither in this worlde, nor the next, is neuer to be forgiuen. *Bellar.* But *Marke* is rather to be expounded by *Matthew*. *Anſw.* Yea, let *Matthew* expound himſelfe: for verſ.31. he ſaith, *Blaſphemie ſhall not be forgiuen*, that is, at all: and then he addeth in the verſe following, *neither in this world, nor the world to come*: ſo that not to be forgiuen in this world, or the next, is not to be forgiuen at all.

Fourthly, that there is no remiſſion of ſinne after this life, the Scripture is euident, Iohn 3.18. *He that beleeueth is not condemned, but he that beleeueth not, is condemned alreadie.* Vpon which place the *Rhemiſts* giue this note, That he that beleeueth, ſhall not be condemned eyther at the houre of death, or day of iudgement: from which place I reaſon thus, Euery man eyther dyeth in faith, or without faith: if he die in incredulitie, he is condemned, and there is afterward no hope; if in faith, he is freed from condemnation, and entred into life, and ſo conſequently deliuered from his ſinnes: therefore in this life we onely obtaine remiſſion of ſinnes, becauſe faith is onely of this life, whereby our ſinnes are remitted. *Ambroſe* alſo ſaith, *Qui hic non acceperit remiſſionem peccatorum, illic non erit:* He that receiueth not here remiſſion of ſinnes, ſhal not be there, that is, in heauen. *de bono mort.cap.2.*

*Argum.*3. Luke 8.55. *Her ſpirit came againe and ſhe roſe.* Chriſt rayſed the Rulers daughter to life. This euidently ſheweth that there is a third place beſide Heauen and Hell: for the ſoules that are there cannot returne againe, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Surely, a goodly argument, the ſpirits of *Lazarus* and of the Maid returned: *Ergo*, there is a third place: and why may you not thinke, that their ſoules were, whereas the ſoules of other righteous are? And why may not the Lord bring at his pleaſure, if it pleaſeth him, the ſoules at reſt, into their bodies againe? And this further may be thus ſhewed: after the reſurrection of Chriſt, the bodies of many that were dead, appeared out of their graues, Matth.27.53. If Chriſt then by his power be able to call the bodie out of his place, which is the graue, euen ſo the ſoule alſo. Againe, S. *Paul* ſaith, He was taken vp into the third heauen, whether in his bodie or not, he knoweth not, but in his ſpirit and ſoule, he was ſure he was there: therefore it is poſſible with God, to call the ſoules from heauen into the bodie, the more to manifeſt his glorie. Further I aske, where the ſoule of *Dorcas* was after her departure: I thinke they will not ſay in Purgatorie, ſhe being a woman full of good works and almes while ſhe liued: if ſhee were then in heauen, and *Peter* called her ſoule into her bodie againe; ſhall the Maſter be able to do leſſe, then the diſciple? S. *Gregorie* alſo reporteth *lib.1.dialog.c.9.* how S. *Fortunatus* rayſed againe one *Marcellus* an holy man, which was caried by the Angels into a bleſſed place: this ſtorie is receiued by *Bellarmine*; who alſo granteth that holy men may returne from other places then Purgatorie, *lib.2. de Purg.c.8.* Wherefore this example of *Lazarus* concludeth not. Act.8.

*Argum.*4. Of all other they moſt inſult, and beare themſelues bolde vpon that place of S. *Paul*, 1.Cor.3. which being rightly vnderſtood, doth not helpe them any thing at all; verſ.13. The fire ſhall trie euery mans worke, verſ.15. if any mans worke, burne, he ſhall ſuffer loſſe, but he ſhall be ſafe himſelfe, yet as it were through the fire. *Bellar.& Rhemiſt.* by fire here vnderſtand the flames of Purgatorie: by wood, ſtubble, ſtrawe; veniall ſinnes, which muſt be purged by that fire, *Rhemiſt. 1.Cor.3.ſect.3.*

Anſw. Firſt, by the precious matter here, as of gold, ſiluer, are not the workes of charitie vnderſtood, but the preaching of ſound doctrine: by ſtraw, and ſtubble, and wood, and other combuſtible matter, the affectation of eloquence, and corrupt teaching of the truth, yet holding the foundation; not veniall ſinnes, as the Rhemiſts affirme: and this *Bellarmine* alſo granteth. And ſo S. *Ambroſe* expoundeth, *Opus quod ardere dicitur, mala doctrina eſt &c.* The worke that ſhal burne is euill doctrine &c. *in 3.1.ad Corinth.* Doth then their purgatorie fire diſcerne betweene ſound

and

and corrupt doctrine? but that they imagine to be a puniſhing and purging fire, not a trying and diſcerning fire, as this is, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh.

Secondly, fire is here taken allegorically, as the reſt of the words are, of gold, ſiluer, ſtubble: neither can it be taken for their Purgatorie fire; becauſe it trieth the workes onely, not the perſons, and all muſt be tried by this fire, as well thoſe that build gold and ſiluer, as the other: but all ſhall not paſſe through Purgatorie, by their owne confeſſion. They are driuen to his ſhift, to graunt, that verſe 13. the fire is taken in one ſenſe, namely, for the ſentence and iudgement of God, and verſe 15. in another, that is, for the flames of Purgatorie. But who ſeeth not howe abſurd a thing this is, that in an allegorie the ſame word, and in the ſame place, ſhould be ſo diuerſly taken? It is apparant then that this is the meaning, that *the day*, that is, the time, ſhall declare it: for God hath appointed a time to examine euery mans doctrine by fire: which is nothing elſe but the iudgement of God by the fire of his word, whereby euery man, in the day of his calling and conuerſion, ſhall know whether he hath preached aright or not.

Firſt I will proue this expoſition to be ſound, and then ſhew how it is impugned. Firſt, this fire muſt needs be either a materiall fire, or a ſpirituall: if materiall, then either euerlaſting fire, or purgatorie fire, or the fire of the iudgement day: not the firſt, becauſe it is onely for the wicked; not the ſecond, nor the third, becauſe they doe not trie works, but the perſons; but this fire trieth euerie mans worke: *Ergo*, it is not a materiall, but a ſpirituall fire.

Secondly, this fire is a triall of euery mans doctrine, how he hath preached and taught; but no materiall fire can make triall of doctrine: *Ergo*, a ſpirituall fire.

Thirdly, as is the gold and ſiluer, ſtubble, wood, &c. ſo is the fire; but they muſt be vnderſtood ſpiritually: *Ergo*, ſo muſt the fire.

And thus much **Bellarmine** granteth, that in the two firſt places the fire of Gods iudgement muſt be vnderſtood, but not in the third, in the 15. verſe.

Contra. Firſt, that fire, whereby a man ſuffereth loſſe in his worke, is the fire he ſhall be ſaued through, verſ. 15. but the firſt fire is ſpirituall, becauſe it examineth the worke it ſelfe: *Ergo*, the other is the ſame ſpirituall fire.

Againe, by the ſame fire is as well the ſaluation of the worker, as the probation of the worke: for the probation of the worke tendeth to the ſauing of the worker: but the worke is proued and tried by a ſpirituall fire. *Ergo*, &c.

Further, **Bellarmines** owne application of the ſimilitude ſheweth as much: for hee thus expoundeth it, as if two workmen ſhould make two houſes, one of hewed ſtone, the other of timber and ſtraw: fire is ſet to both houſes; the workman in the ſtone houſe is vntouched of the fire, and his houſe ſafe: but the other houſe burneth, and the builder within is in daunger, and cannot eſcape, but by paſſing thorough the fire, *cap.4.loc.2.* Doth he not euidently graunt, that it is one and the ſelfe ſame fire, wherewith the houſe is burned, and thorough the which the builder eſcapeth? So then theſe foure properties named by the Apoſtle, of reuealing, trying, burning, ſauing, muſt bee referred to one and the ſelfe ſame fire, which is a ſpirituall fire, and not a materiall: therefore no purgatorie fire.

Now **Bellarmine** goeth about to infringe this our expoſition of the ſpirituall fire of truth, wherby euery mans worke is tried in this life, by theſe reaſons:

Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, ***The day of the Lord ſhall declare it***, verſ. 13. which is in Scripture taken for the day of iudgement: and therefore it ſhall not declare it in this life.

Anſ. In the Originall Greeke wee reade onely ***the day***, and not ***the day of the Lord***: ſo that word ſeemeth to be added in the vulgar Latin. And againe, there ſhall be no purgatorie fire after the day of iudgement: wherefore herein they doe contradict themſelues.

Secondly, ***The day which ſhall be reuealed by fire***, ſaith the Apoſtle; what day is this elſe but the day of iudgement, which the preciſe ſignifying of fire declareth? ***Rhemiſt.***

Anſ. I will oppoſe againſt them the iugdement of **Bellarmine**, who ſaith, that the fire of the day of iudgement cannot here be vnderſtood: firſt, becauſe that fire ſhall worke onely vpon the wicked, but S. ***Pauls*** fire ſhall trie all. Secondly, that fire maketh not triall of workes, as S. ***Pauls*** fire doth. Thirdly, it would follow that they which build hay, ſtubble, &c. ſhould not enter into heauen before the day of iudgement: ſo are they anſwered with their owne.

Thirdly, this fire ſhall trie euery mans worke what it is: but this difference of mens working is not alwaies ſeene in this life. *Ergo, ſic* ***Rhemiſt. Bellarm.***

Anſ. Firſt, the Apoſtle meaneth not euery worke whatſoeuer ſhall be made manifeſt here, but he ſpeaketh onely of the worke of the Miniſterie, which is publike, and to be diſcerned of all. Secondly, neither is it neceſſarie to vnderſtand the manifeſtation of theſe workes to the ſight of others, but the reuealing thereof to their owne conſcience, which alwaies falleth out in this life to thoſe that ſhall be ſaued.

Fourthly, they, whoſe errors are reuealed by the word of God, and their mindes lightened, doe ſuffer no loſſe, but rather haue gaine by it: but the Apoſtle ſaith, that they whoſe worke burneth doe ſuffer loſſe by it, *Bellarm.*

Anſ. They whoſe erronious preaching is reuealed by the ſpirit in the word, ſuffer no loſſe, in reſpect that they themſelues vpon their repentance are ſaued: but yet they haue loſſe in regard of their labour, which is loſt, and of the greatnes of reward, which they ſhall haue, that preach ſincerely: and ſo is S. *Paul* to be vnderſtood, ſaying, *they ſuffer loſſe, &c.* yet *are ſaued.*

So then, notwithſtanding theſe obiections to the contrarie, our expoſition of the Reuelation & trial to be had in this life by the ſpiritual fire of truth in euery mans conſcience, as touching the worke of the Miniſterie, remaineth ſound, and agreeable to Scripture. To this conſenteth *Origen: Habuit Petrus aliquid plumbi, &c. Peter* had a little lead, for our Sauiour ſaith vnto him, *O thou of little faith.* He therefore that is ſafe, is ſafe, as it were through fire: as the furnace trieth the gold, ſo tentation the righteous: *Veniendū eſt ergo omnibus, &c.* Wherfore euery one muſt come to the fire, muſt come to the conflatorie or fining pot, *Hom.6. in Exod.* Likewiſe Saint *Hierome: Cum viderit Satanas nos ſuper fundamentum Chriſti, &c.* When Satan ſeeth vs vpon the foundation of Chriſt to build hay, or ſtubble; *ſupponit incendium,* he ſetteth to the fire: wherefore let vs build gold, &c. and he ſhall not dare to tempt vs, *lib.2. aduerſ. Iouinian.* Both theſe fathers by this fire vnderſtand, the tentation in this life, whereby a man is tried, and brought to acknowledge his infirmitie: which is a preparation to the more excellent worke of the ſpirit, whereby they are further lightened.

I will alſo produce *Bernard* for the expoſition of this place, though I denie not, but that he ſomewhat ſauoured of this purgatorie inuention: theſe words, *he ſhall bee ſafe, yet as thorough fire,* he thus interpreteth: *Ignis tria habet, fumum, lucem, ardorem, &c.* Fire hath three things, ſmoake, light, heate: the ſmoake, that is the bitternes of ſoule: the light, is the confeſſion of the mouth: the heate is in the bodie the tribulation or puniſhment of repentance. The bitternes then of the ſoule, the confeſſion of the mouth, the puniſhment of the bodie, are that fire, whereby the looſe and negligent builder ſhall bee ſaued, *Serm. de lig. fœn. ſtipul.* But all theſe are in this life. *Ergo, &c.*

*Argum.*5. Matth.5.25. *Agree with thine aduerſarie while thou art in the way with him, leſt he deliuer thee to the Iudge, the Iudge to the Miniſter, and thou bee caſt into priſon: Verely I ſay vnto thee, thou ſhalt not come out thence, till thou haſt paied the vtmoſt farthing.* This priſon, ſaith *Bellarmine,* is Purgatorie, out of which, after the debt is paied, the debter ſhall goe forth.

Anſ. Firſt, this ſaying of our Sauiour may ſafely be expounded according to the letter of the affaires of this life, as Saint *Chryſoſtome* doth expound it, that men to preuent their further daunger, ſhould bee readie to compound their controuerſies betime. And ſuch counſell alſo the Wiſeman giueth, Pro.6.3. *That if a man haue giuen his word, and is become a ſuretie for another, he ſhould not ſleepe before he had deliuered himſelfe.* And this expoſition is moſt agreeable to the text: for the word is ἀντίδικος, an aduerſarie at the law. And Luke.12.58. where the ſame ſentence of our Sauiour is repeated, there is mention made of the Magiſtrate, and of the Iaylor, which are termes and offices properly fitting the buſines of this life. *Bellarmine* hath not any thing worth the anſwering, contrarie to this ſenſe.

Secondly, if we draw theſe words to a ſpirituall vnderſtanding, by the priſon hell muſt bee ſignified, a place of euerlaſting torment, and not Purgatorie.

Firſt, becauſe the word φυλακὴ, a priſon, is ſo taken, 1.Pet.3.19. for the place of the diſobedient, which is hell: for I thinke, they will not ſend obſtinate ſinners to purgatorie

Secondly, he ſhall not come forth, till he hath paied the vtmoſt farthing, or as S. Luke ſaith, *the vtmoſt mite*; that is neuer: vnleſſe he dare ſay, that a ſinner is able by his puniſhment to ſatisfie the vtmoſt mite of his debt, that is, his ſinne vnto God, which is great blaſphemie to affirme, and contrarie to the Scriptures: for we cannot anſwere God one thing of a thouſand, Iob.9.3.

Thirdly, this place may bee expounded by that parable, Matth.18. where the vnkinde ſeruant is caſt into priſon, till he ſhould pay all that was due, verſ.34. that is, he ſhould lie there for euer; for the debt was ten thouſand talents, too much for a Prince, much leſſe for a ſeruant, to pay: and verſ.25. *he had nothing to pay:* and therefore his maſter forgaue him the debt, verſ.32. Wherefore we ſee our debt is not paied vnto God by vs, but forgiuen; and where it is not pardoned, it can neuer be paied. Againe, it followeth, verſ.35. *So ſhall my heauenly father doe vnto you, if you forgiue not from your hearts one another your treſpaſſes:* What is this, ſo ſhall my father doe vnto you? ſend them to purgatorie? No, but vnto hell: for vncharitable and malicious men, which will not forgiue others, I truſt they will not ordaine vnto a place of temporall puniſhment: for as S. *Iohn* ſaith, *He that hateth his brother, and ſo is a manſlayer, cannot haue eternall life,* 1.Ioh.3.15.

Fourthly, thus S. *Ambroſe* expoundeth this place, *lib.9. in Luc.c.*19. *Redde promiſſum, dum in hoc corpore es, &c.* Render thy vowe or promiſe, while thou art in the bodie, before the exactor commeth, and caſteth thee into priſon. Hence it followeth, that being in priſon, the promiſe, or debt, cannot be paied.

But S. *Auguſtine* more plainly : *Conſenti cum aduerſario, &c.* Conſent with thy aduerſarie in the way,&c.for afterward,when we are paſſed out of this world,*nulla compunctio, vel ſatisfactio remanebit*,there remaineth no compuction or ſatisfaction for ſinne , *tom*.10.*hom*.5.*ſuper illa* . *Conſenti cum aduerſar*.*&c*.

Argum.6. Matth.5.verſ.22.*He that is angrie with his brother vnaduiſedly,is culpable of iudgement: he that ſaith,Racha,ſhall be puniſhed by a councel : but he that ſaith, thou foole, is guiltie of hell fire*. *Ergo*, all ſinnes are not puniſhed with hell fire, but ſome haue onely temporall chaſticement after this life : therefore in purgatorie,*Bellarm*.

Anſ. Theſe three degrees of puniſhment doe not ſhew diuers and differing places of puniſhment after this life,but a difference of puniſhment in hell ; as it may be thus ſhewed :

Firſt, euery tranſgreſſion of the law is ſinne, 1.Ioh.3.4.and the wages of euery ſinne is death, Rom.6.23. but to be angrie raſhly,and to raile,are tranſgreſſions, and conſequently ſinnes, and ſo in themſelues worthie of euerlaſting death.

Againe,He that loueth not his brother,abideth in death,that is, hath not eternall life, 1.Ioh.3. ver.14.15.but he that is angrie vniuſtly with his brother,loueth him not.*Ergo*.

Further, no railers ſhall inherite Gods kingdome, 1.Cor.6.10.that is, without repentance : but he that ſaith to his brother *racha*, that is, *idlebraine*, or *lighthead*, raileth : *Ergo*, this ſinne excludeth from heauen; and conſequently in it ſelfe is worthie of hell. Wherefore it is great boldnes in the Ieſuite to exempt thoſe ſinnes from hell fire, which the Scripture iudgeth worthie thereof.

And that theſe be three degrees of the ſame euerlaſting puniſhment, wherein Chriſt alludeth to the formes of iudgement amongſt men,Saint *Auguſtine* ſheweth : *Iudicium dicitur,&c*. That is called iudgement where the ſentence is not pronounced ; that is a councell, where the puniſhment is yet conſulted of : but *Gehenna* or *Hell* is that, which hath certaine damnation,&c.*lib*.1. *de ſerm.in monte,cap*.19. Like as then,the pronouncing,conſulting,execution of ſentence,are all tending to the ſame puniſhment,yet in diuers degrees : ſo is it here,&c.

Argum.7. 1.Cor.15:29.*Why are they then baptized for the dead, if the dead riſe not againe?* The Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the baptiſme of teares, faſting, and prayer, which they did in behalfe of the dead,to eaſe them in the paines of purgatorie : And that baptiſme is taken for affliction, our Sauiour Chriſt ſheweth, ſaying, *I haue a baptiſme to bee baptized with*, Luk.12. *ſic Bellarm.cap*.4. *loc*.3.

Anſ. Firſt, this is a forced and vnreaſonable expoſition of this Scripture : firſt, becauſe that in Scripture we reade of no ſuch baptiſme by teares and faſting : the Scripture maketh mention of three baptiſmes, *flaminis, fluminis, ſanguinis*: of the ſpirit, Mat.3. Chriſt is ſaid to baptize with the ſpirit : of water,as *Iohn* is ſaid to baptize with water : of blood,or of death,of which Baptiſme our Sauiour ſpeaketh: but to applie baptiſme vnto teares,is improper ; & they rather are ſaid to baptize themſelues,then to be baptized. Secondly,if the Apoſtles meaning were ſuch, why ſaith he not, Why are we baptized,rather then they, ſeeing that he himſelfe vſed, as they ſay, to pray for the dead ? And whereas he ſaith, the Apoſtle doth vrge rather the ancient cuſtome of the Iewes, that praied for the dead,then the vſe of the Church,and therefore,ſaith,*they*,not *we*: it is falſe that the Iewes had any ſuch cuſtome, but rather the contrary, for *Dauid* prayed for his child, while he liued; but ceaſed to pray for him being dead. Thirdly, it is more agreeable to the text, to vnderſtand Baptiſme properly, for the baptiſme of water,then coactely for the baptiſme of teares:and ſo Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, that the Apoſtle alludeth to the erroneous vſe of ſome , that did either baptize the dead, or were baptized for the dead, in hope of the reſurrection.And whereas *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that the Apoſtle then would haue giuen ſome ſignification of this error, and not ſo lightly haue touched it : S.*Ambroſe* anſwereth, that the Apoſtle adding further , And why are we in ieopardie ? but ſaith not, Why are we baptized? *Diſcreuit perſonas* , *oſtendens non catholicos eſſe &c*. He doth diſcerne the perſons, ſhewing, that they were not catholikes , that were thus baptized for the dead, *Ambroſ.in hunc locum*. This expoſition is better , and more agreeable, then *Bellarmines* : Firſt, becauſe in this ſenſe, we are not forced to take Baptiſme,for any ſuch new found Baptiſme, but properly for Baptiſme indeed. Secondly, becauſe in the Baptiſme of water there is a ſignification of the reſurrection, and a profeſſion of the hope thereof, which is agreeable to the Apoſtles purpoſe : but in the baptiſme of teares there is no ſuch ſignification or repreſentation. Thirdly, becauſe that in the Baptiſme of water, the baptiſme of teares is included, for prayer is made for the partie baptized : ſo that if baptiſme of water be applied to the dead, they haue alſo benefite by the baptiſme of teares. Fourthly , this expoſition is more reaſonable, becauſe of S.*Ambroſe* authoritie : yet it is no fit or proper interpretation of this place ; as S.*Chryſoſtome* in his commentarie ſheweth by theſe reaſons:

Firſt, becauſe that *Marcion* that wicked heretike , whoſe followers did vſe to put one in the dead mans bedde,after he was departed,and ſo baptized him for the dead,did alleadge this place for that ſuperſtitious vſe, which might ſerue his turne very well; the Apoſtle giuing approbation thereof, without any word of reprehenſion at all, if this place were ſo to be vnderſtood.

Secondly, as theſe words of Chriſt, Vnleſſe you eate my fleſh and drinke my blood &c. are ſpoken to the liuing, and not to the dead: ſo likewiſe, where he ſaith, Except a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, muſt be taken as ſpoken to the liuing.

Thirdly, if this were ſufficient for a man to be baptized when he is dead: then there might be hope for Pagans, Infidels, Iewes, when they are dead: vpon theſe reaſons *Chryſoſtome* infringeth this interpretation allowed by *Ambroſe*, which comming neerer the Apoſtles ſcope then *Bellarmines*, yet miſſing the marke, ſheweth his expoſition to be abſurd and vnreaſonable.

Secondly, then let vs ſee how this place is truely expounded: ſome therefore do vnderſtand it of thoſe, who either deferring their Baptiſme, or not being before admitted to it of the Church, becauſe they were lately conuerted from Paganiſme, did deſire baptiſme vpon their death-bed, being in a manner dead: and ſo were baptized for dead, that is, as dead. But this expoſition is not ſufficient: firſt, becauſe the Apoſtle ſhould haue ſeemed to approue their negligence, that did driue baptiſme to ſuch a ſtreight, as to the point of death. Secondly, the argument of the Apoſtle being drawne from a particular cuſtome of ſome, and not from the generall vſe of the Church, could not ſo ſtrongly conclude. Thirdly, becauſe the force of the Apoſtles reaſon is drawne from *baptiſme*, and *being baptized*, the firſt part of the propoſition, and not from the latter, *for dead:* for it followeth not, they that are deadly ſicke deſire to be baptized: *Ergo*, they expect a reſurrection: vnleſſe that the reſurrection were ſhadowed forth in baptiſme.

Wherefore leauing all by-expoſitions, I take none more fully to expreſſe the Apoſtles meaning, then that of Saint *Chryſoſtome*; who draweth the Apoſtles argument from the end and ſcope of Baptiſme, wherein whether we conſider the confeſſion vttered in Baptiſme, the repreſentation of Baptiſme, or the efficacie thereof, whether theſe all together, or by themſelues; we ſhall finde the argument to conclude: For the confeſſion, he ſaith, *Hoc ad finem cum baptizaturi ſumus, &c.* In the end, being about to baptize, we bid them ſay, I beleeue the reſurrection of the dead: For the repreſentation, *Aquam ſubire & hinc remeare, &c.* To goe into the water, and returne out of the water, are ſymboles, the one of deſcending, *ad inferos*, to the dead; the other, of riſing againe: and therefore S. *Paul* calleth Baptiſme the graue, *ye are buried then by baptiſme into his death*, Rom. 6. And the Apoſtle further ſaith, *that by baptiſme we are graft into the ſimilitude of his death, and into the ſimilitude of his reſurrection*, verſ. 6. For the third, the efficacie of baptiſme, he ſaith, *Spiritus ſanctus, &c.* The ſpirit in baptiſme conſumeth ſinne, as in a furnace, &c. and therfore the cauſe of death, which is ſinne, being extinct, death it ſelfe ſhall ceaſe, and the reſurrection follow. Thus then the Apoſtle ſaith, *they are baptized for dead*, that is, to die vnto ſinne, that they alſo may be partakers of Chriſts reſurrection. This expoſition is both ſound, and good, and moſt agreeable to the Apoſtles purpoſe: neither are the contrarie obiections of any moment.

Firſt, *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that if the Apoſtle had ſpoken ſimply of baptiſme, he would haue ſaid, why are we baptized, as afterward, *why are we alſo in ieopardie?* for the Apoſtle was baptized into the death of Chriſt as well as the reſt.

Anſ. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, *we are in ieopardie*, as giuing a ſpeciall inſtance of himſelfe: as afterward, verſ. 32. he maketh mention of his fighting with beaſts at Epheſus, after the faſhion of the Gentiles, which was a caſe peculiar to himſelfe. Secondly, the Apoſtle is not excluded, though he ſpeake ſometime in the ſecond perſon, as verſ. 17. *If Chriſt bee not raiſed, your faith is in vaine*; and ſo ſhould S. *Pauls* faith be in vaine alſo: ſometime in the third, as *they that vſe this world muſt bee as though they vſed it not*, 1. Cor. 7. 31. which ſaying extendeth alſo to the Apoſtle. Thirdly, this obiection maketh as much againſt *Bellarmines* expoſition, ſeeing that he thinketh that the Apoſtle did baptize himſelfe with teares for the dead: and yet he ſaith not, *why are we baptized?*

Secondly, the ſentence is repeated againe, *Why are they baptized for the dead?* and againe, *why are they baptized for them?* that is the dead, which muſt bee vnderſtood of thoſe that are dead: for otherwiſe they are baptized not for them, but for themſelues, *Bellarm.*

Anſ. The Latine text ſo readeth, as the Ieſuite alleageth: but the originall Greeke, repeateth the ſame ſentence, *Why are they baptized for the dead?* So then this obiection is nothing.

Wherefore all this notwithſtanding, our expoſition remaineth ſound, and inuiolable: firſt, becauſe it is authorized by collation of Scripture, Rom. 6. 6. as wee haue ſeene. Secondly, the argument doth conclude more ſtrongly from the generall cuſtome of the Church in baptiſme, then from any ſpeciall vſe. Thirdly, S. *Chryſoſtome*, the beſt of the fathers, without compariſon, for the right interpreting of Scripture, ſo expoundeth it. Wherefore this ſentence of the Apoſtle, *why are they baptized for the dead*, doth ſet forth the fruite and efficacie of baptiſme, whereby we are made partakers of Chriſts death, and are nouriſhed into the hope of his reſurrection; and ſo conſequently maketh nothing at all for Purgatorie.

The Proteſtants.

THat there is no ſuch place of Purgatorie after this life, but that here onely is the place of repentance, and to be reconciled vnto God; and that the ſoules departed are preſently either receiued vp to heauen, or thruſt downe to hell: thus it is proued out of the Scriptures.

Argum. 1. The Scripture maketh but two kindes of workes, either good or euill, Eccleſiaſtes 12.14. But two ſorts of men, he that beleeueth ſhall be ſaued, he that beleeueth not, ſhall be condemned, Mark. 16.16. But two places, heauen and hell, Matth. 25. Chriſt hath but two flocks, one of ſheepe, at the right hand; another of goates at the left: and he ſaith to the one, Come ye bleſſed: to the other, Goe ye curſed. There are but two ſorts of men, therefore but two places: *Ergo*, no Purgatorie.

Bellarm. There ſhall be indeede at the comming of Chriſt but two places, Heauen and Hell: Purgatorie ſhall haue an end.

Anſ. Firſt, you ſay your ſelues that there ſhall be two infernall places for euer, Hell for the wicked, and a *Limbus* for infants that die vnbaptized, and Heauen that maketh three; and now you ſay there ſhall be but two. Secondly, there are but two places now, becauſe there are but two ſorts of men: for the beleeuers are alreadie paſſed from death to life, Ioh. 5.24. The vnbeleeuers are alreadie condemned, Ioh. 3. verſ. 18. Thirdly, ***Auguſtine*** conſenteth with vs, ***Non eſt vlli vllus medius locus, vt poſſit eſſe niſi cum diabolo, qui non eſt cum Chriſto:*** There is no middle or third place, but he muſt needes bee with the diuell, that is not with Chriſt, ***De peccator. remiſſ. & merit. lib.*** 1. ***cap.*** 28. And againe, ***Tertium locum penitus ignoramus, imo nec eſſe in ſcripturis ſanctis inuenimus:*** The third place beſide heauen and hell, we are vtterly ignorant of; nay wee finde not in Scripture that there is any.

Argum. 2. Eccleſiaſtes. 11.3. ***Whether the tree fall toward the South, or the North, where it falleth there it ſhall be.*** This place our aduerſaries graunt to bee vnderſtood of the ſtate of the dead, which are diſpoſed of to two places; there is not then a third, and ſo conſequently no purgatorie.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, by the South the ſtate of ſaluation is vnderſtood, which alſo comprehendeth purgatorie.

Contra. Firſt, if to fall to the South, be to enter into the ſtate of ſaluation, then the Patriarches that died before Chriſt, preſently had poſſeſſion of euerlaſting Saluation, and ſo they haue loſt their ***Limbus.*** Secondly, it is ſtrange, ſeeing they make Purgatorie a part and member of hell, that they will comprehend in one word, heauen and hell together.

Secondly, ſaith he, we may by the South vnderſtand heauen, and by the North hell, but then euery tree falleth not either North or South.

Contra. Firſt, this Scripture maketh mention but of theſe two places of the dead, and ſo you graunt your purgatorie to be deuiſed beſide Scripture, as it is indeede. Secondly, the text ſaith, ***in quocunque loco,*** in what place ſoeuer it falleth: ſo that to fall to the South or North, is what place ſoeuer, that is, all and euery place toward the which the tree falleth.

Thirdly, if this place ouerthrow Purgatorie, it ourthroweth as well alſo ***Limbus Patrum,*** whither the Fathers went before Chriſt. ***Bellarm.***

Contra. We graunt all, that this place maketh againſt both the one and the other: for as there is not now a third place of Purgatorie beſide Heauen and Hell, ſo neither was there then of ***Limbus.***

Argum. 3. Rom. 8. ***There is no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſus:*** but all ordained to ſaluation are in Chriſt Ieſus; therefore to ſuch there is no condemnation: ***Ergo***, no purgatorie: for to be caſt into priſon, which they ſay is purgatorie, Matth. 5.25. is a condemnation.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that S. ***Paul*** by condemnation vnderſtandeth the contagion of ſinne, that commeth by the concupiſcence of the fleſh, which they haue not that are in Chriſt Ieſus.

Contra. Firſt, ſinne is one thing, and the wages of ſinne is another, which is death or condemnation, Rom. 6.25. therefore by condemnation the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth not ſinne. Secondly, if they that are in Chriſt haue no ſinne, much leſſe doth the puniſhment of ſinne, which they ſay is in purgatorie, abide them.

Argum. 4. 2. Cor. 5.1. ***We know, that if our earthly houſe be diſſolued, we haue an houſe in heauen not made with hands, &c.*** wherefore it followeth, that the ſeruants of Chriſt preſently after their diſſolution enter into heauen.

Bellarmine: The Apoſtle ſaith not, that all the godly preſently after death goe vnto their heauenly houſe, but onely thoſe that are clothed with righteouſneſſe, as it followeth verſ. 3. ***if ſo we be found clothed, not naked.***

Cont. Firſt, the Apoſtle meaneth no ſuch clothing: but the clothing, wherof he ſpeaketh, is to be clothed with our houſe from heauen, verſ. 2. and then he addeth, not preſcribing a condition, but rendring a reaſon, why wee deſire to bee clothed with our heauenly houſe, verſ. 2. becauſe being clothed (that is with our heauenly houſe) ***we ſhall not be found naked.*** Secondly, that all the godlie ſtraight after their diſſolution are clothed with the heauenly houſe; it followeth, verſ.4. *that we may not be vnclothed, but clothed vpon.* But if any godly being vnclothed of their fleſh by death, ſhould not preſently bee clothed with immortalitie, then ſhould they bee vnclothed, which the Apoſtle denieth.

Argum.5. S. *Paul* ſaith, that euery man ſhall receiue the workes of his bodie, according to that which he hath done either good or euill, 2.Cor.5.10. Therefore there is no place to cleanſe and purge the ſoules of men after this life: for then they ſhould not receiue according to the workes done in their fleſh.

Bellarmine ſayth, that euen they whoſe ſinnes are remitted after death, doe receiue nothing but that which was done in the fleſh, for they deſerued in their life time to be helped after death.

Anſw. Firſt, as for deſert, we will ſhew elſe where, that it hath no place before God neither in this life, nor the life to come: for the Scripture ſaith, Bleſſed is he to whom the Lord imputeth no ſinne: not who deſerueth remiſſion of ſinnes, Rom.4.6. Secondly, this deuiſed and friuolous diſtinction, doth not ſtand with the Apoſtles meaning: for he ſpeaketh of things actually done in the fleſh, not deſerued to be done, and of the workes of the body, not of the ſoule, and of things perfectly done, not begun onely or inchoate: and he vſeth it as a reaſon to perſwade men, euen while they liue, to be accepted of God, verſ.9.11. But if there might be any ſuch helpe after death, there needeth no ſuch haſt preſently to be conuerted vnto God. Thirdly, if they deſerued any thing in their life, why deſerued they not preſently to haue forgiuenes of ſins, as wel as afterward?

Argum.6. Apocal.14.13. Bleſſed are the dead from henceforth that die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours: *Ergo*, there is no Purgatorie: for all the godly departed are at reſt.

Bellarm. Firſt, it is not meant of all the godly, but onely of Martyrs, which die for the name of Chriſt.

Anſw. As to liue in Chriſt Ieſus, is a phraſe of Scripture, and ſignifieth to liue godly in Chriſt, 2.Tim.3.12. ſo to die in the Lord, ſignifieth to dye in the faith of Chriſt, 1.Theſſ.4.16. Therefore this place is vnderſtood of all the godly.

Bellarm.2. This word (*amodo*) from henceforth, is not to be vnderſtood ſtraight after their death, but ſtraight after the day of iudgement, then they ſhall be bleſſed.

Anſw. Firſt, by this reaſon none that are dead in Chriſt ſhould be happie before that time. And yet by your owne confeſſion, Martyrs are ſtraightway receiued vp to heauen. Secondly, S. *Iohn* vſeth this word elſewhere, to ſignifie from this time forward, as Ioh.1.51. Chriſt ſaith to *Nathanael*, From henceforth you ſhall ſee heauen open.

Rhemiſt. Thirdly, it may be alſo vnderſtood of the ſoules in Purgatorie, that are without danger of ſinne and damnation, and are put in vnfallible ſecuritie of their ſaluation, with vnſpeakable comfort.

Anſ. Firſt, ſo the Saints liuing are bleſſed, being as well without feare of damnation, Rom.8.1. and are aſſured of their ſaluation, Rom.8.16. Secondly, I pray you what reſt or comfort can they haue, that endure greater paine then any in this life? And how can their conſciences be quieted, ſeeing their ſoules are ſo afflicted? for bodies they haue none, whatſoeuer they ſuffer is in ſoule: how then can ioy and paine, comfort and horror be together in the ſoule?

Let vs ſee the iudgement of antiquitie: *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. lib.1.cap.1. Tribus modis peccata mortalium vindicantur, &c.* The ſinnes of mortall men are three wayes puniſhed, two wayes in this life, and one in the next: Of the two wayes the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, if we would iudge our ſelues, &c. This is the puniſhment, wherein euery ſinner taketh reuenge in himſelfe: Afterward hee ſaith, but when we are iudged of God, we are chaſtiſed, &c. This is the puniſhment, which God in mercy doth lay vpon ſinners: The third is moſt fearefull and terrible, not in this but the next world, when the iuſt Iudge ſhall ſay, depart from me ye curſed, &c. We ſee then that Purgatorie by the ſentence of this Councell is excluded, for it is none of theſe three kindes of puniſhments here expreſſed.

And yet we haue more euident teſtimonie out of their owne Canons, *Gelaſius epiſtol. ad Anaſtaſium*; *Quæ ſolueris ſuper terram, &c.* That which thou bindeſt vpon earth: vpon the earth, for he that dieth being thus bound, can no where be abſolued: Therefore he that is not abſolued in this life, cannot be afterwards: *Ergo*, no Purgatorie.

Againe, the ſame *Gelaſ. decret.2. de eo, qui in diuino iudicio eſt conſtitutus, &c.* Concerning him that is committed to the diuine iudgement, it is not lawfull to iudge any other thing, then that, wherein he died.

Decret. part.2. cauſ.33. diſtinct.1. c.39. Non meretur iuſtificari: He is not worthie to be iuſtified, which did not confeſſe his ſinnes, while he liued.

Ibid. c.49. Leo; *Quod manens in corpore non recepit*: That which a man in his bodie receiued not, being vncloathed of his fleſh, he cannot obtaine. If then there be no remiſſion of ſinnes after this life, then conſequently no Purgatorie.

And as touching the worde purifying or purging, whereof Purgatorie is deriued, their owne Canons call repentance, *Purificatorium ignem pœnitudinis*, the purifying fire, *decret.p.2.cauſ.24.qu.1.c.11.* If Repentance be a purgatorie fire, what neede another purgatorie fire afterward.

Let them heare alſo the iudgement of one of their owne writers, *Animarum poſt diſſolutionem carnis ſuum quaq; ſtatum immutabilem ſortiuntur*: Euery ſoule after the diſſolution of the fleſh, do enter into their immutable ſtate, *Eſpenc.in 2.Timoth.p.144.d.* If the ſtate of euery ſoule after death be immutable, then there is no Purgatorie; for that ſtate is mutable and temporall by their owne confeſſion.

Let vs adioyne the teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs, *Richard Feurus*, french Martyr, being asked if he beleeued any Purgatorie, anſwered: I beleeue that Chriſt with his precious bloud hath made an end of all Purgatorie, and purgation of our ſinnes, *Fox*.pag.913.*col*.1. *Frauncis Rebezies* holy Martyr, I doe acknowledge that Purgatorie, which is the death and paſſion of Chriſt. *Fox*.pag.922.*col*.1.

Iohn Frith holy Martyr, I beleeue there is no ſuch place to purge the ſpots and filth of the ſoule after this life: for man conſiſteth of two parts, that is of bodie and ſoule, whereof the one is purged here in this world, by affliction, perſecution, impriſonment, and laſt of all by death it ſelfe, and the ſoule is purged by the word of God, which we receiue through faith, &c. Now, if you can ſhew me a third part of man beſide the bodie and the ſoule, I will alſo grant vnto you the third place which is Purgatorie, &c. *Fox*.pag.1034.

Maſter *Latimer* Martyr thinketh the deuiſe of Purgatorie, to be a meere imagination and fanſie, and ſaith vpon this ground, that he would rather chooſe to be in Purgatorie, then in the Lollars tower: And of this his ſpeech he rendreth many ſufficient reaſons: See more, *Fox*.pag.1741.*col*.2.

Laſtly, *Iohn Spicer*, *William Coberly*, *Iohn Maundrel* Martyrs put to death, for ſaying that Purgatorie was the Popes pinfold, pag.1894.col.1. Let our aduerſaries ſhew now, if they can, who of their ſect haue dyed in the defenſe of Purgatorie, as we are able to bring forth many Martyrs, who haue witneſſed againſt it, euen by their bloud.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE CIRCVMSTANCES and other matters belonging to Purgatorie.

The Papiſts.

11.Error. 1. THey ſay, it is an article of faith, to beleeue that there is a Purgatorie, and that he, which beleeueth it not, is ſure to goe to hell, *Bellarm.lib.1.De.purgatorio.cap.11.*

The Proteſtants.

WE hold, that it is not onely an article belonging to the faith, but contrarie to it: and that though there were a Purgatorie, yet it ſhould not be neceſſarie to ſaluation to beleeue it. Firſt, becauſe the Scripture hath not determined it, which containeth all things neceſſarie to ſaluation. Secondly, the Greeke Church holdeth it not to this day: they confeſſe no Purgatorie fire, though they pray for the dead: as may be ſeene in the Florentine Councell, *ſeſſ*.25. it were a hard matter therefore to pronounce them damned. Thirdly, *Auguſtine* doubted of it: He ſaith, that there ſhould be ſome ſuch place after death, *non incredibile eſt*, it is not incredible, *& vtrum ita ſit, quæri poteſt, & aut inueniri aut latere fideles poteſt*: whether it be ſo or not, it may be enquired, and it may either be ſafey found out, or remaine hid and vnknowne to the faithfull: *Enchirid.69. Auguſtine* ſaith, A faithfull man may ſafely be ignorant of Purgatorie.

The Papiſts.

12.Error. 2. THey, ſay they, onely goe to Purgatorie, that die in their veniall and light tranſgreſſions, or which haue their ſinnes remitted, but not ſatisfied for the puniſhment, *Bellarm.lib.2.de Purgat.cap.1.*

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, we deny that any ſinnes are of their owne nature veniall, as they affirme, for the wages of all ſinne, without the mercie of God, is death, Rom.6.23. Secondly, what equitie ſhould there be in this, that veniall ſinnes ſhould be puniſhed with the helliſh fire of Purgatorie, that exceedeth all the afflictions of this life, yea and a longer time then any man liueth vpon earth; for the Pope taketh vpon him to pardon for thouſands of yeeres: and yet mortall and deadly ſinnes (as they call them) may be ſatisfied for here, where neither the penance can be ſo grieuous, nor ſo long? Thirdly, the ſinne once remitted, there remaineth no puniſhment, Mark.2.5. Chriſt ſaith to the ſicke of the palſie, *Thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee*: and verſ.10. *That ye may knowe that the Sonne of man hath authoritie on earth to forgiue ſinnes, I ſay vnto thee, ariſe, take vp thy bed and walke.* The releaſing him of the puniſhment of his bodie, was a ſigne that his ſinnes alſo were forgiuen, and the ſinne being remitted, the puniſhment alſo ceaſeth. Wherefore who ſo leaueth the world without ſinne, is no more guiltie of any puniſhment.

The Papiſts.

3. THe ſoules in Purgatorie doe neither ſinne any more, neither can they merite. Eccleſ.9.5. The dead know nothing at all, verſ.10. there is neither worke, knowledge, nor wiſdome in the graue, *Bellarm.cap.2.*

13.Error.

The Proteſtants.

WE ſay, that if there were any ſuch place as Purgatorie, the ſoules there tormented, muſt needes both increaſe in charitie and righteouſnes, becauſe the more they are purged the more pure they are, and the leſſe droſſe is in them: and being in vnſpeakable torments, they cannot chooſe but tremble and feare; yea and alſo be diſquieted in their ſoules, as the Saints were ſometime in their afflictions here vpon earth; and therefore cannot be without ſinne: for feare hath painfulnes, as the Apoſtle ſaith, and he that feareth is not perfect in loue, 1.Ioh.4.18. *Ergo*, a ſeruile or ſlauiſh feare is ſinne. That place alleadged doth not onely take away meriting or working from the dead, but all knowledge and vnderſtanding. And it is ſpoken in the perſon of the Epicure and ſenſuall man, that thinketh that the dead know nothing.

The Papiſts.

4. THey affirme, that the ſoules in Purgatorie are certaine of their ſaluation in the midſt of their torments: for euery ſoule departed, ſtraight after death receiueth ſentence of life or death, *Bellarm.cap.4.*

14.Error.

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. FIrſt, that euery ſoule is iudged preſently after death, we grant: and it maketh ſtrongly againſt your Purgatorie: for the ſentence giuen is either of death or life; and the ſentence being giuen is accordingly executed: ſo that they which receiue ſentence of life goe preſently to heauen, the other to hell. For to what purpoſe els ſhould the ſentence be giuen, if it be not ſtraightwayes in force? So S. *Paul* ſaith, that they which looke to be cloathed with their houſe from heauen, ſhall not be left naked or vncloathed, 2.Cor.5.2.3.4. But if ſome ſoules ordained to life eternall, ſhould pauſe a while in Purgatorie, being vnclothed of their fleſh, they ſhould be left altogether naked, hauing not yet receiued their clothing from heauen. Secondly, where there is ſecuritie of ſaluation, there is the greateſt comfort and ioy that can be: how then can the ſoules in Purgatorie be ſo grieuouſly tormented, which cannot be elſewhere then in their conſcience? for as for the whipping, ſcalding, freezing of ſoules in Purgatorie, they are but old wiues fables: the ioy then of the ſoule is in the conſcience, ſo is the ſorowe: how then can both theſe be matched in the ſoule together, to haue vnſpeakable ioy, as alſo to feele moſt horrible paine?

5 In theſe poynts alreadie ſet downe, our aduerſaries we ſee are bold to define certainly of Purgatorie: but there are as many poynts, and ſomewhat more, which they leaue in doubt and vncertaine. Firſt, where Purgatorie ſhould be: *Bellarmine* geſſeth it is in the bowels of the earth next to hell, *cap.6.* ſo doe the Rhemiſts, Luke.16.ſect.8. But they doe not all agree, neither hath their Church defined it. Secondly, they cannot tell how many yeeres Purgatorie endureth, whether an hundred, or two hundred, or a thouſand yeeres. Thirdly, they cannot tell certainly whether it be materiall fire which burneth in Purgatorie, but they ſay it is probable. Fourthly, neither can they ſhew how corporall fire ſhould worke vpon the ſoules in Purgatorie, being ſpirituall and incorporall, *Bellarmine cap.12.* Fiftly, they are vncertaine, whether the diuels or Angels be the tormentors in Purgatorie, *cap.13.* Sixtly, whether the paine of Purgatorie be at all times alike, or by little and little ſlacked toward the end; and whether it doe exceede all the paines and ſorowes of this life, they yet remaine vncertaine, and are not able to determine, *Bellarm.lib.2.de purgat.cap.14.* Let vs leaue them therefore with their vncertainties, and brainſicke phanſies: for the vaine inuentions and imaginations of men haue no end, but are fitly by the Prophet compared to ſparkles, that leape out thicke out of the fire, but are ſoone extinguiſhed: Walke, ſaith the Prophet, *In the light of your fire, and ſparkes that you haue kindled:* that is, as the ſparkles giue but a dimme light for a man to walke by, he may ſtumble and grope about ſtill for all that light: euen ſo, no meruaile if the Papiſts do wander vp and downe in their imaginations, walking by the light and ſparkles of their phantaſticall and mathematicall fire of purgatorie.

Iſa.50.11.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE PRAYERS OF the liuing, or any other workes of theirs doe profit the dead.

The Papiſts.

THeir opinion is, that the prayers of the liuing are neither auailable for the Saints in heauen, for they neede them not, nor for the damned in hell, for they cannot be helped; but onely for the ſoules tormented in Purgatorie, who doe find great eaſe, ſay they, by the prayers of the liuing,

Hæreſ.15.

and therefore we ought to pray for them, *Bellar.lib.2.de purg.c.*15.18.*Rhem.annot.*2.*Theſ.*2.*ſect.*19.

*Argum.*1. Chriſt while he liued, profited the dead, for he raiſed to life the rulers daughter, Matth.9.the widowes ſonne, Luk.7.and *Lazarus*, which were dead: therefore euen ſo the members of Chriſt ought one to helpe another, the liuing the dead, *Bellarm.cap.*15.

Anſw. Firſt, is not here a ſtrong argument, thinke you, Chriſt raiſed *Lazarus*, and ſome others from death to life: *Ergo*, we ought to pray for the dead? for it followeth not that vpon the miraculous workes of Chriſt, we ſhould build the ordinarie duties of Chriſtians: *Auguſtine* would haue told you that Chriſt is not to be imitated in ſuch workes: *Non hoc tibi dicit, non eris diſcipulus meus, niſi ambulaueris ſupra mare, aut niſi ſuſcitaueris quatriduanum mortuum:* He ſaith not vnto thee, Thou ſhalt not be my diſciple, vnleſſe thou walke vpon the ſea, and raiſe one that hath been dead foure dayes: But, Learne of me: for I am humble and meeke. Secondly, if prayer for the dead be vnto vs, as the raiſing of the dead was to Chriſt: then, as al the dead are to be prayed for, ſo Chriſt ſhould haue raiſed againe all that went then to Purgatorie; or els, by your concluſion, he failed in charitie, as we doe now, if we pray not for the dead, as you beare vs in hand. Thirdly, though the Saints departed, and the faithfull liuing are members of the ſame bodie, and ſo are bound in loue one to the other, yet it followeth not, that one ſhould pray for the other. They with vs, and we with them doe wiſh and long to ſee the redemption of the ſonnes of God accompliſhed, Reuel. *6*.10,22.20. But charitie bindeth vs not one to pray for another, becauſe we know not one the particular needes of another. Nay, to pray for any departed, is againſt the rule of charitie: for loue beleeueth all things, and hopeth all things, 1.Cor.13.7. We ought to hope the beſt of the dead, that they are at reſt: but in praying for them, we preſuppoſe they are in miſerie, and ſo need our prayers: therefore we hope not the beſt of them, as charitie willeth vs.

*Argum.*2. There is a mutuall communication of all the members of Chriſts bodie; S.*Paul* ſaith, if one member ſuffer all ſuffer with it, 1.Cor.12.26. but the righteous departed are members of the ſame bodie: *Ergo*, the liuing ought to be touched with compaſſion toward them, and aſſiſt them with their prayers. *Bellar.lib.2.de purg.c.*15.

Anſw. Firſt, though it can not be denied, but that the Church of God in heauen and earth make but one familie, Epheſ.3.15.yet it is euident, that in this place the Apoſtle onely ſpeaketh of that part of the Church, which is on earth, wherein Chriſt hath ordained ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, &c.verſ.28. which diſtinction of offices belongeth to the militant Church on earth. Secondly, and yet we graunt that there is a mutual communication betweene both members, ſuch as is agreeable with their eſtate: namely that the Saintes in heauen do long for a conſummation of our and their happineſſe; and do wiſh vnto the Church militant, the like happie end of their afflictions, as they haue attained vnto, Reuel.*6*.10. and the members yet liuing do giue thanks for the glorious victorie of the Saints in heauen, according as the Apoſtle ſaith, if one member be had in honour, all the members reioyce with it, 1.Cor.12.26.but the members liuing ſuffer not with the members departed; for as much as they ſuffer not at all, all teares being wiped from their eyes, Apocal.7.17. and therefore they haue no neede of our prayers.

*Argum.*3. 1.Ioh.5.verſ.16.The Apoſtle ſaith, There is a ſinne vnto death, for the which a man ought not to pray: that is, deadly ſinne, wherein a man dyeth without repentance: but for other ſinnes not vnto death, whereof men repent themſelues, it is lawfull to pray: *Ergo*, we may pray for thoſe that are departed not in deadly ſinne: for this place is properly to be vnderſtood of praying or not praying for the dead: becauſe ſo long as a man liueth he may be prayed for, becauſe all ſinnes are pardonable in this life, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, a ſinne vnto death is not onely finall impenitencie, but ſinne alſo againſt the holy Ghoſt, ſuch as was the ſinne of *Iudas*, and of the Phariſies. Secondly, though we ſhould vnderſtand it of finall impenitencie, yet it is but a ſory argument: Some of the dead ought not to be prayed for: *Ergo*, the reſt may. Thirdly, the text cannot be vnderſtood of praying for the dead: for the text ſaith not, If any man ſee that his brother hath ſinned not vnto death, but, If he ſee him ſinning: but the dead doe neither ſinne, nor are ſeene to ſinne. Fourthly, whereas you ſay, that all ſinnes are pardonable in this life, our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith contrarie, that the ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt can neuer be forgiuen, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. See more of their arguments in the queſtion before of Purgatorie, *Argum.*2.& 7.

The Proteſtants.

TO pray for the dead, is a worke neither pleaſing before God, becauſe he hath no where commanded it, nor auaileable for them that are departed, becauſe they haue their iudgement alreadie. While we liue, let vs one pray for another, but when we are gone, the prayers of the liuing helpe vs not.

*Argum.*1. The ground of this popiſh opinion of prayer for the dead, is their ſuperſtitious deuiſe of Purgatorie: for none els doe they hold it lawfull to pray for but for the ſoules onely in Purgatorie. But there is no Purgatorie, as we haue ſhewed before after this life: our purging is onely in this life: Chriſt hath by himſelfe purged our ſinnes, Hebr.1.3. Chriſt his bloud is the chiefe and onely purgation of our ſinnes: there are alſo other inferiour and miniſteriall purgings, whereby that onely ſoueraigne purging is made beneficiall, and applyed vnto vs: as the inward operation and worke of the ſpirit is compared to fire, Matth.3.11. 1.Corinth.3.13. There is alſo a purging fire of affliction compared by the Prophet to fullers ſope, Malach.3.3. There alſo ſhall be a third purging fire in the day of the Lord, 1.Pet.3.7. when as the corruption and mortalitie of our bodies ſhall be purged away, and then ſhall our mortalitie put on immortalitie, 1.Corinth. 15.53. Other Purgatorie after this life we acknowledge none. Seeing then that there are no ſoules in Purgatorie, and for none els it is lawfull to pray but for the ſoules tormented in Purgatorie: it followeth, that we are to pray for none at all that are dead.

*Argum.*2. No prayer is acceptable to God without faith. We muſt pray without wauering and doubting, *Iames* 1.6. But ſo can we not pray for the dead: for we cannot tell in what caſe they are for whom we pray, whether they be in heauen, hell, or Purgatorie, and therefore we cannot aſſure our ſelues that our prayers are heard, but muſt needes pray with great doubting and wauering of the mind: *Ergo,* ſuch prayers are in vaine, Iames 1.7.

Bellarmine anſwereth, Firſt, it is better, that they ſometime ſhould haue our prayers, that need them not, as the Saints in heauen, then they to want them, that need them, namely the ſoules in Purgatorie: as wee giue almes many times to the wicked, leaſt wee ſhould be wanting to the righteous.

Contra. Firſt, he very vnskilfully ſtill beggeth the thing in queſtion, that the ſoules in Purgatorie need our prayers, which we do inſtantly denie: ſo that our prayers are not ſuperfluous onely to ſome of the dead, but to all. Secondly, he would haue men make their prayers, as the blind man ſhooteth at the Crow, that as he ſhooteth many arrowes, that at the leaſt ſome may hit; ſo they to make many prayers, that ſome may preuaile: but the Scripture forbiddeth vs to pray ſo vncertainely, ſaying, whatſoeuer you deſire, when you pray, beleeue, that you ſhall haue it, and it ſhall be done vnto you, Marke 11.24. So then, if it were lawfull to pray for the dead, then we ſhould be ſure to helpe all with our prayers, yea euen thoſe, which are in hell, which they themſelues denie. This rule then, it is better to be ſuperfluous in neceſſaries, then to be defectiue; to abound, rather then to lacke; taketh place in matters arbitrarie, & ſubiect to our wil: but where Gods pleaſure is otherwiſe, as in this caſe of praying for the dead, it hath no place at all. Thirdly, the inſtance of almes is not alike, for we are commanded to do good vnto all, and ſo to the vniuſt, though chiefely to the houſhold of faith; but there is no cõmandement to pray for the dead: and againe, almes do profite all the receiuers, ſo are not prayers profitable to all, that are dead.

Secondly, ſaith he, a goodworke is neuer in vaine, it is meritorious to the doer, though it profite not the receiuer, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, we denie that any good worke is meritorious. Secondly, that is no good worke, which is not of faith, nor commanded by the Lord: and therefore prayer for the dead, being not warranted by the word, is no good worke, but meere ſuperſtition.

*Argum.*3. Our prayers profite not the dead, becauſe there is no place after this life for repentance or remiſſion of ſinnes: for this ſhould be the end and intendment of our prayer, that they might be releaſed of their ſinnes, and eaſed of their paine. There is no remiſſion of ſinnes after death, becauſe there is no true repentance: repentance there is none, becauſe there can be no amendment of life, which alwayes followeth repentance: for *Iohn Baptiſt* that was a preacher of repentance, bid not onely the people to repent, but to bring foorth fruites worthie repentance, Matth.3.2.8. So ſaith the Prophet *Ezechiel,* If the wicked will returne from his ſinnes, and doe the thing that is lawfull, he ſhall liue and not die, 18.21. There are two parts then of repentance, as *Iſay* ſaith, Ceaſe to doe euill, learne to doe well, 1.Iſay 16.17. But there is no place of working out of the bodie: *Ergo,* then no repentance.

To this *Auguſtine* agreeth: *Non eſt apud inferors pœnitentia ad ſalutem proficiens, ecce nunc tempus eſt ſalutis, nunc tempus remiſſionis. In hac vita pœnitentiæ tantum patet libertas, poſt mortem nulla correctionis eſt licentia: De tempor. ſerm.66.* In hell, or among the dead, there is no repentance vnto ſaluation: behold now is the time of ſaluation, the time of forgiuenes: In this life onely haue men libertie to repent, after death there is no place for amendment. What is become now (I pray you) of your Purgatorie repentance? after this life there is no ſaluation to be had, becauſe there is no remiſſion of ſinnes: no remiſſion of ſinnes, becauſe there is no repentance: there is no repentance, becauſe there is no amendment.

See the conſent of antiquitie againſt prayer to be made for the dead: *Gelaſius epiſtol. ad Anaſtaſium Imperator. Quæ ſolueris ſuper terram. &c. ſuper terram (inquit:) nam in hac ligatione defunctum nuſquam dicit abſolui:* whatſoeuer thou looſeſt vpon earth (ſaith our Sauiour Chriſt:) he ſaith, vpon earth: for he that dyeth being bound, is no where ſaid to be looſed. If the dead then cannot be looſed from their ſinnes, in vaine are they prayed for.

Concil.Toletan.3.can.22.Qui diuina vocatione ab hac vita recedunt, cum pſalmis tantùmmodo & pſallentium vocibus debere ad ſepulchra deferri: nam funebre carmen, quod vulgò defunctis cantari ſolet,&c. prohibemus: They which are called by God out of this life,are to be brought to the graue onely with pſalmes and the voyce of ſingers: for that funerall verſe, which they are woont to ſing to the dead, we doe forbid to be vſed. Here ſinging onely and thankſgiuing for the departure of the dead is permitted: and all verſes and whatſoeuer enditings directed to the dead are forbidden: therefore alſo prayers for the dead are vnlawfull by this decree.

Further, prayer for the dead is contrarie to their owne rule, *Iniuriam facit Martyri,qui orat pro Martyre*: He doth wrong to a Martyr, that prayeth for a Martyr; and therefore whereas in their old Maſſe bookes they prayed thus, *Annue nobis Domine, vt animæ famuli tui Leonis,&c.* Graunt Lord, that this oblation may be profitable to the ſoule of thy ſeruant *Leo*; they haue changed the forme thus; *Quæſumus domine,vt interceſſione,&c.* We beſeech thee Lord,that by the interceſſion of bleſſed *Leo*, this oblation may be profitable to vs, *decret.Gregor.lib.*3*.tit.*41*.c.*6. Wherefore their prayers for the dead muſt needs be iniurious, ſeeing amongſt others, they pray alſo for many Saints in heauen.

Thomas Hawkes holy Martyr, hath ſealed this truth: *The prayer of the righteous man is auaileable for the liuing, but not for the dead: for Dauid ſaith, no man can deliuer his brother from death, nor make agreement vnto God for him,Pſal.*49*.Fox*.pag.1587.col.2.

AN APPENDIX OR AN APPERTINENCE TO this part,concerning the burials and funerals of the dead.

THere are certaine poynts wherein there is no great variance or diſſenſion betweene vs. Firſt, we confeſſe, that it is meete and conuenient, that the bodies of Chriſtians, being departed, ſhould after a ſeemely and comely manner be brought to the graue: as *David* commendeth the men of *Iabeſh Gilead*, for burying the bodie of *Saul*,2.Sam.2.5.The brethren alſo tooke the bodie of *Stephen* and buried it, Act.8.2. Secondly, it is not to be denied but that lamentation and ſorrow may be made for the dead, obſeruing S.*Pauls* rule, that we mourne not as thoſe that haue no hope, that is,exceſſiuely, 1.Theſſ.4.13. where S.*Paul* doth not ſimply forbid Chriſtians to ſorrow,but not as the Gentiles. The brethrē alſo made great lamentation for *Stephen*, Act.8.2. Thirdly,we doe alſo graunt, that according to the diuers cuſtomes of countries, it is not vnlawfull to vſe ſome comely rites and ceremonies in the buriall of the dead; not for religion, but for orders ſake: as among the Iſraelites, the mourners were woont to goe about in the ſtreetes, Eccleſiaſt.12.5. And Chriſt commended the woman in the Goſpell,for anoynting of him againſt his burial, Mark.14.

But beſide theſe points by vs confeſſed,and acknowledged,there are other more waightie matters,as touching the order of funerals, wherein wee worthilie and iuſtly diſſent from our aduerſaries.

16.Error. 1 They do attribute much to the places where men are buried, as in Churches,and Churchyards,but eſpecially vnder the Altar, *Rhemiſt*. As the ſoules of the righteous do reſt in Chriſt,who is that altar, vnder the which the Apoſtle ſaw the ſoules of Martyrs: ſo for the correſpondence to the place in heauen,their bodies are commonly laid vnder the Altar,where the ſacrifice of the bodie of Chriſt is daily offered, *Annot. Apocal.*6*.verſ.*9.

Anſ. The altar of the Croſſe was the onely place where the bodie of Chriſt was ſacrificed: neither neede it to bee often offered in ſacrifice,but it ſufficed once onely to haue been done, Heb.9. verſ.25.27. And in the Communion, wee acknowledge no ſacrifice, but of praiſe and thankſgiuing, Heb.13.15. It is kept onely in remembrance of the death of Chriſt, 1.Cor.11.25. And how ſhould it be auaileable for the dead, ſeeing it profiteth not all the liuing,but onely thoſe that are preſent,which doe eate and drinke the holy elements of bread and wine in remembrance of the bodie and blood of Chriſt giuen and ſhed for them? So ſaith the Scripture, *Doe this,as oft as you doe it,in remembrance of me*, 1.Cor.11.25. The doers therefore, agents and receiuers, haue the preſent benefit,not they which are abſent: how then can the dead receiue any ſolace by it? It profiteth them not a whit to bee laid in Churches,or Churchyards, or other hallowed places, as they call them; for all places are alike: neither helpeth it the dead to be buried in one place more then another: for God ſhall commaund the ſea,and all other places to giue vp their dead, Apocalypſ.20. The very Heathen did confeſſe as much: one ſaith, It skilleth not, *humíne, an ſublimè putreſcam*, Theodor. whether I rot vnder, or aboue the ground. And another thus writeth, *Cœlo tegitur, qui non habet* Lucan. *vrnam*: Heauen is a couering to him that hath no other coffin. It were a foule ſhame then for Chriſtians,to exceede the very Gentiles in their ſuperſtitious conceits. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Si aliquid prodeſt* De cura pro mortuis cap.3 *impio ſepultura precioſa,oberit pio vilis,aut nulla*: If ſumptuous funerals profit the wicked, then homely or no burials doe hurt the godly. Therefore as it helpeth not a wicked man to be buried in one place more then another; ſo it doth not hinder or hurt the godlie and righteous man.

Bellarmine obiecteth the example of the Patriarches, who dying in Egypt, gaue charge for their bodies to be buried in the land of promiſe: from whence he concludeth, that it is auaileable to be buried in holie places: And afterward in the times of the Chriſtians, they vſed to burie their bodies in Churches, *Bellarm.cap.*19.

Contra. Firſt, the Patriarches deſired to bee buried in the land of promiſe, not for the holines of the place, but partly to be ioyned to the ſepulchers of their fathers, as *Iacob* alleageth, Gen.49.31. partly to ſhew their faith and aſſurance of Gods promiſes as touching the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of Egypt, as *Ioſeph* confeſſeth, Gen.50.26. for afterwards, when the people were come out of Egypt, they had no ſuch deſire for their buriall: for *Miriam* was buried in Kadeſh, and *Aaron* in the mount Hor in the wilderneſſe, Numb.20.

Secondly, it is vntrue that it was practiſed of ancient time among the Chriſtians to burie their dead in Churches, but this vſe was taken vp afterward, as ſuperſtition encreaſed: for this was forbidden both by the Imperiall, and Eccleſiaſticall lawes: as *Cod.lib.*3.*tit.*43.*leg.*12. *Mortuorum corpora non debent in ciuitatibus ſepeliri:* The bodies of the dead muſt not bee buried in cities: *Ergo,* much leſſe in Churches. And *lib.*1.*tit.*5.*leg.*2.*Theodoſ.Nemo martyrum,&c.* Let no man thinke, that the ſeate of the Martyrs and Apoſtles is graunted for humane bodies: that is, to be buried in.

Likewiſe, *Decret.part* 2.*cauſ.*13.*qu.*2.*c.*15.*Prohibendum eſt ſecundum maiorum ſtatuta:* We prohibite, according to the decrees of our elders, that they bee not buried in the Church, but in the porch, or the limits without the Church: but within the Church, *& prope altare,* and neere to the altar, where the bodie and blood of Chriſt is made, let them be buried by no meanes. This Canon ouerthroweth the Rhemiſts collection for burials vnder the altar.

*Concil.Auernenſ.can.*5.*De opertorio altaris non ſacerdotis corpus, dum ad tumulum euehitur, obtegatur, quia ſacro velamine dum honorantur corpora, altaria polluuntur:* The prieſts bodie muſt not be couered with the Altar-cloth, while it is carried to the graue, for while the bodies are honoured with the holy vaile, the Altar is defiled. If it bee not lawfull for the Altar-cloth to couer the dead, much leſſe for the Altar it ſelfe, which is greater then the couering?

*Concil.Bracarenſ.*1.*cap.*36.*Vt defunctorum corpora nullo modo intra Baſilicam ſanctorum ſepeliantur, quia & hoc moris ciuitatum eſt, vt nullius defuncti corpus intra ambitum murorum ſit humatum:* That the bodies of the dead ſhould not in any caſe bee buried within the Churches of the Saints, becauſe, that it is the cuſtome alſo of cities, not to burie their dead within the walles. But if it had bin ſo great a priuiledge to the dead to bee buried in the Church, and neere vnto the Altar, I thinke this Councell would not haue forbidden it.

This alſo hath been the confeſſion of thoſe that haue been perſecuted for the truth: *William Tracie,* As touching the burying of my bodie, it auaileth me not whatſoeuer be done thereto, *Fox* pag.1043.col.1. *Thomas Patmore:* That he regarded not the place, whether it were hallowed, or no, where he ſhould be buried, after he was dead, pag.1044.col.2.

2 Wee condemne alſo their ſuperſtitious ceremonies which they vſe at their funerals; as the 17.Error. burning of Tapers, which ſignifieth, ſay they, that the ſoules of the dead are aliue, *Bellarm.de Purgator.lib.*2.*cap.*19.

Anſ. Firſt, this ſuperſtitious vſe of ſetting vp candles, was directly forbidden in the Eliberine Counceil, Canon.34.2. *Cereos per diem in cœmiteriys placuit non incendi:* Wee thinke it good that no waxe candles be burned by day in the Churchyards.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Councell doth onely forbid the ſuperſtitious vſe of the Gentiles in burning of candles: but this notwithſtanding candles may bee vſed to betoken the life of the ſoules departed.

Anſ. The words of the Councell are generall, as in the 37. Canon likewiſe it is forbidden, *Ne lucernas publicè accendant:* That they ſhould in no wiſe ſet vp candles publikely: and ſo abſolutely it condemneth the vſe of candle light by day.

Of the like ſort alſo were other ſuperſtitious vſages, as the going about of the belman to will the people to pray for their ſoules, the ringing or iangling of bels to bring their ſoules to heauen, with queere-ſongs and other melodie to commit the bodies to the ground, and commending their ſoules to the protection of Saints. We denie not, but comely and decent orders, voide of ſuperſtition, may be vſed, according to the faſhion of the countrie: as *Iacobs* bodie was embaulmed after the manner of the Egyptians, Geneſ.50.2. At the buriall of their Kings, the Iſraelites vſed to burne odors, Iere.34.5. The Iewes manner was to waſh the bodies of the dead, to winde it vp in a linnen cloth, and burie it with ſpices and odors: So our Sauiours bodie was buried after the manner of the Iewes, Ioh.19.40. We reade alſo that *Ioſeph* was put into a coffin or cheſt, Gen.50.26. Of theſe and the like cuſtomes, *Auguſtine* giueth a rule, writing vpon thoſe words in the Goſpell, Iohn 19.40. As it was the manner of the Iewes to burie: *Non mihi videtur Euangeliſta ſic fruſtra*

dicere voluiſſe: ita quippe admonuit, in huiuſmodi officijs, quæ mortuis exhibentur, morem cuiuſque gentis eſſe ſeruandum: in Iohann.tract.120.Me thinketh the Euangeliſt ſaid not thus without cauſe: hereby letting vs to vnderſtand, that in performing ſuch duties of buriall to the dead, the manner and cuſtome of euery countrie is to be kept.

The Iewes alſo had a cuſtome,with ſome companie or frequencie of people,to bring their dead to the ground, Eccleſ.12.5. And in the while, to vſe ſome admonition to the people concerning death and mortalitie which came in by ſinne,and of the wrath and mercie of God, ***Syrus.interp.in Mark.***14.3.Neither doe wee ſee,why it is not lawfull now among Chriſtians, at funerals and burials,to haue ſome godly ſermon and exhortation,to put the people in minde of their end,and to comfort them with the hope of the reſurrection,as alſo to giue God thankes,for thoſe his faithfull ſeruants,that did glorifie him by their life,and by their godly departure. This ſeemeth alſo to haue been the commendable cuſtome of the Church in ancient time: as ***Auguſtine*** writeth thus, ***Expoſit.in Pſal.***103***.part.***1***.Pauca nos cogit dicere temporis anguſtia, quod & nouit charitas veſtra debere vos exequijs fidelis corporis ſolenne obſequium:*** The ſhortnes of the time cauſeth me to be briefe,and you know,that we are to performe a ſolemne dutie to the bodie of our faithfull brother. The ſermon ſeemeth to haue been made at ſome funerall.

Concil.Colonienſ.part.7.cap.52.In ſepulturis & exequijs mortalitatis admonitio diligens fiat, & excitandi inter alia præſentes,vt recogitent ſibi eodem modo hinc excedendum eſſe: In burials and funerals, the people muſt carefully be admoniſhed of mortalitie,and they which are preſent,ſhould be ſtirred vp to conſider,that they alſo are mortall.

The Iewes alſo, the buriall being ended, did comfort thoſe that mourned, and ate and dranke with them,and gaue them the cup of conſolation, Ierem.16.7. Ioh.11.31. Both which cuſtomes may be kept and retained without any ſuperſtition. But other cuſtomes and ceremonies,that doe ſauour of impietie, and doe any way imply prayer or commendation of the ſoules of the dead, ought to be left and aboliſhed.

18.Error. 3 Another abuſe in popiſh funerals,is their ſuperſtitious and often remembrance of the dead: for they haue their weekes minde for the dead the ſeuenth day,nay their halfe weekes minde the third day,their moneths minde the thirtith day: and beſide, their anniuerſarie or yeeres minde. I pray you what neede all this? Where doe they finde, that wee ſhould mourne for the dead many daies,yea moneths, yea a whole yeere, as they vſe to doe? *Ioſeph* mourned but ſeuen daies for his father,Geneſ.50.10. So did the Gileadites for *Saul*, 1.Sam.31.13. The Egyptians indeede mourned threeſcore and tenne daies,when *Ioſeph* mourned but ſeuen: that we may ſee a manifeſt difference betweene the moderate mourning of the faithfull,and the exceſſiue lamentation of infidels. But the popiſh yeeres mindes doe farre exceed the Egyptians ſtinted mourning: there being fiue times 70.daies in a yeere. Yet yeerely ſtipends,erected for weekly,monethly, quarterly, or yeerely ſermons we miſlike not: being ordained for the inſtruction of the people,without any relation to the ſoules of the dead, otherwiſe, then to giue God thankes for them,and thoſe good things which the Lord wrought by them.

Let vs ſee their own Canons: ***Decr.part.2.cauſ.***13***.qu.***2***.c.***24***. Et luxit eum Iſrael,&c.*** And Iſrael mourned for *Iacob* 7.daies: ***Hæc ergo ſequenda ſolennitas,quam præſcribit lectio:*** This ſolemnitie is then to be obſerued,which the Scripture preſcribeth. And againe, ***Planxerunt filij Iſrael Moſen, &c.*** The children of Iſraell bewailed *Moſes* thirtie daies. Both theſe obſeruations are grounded vpon authoritie,&c. for *Iacob* they mourned but ſeuen,for *Moſes* thirtie,who was ſuch a Prophet, as Iſrael in all reſpects had not the like. This was not a yeeres minde: and beſide,the Iſraelites in this mourning made not prayers for the dead,as they vſe to doe,but mourned for the loſſe of ſuch excellent men.

19.Error. 4 They doe greatly erre and are deceiued,in holding it to be a meritorious worke, which is performed in the buriall of the dead: alleaging to this purpoſe that place,2.Sam.2.5.where *Dauid* ſent meſſengers to the men of Iabeſh Gilead, ſaying; ***Bleſſed are ye of the Lord, that you haue ſhewed ſuch kindnes vnto your Lord Saul and haue buried him: therefore now the Lord ſhew mercie and truth vnto you. Bellarmine cap.***19.

Anſ. There can be no ſuch concluſion gathered out of theſe words: The Lord will ſhew mercie,according to his truth and promiſe, to thoſe that are mercifull: *Ergo*,it is meritorious to bee mercifull: for here the reward dependeth of Gods promiſe and truth, not vpon the worthines of the worke: Indeede *Dauid* ſaith,as it followeth in that place, I will recompence this benefit, becauſe you haue done this thing. They might deſerue kindnes at the hands of *Dauid*, becauſe one good turne requireth another: but before the Lord there is no merit or deſert. Secondly,to burie the dead is a worke of charitie,and therefore commaunded,as all other duties of charitie are. The things then commaunded,we doe of dutie,we are bound to doe them: *Ergo*, they are not meritorious. So ſaith our Sauiour Chriſt, Doth the maſter thanke his ſeruant for doing that which he was commaunded? I trow not,Luk.17.9.

5 In

20.Error.

5 In their funerals and ſuffrages for the dead, they doe make great difference betweene the rich and the poore: for they ſay, it is poſſible that ſo many prayers and ſuffrages may be made at once for yͤ dead, that their ſoules may at once be deliuered out of Purgatorie, *Et ideo in hoc ſolo caſu melior eſt conditio diuitis, quàm pauperis, quia habet vnde ſuffragia fiant pro ipſo:* And therefore in this caſe onely the eſtate of the rich is better then the poore, becauſe he hath wherewithall ſuffrages ſhould be made: that is, is able to giue great legacies, and bequeſts to that end: *Albert. mag. de officio miſſ. tract.*3. Againe, they haue greater reſpect vnto the Pope departed, then any other: for the firſt day, there muſt be 200. Maſſes read for his ſoule, and for nine daies after 100. Maſſes euery day, *Tilemann. de primat. pontif. error.*86.

Anſ. Where doe they reade in all the Scriptures, that the rich in matters of the ſoule ſhould be preferred before the poore? nay, the Scripture ſaith plainly, that God is no accepter of perſons, Act.10.34. And Saint *Iames* ſaith, We ought not to regard a rich man that weareth goodly apparell, hauing a gold ring, before a poore man in vile apparell, 2. verſ.2. Where alſo doe they learne to pray for none but for thoſe, for whom they are hired to pray? And if prayer be a worke of charitie, and if by their prayers they can deliuer mens ſoules out of Purgatorie, why doe they not extend their charitie to all in praying for them?

What if the rich Glutton, and poore *Lazarus* were aliue now, or theſe popiſh Maſſe-mongers had liued then; would they haue been bought for money to haue praied for the rich mans ſoule, and let *Lazarus* alone? It is like they would. But ſurely all their Maſſes ſhould neither haue profited the one, nor the want of them haue hindered the other. Marke, I pray you, what *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Præclaras exequias in conſpectu hominum purpurato illi diuiti turba exhibuit famulorum: ſed multò clariores in conſpectu domini vlceroſo illi pauperi miniſterium præbuit angelorum*: A goodly funerall did the friends and ſeruants make for the rich man araied in skarlet in the ſight of the world: but a more bleſſed buriall had the poore man in the ſight of God, by the miniſterie of the Angels. Therefore there is no reſpect of perſons to bee had among the dead: neither haue the rich any greater priuiledge for the multitude of ſuffrages, then the poore that wanteth them: for no doubt the rich mans executors ſpared for no coſt; Maſſes, Trentals, Dirges they had enough, if they were then to be had: yet for all this ſtirre his ſoule went to hell, and *Lazarus* ſoule was by the Angels carried to heauen, that had none of this geare.

De cura pro mortuis cap.9

21.Error.

6 Laſtly, if there were no other thing to bee miſliked in their funerals, this were ſufficient to condemne them as abominable; that they thinke, their ſinging, chaunting, ringing, giuing of dole and almes to the poore, and all other their ſuperſtitious cuſtomes, doe helpe and profit the dead, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Auguſtine giueth two reaſons of this dutie to be ſhewed in the burying of the dead. Firſt, *Corpori humando quicquid impenditur, non eſt præſidium ſalutis, ſed humanitatis officium:* What dutie is performed in enterring the bodie, is an officious worke of humanitie, not any reliefe for the health of the ſoule. Secondly, ſaith he, *Corpori mortuo, ſed tamen reſurrecturo, impenſum huiuſmodi officium, eſt quodammodo eiuſdem fidei teſtimonium:* This Chriſtian dutie beſtowed in burying the dead bodies, which ſhall notwithſtanding riſe againe, is a liuely teſtimonie in vs of the ſame faith. That is, wee doe carefully commit the bodies of Chriſtians to the ground, knowing that they are not loſt, but ſhall riſe againe: but as for the dead themſelues, they receiue no benefit at all. *Curatio funeris, pompa exequiarum, viuorum ſunt ſolatia magis, quàm ſubſidia mortuorum*: This great prouiſion for funerals, this great pompe of burials, they are comforts for the liuing, not helps to the dead. *Impleant ergo homines iſta erga ſuos poſtremi muneris officia, & ſui leuamenta mœroris:* Let men therefore performe this laſt dutie to their friends, which is alſo a great lightning of their griefe: *Ergo*, funerals profit not the dead, but comfort the liuing: yea, it is called the laſt dutie, which is performed at burials. If it be the laſt, then there is no dutie afterward to be done, Therefore prayers alſo are ſuperfluous; for if it were needfull to pray for the dead, then the laſt dutie ſhould not be in the buriall, another comming afterward. And thus much alſo concerning the manner and order of funerals.

De cura pro mortuis epilog.

De cura pro mortuis cap.2.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CONTROVERſie, of the Saints departed that are in ioy and bliſſe.

This controuerſie ſtandeth of theſe ſeuerall queſtions.

1 Of the bleſſed eſtate of the Saints in heauen, and of the canonizing of them vpon earth.
2 Of the adoration of Saints: Firſt, whether they bee to bee adored or not, and whether it bee lawfull to ſweare by them. Secondly, of the diuers kindes of worſhip. Thirdly, of the worſhip of Saints vpon earth.
3 Of the inuocation of Saints; whether they pray for vs and vnderſtand our prayers.
4 Of the adoration, tranſlation, keeping of reliques, and of the miracles wrought by them.

5 Of Images, and the ſigne of the Croſſe, and other matters thereto belonging more particularly handled.
6 Of Churches: the forme, vſe, ornaments, dedication of them, and ſuch like.
7 Of Pilgrimages and Proceſſions.
8 Of holy and feſtiuall daies, the Lords day, and Saints daies.
9 Of the Virgin Mary, her conception, vowes, aſſumption, worſhip, merits. Of theſe now in order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING THE bleſſed and happie eſtate of the Saints departed.

THis queſtion hath two parts: Firſt, of their bleſſednes which they haue before God in heauen. Secondly, of the publiſhing or making knowne their bleſſednes before men, which they call the canonizing of Saints.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE BLESSED eſtate of the Saints before God in heauen.

The Papiſts.

22.Error.

BEllarmine taketh great paines, *Lib.1.de Sanctis*, in ſixe long chapters together, to prooue, that the Saints departed doe preſently enioy the ſight of God, and doe enter into bliſſe; and that their ſoules forthwith are receiued into heauen, and are not kept in any ſecret by-places till the day of iudgement. But all this while he fighteth with his owne ſhadow: for we graunt as much as he proueth, that the righteous are with Chriſt ſo ſoone as they are looſed from their bodies, as Chriſt ſaid to the theefe vpon the Croſſe, This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe, Luk.23.42. See alſo to this purpoſe, Philipp.1.23. 2.Corint.5.1. Heb.12.22. All theſe places doe euidently proue, that preſently after their departure, the ſoules of the faithfull doe enioy the preſence of Chriſt, and the celeſtiall companie of the Angels in heauen. Yet our aduerſaries ſtay not here, neither are contented with this, that the Saints are bleſſed: but proceede further, and giue them a full poſſeſſion of bleſſedneſſe, making no difference betweene them and the Angels in glorie, but affirme that they are as highly exalted as the Angels are, *Rhemiſt.annot.Luk.15.ſect.2.* And *Bellarmine* therefore taketh vp *Caluine*, becauſe he ſaith, the Saints are yet in hope and expectation of the perfect fruition of glorie, *cap.1.lib.1.de Sanctis.*

The Proteſtants.

[a] Apocal.14.13.

WE confeſſe, that the Saints in heauen are alreadie [a] bleſſed: yet they looke for the full accompliſhment and perfection of their glorie, when as their bodies ſhall bee glorified in the reſurrection: Then it is ſaid, they ſhall be like the Angels, and yet not in all things; much leſſe are their ſoules now equall to the Angels in glorie.

*Argum.*1. The Saintes ſhall be as the Angels, but not before the reſurrection, Matth.22.30. Neither can it be proued out of that text, that they ſhall then be equall to the Angels in all things: for it is not all one to ſay; they ſhall be as the Angels, becauſe they ſhall then neede no mariage, as to ſay, they ſhall bee equall to the Angels in all things, Apocalyp.6.10. *The ſoules vnder the altar doe crie Lord, how long!* *Ergo,* they are in expectation of greater glorie. And reaſon alſo giueth as much, that the bodie and the ſoule being ioyned together in the kingdome of God, ſhall make a fuller weight and meaſure of ioy.

*Argum.*2. The wicked ſpirits and damned ſoules, haue not yet their full and perfect torment: *Ergo,* neither the Saints their perfect ioy. The diuels are now tormented, and kept in chaines of darkeneſſe, 2.Pet.2.4. Iud.6. But their full damnation is reſerued for the day of the Lord, Matth.25.41. They are not yet tormented in ſuch meaſure, as they ſhall be, and themſelues make account for, Matth.8.29. Luk.8.31.

*Argum.*3. 1.Iohn 3.2. *Wee know, that when he ſhall appeare, wee ſhall be like him.* This Scripture ſheweth, that we ſhall not haue a perfect conſummation of glory before the day of iudgement.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the text is not *When he ſhall appeare,* but as before the Apoſtle ſaid, *It doth not appeare, what we ſhall be,* ſo here, *when it* (not *he*) *ſhall appeare, what we ſhall be*: ſo that this place ſheweth onely that the glory of the Saints ſhall not be manifeſted to the world before that day, not that they ſhall not haue their glory before. *Bellarm.lib.de ſanctis c.3.*

Contra. Who ſeeth not how he corrupteth this text: for what elſe can be the ſenſe of this place, *Cum apparuerit, ſimiles ei erimus:* then this, when *he*, (not *it*) ſhall appeare, we ſhall be like him: what him, ſhall we be like, but the ſame that is vnderſtood to appeare? Againe, that Chriſt is here implied to appeare, it is manifeſt by the like place, Coloſſ.3.4. *When Chriſt, which is our life,* *ſhall appeare, then ſhall we appeare with him in glorie:* So then, the perfection of our glorie is deferred till Chriſts comming.

Laſtly, if now the Saints are equall to the Angels in ioye, their ſoules onely being in heauen: it then followeth, that in their reſurrection, when their bodies ſhall be reſtored to their ſoules, their happines ſhall farre ° exceed the Angels: which no where the Scripture teacheth vs, vnleſſe they will thus reaſon, Chriſt tooke not the Angels, but the ſeede of *Abraham*, Hebr.2.16. *Ergo*, we are better then the Angels. But to this *Auguſtine* anſwereth very well: Some perhaps will ſay, that we are better then the Angels, becauſe Chriſt died for vs, and not for the Angels. *Quale eſt* (ſaith he) *ideo ſe velle agrotum laudari, quia vitio ſuo tam deteſtabiliter ægrotauit, vt non poſſet aliter, quam medici morte ſanari.* As if a ſicke man deſerued commendation, becauſe by his owne fault, he was ſo dangerouſly ſicke, that he could not be healed, but by the death of the Phiſition. *Quid hoc aliud eſt, quàm de impietate gloriari? Chriſtus enim pro impijs mortuus eſt:* What is this els but for man to boaſt of his wickednes? Chriſt died not for Angels, but for men, becauſe they were wicked.

° Rhemiſt. Luk.20.ſect.3. affirme that ſome Saints ſhall be aboue the Angels.

Tractat.in Iohan.110.

Now, whereas *Bellarmine* reproueth *Caluine* for thus writing, *Animas piorum militiæ labore perfunctas in beatam quietem concedere, vbi cum fœlici lætitia fruitionem promiſſæ gloriæ expectant:* That the ſoules of the godly hauing ended their warfare, are gone vnto bleſſed reſt, where moſt ioyfully they doe expect the full fruition of the promiſed glorie. And the Ieſuite further giueth this vncharitable cenſure: *Nota miram ſtultitiam hominis:* See the great fooliſhnes of the man. Now it ſhall eaſily appeare, that *Caluine* ſaith none other thing, then was concluded by the Greeke and Latine Church in the Florentine Councell: *in proœmio. Animas iuſtorum perfectam ſuam fælicitatem, quatenus animæ, conſecutas cenſemus; ita tamen vt aliam cum corporibus ſuis perfectionem expectent, qua perpetuò fruantur:* We doe thinke that the ſoules of the righteous haue alreadie obtained their perfect felicitie, as they are ſoules; yet ſo, that they looke for a more perfect ſtate with their bodies, for euer to enioy. Thus *Bellarmine* either of malice or ignorance, chargeth a general Councell with fooliſhnes, ſeeing he rayleth vpon *Caluin*, for ſpeaking or writing, as it was by this generall Councell decreed.

Their owne Canons conſent hereunto: *Decret.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*41.*ca.*6. It is confeſſed by *Innocent.*3. *Sanctorum gloriam vſque ad iudicium augmentari:* That the glorie of the Saints doth encreaſe till the day of iudgement. And the Maſter alloweth their opinion as more probable, that hold, that *Angeli vſque ad diem iudicij ſcientia & alijs proficiant*, Angels doe encreaſe in knowledge and other things till the day of iudgement, *lib.*2.*diſtinct.*11.*g.* If the glorie of Angels is not yet perfect, much leſſe of the Saints, who yet expect the redemption of their bodies.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE Canonizing of Saints.

The Papiſts.

THe canonizing of Saints, is nothing els but the publike determination and ſentence of the Church, whereby men that are dead, are iudged to be Saints, and worthie of honour and worſhip, as to be prayed vnto, Temples and Altars to be ſet vp in their names, holy dayes to be appoynted for them, and their reliques to be adored. And thus it is lawfull, profitable, and expedient for the Church to canonize Saints, *Bellarm.cap.*7. 23.Error.

*Argum.*1. The Patriarkes and Prophets were canonized for Saints in the old lawe, Heb.11. So Act.7. *Stephen* and other were canonized: therefore it is credible, that the Lord would haue the ſame order ſtill continued in his Church, *Bellarm.cap.*7.

Anſw. Firſt, neither in the old nor the new lawe, were any ſet vp to be Saints, with intent to be worſhipped, called vpon, Temples to be conſecrated in their names; but onely the Scripture giueth teſtimonie of them, as of holy and faithfull men: and ſo may we alſo honour the bleſſed Martyrs, whom the cruell Emperours of Rome, and ſince them the Popes of Rome haue ſent through fire and other torments to heauen. Secondly, when they haue as good teſtimonie for their Saints, as we haue for the holy Patriarkes and Prophets, they may be bold to pronounce them to be holy, bleſſed. Thirdly, your argument followeth not, vnleſſe you will ſay, that the Church may doe all things nowe, which the Prophets and Apoſtles did then: They may as well make Scripture, and more Canonicall bookes by the ſame reaſon, as make and canonize new Saints.

*Argum.*2. The Saints are vnto vs examples of vertue, and to be imitated, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Remember your ouerſeers, which haue ſpoken to you the word of God, the end of whoſe conuerſation beholding, imitate their faith*, Heb.13.7. But how can wee imitate them, vnleſſe wee know in particular who are to be imitated? *Bellarm.*

Anſ. Firſt, the Apoſtle propoundeth the example of their paſtors then liuing, to be imitated of them, whoſe conuerſation they did behold. This place maketh nothing for the imitation of canonized Saints, dead many yeeres agoe: whoſe life and conuerſation is not certainly knowne. Secondly, we neede not runne to popiſh fables, to ſeeke patternes to follow, we may ſet before vs the example of godly men liuing; or if they faile vs, we haue moſt perfect examples in Scripture: as S. *Paul* ſaith, *Be followers of me, as I am of Chriſt*, 1. Cor. 11. 1. *and obſerue them, as you haue vs for an example*, Philip. 3. 17. Thirdly, if popiſh Saints ſhould bee imitated, then *Thomas Becket* muſt bee followed in his rebellion to the King; *Bonauenture* in his blaſphemie againſt Chriſt, aſcribing the worke of our ſaluation to the Virgin *Mary*, as may bee ſeene in his Ladie Pſalter, compiled to the honour of her: and many ſuch goodly examples ſhall wee finde in the liues and acts of popiſh Saints.

The Proteſtants.

THat none of the Saints are to be adored or worſhipped, their images, or reliques, or prayers to be made vnto them, or any ſuch honour to be giuen them, it ſhall afterward appeare more at large: and therefore they ought not to bee canonized to any ſuch end or purpoſe. Wee alſo graunt, that the number of Gods Saints and elect is increaſed daily: and wee are ſure in generall, as the Scripture teſtifieth, that the death of his Saints is precious in the ſight of God, Pſalme 116. 15. And that all are bleſſed that die in the Lord: But particularly wee are not able certainly to determine of any; the matter is to be left wholly vnto God, and we in the meane time to hope the beſt.

Argum. 1. If the Church haue authoritie to canonize Saints, and determine of the election or ſaluation of men, then may wee as well iudge of the condemnation of thoſe that are loſt: for if it be knowne to the Church who are Saints in heauen, they alſo may as well define who are damned in hell. But this none can doe: nay, it were great raſhnes and want of charitie for any ſo to take vpon them. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Why condemneſt thou another mans ſeruant? he ſtandeth or falleth to his owne maſter*, Rom. 14. 4. No man can iudge whether the ſeruant ſtand or fall, but his maſter: *Ergo*, if the Church preſume to determine of the election or damnation of thoſe that are departed, ſhe is now a Miſtris and Ladie rather of the Saints, then they Lords or patrones to her, as the Papiſts hold they are.

Argum. 2. *Iudge not* (ſaith S. *Paul* 1. Corinth. 4. 5.) *before the time vntill the Lord come.* The iudgement then of men, who are ſaued, and who are condemned, is reſerued for the comming of Chriſt: Therefore it is great preſumption for men to preuent the time, and to take vpon them to be Iudges in Gods place. Againe, our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, that To ſit at his right hand or left, in his kingdome, was not his to giue (meaning as he was man) but it ſhall be giuen to them for whom it is prepared of my father, Matth. 20. 23. How then is it in the power of any ſinfull man, to giue vnto any a ſeate, either at the right hand, or left hand of Chriſt, in the kingdome God? *Argument. Gualter. Bruti. Fox. pag.* 487.

Auguſtine alſo conſenteth, *Non ſeparatio iam cuiq; tuta eſt, &c.* It is not ſafe for men now to make ſeparation (of the good and bad) it belongeth to him, that cannot erre: We in this life doe hardly know our ſelues, how much leſſe ought we to iudge raſhly of others? *expoſit. in Pſal.* 139. Here are two reaſons giuen, why it is not lawfull for men to iudge of the election or reprobation of men: firſt, their iudgement is ſubiect to error, and therefore the matter muſt be referred to God, who erreth not. Secondly, we cannot iudge our ſelues, much leſſe can we iudge of others: *Ergo*, no man liuing ought, or is able to define either who are Saints in heauen, or who are damned in hell.

Anaſtaſius decret. 2. *Monente nos beatiſſimo Paulo Apoſtolo, &c.* Know ye, that, as the Apoſtle *Paul* doth admoniſh vs, wee muſt obſerue, and take heede, that there ariſe no offence in the Church, while we take vpon vs to doe that which we cannot, that is, to iudge thoſe which are gone out of the world: for none of vs liueth or dieth to himſelfe, but whether we liue or dye, we are the Lords? wherefore, why iudgeſt thou another mans ſeruant, &c. Here wee haue the iudgement of a Pope himſelfe, grounded vpon S. *Pauls* iudgement, that it is not in the power of the liuing to iudge the dead, either in condemning or acquiting them.

AN APPENDIX OR THIRD PART, OF OTHER circumſtances, which belong to the canonizing of Saints.

The Papiſts.

24. Error. THey ſay, that it doth appertaine onely to the Pope, to canonize a Saint for the whole Church: and that none ought to be acknowledged for Saints, but they that are ſo canonized by him: And that herein the Pope is of ſo infallible a iudgement, that he cannot erre in canonizing of Saints; becauſe that ordinarily none are canonized by the Pope for Saints, which haue not been knowne to worke miracles, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. 9. 10.

Argum. 1. That it belongeth to the Pope to canonize Saints, *Bellarmine* thus proueth: to define and declare who are heretikes, appertaineth to the Pope: *Ergo*, the contrarie alſo, to determine who are Saints in heauen.

Anſ. Firſt, the argument followeth not, the Pope may iudge of men according to their preſent ſtate in this life: *Ergo*, of their ſtate afterward. For an heretike is diſcerned according to that he preſently holdeth and teacheth, who may afterwards be conuerted from his hereſie: as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *he had deliuered Hymenæus and Alexander to Sathan, that they might learne not to blaſpheme*, 1. Timoth. 1. 20. Though the Apoſtle for the preſent caſteth them out as heretikes, yet he deſpaireth not of their conuerſion: wherefore to bee an heretike and a reprobate doe not alwaies concurre, and therefore the argument followeth not: For to bee an heretike and a Saint are not contraries: he that is firſt an heretike, being conuerted, may become a Saint, as S. *Paul* of a perſecutor was made a preacher.

Secondly, it belongeth not to the Pope to determine, who are heretikes; but euery Church hath power to declare by the Scriptures what hereſie is, and who are heretikes: the Apoſtles haue giuen vs rules to know heretikes by; as 1. Cor. 16. 22. *If any man loue not the Lord Ieſus let him bee anathema*: according to this rule, all that detract from the humanitie of Chriſt, as yͤ Anabaptiſts; or frō his diuinitie, as the Arrians; or frō his offices, as the Papiſts, are heretikes. Again, 2. Theſſ. 3. 14. *If any man obey not our doctrine, note him.* And, 1. Ioh. 4. verſ. 3. *Euery ſpirit that confeſſeth not that Ieſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is not of God.* According to theſe and ſuch like rules in Scripture, it is lawfull for euery Church to define an heretike, and for euery man to auoide him. Tit. 3. 10. *An heretike, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, auoide.* It is but a ridiculous toy, that wee muſt ſend vp to Rome firſt, to know the Popes pleaſure, who ſhould be counted an heretike.

Thirdly, the Popes are no fit men to iudge of hereſie, ſeeing many of them haue been heretikes: as *Marcellinus* an Idolater, *Liberius* an Arrian, *Honorius* a Monothelite, with many more, as wee haue ſeene before in the controuerſie of the Pope.

Argum. 2. Now that the Pope cannot erre in canonizing of Saints, he would make vs beleeue, becauſe there hath yet been no error detected that way: the Pope hath Sainted none which were not Saintes indeede.

Anſ. The contrarie is true, that he hath canonized many notorious rebels, and other wicked perſons, as *Thomas Becket* of Canturburie, *Hugh* of Lincolne, both rebels to their Prince, with many more, as further followeth preſently to be ſhewed *Argum.* 3. and therefore, becauſe the Pope is and hath been ſo groſlie deceiued in canonizing of Saints, he may bee aſhamed to iuſtifie his palpable errors.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, if Saints were to bee regiſtred and canonized, as they ſay; yet it ſhould not belong to the Pope, but to the whole Church.

Argum. 1. The Pope hath no authoritie ouer the whole Church; no nor yet in any other Biſhops dioceſſe, no more then they haue in his: Let him be content with his owne dioceſſe (and it were to bee wiſhed, that he could rule that well) the whole world is too large a prouince for him. Secondly, the whole Church hath power to excommunicate and deliuer vp to Sathan, 1. Cor. 5. 4. and to cut off the prophane and wicked from the Church of God, as Heathen and Publicanes, Matth. 18. 17. *Ergo*, to iudge who are members of the Church, and Saints of God, is a matter which appertaineth to the whole Church. Thirdly, before *anno* 800. in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, there was no Saint publikely canonized by the Pope, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth: but the truth is, this cuſtome of canonizing Saints began not til more then 1000. yere after Chriſt, till *Alexander* the 3. his time, and *Gregorie* the 7. I pray you then, were there no Saints before? if there were, who canonized them?

Argum. 2. So much as is to be knowne of Saints and holy men, euery Chriſtian is to acknowledge, without any publike decree or determination of the Pope or any other: for the word of God giueth rules, whereby we may diſcerne the righteous from the vnrighteous: Chriſt ſpeaking of falſe prophets, ſaith, By their fruites ye ſhall know them, Matth. 7. 16. And againe, he ſaith thus to his Apoſtles, By this ſhall men know that you are my diſciples, if you loue one another, Ioh. 13. verſ. 35. By theſe rules, it is eaſie for euery Chriſtian to iudge who for the preſent time are the true diſciples of Chriſt, who otherwiſe.

Argum. 3. It is a moſt impudent and ſhameleſſe ſaying, that the Pope cannot erre in canonizing of Saints: Firſt, Miracles are no ſufficient proofe of a Saint: for many, that ſhall be condemned in the day of iudgement, haue had power to doe ſtrange workes, Matth. 7. 22. 23. Secondly, what better argument can wee haue of this, then common experience? For the Popes haue regiſtred in their Calendars notorious wicked men, and traitors to their Princes, as Saints and holie men: Such an one was *Thomas Becket*, who ſome hundreth yeeres was worſhipped as a Saint, by the name of Saint *Thomas of Canturburie*; and yet was a plaine traitor to his Prince, *Fox* pag. 225. And therefore his ſhrine was iuſtly put downe in King *Henry* the 8. daies. *Richard Scroope* of

Yorke was openly in armes againſt *Henry* the 4. *Thomas* Earle of Lancaſter a rebell againſt *Edward* the 2. yet both are the Popes canonized Saints.

Fox pag.579.

Elizabeth Barton was called the holy Mayd of Kent, and fained that ſhe had many reuelations: yet was found to be a traitor, and executed: Theſe are the Popes Saints. And on the other ſide, they haue condemned the true Saints and Martyrs of God, and accurſed them to the bottomleſſe pit of hell: as they dealt moſt wickedly with *Iohn Huſſe* that zealous ſeruant of God, vpon whoſe head they ſet a crowne of paper pictured with diuels, as if he were giuen vnto the power of Satan. But wee doe iudge of theſe holy men, as the Scripture teacheth, which ſaith, that they are bleſſed which dye in the Lord, Apocal. 14. 13. Their good life, holy profeſſion, and conſtant death and martyrdome declared no leſſe; and that aſſurance, which God gaue them of their election: as it appeared in that worthie Martyr Doctor *Barnes*, who being brought to the ſtake, ſaith thus vnto the people; If Saints doe pray for vs, I truſt to pray for you within this halfe houre: who at the ſame time vttered his opinion, that notwithſtanding to pray vnto Saints was againſt the word of God, although it ſhould be graunted that they pray for vs.

Fox.pag.1054.

Fox.pag.1139

Let them now be aſhamed to ſay ſtil, that the Pope cannot erre in canonizing Saints, who condemneth good men, and iuſtifieth the wicked, according to the common ſaying, Many are worſhipped for Saints in heauen, whoſe ſoules doe burne in hell.

If the Pope herein be of ſo infallible a iudgement, how came it to paſſe, that *Bonifacius* the 8. did cauſe *Hermannus Ferrarienſ.* who had been canonized for a Saint, after 30. yeeres to bee taken out of his graue, and burned, *anno* 1300. Either he, by whom he was firſt canonized, or elſe *Bonifacius*, by whom he was vncanonized or vnſainted, muſt needs haue groſly erred. And is it not as poſſible for the Pope to be deceiued in iudging who are Saints, as *Tertullian* and *Origen* erred in commending of *Pilate* and his wife for good Chriſtians? *Tertull. apologet. cap.* 21. by which authorities ſome were moued to canonize them for Saints. And *Decret. Greg. lib.* 3. *tit.* 45 *cap.* 1. mention is made of one, that was ſlaine in his drunkennes, whom they worſhipped for a Saint. But it will bee anſwered, that *Alexander* the 3. reproueth that abuſe in the ſame decree. But what will they ſay concerning the Saints of Rome, that are worſhipped vnder the Popes noſe, and by his allowance; ſhall they all goe for currant, and true Saints indeede? Let them heare what *Lindanus* an archpapiſt complaineth of this matter: *Breuiaria etiam Romanum nouum feſta quædam habent ſanctorum, quorum nomina, neſcio an ſatis ſint vindicata, &c.* The Breuiaries or Maſſe-bookes, yea the new Romane Breuiarie hath many feſtiuals of Saints, whoſe names, I know not whether they are ſufficiently tried and purged. He affirmeth, that euen in Rome many obſcure and vnknowne Saints were worſhipped.

Fourthly, *Auguſtine* thus writeth of this matter: *Per has humanorum cordium tenebras, res multùm miranda & dolenda contingit, vt eum nonnunquam quem iniuſtum putamus (iuſtus tamen eſt) auerſemur, & hominem bonum tanquam malum affligamus, quem neſcientes amamus:* By reaſon of the darknes and ignorance of mens hearts, a pitifull and ſtrange thing many times falleth out, that we ſhould hate a man, whom we take to be a wicked and vngodly one (and yet he is a righteous man:) and ſo we puniſh a good man for a bad, whom wee notwithſtanding doe vnwittingly loue for his goodnes, *Tract. in Iohan.* 99. *Ergo*, the iudgement of men is vncertaine, and the beſt may bee deceiued in iudging of others, who are bad, and who good.

If all the Popes canonized Saints are to be worſhipped, prayers to bee made vnto them, holie daies, and Churches to bee conſecrate to their memorie, wherein (as the Ieſuite telleth vs) conſiſteth the canonization of Saints: hereby it may appeare what ſmall diſcretion the Popes haue ſhewed in their canonizing, in bringing ſuch an idle and ſuperfluous multitude into the Saints Calendar: that it were impoſſible for a man to remember all ſuch Saints names, that are to bee prayed to; *Alexander anno* 1180. did canonize *Bernard Clareuallenſ.* and *Thomas* of Canturburie: *Innocentius* 4. *anno* 1250. *Edmund* of Canturburie, *Staniſlaus* Biſhop of Cracouia, and *Peter Veronenſ.* a Dominicane: *Alexander* 4. *anno* 1260. did canonize *Clara, Francis* his ſiſter, the father of the Franciſcanes: *Nicholaus* 4. *Ledouik. Tolcſan.* a Minorite: *Bonifacius* 8. *Ledouike* the French King: *Clement* 6. did canonize *Iue* a Prieſt *anno* 1350. *Nicholaus* 5. did make *Bernardine Senenſ.* a Franciſcane, a Saint: *anno* 1455. *Calixtus* 3. did adde to the Calendar *Vincentius Valentinenſ.* a Dominicane, *Albert. Depranenſ.* a Carmelite: *Pius* 2. did magnifie one *Angelus* a Carmelite, and *Katherine Senenſ. anno* 1464. *Sixtus* 4. *Bonauenture: anno* 1484. *Innocentius* 8. *Heliopoldus* Duke of Auſtria: And many hundreds more haue been by the Popes aduanced to the dignitie of Saints, ſome Kings, ſome Dukes, ſome Biſhops, ſome Prieſts, ſome Friers, ſome Widowes, ſome Virgins: ſo that the dayes of the yeere are not enough for euery Saint to haue his day. Now let it bee conſidered, whether the Pope hath not good skill in ſainting of men, thus multiplying without end the number of his houſe-gods.

THE

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING the adoration of Saints.

THis queſtion hath three parts: Firſt, whether Saints are to bee adored. Secondly, of the diuers kindes of adoration. Thirdly, concerning the worſhip due vnto holy men liuing, as the kiſſing of feete, and ſuch like.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER SAINTS are to be adored and worſhipped.

The Papiſts.

25.Error.

THey doubt not to affirme, that there is a kinde of religious worſhip due vnto Saints, not that great religious worſhip which is proper vnto God, but a kinde ſomewhat leſſe and inferiour to that; yet a religious adoration, which is the meane or middeſt betweene that higheſt worſhip due vnto God, and ciuill honour which is giuen vnto men. So this is their ſentence, that religious worſhip is due both to God and to the Saints: herein onely (ſay they) the difference is, the more religious worſhip belongeth onely to God, the leſſe vnto the Saints, *Bellarm. cap.12.lib.1.de Sanctor.beatit.*

*Argum.*1. *Bellarmine* obiecteth certaine examples out of Scripture of the adoration of Angels, as how *Abraham* adored the Angels, Gen.18.2.and *Lot*, Gen.19.1. and *Ioſua* alſo adored the Angel that appeared vnto him, Ioſu.5.therefore Angels, and ſo conſequently Saints, may ſafely be adored and worſhipped.

Anſw. Firſt, it is certaine that the Angel, whom *Abraham* worſhippeth, was God himſelfe, euen Chriſt, that appeared in the ſhape of an Angel; for verſ.17.he is called *Iehouah*, which name is neuer in Scripture giuen to any Angell: and verſ.25. *Abraham* calleth him Iudge of the world, which is Chriſts office onely; ſo alſo the Angell that appeared to *Ioſua*, was Chriſt himſelfe; for *Ioſua* calleth him Lord, and himſelfe his ſeruant: But the Angels doe not preſume to take vs as their ſeruants, but acknowledge themſelues to be our fellow ſeruants vnto the ſame Lord, theirs and ours, Reuel.22.9. And this is the iudgement of diuers of the ancient Fathers, and namely *Origen*; *Ioſua non adoraſſet eum, niſi agnouiſſet Deum, &c. Ioſua* would not haue worſhipped him, if he had not knowne him to be God, for who elſe is the Prince of the Lords warfare, but the Lord Ieſus Chriſt? *hom.6.in Ioſu.*

Secondly, it can not be ſhewed out of the text, that *Lot* did worſhip the two Angels that came to Sodome, but did onely make obeiſance, and bow himſelfe vnto them, as excellent and heauenly perſons: for the word שחה ſignifieth an inclination and bowing of the bodie, as *Iacob* is ſaid to bow himſelfe to his brother *Eſau*, Geneſ.33.this therefore was no religious adoration, but a ſeemely reuerence, which might be giuen to thoſe glorious ſpirits.

Thirdly, the Angels of the old Teſtament, and the Angels of the new are all one; but in the new Teſtament, the Angels refuſe to be adored, Reuel.22.9. *Ergo*, the Angels of the old Teſtament did not receiue it.

*Argum.*2. The Pſalmiſt ſaith, Adore his footeſtoole, Pſalm.99.5.and Hebr.11.21.*Iacob* adored the top of his rod: *Ergo*, it is lawfull to adore creatures, *Bellarm.cap.*13. *Rhemiſt.annot.*11. *Heb. ſect.*9.

Anſw. In the firſt place by the footeſtoole is vnderſtood the Tabernacle with the Arke: the Prophet ſaith not, Adore his footeſtoole, but, At or before his footeſtoole: for we deny not, but that we may kneele downe, and fall proſtrate in adoring of God before ſuch things, but none is to be adored but God. In the ſame place the Apoſtle ſaith, that *Iacob* worſhipped towarde the end of his ſtaffe, that is, leaning vpon his ſtaffe. The vulgar latine readeth corruptly, *adorauit faſtigium baculi*, He worſhipped the end of his ſtaffe: for then the Greeke prepoſition ἐπὶ were ſuperfluous. And *Auguſtine* expoundeth it aright, ſaying, that *Iacob* by faith worſhipped God vpon the end of his ſtaffe: *quæſt.in Gen.*162.*Fulk.annot.Heb.*11.*ſect.*9.

*Argum.*3. *Nabuchadnezzar* bowed himſelfe to *Daniel*, and cauſed odours to be offered vnto him, and worſhipped him, who for ſo doing was not reproued of the Prophet: *Ergo*, Saints are to be worſhipped, *Bellar.ibid.Rhemenſ.annot. Apocal.*19.*ſect.*5.

Anſw. Firſt, your owne vulgar text thus readeth, The king commanded, *Vt ſacrificarent ei hoſtiam*: To ſacrifice an hoſt vnto him: and *Arias Montanus* tranſlateth *Sacrificium*, to offer a ſacrifice vnto him; but to offer ſacrifice, is a part of the diuine and godly worſhip: ſo that the king commanding ſacrifice to be made to *Daniel*, doth attribute vnto him ſuperſtitiouſly diuine worſhip. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that the ſacrifice of beaſts, is that ſacrifice, which is peculiar vnto God; but as for odors and other gifts, they may be yeelded vnto men: as 1.Reg.10.certaine of the

Iſraelites refuſed to bring gifts vnto *Saul*, the ſame word (מנחה) is there vſed: and we (ſaith he) do cenſe vp odours before the images of Saints, though wee graunt that ſacrifice is onely due vnto God. *Bellar.cap.*13.*argum.*3.

Contra. Firſt, that the Hebrue word (מנחה) here vſed, is ſometime taken for a ciuill gift, wee graunt, as in the place alleadged, and Gen.32.13. where *Iacob* ſent a gift or preſent to *Eſau*: but in this place it ſignifieth a religious oblation, in which ſenſe he cannot finde in all Scripture, that it was giuen to any mortall man; but onely was due vnto God, as Ierem.41.5. they had offrings and incenſe in their hands to offer in the houſe of God: And this word, when it is vſed in a religious ſenſe, is taken onely for ſacrifice due vnto God; as 1.Reg.18.29. when they had prophecied till the time of the euening Sacrifice; and 2.Reg.3.20. in the morning, when the Sacrifice vſeth to be offred: in both theſe places the word מנחה is vſed. Secondly, whereas he granteth, ***Sacrificium non deberi niſi ſoli Deo***: That ſacrifice is not due but vnto God, it followeth, that the king committed Idolatrie, in ſacrificing to *Daniel*, as your owne Vulgar readeth. Thirdly, it is great impietie in him to allow the cenſing of odours to Saints, or Saints images, whereas in the olde Law it was a part of the worſhip of God; as may appeare Ierem.41.5. they brought odours and incenſe: And it may be gathered, that the offring of incenſe was the more principall part of the ſacrifice; as it followeth euen now to be ſhewed.

Secondly, it is vntrue, that *Daniel* accepted of this worſhip and reproued it not: Firſt, though it be not mentioned, it followeth not, that he miſliked it not: for neyther is the inceſt of *Lot* Geneſ.19. nor of *Iudas*, Gen.38. cenſured in the ſtorie, doth it follow therfore that they were iuſtified? Secondly, it may be diuerſly gathered that *Daniel* miſliked the kings purpoſe: Firſt, becauſe frō the beginning, he giueth the glorie vnto God, and telleth the King, that it was the God in heauen, that was the onely Reuealer of ſecrets, verſ.27. and therefore it is not like, that *Daniel* would take the honor vnto himſelfe. Secondly, becauſe the King afterward verſ.47. being better inſtructed by *Daniel*, giueth God the honor, ſaying he was GOD of Gods, and ſo onely to be worſhipped. Thirdly, verſ.48. he magnifieth *Daniel* now as Gods inſtrument, and beſtoweth great gifts vpon him, whereas he offered ſacrifice before.

The Proteſtants.

WE can finde in the word of God but two kindes of worſhip or adoration; a religious worſhip onely due vnto God: and a ciuill honour vſed amongſt men. As for the Angels and Saints, we doe honour them with loue, not with ſeruice. We doe alſo reuerence the holy men vpon earth, as the Prophets and Apoſtles were in times paſt, with a ciuill adoration or worſhip of loue, not with a religious ſeruice. There is alſo a due reuerence and eſtimation of ſuch things as are ſanctified to holy vſes, as of the Tabernacle, Arke, Altar, Sacrifice in the lawe: ſuch now are the Sacraments, which are duely to be reuerenced, yet not to be adored, or kneeled vnto. So we conclude, that all religious ſeruice and worſhip belongeth onely vnto God, and it were great idolatrie to giue it to any other, ***Fulk.annot. Apocal.*19.*ſect.*5.**

Argum.*1.** The Scripture is plaine: Matth.4.10. Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue. 1.Tim.1.17. To God onely wiſe, immortall, inuiſible, be all honour and glorie: *Ergo*, all religious worſhip is onely due vnto God. ***Bellarmine anſwereth, that theſe places are to be vnderſtoode of a certaine kinde of religious worſhip, which is onely proper to God. ***Anſw.*** All religious worſhip is forbidden in theſe places to be giuen to any but vnto God: for Sathan did not tempt Chriſt, to worſhip him as God, but onely to fall downe and worſhip him: he asked onely of him, προσκύνησιν, a certaine inclination of the body, which Chriſt denieth, as being onely proper to God, ***Caluini Argum.***

***Argum.*2.** When *Cornelius* fell downe at *Peters* feete and would haue worſhipped him, hee was forbidden by *Peter*, Act.10.25. So the Angell would not ſuffer *Iohn* to worſhip him, Apocal.22. *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſtayed the people that would haue offered ſacrifice vnto them, Act.14.14.

Bellarm. anſwereth to the firſt, that *Peter* of modeſtie refuſed the homage of *Cornelius*.

Anſw. *Peter* giueth this reaſon, why he would not haue *Cornelius* ſo to doe, I alſo am a man (ſaith he:) thereby letting him to vnderſtand, that ſuch kind of worſhip ought not to be giuen to any man. The ſame reaſon is rendred Acts 14. by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, why they refuſed ſacrifice: We alſo (ſay they) are men. If *Peter* did of modeſty refuſe *Cornelius* worſhip, then *Paul* and *Barnabas* did for modeſtie ſake onely likewiſe refuſe to be ſacrificed vnto, which I am ſure they will not grant.

Bellarmine to the ſecond ſaith, that *Iohn* did well in worſhipping the Angell, and the Angel did well in refuſing to be worſhipped: for though the Angels of right are to be worſhipped, yet they do well to refuſe it, for reuerence to the humanitie and manhood of Chriſt: Before the comming of Chriſt, Angels ſuffered themſelues to be adored; but ſince that the Angels after Chriſts incarnation did worſhip man in him, they would not be worſhipped of men, eſpecially of the Apoſtles

poſtles: who although they refuſe to be worſhipped, yet we do well to worſhip them.

Anſw. Firſt, let it be noted that *Bellarmine* ſhapeth a cleane contrary anſwere to our *Rhemiſts*, as appeareth before, *cont.*8.*quaeſt.*3.*part.*1. For they ſay, that *Iohn* was deceiued in the perſon of the Angell, taking him for Chriſt, and is forbidden by the Angell to worſhip him as God: but *Bellarmine* altogether freeth *Iohn* from all error, and commendeth his doing: whereas it is certaine, that *Iohn* knew well inough that he was an Angell, but being caried away in the extaſie of his minde, did for the preſent time forget himſelfe. Secondly, that the Angell did not of modeſtie refuſe to be worſhipped, but abſolutely and ſimply, it is made manifeſt by his anſwere to *Iohn*, Worſhip thou God: he would not haue the Apoſtle to worſhip him, but God. And againe the Angell ſaith, I am thy fellow ſeruant, &c. but it is vnmeete for one fellow ſeruant to worſhip another, they both haue but one Lord to worſhip: wherefore the Angell meaneth indeed, that hee ought not to be worſhipped, and doth not of modeſtie refuſe it. This alſo is *Auguſtines* iudgement; *Angelus multa diuina oſtendens homini, ab homine adorebatur, ayt ille ſe reuocans ad Dominum, &c.* The Angell ſhewing many diuine things to man, was worſhipped of man, but he referring him to God, ſaith, worſhip him, for I am thy fellow ſeruant, *homil. de paſtorib.*

Thirdly, where findeth hee that Angels in all the olde Teſtament ſuffered themſelues to be adored: he can ſhew neyther precept nor practiſe for the adoration of Angels: And that the Angels ſince Chriſts comming did depart from their right, it is a prophane conceit, and derogatorie to Chriſt, as though he by his comming empaired the ſtate of Angels, which by him is made glorious: And if our Sauiour would haue the chaire of *Moſes* reuerenced, though euill men ſate in it, Matth.23.2. it was not his pleaſure, that the dignitie of thoſe holy Spirits ſhould be abated.

Bellarmine to the third ſayth, that the Apoſtles did well in refuſing to be ſacrificed vnto: becauſe to offer ſacrifice is an externall act of worſhip to be performed onely to God, *cap.*14.

*Anſw.*1. What reaſon haue they to burne incenſe vnto Saints and their images, rather then to offer ſacrifice? For it appeareth in the law, that the burning of incenſe was more precious, and a more high poynt of the Leuiticall ſeruice, then was the offering of ſacrifice. Firſt, the Altar of incenſe was more curiouſly made, being ouerlayd with fine golde, and was called the golden altar; the other for burnt offerings, the brazen altar, Exod.40.26. Secondly, the altar of incenſe was placed in the Tabernacle neere vnto the moſt holy place; the other altar ſtood at the doore without, Exod.40.26.29. Thirdly, the miniſters were diuers: the Prieſts offered ſacrifice in their courſes; but *Aaron* onely, and his ſucceſſors the high Prieſts burned incenſe, Exod.30.7. Fourthly, Vpon the brazen altar incenſe was offered with other ſacrifices, Leuit.2. but vpon the golden altar no burnt ſacrifice or any oblation, but onely incenſe was offered vnto God. Fiftly, Of all offerings and oblations, it moſt liuely prefigureth the ſacrifice of attonement wrought by Chriſt vpon the croſſe, who therefore is called by the Apoſtle, A ſacrifice of ſweete ſmelling ſauour vnto God, Epheſ.5.2. Seeing then that the offering of incenſe was a more ſoueraigne thing in the Law, then was the oblation of ſacrifices: there is ſmall reaſon for it, that our aduerſaries ſhould reſerue the leſſe, that is, the offering of ſacrifices for the Lord, and participate the greater and more worthy ſeruice, that is, cenſing of odours and perfumes vnto Saints, as *Bellarmine* doth, *cap.*13.

*Anſw.*2. If ſacrifice were not then to be offered to Saints, much leſſe are prayers to be made now vnto them: for to call vpon God is a greater thing, then to offer ſacrifice. Pſalm.50.verſ.8.14. If Saints cannot challenge the leſſe, that is, to haue ſacrifices, they haue no right to the greater, namely, to be called vpon and prayed vnto.

Laſtly, *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Non ſit nobis Religio cultus hominum mortuorum, &c.* Let vs not make it any part of Religion to worſhip men that are dead: for if they liued well, they are now in that ſtate, that they neede not, neither doe require any honour at our hands: but they would haue vs to worſhip God; by whoſe illumination or reuelation, they may vnderſtand, and doe reioyce, that we are partakers and fellowes in the ſame faith. They are then to be honoured for imitation, not to be adored for Religion, *Haec Auguſt. de vera Religion. cap.*55.

Bellarmines anſwere here to S. *Auguſtine* is very meane, that he ſpeaketh againſt the error of the Gentiles, who made wicked men departed their Gods: *lib.*1.*de Sanct. cap.*14.*Contra.* But *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh not of wicked men, but of ſuch, as, *piè vixerunt*, liued a godly life, and are to be imitated: but ſo are not the wicked. Therefore his meaning is, that no men, though neuer ſo godly, or worthie of imitation in their life, are to be adored, or worſhipped: The Ieſuite we ſee then faileth in his anſwere.

*Synod. Moguntin. cap.*45. *Sancti, qui vitae huius curſum beato fine clauſerunt, &c.* The Saints, who haue happily ended this life, as the moſt noble members of Chriſts body, are worthily of vs to be honoured, not with that worſhip, which is due vnto God, but with the worſhip of loue and brotherly fellowſhip, as we worſhip or reuerence holy men in this life. The argument from hence is framed thus, As holy men are to be worſhipped in this life, ſo are the Saints in heauen: but no religious worſhip is due vnto them here, but onely of loue, &c. *Ergo.*

A ciuill adoration then we denie not to be due vnto holy men, ſuch as the ciuill law aſcribeth to Princes: *Cod.lib.2.tit.9.l.6. Noſtram adoraturos purpuream*: They are ſaid to adore the Kinges robes, that is, the kingly Maieſtie: but this is farre from religious adoration.

I will in the laſt place alleadge the ſentence of a learned Papiſt againſt the adoration of Saints: namely *Driedo*, who thus writeth, There be certaine ſtories of the Saints to be ſuſpected, &c. *Vt cùm narrantur ſancti in mortis agone conſtituti, aut monuiſſe aut exegiſſe, vt ex hoc mundo tranſlati colerentur, &c.* As when the Saints are reported in the agonie of death, to haue warned or required, that after they were gone out of this world, they ſhould be worſhipped, and in diſeaſes and other dangers to be called vpon; for it is not like, that they paſſing out of the world were carefull for their honour, but would pray rather with *Dauid, Lord enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruant: de libris Apocryph.lib.4.c.1.* Thus farre one of their owne, miſliking the adoration of Saints.

Maſter *Lambert* holy Martyr hath ſealed this truth: who out of *Auguſtine* here before alleadged doth thus inferre, that we ſhould worſhip no men departed, be they neuer ſo good or holy, for they ſeeke no ſuch honour, but that we ſhould worſhip God alone: *Honoramus eos* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *charitate non ſeruitute*: we honour them with loue, not with any worſhip or ſeruice: *Fox*.pag. 1108.col.1.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS FIRST PART, CONcerning vowes and othes made to or by Saints.

The Papiſts.

26.Error. FIrſt, vowes may be made to Saints (ſay they) properly as vnto God, though not altogether in the ſame manner: Prayer may be made to Saints, therefore vowes alſo. A vowe in the Greeke tongue is called εὐχὴ, *votum*, prayer προσευχὴ, *oratio*. As they differ not in name, ſo neither in deede are they to be ſeuered. *Bellarm.*

*Anſw.*1. He taketh that for graunted, which is chiefly in queſtion: for it is idolatrie to pray to any other but vnto God: Call vpon me in the day of trouble, Pſal.50.15. It is not lawfull to pray vnto Saints, therefore not to vowe.

2 To make vowes is a more ſtrict and binding act of religion, then prayer is; for in euery vow there is a prayer: we pray God to giue vs grace to performe the thing vowed: and there is beſide a full purpoſe of the heart with a ſolemne promiſe, whereby we bind our ſelues to the performing. Againe, we may make petition and requeſt vnto mortall men, but vowes we can make none vnto them: It would not therefore followe, though Saints might be prayed vnto, that they are alſo capeable of our vowes.

Secondly, it is alſo lawfull (they ſay) to ſweare by the name of Saints, becauſe all is referred to the honour of God; as he that ſweareth by the Temple, ſweareth alſo by him that dwelleth therein; *Rhemiſt.Matth.*21.*ſect.*8.

*Anſw.*1. In this place Chriſt reproueth the Phariſies for their ſwearing, and condemneth it by this argument: that howſoeuer they thought it a ſmall matter to ſweare by the Temple, yet in effect they did ſweare by God himſelfe. See then the boldnes of theſe men, that dare iuſtifie ſwearing by creatures by the ſame reaſon, that Chriſt condemneth it. 2. Our Sauiour ſaith nothing but this, that in euery oth there is an inuocation of the diuine power, and therefore whoſoeuer ſweareth by a creature, committeth idolatrie, in making it his God.

The Proteſtants.

1. THat it is great impietie to make vowes vnto Saints, it is thus proued, Eſay 19.21. In that day the Egyptians ſhall knowe the Lord, and ſhall doe ſacrifices, and vowe vowes vnto the Lord. But ſacrifices are not due vnto Saints, but onely to God: therefore neither vowes.

Againe, the vowes of Chriſtians are not to binde themſelues to goe in pilgrimage, or to offer vnto this Saint or that, this Image or that, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Alius pallium, alius oleum, alius ceram*, De tempor ſerm.7. One voweth a cloke, another oyle, a third a wax candle: God careth not for theſe vowes, ſaith he, *Sed hoc, quod hodie redemit, ipſum offer, hoc eſt, Animam tuam.* But offer & vow vnto God, that which as this day he hath redeemed, that is, thy ſoule. The vowes therefore of obedience and repentance and all Chriſtian duties are the true vowes, the vowing of body and ſoule to the ſeruice of God, Rom.12.1. But this cannot be vowed vnto any but to him ÿ redeemed vs: *Ergo*, not to any Saint.

2 That we ought onely to ſweare by the name of God, the Scripture is plaine, Deut.6.13. *Thou ſhalt feare the Lord thy God and ſerue him, and ſhalt ſweare by his name; and by no other*, Exod.23.13. But Saints are not to be feared or ſerued, for the Septuagint tranſlate: λατρεύσεις, Thou ſhalt worſhip God, which kinde of worſhip the Papiſts themſelues dare not attribute to Saints: *Ergo*, neither are we to ſweare by them.

Serm.10.Sermonum 17. Againe, to ſweare, is to call him to witneſſe by whome wee ſweare, and ſo to make him our God: for whom we ſweare by, we confeſſe to bee a ſearcher and knower of our hearts, and a reuenger of falſe ſwearers. To ſweare then, is to call God to witneſſe. *Quid tu facis, cum iuras? Deum teſtem adhibes. Auguſtine.* What doeſt thou, when thou ſweareſt? Thou calleſt God to witneſſe. But they that ſweare by Saints, call them to witneſſe, and none els are called to witneſſe, but they by whome they ſweare: *Ergo*, they make Saints their Gods, ſeeing God is called vpon in euery oath.

Concil. Carthaginenſ.4.can.61. Clericum per creaturas iurantem, acerrimè obiurgandum; ſi perſtiterit in vitio, excommunicandum: That a Clergie man ſwearing by creatures ſhould ſharply be reproued; and if he continue in that vice, to be excommunicate: But he that ſweareth by Saints, ſweareth by creatures. This Canon is alſo confirmed in the decrees: *cauſ.22.queſt.1.c.9.*

See alſo to this purpoſe the decree of Pope *Pius*; *ibid.10. Si quis per capillum Dei, vel caput iurauerit, &c.* If any man do ſweare by the haire or head of God, if he be an Eccleſiaſticall perſon, let him be depoſed; if a lay-man, let him be anathematized. If it be not lawfull to ſweare by the bodie of Chriſt, or any part thereof, which is vnited to his Godhead in one perſon, much leſſe by this Canon is it lawfull to ſweare by any other creatures. Let vs ſee alſo to this purpoſe the determination of their Maſter: *Quæritur vtrum liceat iurare, &c.* A queſtion is made, whether it be lawfull to ſweare by the creatures? and it ſeemeth we ought not, becauſe it is written in the Law, Thou ſhalt render thy oathes vnto the Lord: and a little after; The Iewes were commanded, if they did ſweare, they ſhould ſweare only by the Creator, not by the creature; for ſwearing by the Angels, &c. they did worſhip the creatures, which honor was more ſafe to be giuen vnto God, then to the creatures, *lib.3.diſtinct.39.d.*

William Thorpe, holy confeſſor of Gods truth, about *anno.* 1400. ſaith thus, *To ſweare by any creature, both Gods law and mans law is againſt it*: And thereupon inferreth, that it is vnlawfull to ſweare by a booke, becauſe it is a thing compact of diuers creatures, *Fox.*pag.529. Wherefore a booke is brought forth, when an oath is miniſtred, not to ſweare by; but it is vſed as an externall rite, and teſtifying ſigne or witneſſe, for the better aduiſement to be had in the oath: As *Abrahams* ſeruant layd his hand vpon his Maſters thigh, ſwearing vnto him, Gen.24. and as *Iacob* and *Laban* made the heape of ſtones a witneſſe of the couenant betweene them, Gen.31. yet neither did the one ſweare by his maſters thigh, nor the other by the ſtones.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE DISTINCTION of the two kinds of worſhip λατρεῖα, and δουλεῖα.

The Papiſts.

THat kinde of worſhip which is proper to God, they ſay, is fitly expreſſed by the Greeke word λατρεῖα, neither is this word vſed, but for the worſhip of God: the other word δουλεῖα, is taken for all kind of ſeruice both of God and men: ſo that the religious worſhip, which is called λατρεῖα, is only to be giuen to God: the other called δουλεῖα, may be attributed to Angels and Saints, *Bellarmine cap.12.* 27.Error.

The Proteſtants.

THis diſtinction is but of late inuented and coyned of our aduerſaries, ſomewhat to countenance them out in their Idolatrous and ſuperſtitious worſhip of Saints: We thus doe refell it.

*Argum.*1. This diſtinction helpeth them not: for heere are onely two words which doe betoken two kinds of worſhip, λατρεῖα, is the religious honour: δουλεῖα, is the ciuill dutie, ſuch as ſeruants performe to their maſters. They ſhould haue found out three names for their three kindes of worſhip: they haue gayned nothing by this diſtinction, but that ciuill adoration is due vnto Saints, ſuch as is giuen to men vpon earth. As for their fained word ὑπερδουλεῖα, which may be called a ſuperſeruice, when they can finde it in Scripture, they ſhall know more of our minde: and yet receiuing this terme, it ſignifieth but a more ciuill ſeruice, it betokeneth not a new kind of religious worſhip.

*Argum.*2. Neither are the words ſo vſed, as they make vs beleeue: for the word λατρεῖα, which they make proper for the ſeruice of God, is applyed to men, as Leuit.23. *Opus ſeruile non facietis*, You ſhall doe no ſeruile worke: the word is ἔργον λάτρευτον: *Lodouic Viues* alſo ſheweth out of prophane authors, that ſometime the word λατρεύειν is taken for the ſeruice of men or maides to their maſters: *In* 10.*lib. Aug. de ciuit. Dei.cap.*1. So likewiſe *Laurentius Valla* ſheweth the ſame vſe of the word.

So contrariwiſe, the worde δουλεύειν, is taken in Scripture for the proper ſeruice of God, as Gala. 4.8. Ye did ſeruice to them that by nature were no Gods: the word is, ἐδουλεύσατε: *Ergo*, religious ſeruice is onely due vnto God, not vnto Angels or Saints, for they are not by nature Gods. So we ſee that theſe two words, not onely in prophane authors, but in Scripture alſo are confounded.

Auguſtine ſaith, δουλεῖα *debetur Deo, tanquam Domino*: λατρεῖα *verò, non niſi Deo, tanquam Deo: quæſt.*

in Exod.94. Religious ſeruice is due vnto God as Lord; religious worſhip is onely due vnto God, as he is God.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this place of *Auguſtine* maketh for him; for hence it followeth, that the worſhip called λατρεία, being due vnto God, as God, is not communicable vnto any, becauſe there is but one God; but the other, called δουλεία, ſeruice, being attributed to God as Lord, may be communicated, becauſe there are many truely and properly called Lords, *Bellar.cap.16.*

Contra. Firſt, he directly oppugneth the Scripture, for the Apoſtle ſaith, *Vnto vs there is but one God, and one Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* 1.*Cor.*8.6. The Apoſtle ſaith, that there is but one Lord that is properly and verily, he ſayth, there are many. Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *There are many Gods and many lords in the world,* verſ.5. that is, improperly ſo called; ſo then, as many are called Lords, ſo alſo they are named in ſome ſort gods in the earth, and that in Scripture, Pſal.82.6. *I haue ſaid ye are Gods,&c.* Wherefore he hath anſwered iuſt nothing.

That there is but one kind of religious worſhip, and that onely due vnto God, and that whatſoeuer reuerence beſide, is but a ciuill kinde of adoration, we haue the euident teſtimonie of antiquitie: *Concil.Nicen.* 2.*action.*4.*Quid aliud eſt, quam honoris alicubi exhibiti emphaſis, adoratio?* What elſe is adoration or worſhip, but a more emphaticall or earneſt yeelding of honour? It is then no new kinde of honour, but a further degree onely of ciuill worſhip.

Likewiſe in the ſame Councell, *action.*7.*Tharaſius* entreating of the worſhip of Saints, doth notably handle this poynt: προσκυνεῖν, i. *adorare, &* ἀσπάζεσθαι, *i.ſalutare,&* φιλεῖν, *i. amare, ſignificat: nam quod quis amat, id etian adorat, & quod adorat, id etiam amat:* To adore, or worſhip, is all one, as to ſalute, or loue; for that which a man loueth, he adoreth: and what he adoreth, he loueth. Then he goeth forward: of the Phariſies our Sauiour ſaith, that they loue the firſt places at feaſts, and ſalutations in the markets: *Certum eſt* ἀσπασμὸν, *ſalutationem hoc loco à domino appellari* προσκύνησιν, *adorationem:* It is certaine, that by ſalutation here is vnderſtood adoration, or worſhip. Againe, he giueth another inſtance out of the 21. of the Acts, verſ.19. how *Paul* ſaluted or embraced the Elders aſſembled with *Iames: Hic ſalutationem honorificam, adorationem mutuo factam Apoſtolica ſententia ſignificat:* Here the Apoſtle, by his honorable ſaluation, ſignifieth their mutuall adoration one of another. Further (ſaith he) *Eſt adoratio, qua venerationem & deſiderium ſignificat:* There is an adoration, which ſignifieth a reuerent kind of deſire, as we adore the Emperour: *Eſt qua timorem tantum ſignificat:* There is an adoration that ſignifieth feare, as *Iacob* adored *Eſau: Eſt quæ gratiam notat:* There is an adoration which betokeneth thankefulnes, as *Abraham* adored the ſonnes of *Heth* of whom he bought the field: *Qui ſperant beneficium, adorant:* They that hope for a benefite, adore, as *Iacob* adored *Pharao.* And all theſe are but diuers kinds of ciuill adoration, ſuch, and no other, as are due vnto the Saints, as more plainely writeth *Adrian.*1.*epiſtol. ad Conſtantin.* about the time of this 2.Nicen.Councel: *Qualis eſt iſte adorationis honor? profectò non alius, quam is, quo nos inuicem proſequimur, ſalutantes nos inter nos per honorationem, & dilectionem:* What manner of worſhip is this, (which is to be giuen to the Saints?) ſurely none other, then that, which we giue one to another, ſaluting our ſelues by honour and loue. Thus this popiſh diſtinction of religious worſhip, is found to be cleane contrarie to antiquitie.

THE THIRD PART, CONCERNING the kiſſing of holie mens feete.

The Papiſts.

29.Error. IT is a ſigne of reuerence done both to Chriſt and other ſacred perſons, as Prophets, Apoſtles, Popes, or others repreſenting his perſon here vpon earth, *Rhemiſt.Act.*4.*ſect.*3.

*Argum.*1. The Shunamite fell downe and embraced *Eliſeus* feete, 2.King.4.27.*Ergo,* the Popes feete ought to be kiſſed.

*Anſ.*1. Your Popes muſt be firſt as holie as this Prophet was, who was thus reuerenced for his holines, before they can challenge the like honour.

2 This reuerence to the Prophet was voluntarie in the woman, not looked for or exacted by the Prophet, as the Pope looketh for it of dutie.

3 Here is no mention made of kiſſing of feete, but onely that ſhe caught him by the feete, which was partly a ſigne of her ioy, that ſhe had met with the Prophet, partly by this ſudden and diſordered geſture, the Prophet perceiued that ſhe was troubled in minde: for *Gebazi* would haue thruſt her away, but he ſaid, Let her alone, for her ſpirit is troubled within her.

4 This is no warrant for the Pope to offer his feete to bee kiſſed of Kings and Emperours, becauſe the woman fell downe at the Prophets feete, thinke you, that if the King of Iſrael had ſo done, the Prophet would haue ſuffered it?

*Argum.*2. *Marie* kiſſed Chriſts feete: *Ergo,* the Popes feete ought to kiſſed.

Anſ. What arrogancie is this, that the Pope, a mortall and ſinfull man, ſhould challenge that honour which was done to Chriſt, being God in the fleſh, and voide of ſinne? He might alſo with the like blaſphemie challenge to be worſhipped: becauſe the women in the Goſpell caught Chriſt by the feete and worſhipped him, Matth.28.9. We may ſee by this, of what ſpirit he is, and whether he be not that Antichriſt, that ſhall make himſelfe as God, 2.Theſſ.2.4.

The Proteſtants.

THe kiſſing of the feete, was an humble and lowly geſture, which was worthily vſed toward our Sauiour Chriſt, who was God in the fleſh, and in his bodie and humanitie annexed to his Godhead, as God to be worſhipped: but it is too diuine, and too lowly an homage to be offered to any mortall man: And holy men in times paſt refuſed it, when any carried away with immoderate zeale and admiration of their perſon, were readie to giue it vnto them.

*Argum.*1. When *Cornelius* fell downe at *Peters* feete, the holy Apoſtle would not ſuffer him to doe it. The Pope is of a cleane contrarie ſpirit to S. *Peter:* for he refuſed it being offered; the Pope holdeth out his toe, and offereth it to be kiſſed, and vrgeth men thereunto.

*Argum.*2. If ſuch kiſſing of feete be commendable, how commeth it to paſſe that the Pope onely hath holie feete to kiſſe; and not other Biſhops and Clergie men, as well as he?

Auguſtine thus writeth vpon thoſe words of the Pſalme, Worſhip his footſtoole, reading according to the *Septuagint.* ſaith he, the earth is his footſtoole, but wee muſt not worſhip the earth: *Conuerto me ad Chriſtum, & inuenio, quomodo ſine impietate adoretur terra: ſuſcepit enim de terra terram, quia caro terra eſt. in Pſal.*98. I turne me (ſaith he) vnto Chriſt, and I finde how the earth may without any impietie be worſhipped: for he tooke earth of earth, fleſh of the fleſh of the Virgin, the fleſh is earth. Out of theſe words I conclude, that the fleſh, the bodie, the humanitie ought not in any to bee worſhipped, but onely in Chriſt, for the neere coniunction of the Godhead and humane nature together: and therefore conſequently no kiſſing of feete, which is an externall act of diuine worſhip, is ſeemely for any mortall man.

The Ieſuite might as well defend other inſolent parts of the Popes, as the kiſſing of their feete, as that they take vpon them to be carried vpon mens ſhoulders, as *Stephanus* 2. was *anno* 757. *Alexander* 3. did tread in the Emperour *Fredericks* necke: *Adrianus* 4. found fault with the Emperour for holding his ſtirrup on the left ſide: to whom the Emperour made this ſober anſwer: *Scire velim ex te, hoc officij genus ex debito ne ſit, an beneplacito, &c.* I would know of thee, whether this ſeruice be of dutie, or good will; if of good will, it skilleth not on which ſide he commeth, that ſheweth his good will. So then it ſeemeth, that this great reuerence ſhewed to the Popes, as in kiſſing their feete and ſuch like, proceeded rather from the good will, and lowlineſſe of others, then of any dutie belonging to their perſons. But concerning this and other proude parts of the Pope, the ſaid *Fredericke* the Emperour writing to *Adriane,* ſaith, as the truth was: *Superbiæ deteſtabilem beſtiam vſque ad ſedem Petri reptaſſe videmus:* Wee ſee that the deteſtable beaſt of pride, is crept euen into *Peters* chayre.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING the inuocation of Saints.

THis queſtion hath three parts: firſt, whether prayers are to bee made vnto Saints. Secondly whether they doe pray for vs. Thirdly, whether they vnderſtand our prayers.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER prayers are to be made to Saints.

The Papiſts.

THeir aſſertion is this, *Sanctos defunctos piè & vtiliter à viuentibus inuocari:* That Saints depar- 30.Error.
ted are with great profit and pietie called vpon, and praied vnto: and that it is not onely
lawfull but godly, ſo to doe, *Rhemiſt.*1.*Tim.*2.*ſect.*4.*Bellarm.cap.*19.*lib.*1.*de Sanctor.beatit.*

*Argum.*1. They ſay, they doe not pray vnto Saints, as authors of any benefit or grace, but as interceſſors onely: Neither doe they make them immediat interceſſors, but only through Chriſt; concluding all their prayers, *per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Bellarm.*

Anſ. 1. It is falſe, that you pray vnto them as interceſſors onely, for you deſire them not onely to pray for you, but to haue mercie on you: for thus they pray, O bleſſed Ladie haue mercie vpon vs, preſerue thy ſeruants, let the merits of S. *Marie* bring vs to the kingdome of heauen. *Fulk.*1.*Timoth.*2.*ſect.*4.

2 It is alſo falſe, that they make them not immediat interceſſors, but conclude their prayers, *Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum:* For in that blaſphemous prayer, *Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem quem pro nobis impendit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quò Thomas aſcendit:* Here they aske life eternall of Chriſt by the bloud of *Thomas* of Canturburie. How then is it true which the Rhemiſts affirme in word, that Chriſt alone by his merits procureth all grace and mercie toward mankinde, *ibid.* when they

hope to obtaine their requeſts by the merits of Saints? See *Fulk.annot.Ioh.16.ſect.3.* where diuers prayers to Saints, as to S.*Marie*, S.*Oſmond*, S.*Anne*, S.*Katherine*, are reckoned vp, and none of them concludeth, ***per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum.***

Fox.pag.1274 Likewiſe *anno* 1551. in Scotland it was taught as good doctrine among the Papiſts, that it was lawfull to ſay the *Pater noſter* to Saints, that we may cal them our fathers, and ſay *Hallowed be your names*, becauſe God hath made their names holy, *and that their kingdome may come*, becauſe the kingdome of heauen is theirs by poſſeſſion: and further, *that their will may be done*, ſeeing their will is Gods will: and ſo of the other petitions. Whereby it appeareth, that they would haue prayers made vnto Saints properly, euen as vnto God.

*Argum.*2. Exod.32.13. *Moſes* thus prayeth, Remember *Abraham, Iſaac*, and *Iacob* thy ſeruants. *Moſes* here hopeth to haue his prayers heard by the merits of theſe holie men, *Bellarm.*

Anſ. Moſes rehearſeth only the couenant, which the Lord made with theſe holy men and their ſeede, as the words following do ſhew, *To whom thou ſwareſt by thine owne ſelfe and ſaideſt vnto them, I will multiplie your ſeede: Moſes* therefore pleadeth not the merits of *Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob*; but vrgeth and preſſeth the promiſe of God, and couenant made with them: as we may reade, Geneſis 17.7. where the Lord ſaith to *Abraham, I will be God vnto thee, and thy ſeede after thee.*

Bellarmine replieth, that mention is not onely made of the couenant, but of their merits alſo: as 1.King.15.4. *For Dauids ſake did the Lord giue him a light in Ieruſalem, &c. becauſe Dauid did that, which was right in the ſight of the Lord, &c.*

Contra. Firſt, here is no mention of *Dauids* merits: for in the ſame place *Dauids* ſinne againſt *Vrias* is remembred, which was ſufficient to ſtaine all *Dauids* merites with God. Secondly, God doth many times crowne the righteouſnes of the parents with temporall bleſſings in their poſteritie, according as the Lord promiſeth in the ſecond commaundement, *I will ſhew mercie vpon thouſands to them that loue me:* So that all this dependeth vpon Gods mercie and promiſe. Thirdly, compare this place with chap.11.32.34. there we ſhall finde this reaſon giuen, *becauſe I haue choſen Dauid, &c.* therfore God would not rent all the kingdome from *Salomons* poſteritie: wherefore this mercie to *Dauids* ſeede, did firſt of all iſſue from the free election of God. Fourthly, this place maketh nothing at all for the inuocation of Saints, though God reſpecting the obedience of *Dauid*, ſhould ſhew mercie vnto his ſeede.

*Argum.*3. The Saints doe pray one for another here vpon earth, and doe one deſire anothers prayers: Saint *Paul*, Rom.15. Epheſ.6. Coloſſ.4. and in other places deſireth to be aſſiſted by their prayers: *Ergo*, much more may we deſire the prayers, of Saints departed, *Bellarm. Rhemiſt.*

Anſ. Firſt, to pray one for another while wee liue, is a dutie of charitie, and commaunded in Scripture: but to requeſt the prayers of Saints departed, hath no warrant in the word. Secondly, we doe not deſire the godly liuing to pray for vs, as our Mediatours, or as though by their worthines we are brought into the fauour of God, as you ſay the Saints doe: and therefore your argument followeth not, from the prayer of the liuing to the prayer of the dead. Thirdly, we may one pray for another, and one requeſt the prayers of another, while we liue, becauſe we know our mutuall neceſſities: but the Saints departed know not what things are done vpon earth, neither are euery where preſent to heare our prayers. Thus is their argument anſwered, whereof *Bellarmine* ſo boaſteth, that he ſaith, it was vnanſwerable, *cap.19.*

*Argum.*4. *Bellarmine* produceth diuers teſtimonies of the fathers, and certaine Canons of Councels to proue the inuocation of Saints: as namely, *Synod.7. act.6. in fine; Cum timore &c.* Let vs doe all with feare, entreating the interceſſion of the vndefiled Virgin, of the Angels, and all Saints, &c.

Anſ. Firſt, this 7. Synode, which was the Nicene 2. is not worthie to be counted among the generall Councels, wherein it was concluded that images of Saints were to be worſhipped, and it was aſſembled againſt, *Iconoclaſtas*, the breakers of Images: but the 4. *Conſtantin.* rather is to bee held the 7. generall, which was gathered againſt, *Iconolatras*, the worſhippers of Images: wherein it was concluded, that it was neither lawfull to haue the images of Saints, nor to worſhip them. And that this deſerueth rather the name of a generall Councell, it may appeare, both becauſe it had the preſence and conſent of two Emperours, *Leo* and *Conſtantinus*; whereas the other had but the conſent of *Irene* the Empreſſe, *Conſtantinus* her ſonne being yet vnder her gouernment, who afterward comming to yeeres of diſcretion, did abrogate the conſtitutions of this Councell: as alſo for that the one was moderated by the reuerend Patriarke of Conſtantin. *Paulus*, and *Theodoſius* Biſhop of Epheſus; but the other was ouerruled by *Tharaſius* that vnlearned prelate of Conſtantinople, of a lay man ſuddenly made a Patriarke, contrarie to the Canons, whoſe election *Charles* the great did take exception againſt.

Secondly, that it may appeare what reſpect is to be had to this Councell, let vs ſee ſome of their beſt ſtuffe: Action.4. one *Iohannes* ſtepped vp, and ſaid, *Maior eſt imago quàm oratio:* An Image is greater then prayer. Action.1. *Tharaſius* the Preſident ſaid: *Malum perpetuò idem eſt & aquale:*

Euill or ſinne is alwaies equall and the very ſame: *& idem eſt errare in magnis & paruis*, and to erre in great matters or ſmall, concerning the faith, is all one. Such blaſphemous and erronious concluſions, may very well beſeeme ſuch a blinde Councell. Of the ſame kind is their reſolution for the inuocation of Saints.

Thirdly, this Synode is of no great antiquitie, being celebrate about *anno* 780. and therefore not much to be regarded. Almoſt 400. yeeres before this the doctrine of the Church was otherwiſe, as out of *Ambroſe* is moſt euident, whereas he thus writeth *in 1. cap. ad Roman. Dicunt per iſtos ire ſe poſſe ad deum, &c.* They ſay that by theſe (that is by Saints) they may haue acceſſe vnto God, as by Courtiers we come vnto the King: Goe to, is any man ſo mad, or ſo forgetfull of himſelfe, as to giue the honour of the King to a Courtier? and doe they thinke they doe well, that giue the honour of God to a creature, *& relicto Domino conſeruos adorant*, and leauing the Lord, to adore their fellow ſeruants? And therefore wee come vnto the King by Courtiers, becauſe the King is a man, and knoweth not to whom he ſhould commit the affaires of the kingdome; but vnto God, frō whom nothing is hid, who knoweth euery mans merits (that is, works) *ſuffragatore non eſt opus, ſed mente deuota*, wee neede no ſpeaker, but a deuout minde, &c. No doubt this ſaying of S. *Ambroſe* was agreeable to the doctrine of the Church in thoſe daies: out of the which we may gather theſe three reaſons againſt the inuocation of Saints: firſt, becauſe this were to giue the honour of the King to his ſubiects, of God to a creature. Secondly, Angels and Saints are our fellow ſeruants, and therefore not to be worſhipped, with our inuocation. Thirdly, it is not ſo with God as with Princes: to them wee muſt haue acceſſe by others, becauſe they otherwiſe know not our neceſſities, but God knoweth our hearts.

Bellarmines anſwere, to this ſo euident a teſtimonie, is very ridiculous: firſt, ſaith he, Saint *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh againſt the Ethnicks, that did worſhip the ſtarres, and calleth them our fellow ſeruants, that is, creatures.

Contra. Firſt, it is a very improper and vnuſuall ſpeech, to call the ſenſeleſſe creatures our fellow ſeruants, and this beggerly ſhift bewraieth the nakednes of their cauſe. Secondly, S. *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh of ſuch fellow ſeruants, as ſhould admit vs into Gods preſence; but I thinke he is not ſo fooliſh to thinke, that the ſtarres are mediatours vnto God for vs: wherefore it is euident he ſpeaketh of the mediation of Saints.

Secondly, ſaith he, on Gods behalfe, *ſuffragatore non eſt opus*, we neede no ſpokeſman, but in reſpect of our ſelues, we haue neede, &c.

Contra. A fooliſh and vnlearned diſtinction: for firſt S. *Ambroſe* maketh this compariſon: We neede a ſpokeſman to the King, becauſe he knoweth not our wants; but to God we neede none, becauſe of himſelfe, he vnderſtandeth our prayers: wherefore there is no neede at all of a ſpokeſman to God. Secondly he ſheweth, that on our behalfe alſo we neede no ſpokeſman, *but a deuout minde*: a deuout minde, I thinke is not required on Gods behalfe, but on ours. Thus this paltrie popeling wraſtleth by his ſubtiltie with the cleere euidence and light of truth, but euery where proclaimeth the weaknes of his cauſe. And as he anſwereth this place of S. *Ambroſe*, ſo he dealeth moſt ignorantly and rudely with the reſt; as hereafter may bee ſhewed, if it pleaſe God, more at large: but fully now to anſwere the obiections out of the fathers, would enlarge this volume too much, of purpoſe therefore I doe forbeare: yet here and there in the more waightie controuerſies, I thinke it not amiſſe to giue a taſte.

The Proteſtants.

THat prayer is onely to be made vnto God, and to no other creature beſide, as being an eſpeciall part of the worſhip of God, which we ought not to giue to any other: thus it is prooued out of the word of God.

Argum. 1. Rom. 10. 14. *How ſhall they call vpon him, in whom they haue not beleeued?* But wee muſt beleeue onely in God, and therfore onely pray to God. *Rhemiſt.* anſwere: It is true, no more can wee pray vnto our Ladie, nor any Saint in heauen, vnleſſe we beleeue they can helpe vs. So doth *Bellarmine* anſwere likewiſe.

Anſ. The Scripture euery where teacheth that wee muſt beleeue in God, and that they are curſed that put any confidence in man, Ierem. 17. 5. Againe, they can haue no aſſurance to ſettle their conſcience, but out of the Scriptures: They haue a vaine perſwaſion of the abilitie of Saints to helpe them, but they haue no ground of any ſuch beleefe out of the Scripture.

Boner, as great a patrone of poperie in his time, as any of the Rhemiſts now, he ſaith thus; To truſt to any we bid you not; but to call vpon them, and pray to them, we bid you, *Fox* pag. 1587. He thought it a groſſe thing, that wee ſhould truſt to Saints, which the new Papiſts ſet downe for good holeſome doctrine.

Argum. 2. Heb. 4. 16. Let vs come with boldnes to the throne of grace: *Ergo*, we haue no neede of the inuocation of Saints, ſeeing we haue free and bold acceſſe through Chriſt.

Rhemiſt. By this reaſon we ſhould not pray one for another, while we are aliue, *Anſ.* We doe not put our confidence in the merite and worthines of other mens prayers, as you doe in the interceſſion of Saints. Againe, this mutuall dutie of prayer one for another, is commanded and required of God, as the other is not: wherfore to runne vnto Saints, and not vnto Chriſt, is to doubt either of his readines, or abilitie to helpe vs.

*Argum.*3. Ioh.16.26. Chriſt ſaith, that after he hath by his mediation and interceſſion brought vs into the fauour of God, In that day ſhall you aske the Father in my name, and I ſay not, that I will pray to the Father for you, for the Father himſelfe loueth you. If then the prayer of Chriſt to God his father, ſhall not then be needfull, what vſe is there of the prayer of other creatures? *Fulk.* 1.*Tim.*2.*ſect.*4.

*Argum.*4. Our Sauiour Chriſt hath taught vs in the Goſpell, to whom wee ſhould direct our prayers, ſaying, *Our Father, which art in heauen, &c.* Matth.6. This prayer cannot bee ſaid either to Angel or Saint: *Ergo*, it is contrarie to Chriſts rule to pray vnto them.

Bellarmine anſwereth, by the ſame reaſon, onely God the Father ſhould be praied vnto, neither God the Sonne, nor the holy Ghoſt; for he teacheth vs onely to ſay, Our Father, &c.

Contra. Firſt, here he ſheweth his groſſe ignorance: as though the whole Trinitie in reſpect of vs, and euery one of the perſons, is not our father; though in the reſpect that they haue one to an other, there is but one father and one ſonne: for Chriſt is called the euerlaſting father, Eſay 9. and the holy Ghoſt, Iam.1.17. is named by the Apoſtle, *Pater luminum*, the father of lights. Secondly, there is not a petition in the Lords prayer but agreeth to the whole Trinitie: as where we pray, *Hallowed be thy name*, for there is one name of the whole Trinitie, as Matth.28. *Goe and baptize in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt:* as S. *Ambroſe* ſheweth, *lib.*1.*de ſpiritu.cap.*14. *Let thy kingdome come:* this alſo concerneth the whole Trinitie, which hath but one kingdome: as S. *Ambroſe* proueth out of that place, Rom.14. *The kingdome of God is not meate, but righteouſnes, and peace, and ioy in the ſpirit:* the kingdome of God, and of the ſpirit, is all one. So likewiſe, they haue all one will: they all doe together forgiue vs our ſinnes, as Ioh.20. *Receiue ye the holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſinnes ye remit, they are remitted.* The holy Ghoſt therefore forgiueth ſinnes, as well as the Father, or the Sonne: wherefore it is euident, that the Lords praier is directed to the whole Trinitie in the name of Father. Thirdly, yet *Bellarmine* is not altogether ſo abſurd, as ſome popiſh Scottiſh Diuines haue been, who were not aſhamed to graunt, that the Lords prayer might bee ſaid to the Saints. See *Fox* pag.1274.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Pro quo nullus interpellat, & ipſe pro omnibus; hic vnus veruſque Mediator eſt.lib.*2.*cont.Parmenian.cap.*8. He for whom no man prayeth, but himſelfe entreateth for all men, he is the onely true Mediatour: *Ergo*, Saints no Mediatours, and therefore not to be prayed vnto.

Let vs ſee the teſtimonie of holie Martyrs: *Thomas Haukes*, It is an abominable blaſphemie againſt God, and his ſonne Chriſt, to call vpon any, to truſt to any, or to pray to any, ſaue onely to Chriſt Ieſus. His reaſon is out of Saint *Paul*, Rom.10. that we cannot call vpon any, vpon whom we beleeue not: But our beliefe, faith and truſt muſt onely bee fixed vpon God. To this agreeth the concluſion of a generall Councell, *Nicen.*2.*action.*2. *Tharaſius* Preſident of the Councell thus ſaith, *Apertis verbis teſtamur, nos duntaxat in vnum Deum veram latreiam, i. cultum, & fidem noſtram referre & reponere:* We doe plainly teſtifie, that we repoſe and referre our faith and truſt only vnto God.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: Whereas the Papiſts commonly obiect, that as wee cannot bee admitted into the preſence of the Prince, but by mediatours, and friends going betweene; ſo is it betweene God and vs: he anſwereth, that there is great difference betweene God, and a mortall Prince: For neither hath the Prince the knowledge that God hath, who knoweth and ſeeth all things euery where, &c. neither is he in mercie and gracious dealing like to God: who is of that infinit mercie, that I may as ſoone obtaine of him, that is needfull, as I ſhould by praying to Saints to be Mediatours, &c. And ſo he concludeth, I will pray vnto Saints, when I thinke that God either cannot or will not giue my petition; but that ſhall neuer be: *Ergo, &c.pag.*1109.*reſponſ.ad articul.*14.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THE Saints departed doe pray for vs.

The Papiſts.

31.Error. THat the Saints in heauen doe not onely pray in generall, but particularly for vs, readie in all our needes by their prayer and mediation to aſſiſt vs: thus they would proue it.

*Argum.*1. 2.Pet.1.15. I will endeuour (ſaith the Apoſtle) that you may haue remembrance of theſe things after my departure. *Peter* promiſeth to be carefull of them, and to pray for them after his departure, *Rhemiſt.ibid.Bellarm.cap.*18.

Anſ. This which here the Apoſtle promiſeth, he performeth in writing this Epiſtle, whereby they might be put in remembrance, when he was gone. And therefore he ſaith, verſ. 13. I thinke it meete, ſo long as I am in this tabernacle, to ſtirre you vp by putting you in remembrance: he acknowledgeth now onely to bee the time wherein he may doe them good, and therefore deferreth it not. There is no ſillable, which ſoundeth that way, that he would pray for them after his diſſolution.

Argum. 2. Apocal. 5.8. The 24. Elders are ſaid to haue golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of the Saints, *Rhemiſt. in hunc locum. Ergo,* the Saints in heauen doe pray for vs.

Anſ. The 24. Elders doe repreſent the Church Militant vpon earth, whoſe conuerſation is in heauen, and they doe continually offer vp their prayers. And that the place is ſo to be vnderſtood, it appeareth verſ. 10. Thou haſt made vs Kings and Prieſts, and wee ſhall raigne vpon the earth: that is, their kingdome is ſpirituall, in fighting againſt, and ouercomming the concupiſcence of the fleſh, and all carnall deſires.

Argum. 3. Iere. 15.1. *If Moſes and Samuel ſtood before me, my affection could not be toward this people:* therefore *Moſes* and *Samuel* being dead, did vſe to pray for the people. *Bellarm.*

Anſ. Firſt, the contrarie rather may bee gathered, that *Moſes* and *Samuel* did not pray for the people being dead: becauſe the Lord ſaith, *if they did, &c.* but it is not like, that their charitie is leſſe in heauen to ceaſe praying for the people, if the Saints had any ſuch office, ſeeing that *Samuel* yet liuing ſaid, *God forbid, that I ſhould ceaſe praying for this people,* 1. Sam. 12.23. Secondly, this place may bee expounded by that Ezech. 14.20. *Though Noah, Iob, Daniel, were in the middeſt of the citie, they ſhould but deliuer their owne ſoules:* So here, if *Moſes* and *Samuel* were liuing to pray for the people, as they vſed to doe, God will not heare them.

Argum. 4. Luk. 16. in the parable, the rich man prayeth for his brethren, much more do the righteous pray for the whole Church: as Reuel. 6. *The ſoules vnder the altar, crie, Lord how long doeſt thou not iudge and auenge our blood, &c? Bellarm. cap.* 18.

Anſ. Firſt, to the firſt place I anſwere, that it is a parable, or admitting it to be a ſtorie, we muſt needes acknowledge many things to bee ſpoken in parable and allegorie, as that he deſireth a drop of water to coole his tongue, whereas he neither had any tongue, his bodie being left in the graue, neither is water able to aſſwage the paines of hell. Againe, to take the conference between *Abraham* and the rich man literally, may bee occaſion of many doubts: as how they could one heare anothers talke, there being a great gulfe betweene them: neither had *Abraham* any ſuch power to ſend *Lazarus* to the liuing: wherefore it is hard vpon euery part of this parable to ground an argument. Secondly, there is no charitie in hell, how then can there bee any prayer there, which proceedeth of charitie? Thirdly, but be it graunted that the prayer of the rich man is hiſtoricall: it onely ſheweth a generall deſire and wiſh that he hath to his kindred: and ſo wee denie not, but that the Saints in generall doe deſire the conſummation of Chriſts bodie, and the eternall reſt of the reſt of his members yet militant in earth.

To the ſecond place we likewiſe anſwere: firſt, if that prayer or complaint, which the ſoules vnder the altar make, bee ſtrictly according to the letter taken, is it to bee thought, that the Saints haue leſſe charitie in heauen, then they had in earth? for *Stephen* prayed that his perſecutors might be forgiuen at his death, and doth the ſoule of *Stephen* now being vnder the altar call for vengeance? This is *Hieromes* reaſon: They doe not deſire their blood, which perſecuted them, *pro eis enim precatio fuſa eſt, &c.* for they prayed for them, that the ſin ſhould not be laide to their charge. Secondly, they pray not therefore particularly for the deſtruction of any, but generally, that an end may be made of the tyrannie of Satan: as *Hierome* expoundeth, *Spirituales nequitiæ hic intelliguntur:* Spirituall enemies are here vnderſtood, *De vir. perfecto.* And it is in effect the ſame with the prayer of the Church, Apocal. 22.17. *The ſpirit, and the bride ſay come:* that is, they do all waite for the finall accompliſhing of Chriſts kingdome. Thirdly, we graunt then that the Saints in heauen doe long both for the conſummation of their owne glorie, and wiſh generally vnto the Church militant the like triumphant end and victorie of their labours: and we confeſſe as much as S. *Cyprian* ſaith: *Magnus illic charorum numerus nos expectat; &c. parentum, fratrum, filiorum de ſalute ſua ſecura, de noſtra ſollicita:* A great number of our friends doe there waite for vs, &c. being ſecure of their owne ſaluation, carefull for vs, *Serm. 4. de mortalit.* But hence it followeth not, that they haue particular knowledge of our manifold neceſſities, and ſo make their particular requeſts vnto God for vs.

The Proteſtants.

THat the bleſſed Saints doe ſing vnto the praiſe of God in heauen, and do magnifie the Lord, and praiſe him with a new ſong of thankſgiuing, which is a kind of prayer, we denie not, Apocal. 5.9. and that they haue a generall deſire and longing, both for vs, for themſelues, and all the elect of God, that the day of our refreſhing were come, and that all the people of God were ioyned in one, and their enemies vanquiſhed and deſtroyed, wee learne alſo out of the Scripture, Apocal.6.9. But that they ſhould offer vp our ſpeciall prayers, and make particular requeſt for vs to God, it no where in the Scripture is found, but rather the contrarie.

*Argum.*1. The Scripture no where teſtifieth, that the Saints in ſuch manner doe pray for vs: *Ergo,* wee may ſafely bee ignorant of it: nay it were great preſumption, without Scripture to beleeue it.

*Argum.*2. The Saints departed know not our wants, nor what is done in the earth. The liuing know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all, Eccleſ.9.5. But of this more ſhall be ſaid in the next part. See *Auguſtine* of this matter. *contro.*8.*quaſt.*2.*part.*3.

*Argum.*3. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *There is one mediatour of God and man, the man Ieſus Chriſt,* 1.Timoth.2.5. *Ergo,* Saints are not our mediatours, and ſo conſequently they doe not pray for vs.

Bellarmine anſwereth, Chriſt is ſaid onely to be our mediatour for three cauſes: firſt, becauſe he is the onely mediatour of our redemption. Secondly, he is a mediatour not by his office onely, but in reſpect of his nature alſo, being both God and man. Thirdly, becauſe he is ſo a mediatour, that he needeth not any other mediatour, as the Saints doe, who are mediatours, but not in the foreſaid reſpects, *Bellarm.cap.*20.

Anſ. Bellarmine hath ſtrengthened our argument well, and giuen three reaſons why the Saints cannot be mediatours in any reſpect at all. Firſt, there can bee no aduocate or mediatour, but the ſame muſt bee the propitiation for our ſinnes, as Saint *Iohn* ſheweth, Epiſt. 1.chap.2.verſ.2. *The Saints are not a propitiation for our ſinnes. Ergo.* Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *A mediatour is not of one,* Galath.3.20. So then he that is the mediatour betweene God and man, muſt not bee of one nature: he muſt be both God and man: *Ergo,* Saints are no mediatours. Thirdly, he cannot be a mediatour, that hath himſelfe neede of a mediatour, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, that they could not bee our high prieſt, that had neede firſt to offer for their owne ſinnes, and then for the ſinnes of the people, Heb.7.27. and to offer vp our prayers is belonging to the prieſthood: Saints cannot bee our prieſts: *Ergo,* neither our mediatours. Thus hath *Bellarmine* reaſoned well for vs againſt himſelfe.

Francis Rebezies holy Martyr, ſheweth in what manner Saints doe pray for vs: who, when a Doctor had put forth this reaſon, The Apoſtles made interceſſion to Chriſt when as he was vpon the earth, why may they not doe ſo now? ſeeing Chriſt then was the interceſſor of the world, as now. He thus anſwereth; So long as they were in the world, they exerciſed their miniſterie, and prayed one for another, as needing humane ſuccours together: but now being in paradiſe, all the prayer they make is this, that they wiſh, that they which be vpon earth may attaine to their felicitie: but to obtaine any thing at the Fathers hand, wee muſt haue our recourſe onely to his ſonne. *Fox* pag.922.col.2.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE SAINTS vnderſtand our prayers, and be alwaies at hand to helpe vs.

The Papiſts.

32.Error. THey affirme three things, which they are driuen to graunt by neceſſitie of argument, while they ſtifly maintaine inuocation of Saints: for firſt they graunt that they know our hearts, and our inward repentance, and ſecret thoughts; for otherwiſe it would not auaile to pray vnto them, yet not of themſelues, but by the reuelation of God, *Bellarm.cap.*20. And of foure opinions of this matter, as that the Saints know our prayers either by the reuelation of Angels, or by their celeritie or agilitie of nature, paſſing from place to place, or at once they ſee in God as in a glaſſe, all things that may concerne them, or elſe they know mens ſecret thoughts, by ſome ſpeciall reuelation from God, as *Eliſha* deſcried the corruption of *Gebezi,* 2.King.5. and *Samuel* had a ſecret reuelation concerning *Saul,* 1.Sam.9.15. Of theſe foure he preferreth the two laſt, and refuſeth the other.

Anſ. Neither of theſe foure waies can ſtand: not the firſt, for though Angels ſhould reueale to the Saints, yet our thoughts they cannot reueale, becauſe they know them not themſelues: not the ſecond, for Saints doe reſt vnder the Altar, which is Chriſt, Apoc.6. and paſſe not to and fro, ſeeing that Chriſt, as he is man, ſhall be contained in the heauens till his comming againe, Act.3. Not the third, for we ſhall not ſee Chriſt as he is, till he doe appeare, 1.Ioh.3.2. And concerning the laſt, we denie not, but that God may reueale to the Saints ſome things at his pleaſure, as he did to the Prophets: but it hereof followeth not, that all our prayers are reuealed vnto them: for neither were all things reuealed to *Samuel,* as 1.Sam.16. when he went to anoint *Dauid:* and *Eliſha* ſaith, 2.King.4.verſ.27. concerning the Shunamite, *Her ſoule is vexed, and the Lord hath not told me.*

Againe, what a prepoſterous order is this, and ſuperfluous, God firſt reuealeth vnto them our prayers, and then they ſolicite God in our behalfe? I pray you what neede this, ſeeing God knoweth

eth our prayers? Firſt, why is he not as readie of himſelfe to graunt our requeſts, as to ſtay till he be entreated?

Secondly, ſeeing it were in vaine to pray to Saints, if they had not power to helpe vs: they 33.Error.
alſo are vrged to confeſſe, that the Saints are patrones of men, and haue the gouernment of the world committed to them; yea, that they may receiue others into the kingdome of heauen.

*Argum.*1. Apocal.2.26. To him that ouercommeth, will I giue power ouer nations, and he ſhall rule ouer them with a rod of yron: *Ergo*, the Saints haue the gouernment of men committed vnto them, *Rhemiſt.ibid.Bellarm.cap.*18.

Anſ. The power which our Sauiour here promiſeth, is the participation of his kingly inheritance: firſt, ſpiritually to ouercome the world by faith in this life, and after this life they ſhall be ſet in full poſſeſſion of his royall inheritance. The rod of yron, is the word of God, which is alſo called a two edged ſword, wherby they execute vengeance vpon the heathen, Pſal.149.7. It is the ſword of the ſpirit, whereby the wicked ſhall be deſtroyed. *Auguſtine* expoundeth it to be the rod of Iuſtice, whereby the good are corrected, and the wicked broken in pieces, *Homil.*2.*in Apocal.*

Again, it followeth in the text, *As a potters veſſell ſhall they be broken.* This cannot be vnderſtood of the Church of God: wherefore this place ſerueth not to proue the regiment of the Saints ouer the Church of God. Thirdly, ſeeing this is a promiſe made to euery one of Gods Saints, who are many hundred thouſands, by this reaſon euery one of them ſhould haue a regiment in the Church of God, which were infinite. Laſtly, Chriſt promiſeth that they ſhall rule, with a rod of yron, as himſelfe hath receiued; and chap.3.21. *they ſhall ſit with him in his throne:* will they inferre hereupon, that the Saints haue the like kingdome and power and glorie with Chriſt? this were very abſurd to graunt, and againſt Chriſt blaſphemous. Wherefore, the meaning of theſe and the like ſpeeches is nothing elſe, but this, that Chriſt ſhall impart and communicate vnto the Saints the glorie of his kingdome, not in ſuch full manner as he himſelfe hath it, but in ſuch ſort, as it is meete for them to receiue. Saint *Ambroſe* thus expoundeth the like words of our Sauiour, Ioh.17. *Father, I will that they whom thou haſt giuen me be with me where I am, &c. Vt ſint mecum, non vt ſedeant mecum, &c.* That they may be with me (ſaith he) not ſit with me; where I am, but not as I am; to ſee my glorie: to ſee it, not to haue it; for the ſeruant ſeeth, the maſter poſſeſſeth, *lib.*5.*de fide.cap.*3. And againe, vpon thoſe words, Epheſ.2.6. *He hath made vs ſit together in heauenly places in Chriſt: Non vt homines ſedere ſibi ad dextram patiatur Deus, &c.* Not that God doth ſuffer men to ſit at his right hand, but to ſit in Chriſt, who is the foundation of all, the head of his Church, who hath in himſelfe merited to our nature the prerogatiue of the heauenly ſeate, &c. *lib.*5.*de fide, cap.*7. Thus *Ambroſe* ſheweth how the Saints are ſaid to ſit in the heauenly throne, namely in Chriſt, in reſpect that our nature in him is aduanced to that heauenly ſeate; which prerogatiue being complete and full in Chriſt, is in meaſure communicated to his members.

*Argum.*2. Luk.16.9. *Make you friends of the vnrighteous Mammon, that when they neede, they may receiue you into euerlaſting habitations:* See, the Saints may receiue their friends and benefactors into their eternall manſions, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſ. 1. Almes beſtowed vpon the poore doe procure their prayers, but not their patronage. 2. The words are thus parabolically to be vnderſtood: They ſhall receiue you, that is, ſhall giue teſtimonie of you, and your almes ſhall be a teſtimonie of your charitie, and proceeding from a liuely faith, ſhall euerlaſtingly bee rewarded. 3. That it is not meant of the perſons, but of the work, it is plaine, becauſe almes which iſſue from a true faith, ſhal be rewarded at the Lords hand, though beſtowed vpon an hypocrite.

Thirdly, they alſo hold that the Saints at their pleaſure can be preſent with their bodies, and be 34.Error.
amongſt vs, and ſo heare our prayers, *Bellarm.cap.*20.

*Argum.*1. Otherwiſe the Saints ſhould be fettered as it were in heauen, if they remaine and be kept all in one place.

Anſ. They are not fettered when they are limited by the Lord to a place: ſee alſo what a goodly opinion theſe fellowes haue of heauen, making a priſon of it, *Rhemiſt.annot.Apocal.*6.9.

*Argum.*2. They follow the Lambe whither ſoeuer he goeth: *Ergo*, they may be euery where.

*Anſ.*1. That place, Apocal.14. is vnderſtood of al the elect, yea of thoſe that do imitate and follow Chriſt, liuing vpon earth, as it followeth verſ.4. *Theſe are bought from men, being the firſt fruites vnto God, &c.* which comprehendeth all the elect both liuing and departed to God. 2. If the ſoules are euery where, becauſe the Lambe is euery where, then Chriſt in his humanitie is euery where, and ſo the Papiſts are become Vbiquitaries.

*Argm.*3. The Deuils are of great dexteritie, and celeritie in paſſing from one place to another: *Ergo*, much more the Saints.

*Anſw.*1 The argument followeth not: for deuils by propertie of nature together by the ſufferance of God, doe wander vp and downe the world, being thereto appoynted of God: but the ſoules of Saints haue no ſuch office, as we reade in Scripture, to bee curſory ſpirits in the world.

2 Though it ſhould be graunted, that in a ſhort time they are able to change their places: yet it is vnpoſſible, they ſhould be in ſo many places to heare the prayers euery where made vnto them, vnleſſe they could be in diuers places at once.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, it is a great vntruth and blaſphemie to ſay, that the Saints do knowe our thoughts, inward repentance, prayers, as the Rhemiſts affirme.

*Argum.*1. God only is the knower of the heart, neither doth he communicate this propertie of the Godhead to any creature: he may reueale what he thinketh good vnto them: but for them, when they will themſelues, to know our ſecret prayers and meditations (for this is the queſtion) it is impoſſible.

Bernard agreeth with vs, thus wryting: *Ioſeph cum præuidiſſet exaltationem ſuam, non tamen præſciuit ſui venditionem, quamuis propior eſſet venditio, quam exaltatio*: Though *Ioſeph* foreſawe his exaltation, yet did he not foreknowe that he ſhould be ſoulde; and yet his ſelling was nearer, then his preferring. By this he ſheweth, that although God may and doth reueale ſome things to the Saints, yet it followeth not, they ſhould knowe all things.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that God onely is the knower of mens hearts naturally, and by his owne power: but the ſaints know them by reuelation.

Contra. 1.*Reg*.8.39. *Salomon* ſaith, *Thou onely knoweſt the hearts of all men*: He ſaith not, God chiefely or principally knoweth the hearts, but onely. If God then onely know our hearts, then the ſaints know them not.

De cura pro mortuis

*Argum.*2. *Auguſtine* out of thoſe words of the Prophet Iſay 63.16. *Abraham* is ignorant of vs, and *Iacob* knoweth vs not, concludeth thus, *Si tanti patriarchæ, quid erga populum ex his procreatum ageretur, ignorauerunt, quomodo mortui viuorum rebus atque actibus cognoſcendis adiuuandiſque miſcentur?* If ſo great Patriarkes were ignorant what became of the people which was borne of their loynes; how is it like, that other dead can be preſent to vnderſtand, and be helping to mens affaires? And here S. *Auguſtine* alſo meeteth with the cauillous anſwere of *Bellarmine*, who ſaith, that the Patriarks vnder the law being dead, knew not the affaires of the liuing, becauſe they were not yet in heauen: but the ſaints now departed are in heauen, and therefore may and doe know our eſtate: for S. *Auguſtine* reaſoneth cleane contrary, If *Abraham* ſo great a Patriarke knew not, much leſſe the dead now: Againe, he ſtill very vnlearnedly beggeth the thing in queſtion, ſeeing we haue proued before, that the Patriarkes were in heauen.

This was the confeſſion of one *Paul Luther*, confeſſor of Gods truth *anno*.1529. that Saints in heauen cannot helpe vs, and know no more what men doe here in this world, then a man in the North countrey knoweth what is done in the South contrey: *Fox*.1040.col.2.

Secondly, we acknowledge no patrones, protectors or captaines in heauen, but our Lord God and Sauiour Chriſt.

1 Pſalm.73.25. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, Whom haue I in heauen but thee? and *Iacob* calleth onely vpon the Lord God, to be the guide of his iourney, Gen.28.20. Vpon which words of the Pſalme ſaint *Ambroſe* thus noteth, *Tu portio mea es, abundas mihi ad omnia, &c.* Thou O Lord art my portion, thou ſufficeſt me for all things, I require none other thing, but to haue thee my portion: I neede the helpe of none, being receiued of thee; neither is there any thing in heauen, which I ſeeke beſide thee &c. *de interpel.lib*.4.*c*.12. Behold, Chriſt onely in heauen, without the helpe either of Angell, or Saint, ſufficed *Ambroſe*, and may ſuffice euery faithfull man.

2 By appoynting Saints to be patrones of places and countries, at length they brought in a multitude of popiſh Saints, and were not in ſuperſtition farre behinde the Gentiles, who gloried in the number of their gods: For haue they not allotted ſome to countreyes, as S.*George* for England, S.*Andrew* for Scotland, S.*Denis* for France, S.*Patricke* for Ireland? So likewiſe diuers Saints were called vpon for diuers diſeaſes, as S.*Rombal* for the tooth-ach, S.*Petronil* for the Ague: One for horſe, as S.*Loye*, S.*Antony* for pigges, S.*Gregory* for Schollers, S.*George* for Souldiers: Euen thus the Heathen inuented diuers gods, *Neptune* for the ſea, the *Satyrs* for the woods, the *Nymphes* for the water, *Ceres* for corne, *Bacchus* for wine, *Venus* for the Troians, *Pallas* for the Grecians, *Iupiter ſtater* for the Romanes.

Auguſt.lib.4. de ciuit.Dei. cap.8.

Nay, they were yet more ridiculous, they appoynted many gods for one thing: as for Infants *Vagitanus*, that made them to crye, *Cuninus*, that kept them in their Cradle, *Adeona*, *Abeona*, to teach them to goe: So for the entrie of the houſe, they had *Limentinus* the God of the threſhold, *Cardea* the god of the hinges, *Forrulus* that kept the doore: for their Corne, they had the Goddeſſe *Seia* when it was ſworne, *Proſerpina* when it ſprouted, *Nodotus* when it knotted, *Hoſtilina* when it eared, *Flora* when it waxed white, *Runcina* when it was cut downe. The like ſuperſtition almoſt raigneth in poperie. But what neede we runne to ſo many for theſe things, when as at the Lords hands we are promiſed, asking in the name of Chriſt, to receiue all things we neede? This great folly of theirs ſheweth what good commeth by the deuiſed patronage of Saints.

Bernard here helpeth vs well, writing vpon that place in the Canticles: My welbeloued is as the apple tree among the trees of the forreſt, Cantic.2,verſ.3. *Non comparantur huic omnia ligna ſyluarum,&c.* Super.cantic. ſerm.48. All the trees of the wood are not to be compared to this: for although there be fayre and great trees which may ſeeme to helpe, by their prayer, miniſterie, inſtruction, example; yet Chriſt onely the wiſedome of God is the tree of life: the other trees though they haue a ſhadowe of ſolace, yet no refection of life: there is one author of our life, the onely mediator of God and man.

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr hath put to his ſeale: Why ſhould I truſt in Pauls prayer or holines: for if *Paul* were aliue, and loued me, as he did them of his time, what could he do for me, or wiſh me, but to preach Chriſt, and pray to God for me to open my heart, to giue me his ſpirit, and to bring me to the knowledge of Chriſt? &c. *Fox*.pag.1250.col.2.artic.16. This holy Martyr with the reſt, were farre from making Saints their patrones, or aduocates.

Thirdly, it is alſo another popiſh fable and dreame, that the Saints may bee preſent euery where, as it pleaſeth themſelues, at their tombes and ſepulchers, and whereſoeuer els they are called for.

*Argum.*1. Act.3.21. The heauens containe the humanitie of Chriſt: it hath pleaſed him there to reſt himſelfe, vntill his comming to iudgement: *Ergo*, much more are the Saints kept in their reſting places.

*Argum.*2. The Saintes are at reſt, they doe ceaſe from the affaires of this life, Apocal.14.13. They reſt vnder the Altar in the peace of Chriſt, Apocal.6.9. there expecting and waiting the comming of Chriſt to iudgement: *Ergo*, they doe not wander nor ſtray abroad in the world, neither doe intermeddle with humane affayres.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Si rebus viuentium intereſſent animæ mortuorum, meipſum pia mater nulla nocte deſereret, quæ terra marique ſecuta eſt, vt mecum viueret: De cura pro mortuis:* If the ſoules of the dead were preſent at the affayres of the liuing, my deuout mother would neuer a night bee from me, who when ſhe liued, followed me by ſea and land, to haue my companie, and to liue with me: *Ergo*, the Saints departed are not preſent with vs when they would.

Bernard alſo agreeth, writing thus vpon the death of *Humbertus: Quandiu viueret in eius laude non aperui os meum, ne forte poſſemus, vel ego adulationis notam, vel ille culpam incurrere vanitatis: ex hoc ſane neutrum iam timetur, nec ego illum video, & forſitan ille me non audit:* While he liued, I opened not my mouth in his praiſe, leaſt that I might haue incurred the ſuſpition of flattery, he of vaine glorie: but now neither of theſe is feared, for I neither ſee him, and perhaps he heareth not me: *Sermon. in obitum Humbert. Bernard* doubteth whether the Saints be preſent to heare vs, and thinketh rather that they doe not.

I will laſtly adde out of their owne decrees.*par.2.cauſ.*13.*qu.2.c.29. Fatendum eſt, neſcire mortuos, quid hic agatur, &c.* We muſt confeſſe that the dead know not, what is done here: but they doe heare of thoſe that depart hence, not all things, but what they are ſuffred to declare, and what it behoueth them to heare, &c. So then the dead know not all the affaires of the liuing, but ſo much, as it pleaſeth God ſhould be declared vnto them.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERNING the reliques of Saints.

THis queſtion hath foure parts. 1 Whether the reliques of Saints are to be worſhipped. 2 Of the tranſlation of reliques. 3 Of the keeping and preſeruing of reliques. 4 Of the miracles wrought at the tombes and reliques of Martyrs.

THE FIRST PART, CONCERNING the worſhip of Reliques.

The Papiſts.

THe reliques of Saints, that is their bodies and bones, and Sepulchres, where they are buried, 35.Error. are to be adored and reuerenced, *Trident in.Concil.ſeſſ.*25. though with leſſe honour ſomewhat, then the Saints themſelues, *Bellarm.de reliquijs ſanctor.lib.2.cap.*21. And not onely their bodies (ſay they) are worthie of due reuerence, but other monuments of theirs, as S.*Peters* chaire at Rome, Rom.16.verſ.16. the priſon, wherein S.*Paul* was kept in Malta, *Rhemiſt.Act.*28.1. the chaine that S.*Paul* was bound with at Rome, Act.27.4. the ſtone that hit S.*Stephen* vpon the Elbow now to be ſeene at Ancona in Italie, *Act.7.ſect.6.*

Anſw. As for S.*Peters* chayre, and S.*Pauls* chaine, they are neither able to ſhew that *Peter* ſate in ſuch a chaire, or that it is the very chaine which they ſhew, wherewith *Paul* was bound. Concerning the priſon houſe at Malta, they ſhew that which neuer was: *Paul* was a priſoner, but not in priſon there: that of the ſtone that ſmote *Stephen* vpon the elbowe is a meere fable: See *Fulk.* vpon that place.

*Argum.*2. *Ioſias*, when he cauſed the bones of other dead to be burned, yet he commanded them to let the Prophets bones alone, *Bellarm.cap.*3. The diſciples of *Iohn* came and buried his bodie: an example of dutie and religious deuotion to the dead bodies of Saints, *Rhemiſt. Matth.*14.*ſect.*2. Their bodies are the temples of the holy Ghoſt, and ſhall be rayſed againe to life: *Ergo*, they muſt be adored and worſhipped, *Trident.Concil.ſeſſ.*25.

Anſw. One anſwere may ſerue for all theſe arguments. We deny not, but that the dead bodies of the faithfull are to be laid vp with reuerence in hope of the reſurrection; but it therefore followeth not, that they muſt be abuſed to Idolatry. *Iohns* diſciples buried his bodie, but ſhrined it not to be worſhipped: *Ioſias* made difference betweene the bones of the Idolatrous Prieſts, and of the true Prophet: the one he burned, and thought them vnworthie of honeſt ſepulture; the other he ſuffered to reſt, and enioy the honour of buriall. But of any adoration or worſhipping of his bones, we read not.

*Argum.*3. Iſay 11.10. *Erit Sepulchrum eius glorioſum*: His graue or ſepulcher ſhall be glorious. This is vnderſtood of the graue of Chriſt, that it ſhould be honoured: wherefore reliques are worthie of honor. *Bellar.cap.*3.

Anſw. Firſt, though the Latine text ſo tranſlate, as the Ieſuite readeth; yet there is no ſuch thing in the originall: the word is מנוחה, [a] which ſignifieth reſt, and ſo the Septuagint tranſlate it, ἀνάπαυσις: ſo that the ſenſe is, his reſt, that is, his Church, ſhall be glorious: and ſo is this word vſed Pſal.132.14. *This is my reſt for euer.* Secondly, wee denie not, but that (admitting the Latine reading) the place of Chriſts buriall was glorious, and to be honoured, while as Chriſts precious body was there, but that afterwards it remained holy, this text ſheweth not. Thirdly, if Chriſts bodie and the place thereof were to be honoured; how ſerueth this place for the reliques of Saints? Chriſts bodie was to be adored, becauſe of the vniting to the Godhead; but the ſeruants are not to be honoured as the Maſter.

[a] Menucah

The Proteſtants.

The bodies of Martyrs are reuerently to be brought to the ground, in teſtimonie of our hope of their reſurrection, and their memorie is to be honored, as in prayſing God for their conſtant Martyrdome: ſo the Pſalmiſt ſaith, Right precious in the ſight of God is the death of his Saints, Pſalm.116. as alſo in following their ſteps, and propounding vnto vs their good example: but to adore and worſhip their bones, to kiſſe, and kneele downe at their ſepulchres, is to too groſſe idolatrie, and not to be vſed amongſt Chriſtians.

*Argum.*1. The Lord did of purpoſe himſelfe burie the bodie of *Moſes* in a ſecret place, which was neuer knowne to the Iſraelites: and this reaſon is generally rendred by moſt writers, leaſt the people of Iſrael ſhould worſhip his bodie, and ſo commit Idolatrie: *Ergo*, the adoration of the bodies of Saints diſpleaſeth God. *Argum.Caluin.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that though the people of Iſrael might by that meanes haue fallen into idolatrie; yet the people of God may now more ſafely honour reliques, becauſe they are not ſo prone to idolatrie.

Anſw. Experience of popiſh idolatrieproueth the cleane contrarie: for the like ſuperſtition and worſhipping of images was neuer ſo common and vſuall, no not in the moſt corrupt times of that Church, as now it is in poperie.

And what danger of ſuperſtition is occaſioned by the keeping of reliques, and other ſuch vnprofitable vſages, I appeale to the late popiſh ſynode *Auguſtenſ.cap.*23. *Sedulò moneri populum, nè ceremonias religioſiſſimè inſtitutas in abuſum vertant, aut ſuperſtitionem, ſed ipſis ad exercendam pietatem vtantur:* That the people ſhould be continually admoniſhed, that they turne not ceremonies moſt religiouſly inſtituted, to any abuſe, or ſuperſtition, but vſe them for the exerciſe of pietie. If there bee feare of ſuperſtition in the vſe of ceremonies which had a good beginning, much greater danger is there in theſe, that can haue no good vſe, neither euer had any good inſtitution.

*Argum.*2. Our Sauiour Chriſt reproueth the Scribes and Phariſees, calling them hypocrites, becauſe they did garniſh the ſepulchres of the Prophets, whom their forefathers put to death, Matth.23.29. but their doctrine they neglected and regarded not. Such hypocrites are the Papiſts at this day, who commit a double fault; for they contemne the doctrine of the Apoſtles, whoſe memories they would ſeeme to honour: and againe, in the ſuperſtitious honour and worſhip, which they yeeld vnto them, they exceede the bounds of Chriſtian pietie.

3 Their bodies were not to be worſhipped when they were aliue, much leſſe now they are dead. What are they now but earth, duſt and aſhes? according as the Lord ſaid to *Adam*, *Thou art duſt, and to duſt ſhalt thou returne*, Gene.3.19. What is this els, but to worſhip the earth, euen duſt and aſhes? So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Timeo adorare terram ne damnet me, qui fecit cœlum & terram:* I am

afraid to worſhip the earth, leaſt he condemne me, that made both heauen and earth. Onely in Chriſt (ſaith he) I finde, *Quomodo ſine impietate adoretur terra*: How the earth, that is, his body, may be worſhipped without any impietie: namely, becauſe of the neere coniunction and vnion of his humane nature with the Godhead in one perſon: for otherwiſe of it ſelfe the bodie of Chriſt is Gods Creature and workemanſhip, and not capable of diuine worſhip. This then is the priuiledge that Chriſt hath, more then all Saints and Martyrs beſide, that in him onely the humanitie is adored.

Concil.Carthag.5.can.15. Placuit à glorioſiſſimis imperatoribus peti, vt reliquiæ non ſolum in ſimulachris, ſed in quibuſcunq; locis, lucis vel arboribus deleantur: We thinke good to make requeſt to the moſt renowned Emperors, that reliques may be taken away, not onely ſuch, as are kept in ſhrines and images, but in what place ſoeuer, woods, or trees: Theſe fathers were ſo farre off from worſhipping reliques, that they would not haue them at all extant.

Concil.Lateranenſ. ſub Innocentio 3.cap.62. Ne reliquiæ ſanctorum oſtendantur extra capſam: That the reliques ſhould not be ſhewed out of the caske or cheſt, where they were kept: It ſhould ſeeme that their meaning was not to haue them worſhipped; vnleſſe we thinke the cheſt and cask ſhould be worſhipped withall.

Their owne decrees alſo witneſſe with vs, *part.2.cauſ.1.qu.1.c.65. Si ita Martyrium fecerimus, vt noſtras velimus ab hominibus reliquias honorari*: If wee deſire Martyrdome, to the intent our reliques ſhould be honoured of men, it deſerueth puniſhment, and not reward: And if it be a ſinne in them to require it, it is in vs alſo to performe it.

The holy Martyrs haue ſealed this doctrine: *Thomas Bilney* holy Martyr; Prieſts (ſaith he) take away the offrings, and hang them about their whores neckes, and after that they take them againe from their whores, if they pleaſe them not, and hang them vpon the Images: and is not that a great relicke, when it is hanged there againe? *Fox*.p.1010. And are not ſuch relickes now meete things to be worſhipped?

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr: That oblations ſhould be offred or done to the ſepulchres and reliques of Saints, God did neuer inſtitute any ſuch thing in the new teſtament, which is the veritie and rule of all Chriſten people to follow and beleeue. And this he further ſheweth by the buriall of *Moſes*, whoſe graue was hid from the Iewes, leſt they being prone to new fangled worſhipping, ſhould haue fallen into idolatrie: this argument we haue touched before.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE TRANSLAtion of the bodies of Saints.

The Papiſts.

IT is an vſuall thing amongſt them to tranſlate, and carrie from one place to another the bones and relickes of Saints: as they ſay *Iohn Baptiſts* head was tranſlated from Samaria to Alexandria, and is now at Amiens in France, *Rhemiſt.Matth.14.ſect.1.* So the bodie of S.*Luke* was remoued, they ſay, from Achaia to Conſtantinople, and from thence to Padua in Italy, where now it remaineth: *Argum.in Luk. Rhemiſt.* The ſtone alſo that hit S.*Stephen*, is now at Ancona in Italy, *Act.7.ſect.6.* 36.Error.

*Argum.*1. *Ioſeph* gaue charge concerning his bones when he dyed, and they were remoued from Egypt to the land of Canaan, at the departure of the Iſraelites, Exod.13.Heb.11.22. *Ergo*, the remouing and tranſlation of Saints bodies or relickes is lawfull, *Rhemiſt.Bellarm.cap*,4.

Anſw. *Ioſeph* gaue commandement concerning his bones to teſtifie his faith and hope in the promiſe of God, for the inheritance of the land of Canaan, as it followeth: God will ſurely viſite you and bring you to the land which hee ſware to *Abraham*; therefore ye ſhall cary my bones hence, &c.Gen.50.24. They were not remoued to be adored or worſhipped: *Ergo*, no ſuch tranſlation of relickes is hereby proued. Secondly, you can ſhewe no ſuch charge, that Saint *Paul*, *Peter*, or any of the reſt, gaue concerning the tranſlation of their bodies, as *Ioſeph* gaue vnto his poſteritie.

The Proteſtants.

WE denie not, but that the bodies of the dead, before they be interred, may be conueyed vnto the place of their buriall, as *Ioſias* was carried being dead by his ſeruants from Megiddo to Ieruſalem, where a ſepulchre was prepared for him, 2.King.23.30. But either for the dead to be remoued to be buried in ſome one place more then another, for the holineſſe thereof; or the bones of Saints to be raked out of their graues, and tranſlated, with intent to ſhrine them, and ſet them vp to be adored: they are ſuperſtitious cuſtomes, and not vſed of ancient time among the people of God.

*Argum.*1. That the place profiteth not the dead, but vnto them it is all alike whereſoeuer they are buried: we haue ſhewed afore, 1.*part.controuer.9.queſt.2.part*.4. The example of ***Auguſtines*** mother is notable, and worthie the memorie: She had with great care prouided her a ſepulchre neere vnto her husband, who dyed at Thagaſta in Africa, and was there buried, and was purpoſed her ſelfe to lye by him: but the Lord ſo diſpoſed, that ſhe left her life at Hoſtia in Italie, and being readie to depart, ſhe ſayd thus to her ſonnes: ***Ponite hoc corpus vbicunque, nihil vos eius cura conturbet:*** Burie my bodie where you thinke good, take no great care for it. And being asked, if it grieued her not to leaue her bodie ſo farre off from her owne citie, ſhe gaue this godly anſwere: ***Nihil longe eſt à Deo, nequè timendum eſt, ne ille non agnoſcat in fine ſeculi, vnde me reſuſcitet: Auguſt. lib.confeſſ.9.cap.***11. No place is neerer to God then other, neither am I to feare, leaſt the Lord ſhould not as well raiſe me vp in this place, as in mine owne citie: *Ergo*, in reſpect of the dead, it skilleth not where they are buried.

Argum.2. The other cuſtome of tranſlating of reliques to be worſhipped, is farre more impious and ſuperſtitious: for hereupon it commeth, that the people haue been deceiued with falſe relickes: yea one and the ſelfe ſame relicke is ſaid to be in diuers places. As of S.*Iohn Baptiſts* head: his face they ſay, is at S.Iean Angelz: the reſt of his head at Malta: his skull at Nemours: his braine at Nouium Raſtrouienſe: his iaw bone at Veſalium: a peece of his eare at S.Floride: his forehead and haires in Spaine at S. Saluadores: and yet for all this his whole head is to be ſeene at S. Silueſters in Rome, and at Amiens in France: ***Fulk*** Matthew 14.2. Thus they haue mangled alſo the bodie of S.***Peter:*** halfe (they ſay) is at S.***Peters*** in Rome, halfe at S.***Paules:*** his head at S.Iohn Laterane: his neather iawe with his beard at Poycters in France: at Triers many of his bones, ***Fulk.Rom.***16.***ſect***.4. See what mockage and cooſening here is, and abuſing of ſimple people? How can their whole bodies be in one place, and yet their parts and bones in another? And where doe they learne thus to diſmember their bodies, and to rake them out of their graues? The honouring of the bodies of Martyrs, is to ſuffer them quietly to reſt in their graues, and not to rotte aboue the ground. *Ioſias* honoured the Prophets ſepulchre, and would not remoue his bones: herein therefore they diſhonour the Martyrs, and offer violence to their bodies, thinking falſely that they doe great worſhip vnto them.

Auguſtine ſaith, that he which would now renew the ceremonies of the Iewes, that are as it were buried: ***Tanquam ſopitos cineres eruens, non erit pius deductor aut baiulus corporis, ſed impius ſepulturæ violator.Epiſtol.***19. He ſhould be as one raking in the aſhes of the dead, and ſo be rather a violator of Chriſtian buriall, then a bringer of the bodie honeſtly to the ground. So by ***Auguſtines*** iudgement, ***eruens ſopitos cineres***, he that pulleth out dead mens aſhes, bones, or relickes, is ***ſepulturæ violator***, a prophaner of their buriall.

Synod. Moguntiac. can.51. ***Deinceps corpora ſanctorum de loco ad locum, nullus præſumat transferre, ſine conſilio Principis, vel Epiſcopi, & ſanctæ ſynodi licentia:*** From hence forth let no man preſume to carie the bodies of the Saints from place to place, without the counſell of the Prince or Biſhop, and leaue of the Synode. This Councell miſliked the common and vſuall manner of tranſlating Saints bodies, and therefore maketh a reſtraint for it: this Canon is alleaged among the decrees, ***part.***3.***diſt.***1.***c.***37.

We haue alſo further euidence both out of the ciuill and Canon law, ***Cod.lib.***1.***tit.***6.***c.***26.***Leo. Reliquiæ in ædes publicas non debent illicitè inferri:*** Reliques muſt not be remoued or carried from their places, into publike or common houſes. This law forbiddeth reliques to be remoued out of the Church.***Lib.***3.***tit.***43.***leg.***14. ***Valentinian. Nemo ſine Auguſti affatibus,&c.*** That no man without the leaue of the Emperor ſhould remoue any humane bodie.

Likewiſe in what caſes humane reliques ſhould be remoued, or tranſlated, the law hath determined: as ***Cod.lib.***3.***tit.***43.***leg.***1. ***Si vi fluminis reliquiæ filÿ tui contingantur:*** If thy ſonnes reliques be beaten vpon by the water, thou mayeſt remoue them, or vpon any other iuſt or neceſſary cauſe ***ibid.leg.***10. ***Si necdùm perpetuæ ſepulturæ corpus traditum,&c.*** If the bodie be not yet interred, or committed to ſepulture, it may be remoued. So then there may be ciuill occaſions to remoue bodies, but no religious.

The Canon law alſo agreeth, ***decret.part.***3.***diſtinct.***1.***c.***36. ***Tribus ex cauſis Sanctorum loca tranſmutanda ſunt:*** The places of the Saints may be changed vpon 3.occaſions, when as perſecution is raiſed in the place: ſecondly, when as the place it ſelfe is difficult, or inconuenient: thirdly, when as, ***Malorum ſocietate grauantur***, they are moleſted with the companie of the wicked. This Canon alloweth Saints bodies to be remoued, eyther when perſecuters would rage againſt their aſhes, or the place is inconuenient, by reaſon of the ouerflowing of water, or otherwiſe; or when the people are readie to abuſe them to idolatrie, or any other vngodlines: but all this while, no mention is made of tranſlating of reliques, to be honoured or worſhipped.

THE

THE THIRD PART, OF THE KEEPING and preſeruing of relickes.

The Papiſts.

37.Error. WE muſt not thinke it impoſſible, that the monuments of Saints, as their garments, relickes, bones, ſhould indure a long time, ſeeing Manna was kept ſo many hundred yeares in the potte, which was placed by the Arke, being a thing ſo apt to putrifie. *Rhemiſt. Hebr.9.ſect.4.*

Anſw. When we haue a commaundement for the reſeruation of ſuch things, as the Iſraelites had, we may beleeue they will keepe ſo long. And againe, the Iſraelites for all that did not worſhip the pot of Manna, though it were of ſuch long continuance.

The Proteſtants.

THe bodies and bones of men departed neither are to be kept out of their graues, as we haue ſhewed, neither can they be preſerued without corruption.

*Argum.*1. Vnto all *Adams* ſeede it is ſayd, *Duſt thou art, and to duſt ſhalt thou returne:* onely the bodie of Chriſt had this priuiledge, Pſalm.16. *Not to ſee corruption: Ergo,* the bodies of men departed though they were neuer ſo holy, being all the ſeede of *Adam*, muſt be turned to duſt.

*Argum.*2. If they would glorifie God and ſpeake the trueth, they doe very well know by experience, that the relickes of Saints haue no ſuch promiſe or warrant for their continuance: for moſt, if not all of their relickes, were forged and deuiſed, and no ſuch thing indeed. S. *Peters* braine at Geneua was found to be a pumice ſtone: S. *Anthonies* arme was found to be an Harts piſſe: at Towres of late the image of *Venus* in an Agate was worſhipped for the image of the Virgine *Marie:* the blood of *Hales* in England was deſcried to be but the blood of a Drake: the three hoſtes at Calice were but three white counters ſoldred into a marble ſtone. Theſe and many ſuch monuments and relickes of Saints the Church of Rome hath great ſtore: no maruaile now, if they be of long continuance, for ſtones and counters may laſt a great while: and Drakes blood, with other ſuch ſtuffe, is not ſo daintie, but it may be ſtill renewed.

Of ſuch cooſening trickes *Auguſtine* complayned in his time; ſpeaking of runnagate Monkes, he ſaith: *Alij membra martyrum, ſi tamen martyrum, venditant: Alij fimbrias ſuas, & phylacteria magnificant:* Some doe boaſt of relickes of Martyrs, which they carrie about, and perhaps they are no ſuch relickes: ſome doe extoll their habite and Monkiſh weede: *De opere Monachorum, cap.*28.

To this place of S. *Auguſtine Bellarmine* thus anſwereth, *cap.5.* That S. *Auguſtine* doubteth onely of ſuch relickes, which were priuilie caried about, not of thoſe which were publikely ſhewed.

Contra. Yea many of your publike relickes were forged; for to what end elſe, was that decree made by *Innocent.3.decr.Greg.lib.3.tit.45.c.2, Prælati non permittant, &c.* Prelates ſhall not ſuffer thoſe which come to their Churches to worſhip, *Varijs figmentis & falſis, &c.* to be deceiued with falſe and fained relickes, as the cuſtome hath been in diuers places for luker ſake. So then euen publikelie in their Churches they vſed to deceiue the ſimple people, with forged relickes.

See then, I pray you, what diueliſh idolatrie was this, to cauſe the people to worſhip counters, Drakes blood, Harts ſinewes, and other ſuch baſe creatures, in ſtead of relickes: which, though they were ſuch indeede, ought not to be worſhipped.

Gelaſius decret. de apocryphis, thus writeth of this matter: *Scriptura de inuentione crucis dominicæ, & aliæ de inuentione capitis Iohannis Baptiſtæ, nouella quædam relationes ſunt, & nonnulli eas catholici legunt: ſed cum hæc ad catholicorum manus veniunt, beati Pauli præcedat ſententia, Omnia probate, quod bonum eſt tenete:* The writings of the inuention of the Lords Croſſe, and of *Iohn Baptiſts* head, are new reports, and ſome Catholikes reade them: but when ſuch writings come to Catholikes hands, let them remember S. *Pauls* ſaying, *Trie all things, and keepe the beſt.* Here we haue the iudgement of a Biſhop of Rome, who thinketh that many relickes, that are ſayd to haue been found, and ſo kept, and preſerued, are but meere forgeries, and foyſted in by heretikes.

THE FOVRTH PART, CONCERNING VISIONS and miracles done at the Tombes and relickes of Martyrs.

The Papiſts.

38.Error. FIrſt, they almoſt make it an ordinarie thing in their Church to worke miracles: *Bellarmine* ſaith, that it is a ſufficient note of the Church, the glorie or power of miracles, *De eccleſ.lib.4.cap.*14. Chriſt ſaith, that they that doe beleeue in him, ſhall doe greater workes then he. No maruaile then, if the image of our Lady (ſay they) and the like, worke miracles, as *Peters* ſhadowe did, and that they ſeeme greater then Chriſts: for hee promiſeth that his Saints ſhall worke greater are buried: we haue ſhewed afore, 1.*part.controuer.9.queſt.2.part*.4. The example of *Auguſtines* mother is notable, and worthie the memorie: She had with great care prouided her a ſepulchre neere vnto her husband,who dyed at Thagaſta in Africa,and was there buried,and was purpoſed her ſelfe to lye by him: but the Lord ſo diſpoſed,that ſhe left her life at Hoſtia in Italie, and being readie to depart,ſhe ſayd thus to her ſonnes: *Ponite hoc corpus vbicunque, nihil vos eius cura conturbet:* Burie my bodie where you thinke good,take no great care for it. And being asked,if it grieued her not to leaue her bodie ſo farre off from her owne citie,ſhe gaue this godly anſwere: *Nihil longe eſt à Deo,neque timendum eſt,ne ille non agnoſcat in fine ſeculi,vnde me reſuſcitet: Auguſt. lib.confeſſ.9.cap.*11. No place is neerer to God then other,neither am I to feare,leaſt the Lord ſhould not as well raiſe me vp in this place,as in mine owne citie: *Ergo,* in reſpect of the dead, it skilleth not where they are buried.

Argum.2. The other cuſtome of tranſlating of reliques to be worſhipped, is farre more impious and ſuperſtitious: for hereupon it commeth,that the people haue been deceiued with falſe relickes: yea one and the ſelfe ſame relicke is ſaid to be in diuers places. As of S.*Iohn Baptiſts* head: his face they ſay,is at S.Iean Angelz: the reſt of his head at Malta: his ſkull at Nemours:his braine at Nouium Raſtrouienſe: his iaw bone at Veſalium: a peece of his eare at S.Floride: his forehead and haires in Spaine at S. Saluadores: and yet for all this his whole head is to be ſeene at S. Silueſters in Rome, and at Amiens in France: *Fulk* Matthew 14.2. Thus they haue mangled alſo the bodie of S.*Peter:* halfe (they ſay) is at S.*Peters* in Rome,halfe at S.*Paules:* his head at S.Iohn Laterane: his neather iawe with his beard at Poycters in France: at Triers many of his bones, *Fulk.Rom*.16.*ſect*.4.See what mockage and cooſening here is,and abuſing of ſimple people? How can their whole bodies be in one place,and yet their parts and bones in another? And where doe they learne thus to diſmember their bodies,and to rake them out of their graues? The honouring of the bodies of Martyrs, is to ſuffer them quietly to reſt in their graues, and not to rotte aboue the ground. *Ioſias* honoured the Prophets ſepulchre, and would not remoue his bones: herein therefore they diſhonour the Martyrs, and offer violence to their bodies, thinking falſely that they doe great worſhip vnto them.

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Contra. Yea many of your publike relickes were forged; for to what end elſe, was that decree made by *Innocent.3.decr.Greg.lib.3.tit.45.c.2. Pralati non permittant, &c.* Prelates ſhall not ſuffer thoſe which come to their Churches to worſhip, *Varijs figmentis & falſis, &c.* to be deceiued with falſe and fained relickes, as the cuſtome hath been in diuers places for luker ſake. So then euen publikelie in their Churches they vſed to deceiue the ſimple people, with forged relickes.

See then, I pray you, what diueliſh idolatrie was this, to cauſe the people to worſhip counters, Drakes blood, Harts ſinewes, and other ſuch baſe creatures, in ſtead of relickes: which, though they were ſuch indeede, ought not to be worſhipped.

Gelaſius decret. de apocryphis, thus writeth of this matter: *Scriptura de inuentione crucis dominicæ, & aliæ de inuentione capitis Iohannis Baptiſtæ, nouellæ quædam relationes ſunt, & nonnulli eas catholici legunt: ſed cum hæc ad catholicorum manus veniunt, beati Pauli præcedat ſententia, Omnia probate, quod bonum eſt tenete:* The writings of the inuention of the Lords Croſſe, and of *Iohn Baptiſts* head, are new reports, and ſome Catholikes reade them: but when ſuch writings come to Catholikes hands, let them remember S. *Pauls* ſaying, *Trie all things, and keepe the beſt.* Here we haue the iudgement of a Biſhop of Rome, who thinketh that many relickes, that are ſayd to haue been found, and ſo kept, and preſerued, are but meere forgeries, and foyſted in by heretikes.

THE FOVRTH PART, CONCERNING VISIONS and miracles done at the Tombes and relickes of Martyrs.

The Papiſts.

38.Error. FIrſt, they almoſt make it an ordinarie thing in their Church to worke miracles: *Bellarmine* ſaith, that it is a ſufficient note of the Church, the glorie or power of miracles, *De eccleſ.lib.4.cap.14.* Chriſt ſaith, that they that doe beleeue in him, ſhall doe greater workes then he. No maruaile then, if the image of our Lady (ſay they) and the like, worke miracles, as *Peters* ſhadowe did, and that they ſeeme greater then Chriſts: for hee promiſeth that his Saints ſhall worke greater miracles then himſelfe, *Rhemiſt. annot. Iohn.* 14. *ſect.* 3. They alſo call vpon vs to confirme our doctrine by miracles, becauſe wee preach newly and extraordinarilie, *Rhemiſt.* 2. *Corint.* 12. *ſect.* 5.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. First, that place alleadged prooueth not ſuch a generalitie and perpetuitie of working miracles: for then euery one that beleeueth ſhould doe greater workes then Chriſt: for our Sauiour ſpeaketh generally, He that beleeueth. *Auguſtine* doth farre otherwiſe, and in a better ſenſe expound this place: He that beleeueth in me ſhall doe the ſame workes that I doe: *Quæ opera, niſi vt ex impio iuſtus fiat? prius ego facio, deinde & ipſe faciet, quia facio, vt ipſe faciat:* What works, ſaith he, but that he which beleeueth, of a wicked man ſhall be made righteous? which worke firſt I doe (ſaith Chriſt,) then he himſelfe doth it, becauſe I make him to doe it. *Quod vtique in illo, ſed non ſine illo Chriſtus operatur:* Mans conuerſion is wrought by Chriſt in man, and not altogether without man, becauſe Chriſt working in vs, doth enable vs by his grace to worke out our ſaluation, Philipp. 2. 12. yet is it not our ſelues that worke, but the grace of God in vs. Then it followeth, he ſhall doe greater workes then theſe: *Prorſus maius hoc eſſe dixerim, quam eſt cœlum & terra:* The redemption and conuerſion of men, is a greater worke then the heauens or the earth, *Tract. in Iohan.* 72. *Auguſtine* therefore doth properly vnderſtand this place, not of outward miracles, but of the wonderfull conuerſion of the heart, which wee are ſaid to worke, becauſe Chriſt worketh it in vs.

Origen alſo long before *Auguſtine* thus expounded this place, *Hom.* 7. *in Leuit. Chriſtus dicit, qui credit in me, &c.* Chriſt ſaith, he that beleeueth in me, ſhal doe greater things then theſe: *Verè enim maius mihi videtur, &c.* For it ſeemeth indeede a greater thing vnto me, that man being in the fleſh, being armed onely with the faith and word of Chriſt, doth ouercome legions of deuils, though it bee Chriſt that ouercommeth in vs, yet he ſaith it is more, that he ouercommeth by vs, then by himſelfe.

2 As wee denie not but that there may in theſe daies bee miracles wrought: and all ſuch miracles as ſerue to confirme the doctrine deliuered in Scriptures, we doe not refuſe, though wee bee not bound to beleeue any mans report of ſuch miracles, but onely the writings of the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts: ſo we affirme that there is no ſuch neceſſitie of miracles, as in times paſt; neither that we are to be preſſed to ſhew miracles, ſeeing wee profeſſe the ancient Apoſtolike faith, which hath been alreadie confirmed by the miraculous workes of our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Wherefore wee condemne the fabulous hiſtories and reports of popiſh Saints, whoſe liues are fuller of miracles, if we will beleeue them, then were the liues of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Nay, there is nothing almoſt done in their ſeruice but by a miracle: Chriſts bodie preſent in the Maſſe by a miracle: Diuels chaſed away with holy water: Saints know their thoughts, heare their prayers, are preſent here and there, their bodies many yeeres kept from corruption, and all by miracles. I conclude this point with *Auguſtine: Aut non ſunt vera, quæ dicuntur; aut ſi hæreticorum aliqua mira facta ſunt, magis cauere debemus:* Either they are not true miracles, which they boaſt of: or if they be, we muſt beware and take heede of them the more.

Thus ſpeaketh alſo *Thomas Bilney* holy Martyr: The miracles done at Walſingham, Cantuburie, Ipſwich, were done by the diuell, thorough the ſufferance of God, *Fox* pag. 1001.

Heare alſo what a whole Councel ſaith: *Colonienſ. part.* 6. *c.* 23: *Miracula ne impudentius iactentur, niſi quæ ſcripturis prodita, aut non à leuibus ſcriptorib. ſumma cum hiſtoriæ fide tradita ſunt:* Let not miracles be too much boaſted of, but ſuch as are ſet forth in Scripture, or deliuered by graue writers, with euident truth of hiſtorie. Wee are not bound therefore to beleeue all miracles, which are reported in the popiſh Church. And that there is now no ſuch neceſſitie of miracles, another Councell teſtifieth: *Interrelig. Cæſar. cap.* 19. *Inter initia fidei, interna virtus externis ſignis & miraculis demonſtrabatur, ad confirmationem rudis fidei: nunc verò adulta & corroborata fides, ſigna, quæ infirmis dantur, non requirit:* In the beginning of faith, the inward vertue or operation (of the ſpirit) was ſhewed by outward ſignes and miracles, for the confirmation of the weake faith: but now faith being come to perfit growth and eſtabliſhed, needeth not ſuch ſignes as are for the weake.

Eſpenc. 2. Tim. p. 183. To this effect alſo one of your owne writers alleageth *Gregorie, Moral. lib.* 27. *cap.* 11. *Quid eſt Paule, quod Publij patrem ægrum, &c.* What is the cauſe (ô *Paul*) that by thy prayer thou didſt heale the father of *Publius* being an Infidell, Act. 28. but thou preſcribeſt to *Timothie* for his health after the manner of Phiſitions, 1. Timoth. 5? Surely *Publius* was to be healed by a ſigne, that he might be conuerted to the faith: but *Timothie* needed no miracle, being alreadie conuerted: *Quid ergo mirum, ſi propagata fide, &c.* What marueile then, if (the faith being now propagated) miracles are not often done, when as the Apoſtles ſometime did not ſhew miracles in the faithfull? If then in *Gregorie* his time, almoſt a thouſand yeere ſince, there were ſo few miracles, how much fewer are now to be looked for?

The Papiſts.

39.Error.

SEcondly, they doe as much maintaine their fabulous viſions and apparitions, as lying miracles: as how Chriſt came in a pilgrimes weede to *Gregories* table of hoſpitalitie, *Rhemiſt. Hebr.*13.2. *Peter* beleeued the viſion and apparition ſhewed to *Cornelius*, at his report, before it was written: *Ergo*, wee ought to beleeue viſions not written in Scripture, *Rhemiſt. Act.*10. *ſect.*3.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, that of our Sauiour Chriſts appearing, is an hereticall fable, and impugneth the article of our faith concerning Chriſts aſcenſion into heauen, and there remaining till his ſecond comming. Secondly, *Peter* was not bound to beleeue *Cornelius* viſion, till he had been by viſion admoniſhed himſelfe: the Apoſtles which were then endued with the gift of diſcerning ſpirits, could better iudge of true viſions, then any man now can: yet wee refuſe not to giue credit to viſions, when they are as credibly reported vnto vs, as this was to *Peter:* but no viſion, nor miracle, nor Angell from heauen ſhall draw vs away from the doctrine of the Scriptures to beleeue errors. Laſtly, we deny not, but that they may haue viſions; but ſuch, as one *Vincentius* bragged of, that wrote againſt *Auguſtine* concerning the originall of the ſoule: He ſaid, that another *Vincentius* who had been a captaine or chiefe Donatiſt, appeared vnto him in viſion, and badde him write thoſe books: to whom *Auguſtine* thus anſwereth; *Ille qui ſe transfigurat in angelum lucis, in eo tibi eſt transfiguratus, quem tu fuiſſe veluti angelum lucis credidiſti:* He that can transfigure himſelfe into an angell of light, did transfigure himſelfe into the ſhape of that man, whom thou eſteemedſt as an angell of light. Such apparitions they may haue, and yet no great cauſe to boaſt of them.

Lib.3.cap.2. de animæ origine.

Such was that viſion that one *Polychronius* a Monothelite heretike boaſted of in the 6. generall Councell at Conſtantinople, action 15. how that a man appeared vnto him in white, who tolde him that Chriſt had but one will, and that he ſhould write the confeſſion of his faith, and lay it vpon a dead man, and he ſhould raiſe him to life againe: The Councell gaue him the hearing, and prouided a dead bodie for him to worke his skill vpon, who muttered ouer the dead a long time in vaine, and could doe nothing. Such viſions, as this was, popiſh prieſts haue had many: And that we ſlaunder them not, one of their late Popes *Paulus* 3. ſhall ſpeake for vs: *Qui legendas Georgy & Chriſtophori tolli precepit de breuiario:* Who commaunded that the legends of *George* and *Chriſtopher* ſhould be taken out of the Breuiarie. Thus *Paulus Vergerius* proteſted in the late Tridentine Chapter, and therefore was excluded. Of ſuch old wiues fables thus was it decreed, *Concil. Colonienſ. part.*6.*cap.*10. *Ineptas & aniles fabulas deuitabit* (i. *concionator*) *qualia nuper erant quæ ex nullis probatis authoribus, ſed potius ſuſpectiſſim. hominum commentis adferebantur exempla:* The preacher muſt take heede of fooliſh old wiues fables, ſuch as of late were reported not out of any approued authors, but from the ſuſpicious deuices of men.

Such is that tale and Monkiſh fable of *Pilate*, that he ſhould bee ſeene euery yeere in a Iudges habite in a certaine lake, called after his name, vnder a hill not farre from *Lucerna* in *Heluetia*; and that he, which chaunceth to ſee him, liueth not a yeere after. This is held to be a ridiculous fable by one of their owne writers, *Eſpenc. in* 1. *Timoth. p.*159. *d.* Of the like credit he holdeth that dreame reported by *Chriſtianus Maſſæus, lib.*8. *Chronic.* how that *Trophimus* going to Rome to ſee *Peter*, as he ſailed, buried his wife, dying in trauell, in a Rock, with the childe at her breaſts, and after two yeeres comming that way againe, found his wife aliue, and the little childe playing at her breaſt, who were preſerued by *Mary Magdalen, Eſpenc.*2. *Timoth. p.*183. *a.* Wee ſee the Papiſts themſelues are aſhamed of theſe fables. The ſame author doubteth not to ſay of the ſecond Nicene, where the worſhip of Images was decreed; That the fathers there, *Dæmonum ſpectris, & muliebribus ſomnijs parum verecundè abutebantur*, did without ſhame abuſe the viſions of diuels, and womens dreames, to eſtabliſh their opinion.

Let vs heare alſo the complaint of *Abbas Cluniacenſ.* more then 400. yeeres ſince, who (ſaith he) was aſhamed, when he did ſing in the Church the ſong of S. *Benet, Mendacia ad minus* 24. *Canticum id citato percurrens animo reperi:* wherein he found 24. lyes at the leaſt, running ouer the ſong haſtelie in his minde, *lib.*5. *epiſt.*29. Wherefore according to the rule of the Ciuill law, *Cod. lib.*3. *tit.*43. *leg.*6. *Alexander. Monumentorum inſcriptiones non faciunt fidem:* The ſuperſcriptions of monuments are not to bee beleeued. No more are the fabulous viſions and miracles, which are reported to haue been ſeene, and done at Tombes, to be receiued.

The Papiſts.

40.Error.

THirdly, they ſay, that the power of working myracles was in the Apoſtles actually, and that they properly did giue health, and other things by their miraculous gift, though they receiued the force and vertue of God. And therefore they finde fault with vs, becauſe wee giue this note, A miracle done by Chriſt by the hands of the Apoſtles.

Firſt, *Peter* ſaith, *That which we haue, giue we to thee*, Act.3.6. Secondly, we muſt not thinke, that they had no more power, then as dead inſtruments in the workmans hand, *Rhem. in hunc locum.*

The Proteſtants.

WE both agree, that the power of working miracles was giuen of God: but herein we differ, they thinke that this power was inherent in the Apoſtles, and that hauing once receiued this power of God, they could execute it themſelues: like as a man hauing the power of ſenſe and mouing by nature, moueth and ſeeth when he liſt himſelfe. But we hold againſt the Pelagians, *Gratiam Dei ad ſingulos actus dari,* that the grace of God is daily infuſed, and wee haue neede of it for euery act: it is not ſufficient once generally to haue receiued it. So then the Apoſtles were but the inſtruments of Chriſts working: he is better ſaid in them and by them to work miracles, then they in and by him. Neither doth it follow, that they are dead inſtruments: for the horſe (I trow) that draweth in the plough is no dead inſtrument: yet he hath need for euery bout and turning to haue a driuer and a guide: truly we are as vnfit for the Lords yoke by nature, as the horſe is for the plough: and therefore haue neede of the Lords continuall direction. The Apoſtles then gaue that they had, not as owners, but as the Lords agents and inſtruments of his working.

*Argum.*1. Act.3.16. *His name hath made this man ſound: and the faith which is by him hath giuen to him this diſpoſition of his whole bodie:* from hence we reaſon thus. That which depended vpon the faith of the receiuer, was not actually inherent in the power of the giuer; but this miraculous worke of healing was by the faith of him that was healed: *Ergo,* it was not actually in the Apoſtles that gaue this gift. Againe, the name of Chriſt did make him ſound: *Ergo,* properly the Apoſtles gaue not health, but onely as Miniſters, the Name of Chriſt working in, and by them: And Saint *Peter* himſelfe denieth, that they did this miracle by their owne power or godlineſſe, Act.3.12. wherefore the Apoſtles properly, (as they ſpeake) that is, by a power inherent or reſiant in them, did not worke miracles.

*Argum.*2. If the Apoſtles had the power of working miracles alwayes actually in themſelues, then might they exerciſe the ſame facultie, when they would: but ſo could they not; for S. *Paul,* when *Epaphroditus* was ſicke, depended by prayer vpon Gods mercie for his health, Philip.2.27. whom no doubt he would haue cured by miracle, as well as the father of *Publius,* Act.28.8. if this power had bene alwayes preſent with the Apoſtle: So then, as the Apoſtles had not knowledge and foreſight of all things to come; as S. *Paul* truſted to haue been deliuered being a priſoner at Rome; as it may appeare, Hebr.13.13. yet did it not ſo fall out; but ſuch things onely, as God did ſee profitable for his Church to be knowne, were reuealed: in like manner, neither could the Apoſtles worke miracles as they were diſpoſed themſelues at all times, but when it pleaſed God thereto to enable them. I will not refuſe herein the teſtimonie of one of their owne, *Et alia pleraq; Apoſtolos pro ſua diſcipulorumq; ſalute vtiliter nequiuiſſe conſpicimus:* We ſee that the Apoſtles could not do many other things, for their owne, and their diſciples health. *Eſpenc.comment.in* 2. *Timoth.p.*183.*c.*

Tractat in Iohan.71. *Auguſtine* thus writheth: *Maiora quam ipſe fecit, dicit eos facturos, ſed in eis vel per eos ſe faciente:* He ſaith, they ſhall doe greater workes then he: that is, himſelfe working in them or by them: *Ergo,* Chriſt wrought miracles by the hands of the Apoſtles, they were his liuely inſtruments in working.

The Papiſts.

41. Error. FOurthly, they doe greatly triumph and reioyce for the miracles which are wrought by the vertue of holy reliques. Firſt, the woman was healed by touching the hemme of Chriſts garment: *Ergo,* vertue in holy reliques, *Rhemiſt.* Secondly, napkins that had touched Saint *Pauls* body wrought miracles, by the vertue giuen vnto them: *Ergo,* reliques may, *Act.*19.*verſ.*12. *Rhemiſt.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. TO the firſt: firſt, the vertue was not in the hemme of Chriſts garment, but he ſaith, it proceeded from himſelfe, Luk.8.46. Secondly, it was her faith that healed her, for many that thronged Chriſt, touched his garments, but receiued no benefite: neither was there any vertue in his garments when the ſouldiers parted them amongſt them. Thirdly, if it pleaſed the Lord to vſe ſome externall ſignes, as of oyle, clay, ſpittle, in healing of men; yet haue we no warrant, that he will doe the like by touching of relickes.

To the ſecond: firſt, the napkins brought from *Paul* had no ſuch vertue in them: for the text is plaine, that they were wrought by the hands of *Paul.* Secondly, not all that touched them were preſently healed. Thirdly, they were but as ſignes and tokens to the diſeaſed, that the Apoſtle (when it pleaſed God) might diſpenſe miracles, euen when he was abſent. Laſtly, if they haue to this day miracles wrought by the relickes and monuments of Saints; I feare me, nay, I dare ſay, they are no better then the Donatiſts miracles were, either *figmenta mendacium hominum, vel portenta fallacium ſpirituum:* either the gloſings and fables of lying men, or the ſtrange workings of deceiuing ſpirits.

*Argum.*1. The Apoſtles by their owne power, vertue, or godlines did not worke miracles, Act.3.12.but there was greater vertue in the liuing Apoſtles,then in dead and ſenceleſſe relickes; *Ergo*,much leſſe is there any vertue in relickes.

*Argum.*2. If there bee any vertue in relickes, it would appeare as well at one time as another,becauſe the vertue ſhould be abiding in the relickes: but ſo doth it not, for *Elias* cloake at the firſt ſmiting did not part the waters, till *Eliſhah* had ſaid,where is the Lord God of *Elyah*? ſo that the vertue was not in the garment, but in the inuocation of the name of God, 2.King.2. verſ.14.

*Concil.Nicen.*2.*action.*7. *Tharaſius* the Preſident propoundeth this queſtion: *Quamobrem miracula à noſtris imaginibus non eduntur?* What is the cauſe that miracles are not wrought by our images? then he anſwereth thus: *Miracula non credentibus data ſunt, ſed illis, qui in incredulitate verſantur:* Miracles are not giuen to thoſe which beleeue, but to thoſe that beleeue not. This Councell was celebrated at the leaſt 800. yeeres agoe, about *anno.* 780. whatſoeuer images and reliques did before, wee haue here the warrant of this Councell, that they haue done none ſince.

The holy Martyrs alſo haue confirmed this truth: *Thomas Bilney:* They gild their gods, and beare them about, and men ſay,they do ſpeake; and if they ſpeake, it is the deuil that ſpeaketh in them,not God,*Fox.*pag.1010.

M.*Tindal* holy Martyr: When they crie miracles, miracles, remember that God hath made an euerlaſting teſtament in Chriſts blood, againſt which we may receiue no miracles, neither the preaching of the Angels, &c. the end of Gods miracles is good, the end of theſe miracles is euil, *Fox.*pag.1251.col.1.articul.24.

THE FIFT QVESTION, CONCERNING Images, and of the ſigne of the Croſſe.

THe firſt part concerning Images,is ſubdeuided into certaine other articles and poynts. Firſt, of the difference of Idols and Images. Secondly whether it be lawful to haue images. Thirdly, if it be lawfull to worſhip them. Fourthly, what manner of worſhip it ſhould be.

THE FIRST ARTICLE, OF THE DIFFERENCE betweene Idols and Images.

The Papiſts.

THere is great difference (ſay they) betweene an Image and an Idoll: an Image called in Greeke εἰκὼν, is the true ſimilitude of a thing: an Idoll, εἴδωλον, in Greeke, tranſlated *ſimulachrum*, doth repreſent that which is not, as were the Idols of *Venus*, *Minerua*, women Goddeſſes, which was a meere deuiſed thing. Images they confeſſe they haue, but no Idols, *Bellarm.cap.*5. 42.Error.

Firſt, S.*Paul* ſaith, 1.Cor.10, That an Idol is nothing: that is, doth repreſent a thing that is not: as ſuch were their heatheniſh Idols, *Bellar.*

Anſw. Firſt, the place is not ſo vnderſtood: for the Apoſtle ſaith, That things offered to Idols alſo are nothing, which were not made to repreſent any thing: But his meaning is this, that of themſelues they are nothing to breede offence, neither were it needfull to ſhunne eating of Idol ſacrifices, or to abhorre an Idol, but that they are abuſed and turned to the ſeruice of diuels, as it followeth in the next verſe. Therefore an Idol is not ſaid to be nothing, becauſe it repreſenteth a thing imagined, but that of it ſelfe, being but wood, or ſtone, or ſuch like, it were not offenſiue, if it were not abuſed to Idolatrie. Secondly, all the portraictures of the Heathen were not Idols in this ſenſe: for *Iupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Hercules*, whoſe Images they had, were men ſometime liuing. Thirdly, you haue images repreſenting nothing: as the pictures of Angels, of God the father, of the holy Ghoſt, which haue no ſhape nor likenes. Againe, you haue alſo your imagined Saints, as [o] S.*George*, S.*Chriſtopher*, for there were neuer any ſuch: and therefore you haue Idols as well as the Heathen.

[o] Bellar.lib.1. de ſanctor.beatit.cap.20.

Bellarmine proueth this diſtinction out of *Orig.hom.*8.*in Exod.* who there affirmeth that then a man maketh a ſimilitude or likeneſſe, when he portraiteth in mettall, ſtone or wood the faſhion of any creature? but an idoll is ſome ſtrange ſhape that is not, as when to a mans bodie is ioyned the head of a dogge, &c. or a man is pictured with two faces, &c. to this purpoſe *Origen.*

Anſw. 1. This authoritie maketh nothing for them: firſt, if an idoll be nothing els, but a ſtrange and monſtrous ſhape, then had the Gentiles no idols, for they worſhipped the reſemblances and pictures of men. Secondly, *Origen* in the ſame place ſheweth it to be vnlawfull to worſhip any ſimilitude or likeneſſe as well as any idoll; writing vpon the ſecond Commandement: Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any idoll, or the ſimilitude or likeneſſe, &c. Thirdly, this was but *Origens* conceit; for the fathers did confound theſe words, indifferently taking the one for the other: S.

Ambroſe calleth idols Images: *Simulachrum verè nihil eſt, quia imago videtur rei mortuæ:* A ſimulachre or an idol is nothing, being the image of a dead thing, *in* 1.*Cor.*10. and S. *Hierome* alſo, *Sicubi fiat imago, dæmones dabant reſponſa:* If an Image were made, the diuels gaue anſwere: *tradit. in* 2.*Paraleip.c.*11.

The Proteſtants.

THough the name Idol haue an odious ſignification in the Engliſh tongue, yet neither the Greeke εἴδωλον, nor the Latine *ſimulachrum*, doe ſound ſo euill vnto the eares: and in many places of the Scripture we may indifferently reade, idoll or image: for all worſhipping of Images is idolatrie. If we will diſtinguiſh them, they are thus rather to be ſeuered: An Idol is that image, which is ſet vp with an intent to be worſhipped: an Image is a generall name as well to vnlawful pictures ſet vp for Idolatrie, as lawfull, which haue but a ciuill vſe. But that the Papiſts Idols are Images, thus we proue it.

*Argum.*1. The Scripture calleth the Gentiles Idols, images, Rom.1,23. there the word εἰκὼν is vſed: *Ergo*, idol and Image are taken for one: they haue images ſet vp for religious or rather irreligious vſes, *Ergo*, Idols.

*Argum.*2. Apocal.9.20. There is mention made of Idols of gold, ſiluer, braſſe, which cannot be vnderſtood of the idols of the Gentiles, which were aboliſhed long agoe: and that prophecie is to be vnderſtood of men liuing after the opening of the ſeuenth ſeale, which is toward the end of the world. Wherefore it muſt needes be vnderſtood of the Papiſts, who are the onely knowne people in the world, that worſhip images: *Ergo*, they haue Idols.

Auguſtine taketh *imago*, and *ſimulachrum*, which is the Latine for the Greeke εἴδωλον, for all one: for the loue of the dead (ſaith he) images were firſt made, whereof the vſe of ſimulachers or Idols did ariſe. Againe, *Deus non ſedere in cœlis putandus eſt veluti flexis poplitibus: tale enim ſimulachrum Deo nefas eſt Chriſtiano in templo collocare:* God is not to be imagined to ſitte in heauen as with bowed knees: ſuch a ſimulachre or idol it is not lawfull to ſette vp in the temple of Chriſtians: *de fide & ſymbolo, cap.*7. The picture then of God, which the papiſts cal an image, *Auguſtine* termeth an Idol, for *ſimulachrum*, by their owne confeſſion, ſignifieth the ſame thing which *Idolum* doth. *Bellarm.cap.*5.

Likewiſe in the Ciuill law, from whence we may beſt deriue the different vſe of words, an Image and a *ſimulachrum* or Idoll, is all one: as *Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*27.*leg.*2. *Theodoſius*; *Siquando noſtræ ſtatuæ, vel imagines eriguntur:* If our images or pictures be erected, &c. and *tit.*28.*leg.*1. the ſame are called *Imperatoria ſimulachra*, the Emperors idols: for *Bellarmine* graunteth, that euery where in the olde Teſtament, where the Latine text readeth, *Simulachrum*, the Greeke hath the word εἴδωλον.

And yet more plainely it appeareth, that *imago*, and *idolum*, are all one in ſignification: for in the *Nicen.*2. generall Councell *action.*6.*tom.*6. *Gregorius* Biſhop thus ſpeaketh, *Nemo ſub prætextu exterminationis imaginum, manus in ea, quæ Deo ſacrata ſunt, inyciat, quia poſſunt transferri in alios vſus huiuſmodi idola:* Let no man vnder the colour of pulling downe images, lay his hands vpon things conſecrate to God, for ſuch idols may be tranſlated to other vſes: Here Images and Idols are taken for all one.

Caietanus a learned Papiſt taketh an Image and an Idol to be all one: in 20.*cap.*Exod.

Thomas Hawkes holy Martyr hath ſealed this poynt: That there is no difference betweene an Idoll and an Image: when *Boner* had thus diſtinguiſhed, If it be a falſe God, and an Image made of him, that is an Idol; but if an image be made of God himſelfe, it is no Idol, but an Image, becauſe he is a true God. The Martyr anſwereth: Lay your Image of your true God and falſe God together, you ſhall ſee the difference: haue not your Images feete, and goe not, eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not, hands and feele not, mouthes and ſpeake not, euen ſo haue your Idols? *Fox. pag.*1589.*col.*2.

THE SECOND ARTICLE, WHETHER IT BE lawfull to haue the Images of the Trinitie, of Chriſt, or of the Angels.

The Papiſts.

43.Error. THat Images may haue a good ciuill vſe, as for decencie or comelines of ſome worke, or for vtilitie of ſtorie, it is of neither part denied: but they further affirme, that it is lawfull to expreſſe the Trinitie by pictures; as God like an olde man, and with the world in his hand; Chriſt, as he walked vpon the earth; the holy Ghoſt in the likenes of a doue; the Angels with wings: and theſe pictures (they ſay) are very meete and profitable to be ſet vp in Churches, *Rhemiſt.* Act.17. ſect.5.

*Argum.*1. To painte the Trinitie, or any one of them as they appeared viſibly, is no more inconuenient, then it was vndecent for them ſo to appeare, *Rhemiſt.ibid. et Bellarmin.cap.*8.

Anſw. You flatly controll the lawe of God, which ſimply forbiddeth any ſimilitude to bee made of things in heauen or in earth to worſhip God by. And Deut.4.15. God expreſly declareth, that he would not appeare in any viſible ſhape when he gaue the law, leaſt the people ſhould abuſe that ſhape, to make an image of God after it. Againe, the argument followeth not: for God ſawe it was conuenient ſometime by viſible ſignes to appeare vnto men, and yet ſeeth it to be inconuenient for pictures to be made to reſemble him by: for els he would neuer haue forbidden it. Laſtly, though the argument be admitted, yet ſeeing now that all ſuch viſible apparitions of the Trinitie are ceaſed, all ſuch viſible pictures likewiſe ſhould be out of vſe: And if that, when ſuch apparitions were ſeene, yet no ſuch images were tolerated, how much leſſe are they lawfull now, all ſuch viſions being long agoe determined.

*Argum.*2. The Angels were pictured in forme of Cherubims: *Ergo*, Spirits may be portraicted. *Bellarm.cap.*8.*argum.*1.

Anſw. When you can ſhew an expreſſe commandement for your images, as the Iſraelites had for them, we will yeeld, that they are lawfully made. Againe, how followeth it, God may command images to be made for the vſe of religion: *Ergo*, men may? for the law bindeth not the Lord who is the lawmaker. But the law ſaith, thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe, that is, by thine owne authoritie, any grauen image. The Cherubims alſo were not made publikely to be ſeene and gazed vpon by the people, but were ſet in the holy place: ſo are not your pictures and images which are ſet vp openly in your Churches to entiſe people to idolatrie.

*Argum.*3. The Scripture deſcribeth God by humane members, as by his hands, eyes, feete, &c. therefore he alſo may be ſo deſcribed in picture, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, if it be lawfull to ſet forth God by picture, as he is deſcribed in Scripture, then make a lyon alſo to ſignifie Chriſt, for he is called the lyon of the tribe of Iuda: picture him alſo with Doues eyes, Rauens lookes, Marble legges, &c. for ſo he is deſcribed Cantic.5. and thus will you make a monſter of Chriſt. Secondly, if an idoll be, as your ſelues define, a picture of that, which is not; then do you make an idoll of God, when you paint him with hands and feete, &c. whereas there is no ſuch thing in God. Thirdly, the Scripture ſo deſcribeth God to our capacitie, for our edifying and inſtruction, becauſe wee cannot otherwiſe vnderſtand the high thinges of God: but there is no ſuch end of pictures; which are ſo farre from edifying, that they are rather occaſion of offence: and therefore the argument concludeth not, from the phraſe of Scripture, to the phantaſie of Painters; from diuine authoritie, to humane preſumption.

The Proteſtants.

TO ſet foorth the Godhead and deuine nature by any picture or image, is impoſſible; and therefore both vnlawfull and inconuenient: but to bring them into Churches, and to make them for ſome vſe of religion, is a high ſteppe vnto groſſe ſuperſtition.

*Argum.*1. Such images of the Trinitie among the Papiſts, are made to reſemble the diuinitie and Godhead: for to what purpoſe els ſhould ſuch images be made? *Fulk. Act.*17.*ſect.*5. They picture God the father like an old man: becauſe in that forme he appeared to *Daniel*: but how know they whether it were God the Father, rather then God the Sonne, who is as old as God the Father, or then the whole Godhead? They commend alſo the image of God the Father with the world in his hand: which is a lying image, and maketh ſimple people to beleeue, that the world was made onely by God the Father, which was the worke of the whole Trinitie. Some of the Papiſts themſelues, as *Abulenſis, Durandus, Pereſius*, doe hold, that the image of God ought not to be made, and that it is rather tolerated, then allowed in the Church.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that there are two ſorts of images, or pictures: ſome do expreſſe the very ſimilitude, and nature of a thing, and ſo onely things materiall and corporall may be pictured: ſome images do not properly, but by way of Allegorie and implication expreſſe the thing deciphered, as when Angels are pictured with wings, to ſhew their celeritie, &c. there can be no Image of God made after the firſt ſort, but after the ſecond there may, &c.

Anſw. Firſt, if an image be made of a thing, which doth not expreſſe the nature thereof, as a picture aſcribing to God a bodily ſhape, which he hath not, is but a lying image: ſecondly, the properties of God being infinite, cannot any way by a picture be implyed or ſhadowed forth, as Iſay 40.12. *God hath meaſured the waters with his fiſt, and counted heauen with a ſpanne*: and verſ.17. *all nations before him are as nothing, &c.* then it followeth, *To whom then will you liken God, or what ſimilitude will you ſet vp vnto him?* the Prophet reaſoneth thus, God is omnipotent, infinite, incomprehenſible, therefore by no ſimilitude whatſoeuer can be expreſſed. Thirdly, S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Quod inuiſibile eſt, pingi non poteſt, & Deus, qui ab his omnibus alienus eſt, quomodo poteſt imaginem habere viſibilem?* That which is inuiſible, can not be pictured, and God, which is farre from any bodily ſhape, how can he haue a viſible Image? *Ambroſe in* 1. *ad Coloſſ.* He denieth, that God any way may be viſibly deſcribed.

As for the images of Chriſt in the forme of a Lambe, and the holy Ghoſt in ſhape of a Doue, *Bartholomaus Caranza,* a Papiſt ſheweth that they were forbidden in the 6.generall Synode, Canon.82.

Bellarmine here anſwereth, that the Councell condemneth not the Image of Chriſt in forme of a Lambe, but preferreth onely the other picture of Chriſt, as a man.

Contra. Firſt, the words of the Canon are theſe, *Picturam illius agni Chriſti,&c. in poſterum pro veteri agno erigendam ſancimus:* We decree,that the picture of Chriſt, as he is man, be from henceforth erected in ſtead of the picture of the Lambe. If the one picture muſt giue place to the other, what is that els, but to abrogate the one, and eſtabliſh the other? Secondly, *Caranza* the abridger of the Councels ſo expoundeth the Canon, though it pleaſe *Bellarmine* to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him.

Concerning the picture of Chriſt as he was man, the Papiſts themſelues confeſſe,and we denie not, but it may better be made then the image of the Trinitie;yet can there not be any true image of Chriſt, as he was in forme of man: for the image doth onely expreſſe his bodily ſhape, not as he was God in the forme of man: and ſo ſuch a picture were dangerous to the weake and ignorant, being a lying image,ſhewing Chriſt onely as man, who was both God and man. And againe, the image, which is made of his bodily ſhape, is no more the image of Chriſt, then of any other man, *Fulk. Act.* 17.*ſect.*5.

But ſome will ſay, if Chriſts image cannot conueniently be made, becauſe it expreſſeth not his Godhead; by the ſame reaſon we cannot make a picture of a man, becauſe his ſoule being inuiſible cannot be painted.

Anſw. The reaſon is not alike: for he that pictureth a man liuing, ſetteth forth the life, beautie and motion of the bodie; by which effects, by a conſequent, the ſoule is reſembled, which cauſeth and worketh theſe things in the bodie:but in the bodily ſhape of Chriſt, there cãnot be made to appeare any ſuch notorious ſignes of his Godhead.

2. Though it be not ſimplie vnlawfull to expreſſe in painting the viſible ſhapes that were ſhewed in viſion to the Prophets, if it be onely for vſe and ſignification of the hiſtorie, or if there bee any other commendable vſe: yet to make thoſe ſhapes for any vſe of religion, or ſeruice of God, is abominable idolatrie, *Fulk. ibid. Epiphanius* ſaw in a Church at Anablatha, an image painted in a table, as it had been of Chriſt or a Saint, he tooke it downe and cut it in peeces: affirming that it was contrarie to the ſcripture for any image of a man to hang in the Church of Chriſt. The Eliberine Councel,Canon 36.decreed, that no pictures ſhould be made in Churches. If no pictures, much leſſe carued images, which are a more ſtrong prouocation to idolatrie. The wordes of the Councel are theſe: *Placuit picturas in Eccleſia eſſe non debere, ne quod colitur, aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur:* Wee thinke good that no pictures ſhould be in the Church, leſt that which we adore and worſhip, ſhould be painted in the walles.

Auguſtine rendreth a reaſon, why it is dangerous to haue images in Churches, where there is yea but the leaſt feare of ſuperſtition: *Quis orat intuens ſimulachrum, qui non ſic afficitur, vt ab eo ſe exaudiri putet, nec ab eo ſibi præſtari, quod deſideret, putet?* Who (ſaith hee) prayeth beholding an image, and is not ſo affected, as though hee were heard of it, and hopeth not to haue that performed by it, which he deſireth? in Pſal. 113.

Againſt the hauing or making of the image of Chriſt, it was thus reaſoned Conſtantinople 7. generall Synode: as it is alleaged *Nicen.* 2. *action.* 6. *tom.* 3. *Ipſam imaginem Chriſti Chriſtum vocant, eſt autem Chriſtus Deus et homo; ſequitur vt imago ſit Dei & hominis, & ſic deitatem circumſcriptibilem,& cum Eutyche confuſionem inducunt,&c.* They doubt not to call the image of Chriſt, Chriſt: but Chriſt is both God and man; it followeth then,that the image of Chriſt muſt be the image of God and man;and ſo they make the deitie circumſcriptible, and with *Eutyches* confound the natures of Chriſt: or els they doe picture the bodie of Chriſt without the deitie, and ſo with *Neſtorius* they deuide the perſon of Chriſt, and ſeparate the humanitie from the diuine nature: *Vel tertiò, illi aliam perſonam conſtituentes dum carnem à deitate ſeparant, quam imagine repræſentari dicunt: quartam perſonam trinitati adijciunt:* Or thirdly, they make a newe perſon of Chriſt (while they ſeparate the fleſh from the deitie) which they ſay is repreſented in picture, and ſo adde a fourth perſon to the Trinitie. Theſe abſurdities theſe fathers did foreſee would followe in hauing the pictures of Chriſt.

Againe, they reaſon thus in the ſame place, *tom.* 3. from the words of our Sauiour Chriſt vttered in the inſtitution of the Sacrament, this is my bodie, &c. doe this in remembrance of mee: *Veluti non eſſet vlla alia ſpecies electa ab illo, aut quaſi non poſſet vllo alio typo illorum, quæ ſub cœlo ſunt, incarnatio illius repræſentari: Ecce igitur viuificantis illius corporis imaginem totam, panis ſcilicet ſubſtantiam, quam mandauit apponi:* As though hee had choſen no other ſhape, nor any other type of all things vnder heauen, whereby his incarnation could bee repreſented: Behold then all the images of that quickning bodie, the ſubſtance of bread, which he commanded to bee vſed, &c.

Chriſt then hath appointed no other way to be called to our remembrance by, but by the Sacrament.

One other reaſon I will adioyne, alleaged in the ſame place out of *Euſebius Pamphilus, tom.4.* who thus writeth to *Conſtantia* the Empreſſe, who had ſent to him for the image of Chriſt: what image (ſaith he) do you require? ſuch an one as may expreſſe the characters of his diuine nature: but I thinke you are ſufficiently inſtructed of this, that no man hath thus ſeen the ſonne but the father: *Sed ſerui requiris formæ imaginem:* But you require the image of the forme of a ſeruant, which he tooke; but vnderſtand you that it was ioyned to the glorie of his Godhead: in ſo much that his Apoſtles could not behold the glorie of his fleſh in the Mount: much more glorious is it now hauing put off mortalitie: *Quis igitur gloriæ & dignitatis ſplendores lucentes & fulgurantes effigiare mortuis & inanimatis coloribus & vmbratili pictura poſſet?* Thoſe ſhining and brightſome beames of ſo great glorie, who is able with dead and liueleſſe colours, and a ſhadowed picture to expreſſe?

See alſo the determination of the Ciuill law, *Cod.lib.8.tit.12.leg.20.Theodoſ.Valentinian.Baſilicam alicuius imaginis,&c.* We forbid the Church to be obſcured with the Images or painted tables of any, &c. This law forbiddeth pictures to be ſet vp in Churches.

One alſo of their owne writers is bold to write thus of *Nicephorus*, for reporting of S. *Luke* to haue beene a Painter, and to be the firſt that made the Images of Chriſt and of *Marie*, and of the Apoſtles: *In hiſtoria ſi non mendax, certè valdè audax*: He is very bold in his hiſtorie, if not a lyar: *Eſpenc.comment.in 2.Timoth.p.173.*

This truth the holy Martyrs haue ſealed: *Nicholas Shetterden* Martyr: The lawe forbiddeth to make any manner likenes, or image of God, Deuter.4.17. you ſawe no ſhape, &c. To whome Wincheſter obiected thus: Yet by your leaue, we may make an image of ſo much as was ſeene, as of Chriſt, of the holy Ghoſt, and the father appeared to *Daniel* like an old man. The Martyr anſwereth: This is no proofe that we may make images contrarie to the commandement, for the holy Ghoſt appeared like a Doue, yet was he not like in ſhape but in certaine qualities, &c. *Fox.* pag.1675.col.2.

THE THIRD ARTICLE, WHETHER THE images of Saints are to be worſhipped.

The Papiſts.

THat images are to be reuerenced and worſhipped, ſo it be not with the diuine honour due vnto God, it was concluded in the late Tridentine chapter, ſeſſ.25. confeſſed by our *Rhemiſts*, 44. Error.
Act.17.ſect.5. maintained by the Ieſuites, *Bellarm.cap.12.*

*Argum.*1. The braſen Serpent was worſhipped of the people, ſeeing it was ſet vp in a high place, and gaue health to thoſe that looked vpon it: *Ergo*, images may be worſhipped, *Bellarm.* The people alſo fell downe before the Arke and Tabernacle, and worſhipped God: *Ergo*, lawfull, praying, to fall downe before a Crucifixe, *Rhemiſt.annot.Heb.*11.21.

Anſw. Firſt, it was not the Serpent that healed them, but Chriſt who was thereby prefigured, Ioh.3.14. The Serpent was lift vp, that the people might round about the better behold it, and it ſheweth forth alſo the lifting vp of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe. It was not ſet vp to be worſhipped, neither was it worſhipped till the people fell into ſuperſtitiō, & offered incenſe to it, and therfore becauſe the people abuſed that monument, *Hezekiah* brake it down, 2.King.18. Secondly, it is not al one to fal down before, in, or at the Arke & Tabernacle, and to worſhip God, as to worſhip the Arke or Tabernacle. You doe not only fall downe before a Crucifixe, but worſhip it. Neither is it as lawfull to worſhip before a Crucifixe, as it was before the Tabernacle: for the one was commanded of God, the other is the ſuperſtitious deuiſe of men.

*Argum.*2. As the image of *Nabuchadnezzar* was for his honor, ſo the image of Chriſt is for his, *Rhemiſt.Reuel.*13.14.

Anſw. A good ſimilitude, if Chriſt himſelfe had not forbidden ſo to be honoured & worſhipped.

*Argum.*3. Man is honoured becauſe he is the image of God: *Ergo*, images of Saints are to be reuerenced, becauſe they are their images. *Bellarm.cap.12.*

Anſw. Firſt, man is a liuely image of Gods owne making, images of Saints are the workes of men. Secondly, no image can ſo liuely repreſent a Saint, being but a dead thing, as man who hath a liuing ſoule is the image of God. Thirdly, we do reuerence men with ciuill honour, not with religious worſhip, as they doe their images. Fourthly, though Gods image in man were to be worſhipped: yet it would not followe, that Saints images ſhould: for all diuine worſhip belongeth onely to God: but the Saints themſelues, though they were aliue, are not to be worſhipped, much leſſe their Images.

Argum. 4. The chiefe *Iconomachi*, that is, enemies or oppugners of Idols, ſay they, are the Iewes, Samaritanes, Mahometanes: yea the diuell himſelfe loueth no images, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt,it followeth not,the Iewes and Turkes abhorre images, and therefore Chriſtians ought to loue them : for the heathen hated many vices, which are alſo to be abhorred of Chriſtians. Secondly,they were not the firſt *Iconomachi*,Image haters : for *Moſes* was an *Iconomach*,when he cauſed the golden Calfe to be burnt to powder : *Hezekiah* an *Iconomach*, that brake downe the braſen Serpent : *Ioſiah* an *Iconomach*, that cauſed the Idols to be deſtroyed, 2.King.23. Nay, God himſelfe was the firſt *Iconomach*, that forbiddeth Images and Idols to be made in the morall lawe. Thirdly, I pray you where did the Ieſuite learne, that the diuell hateth an image? I am ſure the Scripture ſpeaketh contrarie, that what was offered to Idols was ſacrificed to diuels, 1. Cor.10.20.

The Proteſtants.

THat Images or Idols are not at all to be reuerenced or worſhipped,or to be made, or ſet vp in Churches, or in any other place for any religious, or rather irreligious vſe : thus out of the holy ſcriptures we make it plaine.

Argum.1. The making of any ſimilitude or likenes, to fall downe before it and worſhip it, is flatly forbidden in the ſecond commandement,Exod,20. *Ergo*,they are not to be worſhipped. So likewiſe,Deut.4.15.Iſai.40.18. and in many other places in the old Teſtament, worſhipping of Images,which is idolatrie, manifeſtly forbidden in the new teſtament, Rom.1.23.1.Cor.10.20. 1.Ioh.5.21 *Ergo*,not lawfull.

Anſ. One *Catharinus* a great Papiſt ſaith,that the commaundement in the law againſt Images, was but temporall,and to continue but till the eſtabliſhing of the new Teſtament. But *Bellarmine* vtterly miſliketh this anſwere,being moſt abſurd,for the morall law is perpetuall, *De imaginib.ſanct.lib.*2.*cap*.7. They doe giue therefore a more deliberate anſwere : that the Scriptures doe reproue and condemne the idolatrie of the Heathen,which worſhipped their Images as Gods.But ſo doe not they : they make no account of them,as they affirme,for their matter or forme; but for that relation they haue to the things whoſe images they are, *Rhemiſt.Philipp.*2.*ſect*.2.

Anſ. Firſt, the Iewes alſo in their golden Calfe had a relation to that God that brought them out of the land of Egypt,Exod.32.4.5.The like relation had *Ieroboam* in ſetting vp of his Calues, 1.King.12.28.for they were not ſo mad as to think that a Calfe brought them out of Egypt.And it appeareth yet more plainly: for Exod.32.5. *Aaron* ſaith,To morow ſhall be the Lords holie day: the word is *Iehouah*, which name the Iewes only aſcribed vnto God. So Iudg.17.3. *Micah* his mother ſaith,that ſhe had conſecrated the ſhekles of ſiluer to the Lord *Iehouah*, to make a molten Image : wherefore in their Images they had relation to God, and yet were they reproued for their idolatrie. The like relation the Gentiles alſo had in their Idols, as *Auguſtine* witneſſeth : *Non ego illum lapidem colo,&c.adoro,quem video, ſed ſeruio ei quem non video. Quis eſt ille? Numen quoddam inuiſibile quod præſidet illi ſimulachro*: I doe not worſhip that carued ſtone or Image : I reuerence that I ſee,but I ſerue or worſhip that I ſee not: that is,a certaine diuine ſpirit,which is preſident in that image. Wherefore popiſh idolatrie can no more be excuſed by this ſhift of reference or relation, then either the Iewes or Gentiles,that pretended the ſame colour.

In Pſal.96.

2 It may be proued by the practiſe of the Popiſh Church in England, that ſimply without any ſuch relation or ſignification they commaunded Images to be worſhipped. *Thomas Man* Martyr troubled,becauſe he beleeued not in the Crucifixe. *Robert Rane* of Dorney moleſted,becauſe he ſaid,that an Image grauen with mans hand,is neither God,nor our Ladie,but made for a remembrance of Saints : nor we ought to worſhip any thing,but God and our Ladie,and not images of Saints,which are but ſtocks and ſtones. Miſtriſſe *Alice Dolie* brought into trouble,for ſaying ; We ſhould not worſhip that thing that hath eares, and eyes,and can neither ſee,nor heare. Theſe good men and women,we ſee,were perſecuted in thoſe daies for denying worſhip to Images,as they were Images. And of later daies,we ſee the popiſh ſect,euen they amongſt them,which had the name of learning,to haue fallen into the ſame idolatrous dotage of their forefathers : as it may appeare by *Boners* ſetting vp of the Rood in Pauls, at the comming in of King *Philip*: how he with his Chapleins annoynted the Rood,crept vnto it,and kiſſed it,and ſo ſet him vp in his place, all the Queere in this meane ſeaſon, ſinging *Te Deum* : Let indifferent men now iudge,whether they made not this Roode their God amight, *Fox* pag.1472. So then the popiſh practiſe agreeable to their doctrine was,(as it appeareth)that Images were ſimply to be worſhipped.

Fox.pag.815.
articl.7.
Fox.pag.850.

Fox pag.984.

Argum.2. Apocal.9.20.Worſhippers of Idols of ſiluer and gold are there condemned; which can be no other but the Papiſts : for that prophecie is to bee fulfilled in the latter times towards the end of the world,after the opening of the ſeuenth ſeale and blowing of the ſixt trumpet. But there is no knowne nation in the world , or hath not been many a day,that worſhippeth Images, but the popiſh Synagogue.

Argum.3. Man is the image of God,and yet is not worſhipped : how much leſſe ought we to worſhip carued Images,which are but made with mens hands? As *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Opera hominum non colenda,meliores ſunt artifices*: The handie workes of men are not to bee worſhipped, the workmen themſelues are better, and yet not worſhipped. What foule idolatrie is this, to preferre the workes of mens hands, before the worke and image of God, to deſpiſe men, and haue in ſo great regard dead ſtockes and ſtones?

*Argum.*4. *Ezechias* cauſed the braſen Serpent, which *Moſes* had made, to bee broken in pieces, becauſe the people worſhipped it, and burnt incenſe to it: *Ergo*, Images are not to bee worſhipped.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that the people did honour the braſen Serpent, for the matter ſake, thinking, that the benefit of health proceeded from the image it ſelfe, *cap.*17.

Contra. Firſt, they could not honour it for the matter, it being of braſſe, not of gold, or any other precious mettall. Secondly, neither did the people aſcribe the miracle to the image it ſelfe: for in the text it is added, *which Moſes had made:* they remembred very well, that it was made by *Moſes*, at Gods appointment, and ſo was indued with that vertue.

Secondly, ſaith he, they did worſhip it as God, becauſe they offered incenſe to it, which in the old law was accounted a ſacrifice, *ibid.*

Contra. See firſt how contrarie *Bellarmine* is to himſelfe: for before, *lib.*1.*de Sanctor.beatitud.c.*13. *argum.*3. he tolde vs, that the ſacrifice of beaſts onely was peculiar vnto God: but odors and incenſe might be giuen to Saints; and that therfore *Nabuchadnezzar* commaunding odors to be offered to *Daniel*, did therein no vnlawfull thing. But here he affirmeth the contrarie, that the people in offering incenſe to the braſen Serpent, did giue the honour of God vnto it. Thus well he agreeth with himſelfe.

Secondly, the people were not ſo blind, to think a Serpent to be their God, no more then their forefathers tooke the golden Calfe for God, but they worſhipped it in the remembrance of God: for they were not ſo blockiſh to thinke, that a Calfe did bring them out of Egypt. Thus doe the Papiſts worſhip their Images euen as the people did the braſen Serpent.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Noui multos eſſe ſepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores:* I know there are many which worſhip ſepulchres & pictures. Of theſe he warneth men to take heed, *Noli conſectari turbas imperitorum:* Follow not ſuch vnlearned & vnskilfull multitudes. *Bellarm.* anſwereth, that *Auguſtine* wrote thus whē he was a yong man, and not fully conuerted, *cap.*16. A ſillie ſhift: yet we wil vouchſafe an anſwere, though it be worthie of none. Let vs heare what *Auguſtine* thought when he was old, and ſtaied in iudgement: *Iam verò artifex melior eſt eis, quem te tamen puderet adorare:* In Pſal.113.
melior & tu, quamuis ea non feceris, quoniam, quæ illa non poſſunt facis, melior & beſtia: The workman is better then the image, who gaue faſhion and ſhape vnto it, yet thou wouldeſt bee aſhamed to worſhip him: thou thy ſelfe art better, for thou canſt doe many things which that cannot: nay a bruite beaſt that heareth and ſeeth is better. By this we may ſee what *Auguſtine* thought of worſhipping of Images.

We haue the glorious teſtimonie of the holie Martyrs: *Claudius Monerius* burned at Lyons for the truth, *anno* 1551: Nothing is to bee adored, but that which is not ſeene with the eyes, that is God alone, which is a ſpirit, &c. Images therefore are not to be ſet vp before Chriſtians, ſeeing the nature of man is ſo prone to idolatrie, euer occupied and fixed on thoſe things which lie before his eyes, rather then vpon thoſe which are not ſeene. *Fox* pag.905.col.1.

Maſter *George Wiſehart* holy Martyr, reporteth how he had conference with a Iew, as he was ſayling vpon the water of Rhene: and asking him the cauſe of his pertinacie in not receiuing the Chriſtian faith, alleaged this with other, for that Chriſtians did worſhip Images contrarie to the law of God, which will haue God onely to be honoured. *Fox* pag.1269.col.2.

Iohn Maundrel, William Coberly, Iohn Spicer put to death, for denying the worſhipping Images, pag.1893. with many other that gaue their liues in defence of this truth: The Papiſts for their idolatrie cannot ſhew ſo ſure a ſeale.

I will adde in the end the determination of the 7 generall Councell at Conſtantinople, as it is extant *Nicen.*2.*action.*6.*tom.*6. *Qui ab hoc die imaginem auſus fuerit ſibi parare aut adorare in eccleſia, aut in priuata domo conſtituere, aut clam habere; ſi clericus, deponitor; ſi laicus, anathemate percellitor:* If any man from henceforth ſhall dare to make him an Image, or to worſhip it in the Church, or ſet it vp in his houſe, or keepe it ſecretlie, if he be of the Clergie, let him bee depoſed; if a lay man, accurſed be he.

Againe, *tom.*5.*in fine: Nos qui ſacerdotij dignitate ſuccincti ſumus, ſimul exiſtentes vna voce definimus, omnem imaginem ex quacunque materia improba pictorum arte factam ab eccleſia Chriſtianorum reijciendam veluti alienam & abominabilem:* We of the prieſtly dignitie aſſembled together, doe define with one voyce, that euery Image, of what matter ſoeuer, made by the lewd skill of painters, is to be caſt out of the Church of Chriſtians, as a ſtrange and abominable thing. This was enacted *anno* 780. by the conſent of 300. Biſhops aſſembled at Conſtantinople, in the preſence of two Emperours, *Leo*, and *Conſtantinus*.

Our aduerſaries here anſwere, that this aſſemblie at Conſtantinople is not the 7. generall Synode,

node, but that which followed at Nice, called Nicen 2. which was kept vnder the Empreſſe *Irene* and her ſonne *Conſtantinus*, wherein the adoration of Images was eſtabliſhed: and to this Councel *Adrian* Biſhop of Rome gaue his conſent, which the other wanted.

Anſ. The Synode of Conſtantinople is rather to be held vniuerſall, then this of Nice. Firſt, it was aſſembled by the authoritie of two Emperours, *Leo*, and *Conſtantinus*: whereas this of Nice had but the authoritie of a woman, *Irene* the Empreſſe: for her ſonne *Conſtantine*, being then in his nonage, afterward reuoked his conſent, which he gaue in his childhood. Secondly, there were 300. Biſhops preſent at Conſtantinople, a number ſufficient to make a generall Councell, and it came before the other: wherefore then ſhould it not be counted the 7. generall before the other? Thirdly, what though the Biſhop of Rome conſented not? no more did he to that act of the Chalcedon Councell, which giueth the Patriarke of Conſtantinople equall authoritie to the Biſhop of Rome; yet is it held to bee vniuerſall. Againe, it had the Patriarke of Conſtantinoples conſent, who was then *Paulus*, who is the chiefe of the Eaſt Churches, as the Pope would bee of the Weſt. Wherefore for ought yet alleaged, the 7. generall Councell ſhall be that, which was kept at Conſtantinople, not the other at Nice, and ſo is it held of the Greekes. And of this ſuperſtitious Councell one of their owne giueth this teſtimonie; That the fathers there, *Dæmonum ſpectris, & muliebribus ſomnijs parum verecundè abutebantur:* did vnſhamefaſtly abuſe the viſions of diuels, and the dreames of women, to proue the adoration of Images, *Eſpenc. in 2. Timoth. p. 151. a.*

Laſtly, againſt the adoration of Images wee haue the teſtimonie of the Ciuill law, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 14. leg. 7. Martian. Abſit à ſeculo noſtro, &c.* Farre bee it, that in our time the accuſtomed honour ſhould be giuen vnto the curſed Idols, incenſe to be burnt vnto them, &c. And becauſe it will bee here anſwered, that this law was made only againſt the Idols of the heathen: ſee further, *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 27. leg. 2. Theodoſ. Quando ſtatuæ noſtræ eriguntur, &c. adſit iudex ſine adorationis ambitioſo faſtigio:* When our Images are erected, let the Magiſtrate be preſent, without any ambitious or flattring ſhew of adoration. This law forbiddeth the Images of godly Emperours, and ſo alſo Saints, to be adored.

Their owne decrees agree hereunto: *Decret. p. 3. diſtinct. 3. cap. 27. Gregor. Sanctorum imagines quòd adorari vetuiſſes, omnino laudamus, &c.* We doe euery way commend you, for that you did forbid the images of Saints to be worſhipped. What could bee ſaid more directly againſt the adoration of Images?

THE FOVRTH ARTICLE, WHAT MANNER of worſhip is to be giuen to Images.

The Papiſts.

45. Error. BEllarmine, who is the mouth of the reſt, ſetteth downe theſe two poſitions: Firſt, that Images, though they are not properly to bee worſhipped with diuine honour, neither is it ſafe ſo to teach in the hearing of the people; yet improperly they may haue the ſame worſhip, which properly belongeth to the Saint whoſe image it is. Secondly, there is a religious worſhip properly due vnto Images, as they are conſidered in themſelues, *& non ſolum vt vicem gerunt exemplaris*, and not only as they repreſent another thing: *Bellarm. de Imaginib. Sanctor. lib. 2. cap. 21. 23.*

Argum. Bellarmine reaſoneth thus: As the image is to that, whoſe image it is, ſo the worſhip of the image is to the worſhip of the exemplar, paterne, or patrone thereof: but the image, *ſecundum quid*, after a ſort, is the thing it ſelfe, as a painted man is a man after a ſort: therefore after a ſort alſo the ſame worſhip, which is due to the thing it ſelfe, may be giuen to the image, *cap. 25.*

Anſ. Firſt, he taketh that to be graunted, which is in queſtion: for we denie, that an image hath any worſhip at all, and therefore it is in vaine to contend, what manner of worſhip it ſhould bee. Secondly, his owne example is againſt him: for as a painted or pictured man, cannot bee ſaid to be a man, but onely the image of a man; ſo neither can the worſhip of the thing bee giuen to the image of the thing. Thirdly, we graunt, as the image is to the thing, ſo is the worſhip, &c. for both ſuch images are idolatrous, and all worſhip giuen vnto them, impious.

The Proteſtants.

WE haue ſhewed before that Images ought not to bee worſhipped at all, and that all religious worſhip is due onely vnto God: wherefore to vs this queſtion is ſuperfluous, with what religious worſhip Images are to be adored; for no religious worſhip at all is due vnto them: yet let vs vouchſafe the while, to ſee the contradictions that are amongſt them, and the abſurdities that they are driuen vnto.

Argum. 1. Our Rhemiſts confeſſe, that Images are not at all to be worſhipped with any diuine honour, Act. 17. ſect. 5. But it was decreed in the idolatrous Councell of Nice the 2. and maintained by *Thomas Aquinas*, *Bonauenture*, *Caietanus*, and other Papiſts, that the image of God is to bee worſhipped with the ſame worſhip that is due vnto God. And *Bellarmine* commeth not much ſhort of them, that ſaith, *impropriè*, improperly Images may haue the ſame worſhip: as the Kings Ambaſſadour improperly is honoured as the King. I pray you how farre are theſe men from making their Images Gods? for they ſay they are the Lords deputies and Vicegerents, as the Ambaſſadour is for the King.

Againe, the Rhemiſts affirme, that the images of Chriſt are not to bee honoured or accounted of, but for the reſpect and relation they haue to our Sauiour, *Annot. Philip.*2.2. So the Tridentine Councell determineth, *Seſſ.*25. *Honos qui eis debetur, refertur ad prototypa, quæ illæ repræſentant*: The honour due vnto them is to be referred vnto thoſe things which they repreſent.

*Nicen.*2.*action.*2. *Non ipſum lignum honoratur, ſed ipſum illud, quod in ligno datur contemplandum:* The wood it ſelfe is not to bee honoured, but that which in the wood is offered to our contemplation. Likewiſe, *Action.*3. *Imagini honor exhibitus, ad ipſum prototypum referatur*: The honor exhibited to the Image, muſt be referred to the originall. *Adrian.*1.*epiſt. ad Conſtantin. Conſtat ob recordationem ſanctorum, imagines tantum pingi, venerari, coli*: It is manifeſt, that Images are worſhipped and reuerenced onely in remembrance of the Saints. But *Bellarmine* teacheth cleane contrarie, that they haue not onely a reſpectiue honour, as repreſenting other things, but properly and in themſelues conſidered are to bee worſhipped. Wee may ſee by this, how handſomely they agree together.

*Argum.*2. Let vs ſee their abſurdities. Firſt, they hold that all Images are not to bee worſhipped alike: for they make three degrees of religious worſhip; the higheſt, which they call λατρεῖα, due vnto God; the loweſt religious worſhip, which they call δουλεῖα, proper to Saints; the middle or meane worſhip, called by them ὑπερδουλεῖα, as you would ſay, Superſeruice, to bee giuen onely to the Virgin *Mary*. And as theſe three, Chriſt, the Virgin, the Saints doe differ, ſay they, in honour; ſo their Images accordingly muſt be diſtinguiſhed in their worſhip.

Thus it commeth about, that a Roode of wood repreſenting Chriſt, is more to bee honoured, then an image of our Ladie of ſiluer; and her image, if it be but of ſtone, is more to be reuerenced then a Saints image of gold: and thus the excellencie of nature, which is giuen to theſe things by creation, is inuerted.

If it ſhall be anſwered, that a baſer mettall may be preferred before a more precious kinde, not in reſpect of the matter, but of the higher repreſentation: We replie, that all ſuch repreſentations by images are idolatrous, and therefore cannot obſcure the priuiledge of nature: ſo alſo the braſen Serpent had a good ſignification, yet when it began to be abuſed to idolatrie, *Hezekiah* made no better account of it, then of a peece of braſſe: and ſo he calleth it, *Nehuſhtan.*2.*Reg.*18.4.

Againe, whereas beſide theſe three deuiſed worſhips, which are properly due (as they ſay) to the Saints, not to their images, the images alſo haue their proper worſhips: they make three other inferiour kindes of worſhip, which doe exceede in degree, as the other ſuperiour kindes doe: ſo as Chriſt hath his λατρεῖα, worſhip, his image muſt haue ὑπολατρεῖα, his vnder-worſhip, (for wee muſt coyne new names for ſtraunge deuiſes) their Ladie Marie hath her ὑπερδουλεῖα, ſuper-ſeruice: her image muſt haue an ὑπουπερδουλεῖα, and vnder-ouer-ſeruice: as the Saints haue their δουλεῖα, ſeruice; ſo their images muſt haue their ὑποδουλεῖα, an vnder-ſeruice. And thus haue wee ſixe kindes of religious worſhip; as *Bellarmine* hath coyned them, *cap.*25. and yet before the Ieſuite told vs but of two kindes of religious worſhip, and the third a ciuill; three in all, *Lib.*1.*de Sanct.beatit.cap.*12.

But the Scripture acknowledgeth one onely kinde of religious worſhip, and that due only vnto the Lord: *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue,* Matth.4.10. And the Angel forbad *Iohn* to fall downe before him, giuing a rule for all religious worſhip: Worſhip God, ſaith he, Apocal.22.9.

Now, if our aduerſaries deale plainly with vs, and tell vs in good ſooth, that they would not haue Images to bee adored with diuine worſhip: I aske them, whether to offer incenſe bee not a part of diuine worſhip? They cannot denie it: for *Hezekiah* therefore brake downe the braſen Serpent, becauſe the people burned incenſe to it, 2.King.18.4. Seeing then the Ieſuite alloweth cenſing and burning of odors before Images, *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de Sanctor.beatit.cap.*13. they giue vnto them diuine honour. The Ieſuites ſimple ſhift, that offering of incenſe was a ſacrifice then, and ſo part of diuine worſhip, but it is none now, is not worth the anſwere, *Bellarm.lib.*2.*cap.*17.

We want not the witneſſe of the Papiſts themſelues: as *Alexander.*3.*p.quæſt.*30.*art.vltim. Durand.lib.*3.*diſt.*9.*qu.*2. *Alphonſus à Caſtro, &c.* All theſe are bold to affirme, that an Image in it ſelfe is not to be worſhipped at all.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS QVESTION, concerning the ſigne of the Croſſe.

This part alſo is deuided into certaine points or articles.

1 Of the honour due to the true Croſſe of Chriſt, whereon he ſuffered.

2 Of the image of the Croſſe.
3 Of the ſigne of the Croſſe in the forehead,or made otherwiſe with the hand.
4 Of the power and efficacie of the Croſſe.

THE FIRST ARTICLE, OF THE TRVE Croſſe whereon our Sauiour ſuffered.

The Papiſts.

46.Error. THe wood of the Croſſe,both the whole and euery piece thereof (ſay they) is worthie of great worſhip and reuerence: and therefore it hath been worthily viſited in pilgrimages, honoured with feſtiuall daies,reſerued with all deuotion in times paſt, *Rhemiſt.annot.Ioh.*19.*ſect*.2.

Argum.1. It is highly ſanctified, by the touching, bearing,and oblation of the ſacred bodie of Chriſt,the Altar of that ſupreme ſacrifice,and inſtrument of our redemption: *Ergo*,to bee worſhipped, *Rhemiſt.ibid.Bellarm.lib*.2.*de Imagin.cap*.27.

Anſ. If therefore it was holie becauſe it touched the bodie of Chriſt,and was an inſtrument of his death: by the ſame reaſon, the nayles that pierced him, the ſpeare that gored his ſide,the tormenters that crucified, *Iudas* that betrayed and kiſſed him: All theſe ſhould alſo be honoured and worſhipped, that handled and touched him, and were inſtruments, occaſions,and procurers of his death.

Againe,admit it was holy,becauſe of Chriſts bodie, it was holy no otherwiſe then the ground where the Angell appeared to *Moſes*, Exod.3. and to *Ioſua* chap.5. which *Bellarmine* elſewhere confeſſeth, was holy, *ob præſentiam angeli*, becauſe of the preſence of the Angell: that is, it continued not alwaies holy,but was for that inſtant: ſo the Croſſe was holy,becauſe of the neernes and preſence of Chriſts bodie, but this holines remained not afterward.

Argum.2. The Croſſe of Chriſt was found out, ſay they, in *Conſtantines* time the great,by a ſtrange miracle: for there were three Croſſes digged vp,which had been a long time buried in the earth: the two Croſſes vpon the which the two theeues ſuffered; the third whereon our Sauiour hung: They brought them all three to a woman that then lay very ſicke, they laid the two firſt to her,and ſhe remained as ſhe was; then they applied the third,and ſhe was preſently made whole, *Bellarm.ex Ruffino: Ergo*,the Croſſe is holy and to be worſhipped.

Anſ. The inuention of the Croſſe by *Helena Conſtantines* mother, ſeemeth to bee a forged and fabulous ſtorie.

1 *Euſebius* that writeth of the life of *Conſtantine*, and the acts of *Helena*, and regiſtreth diuers matters of leſſe importance, yea he ſheweth how the Mount Caluarie, where the Heathen had built idolatrous Temples,was purged,and in that place (ſay they) the Croſſe was found; yet he maketh no mention at all of the inuention of the Croſſe: which is very like he would not haue omitted,if there had been any ſuch thing.

2 The moſt ancient author that writeth of this matter, is *Ambroſe, de obitu Theodoſij*, which oration *Eraſmus* thinketh to be forged in *Ambroſes* name.

3 There is great diſagreement amongſt writers about this ſtorie. *Ambroſe* ſaith,the Croſſe was knowne by the title that *Pilate* faſtened to it. *Sozomenus* and *Nicephorus* ſay,the letters were worne out,and it could not be diſcerned by the title. *Paulinus* ſaith,the way to diſcerne it,was reuealed to *Helena*: *Ruffinus* aſcribeth the deuice to *Macarius* Biſhop of Ieruſalem: *Paulinus* ſaith, it was knowne by raiſing vp a dead man to life: *Ruffinus*, by reſtoring a ſicke woman to health, *Fulk.annot.Iohn*.19.*ſect*.2. Thus we ſee of what ſmall credit this ſtorie is. And bee it graunted, that there might be ſome ſuch thing found: yet they muſt bring better proofe for that miraculous inuention,before we will beleeue it.

The Proteſtants.

WE are not taught any where in the word of God, to giue any religious worſhip to any creature,nor to adore ſtockes and ſtones, no nor the very Croſſe it ſelfe, whereon Chriſt was crucified,if it were now to be ſeene or had.

Argum.1. If there had belonged vnto the Church any religious care of it, the Apoſtles would (no doubt) haue procured the ſafe keeping thereof, and not haue ſuffered the Church to want it 300.yeeres: and it had been an eaſier ſute for *Ioſeph* and *Nicodemus* to begge the Croſſe, then the bodie of Ieſus.

Argum.2. If the Croſſe were to be adored,we are vncertaine which it is, and where to be had; and ſo might worſhip a common piece of wood,for the wood of the Croſſe: for there is no doubt, but this relique is forged and counterfeited as the reſt bee. *Euagrius* ſaith, the Croſſe was at Apamea: *Ruffinus*,that it was left at Ieruſalem, and that *Helena* ſent a piece of it to Conſtantinople: and in many other places there are pieces of the Croſſe to be ſeene,which if they were all laid together (as *Eraſmus* ſaith) would fill a ſhip: for why? *Paulinus* witneſſeth, that the Croſſe remaineth whole at Ieruſalem, as though it had been neuer touched, though innumerable pieces bee daily cut off from it, at the requeſt of men. But this fable that goeth vnder the name of ***Paulinus***, the Papiſts themſelues are aſhamed of.

But if the true and right Croſſe were to be had; why might it not be ſerued, if people began to abuſe it to idolatrie, as ***Hezekiah*** ſerued the braſen ſerpent? he brake it in peeces, when the people began to make an Idoll of it.

Auguſtine ſayth, ***Chriſtus ambulauit in mari, &c.*** Chriſt walked in the Sea, to ſhew vs that our way muſt be through the Sea: but thou, becauſe thou canſt not walke in the Sea, muſt ſayle in a ſhip, and be carried in a piece of wood: Beleeue in him that was crucified for thee: No man can paſſe the ſea of this world, but being borne vp with the croſſe of Chriſt.

Here ***Auguſtine*** maketh no reckoning of the wood of the Croſſe, which was eaſier to be had in his dayes, then euer ſince, but aſcribed all to faith and beleefe in Chriſt crucified.

Gelaſius decret. de Apocryphis, writeth thus, ***Scripturæ de inuentione crucis dominicæ nouellæ quadam relationes ſunt, & aliæ de inuentione capitis Iohannis Baptiſtæ, &c.*** The writings of the inuention of the Croſſe are but new deuiſed reports, and of the inuention of ***Iohn Baptiſts*** head: and therefore he giueth Chriſtians warning to take heede how they reade them. This is the iudgement of a Biſhop of Rome, as touching the finding out of the Croſſe, which he iudgeth to be a fabulous report: this decree Gratian hath remembred, *part.* 1. *diſt.* 15. *cap.* 3.

The teſtimonie of Maſter ***Hawkes*** holy Martyr is ſingular: If the Croſſe were of ſuch profite vnto vs, as you ſay, why did not Chriſts diſciples take it vp and ſet it on a pole, and carrie it in proceſſion, with (*ſalue feſta dies?*) *Chadſey*: It was taken vp. *Hawkes*: Who tooke it vp? ***Helene***, as you ſay, for ſhe ſent a piece of it to a place of Religion, where I was with the viſitors, when that houſe was ſuppreſſed, and the piece of the holy Croſſe (which they had in ſuch eſtimation) being called for, it was found to be but a piece of a lath, couered ouer with copper, and double gilt, as though it had been cleane gold: *Fox. p.* 1589. *col.* 2. Were they not well occupied now, that thus deluded the people, giuing them ſuch Croſſes to be worſhipped?

THE SECOND ARTICLE, OF THE Image of the Croſſe or Crucifixe.

The Papiſts.

THe Image of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe, whether painted, carued, or grauen, we ſee is had in great honour amongſt our aduerſaries: They kneele downe before their Crucifixe, weare it in their boſomes next to their heart, carrie it in their iourneyes, ſet it vp to bee adored in their Churches. **47. Error.**

Argum.* 1.** As adoration was done vnto God in old time, at and before the Arke and Tabernacle; ſo it may be done now, at, or before a Crucifixe, relique, image, ***Rhemiſt. annot. Heb. 11. ***ſect.*** 9.

***Anſw.* 1.** It is not all one to worſhip God at or before a thing, as to worſhip and adore the thing: the Iſraelites worſhipped God, in, at or before the Tabernacle; yet did they not worſhip the Tabernacle, as you doe the Crucifixe.

2. They might worſhip God before the Arke, becauſe they were commanded ſo to doe: but it is not lawfull to fall downe before a Crucifixe, becauſe all ſuch Images are flatly in the ſecond commandement forbidden.

Argum.* 2.** The ſigne of the Croſſe appeared to ***Conſtantine in the ayre, he cauſed the Croſſe to be carried before him as an enſigne in battaile: When the Iewes had leaue of ***Iulian*** to build the Temple, there were Croſſes ſeene euery where in their garments, and many ſuch apparitions haue there been of the Croſſe: *Ergo*, it is to be honoured and worſhipped, ***Bellarm. cap.*** 28.

Anſw.* 1.** What if ***Conſtantine cauſed the Croſſe to be carried before him, ſtamped it in his coyne, ſet vp his picture with the Croſſe in his hand? all this wee grant was done, and may bee done againe: It was but a ciuill, no religious vſe of the Croſſe: He worſhipped it not, vnleſſe you will ſay, he ſet vp his owne Image with the Croſſe in his hand to be worſhipped.

2. As for the apparitions of the Croſſe (though we thinke many of them to be forged) yet wee denie not, but that the Lord hath, and may yet ſhew, what ſignes and tokens it pleaſeth him in the heauen, and the earth: yet it followeth not, that the ſigne of the croſſe ſhould therefore be worſhipped, becauſe it was ſhewed to ***Conſtantine***, no more then other ſignes and ſtrange ſights, that many times appeare in the ayre.

For the other apparition of Croſſes in the Iewes garments, we will requite it with another, and yet you ſhall gaine nothing by it. *Anno* 1505. vnder the raigne of the Emperour ***Maximilian***, there appeared diuers tokens of bloodie Croſſes, the nayles, the ſpunge, the ſpeare, & other ſignes of Chriſts paſſion, in the garments of men and women, yea in their rockes, while they were a ſpinning, reported by ***Francis Mirandula, Carion, Functius, Melancton, Flaccius***: But the popiſh Chronologers

nologers make no mention of it, as *Chriſtianus Meſſæus*, and others of that profeſſion. As the Croſſes in the Iews garments, that went about to eſtabliſh their ceremonies againe, did ſhew, that do what they could, the Goſpell, that is, the preaching of his Croſſe, ſhould take place, as it did: ſo theſe ſignes in Germany did portend, that the Goſpell in Germany ſhould be preached, though the Papiſts ſtriued neuer ſo much againſt it. But it is a farre fetcht concluſion to inferre hereupon, that the ſigne or Image of the Croſſe is to be adored.

The Proteſtants.

THe image of the Croſſe of Chriſt, is neither to be painted, carued, grauen, for any religious vſe, nor to be adored or worſhipped: but men ſo doing do fall into the grieuous and high offence and ſinne of Idolatrie. And yet we graunt, that the ſigne of the Croſſe is not to be deſpiſed, ſcorned or contemned: and therefore it was enacted by *Theodoſ.* that whoſoeuer did picture the croſſe vpon the ground, or pauement, that is, in contempt of it, ſhould be grieuouſly puniſhed, *Cod.lib.*1. *tit.*11.*leg.*1. The like is decreed *Trul.Synod.can.*73. Likewiſe *Honorius* made a law, that the Iewes ſhould not burne the ſigne or picture of the Croſſe, *lib.*1.*tit.*12.*leg.*10. but it followeth not, the ſigne of the Croſſe muſt not be deſpiſed, or contemned, therefore it is to be worſhipped: for though the image of the Prince be not of the ſubiects to be worſhipped, yet there is no good ſubiect, that will rend it in pieces, or deface it: wherefore that the ſigne of the Croſſe is not to be adored, thus it may appeare.

*Argum.*1. The Scripture neuer calleth the Croſſe, whereon Chriſt ſuffered, the holy Croſſe, as the Papiſts doe, but rather curſed: for S. *Paul* prooueth that Chriſt became accurſed for vs, becauſe he dyed vpon the Croſſe, according to the Scripture, *Curſed is euery one that hangeth on a tree.* How then is it now honoured, which was then accurſed? And if all Croſſes are worthie honour, becauſe of Chriſt his Croſſe, then why not all nayles, and ſpeares? for with them he was pierced; all thornes alſo, becauſe of his crowne of thornes: yea, and all horſe-mangers too, becauſe he was layd in a Cribbe?

Bellarmine anſwereth, that we worſhip al Croſſes, becauſe they are all Images of Chriſts Croſſe: ſo are not all ſpeares, and thornes, &c. *cap.*30.

Contra. As there were other ſpeares and thornes, &c. then thoſe wherewith Chriſt was crucified; ſo were there alſo other croſſes, then that, vpon the which he ſuffered: for S. *Peter* and S. *Andrew* were crucified, and tormented vpon the Croſſe: and S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Aliæ cruces nihil mihi proſunt, ſola crux Chriſti mihi vtilis eſt, &c.* Other croſſes do nothing profit mee, onely Chriſts Croſſe is profitable vnto me, *lib.6.in Luc.* Therefore all croſſes are not Images of Chriſts Croſſe: ſo then he hath anſwered iuſt nothing.

*Argum.*2. They are vncertaine of what faſhion the Croſſe of Chriſt was, whether like the Greeke letter, ϒ. or this letter, x. or the Greeke TAV. T. or of this faſhion, †. or of this, ✠. which is the vſuall forme of their Croſſes: how then dare they worſhip that which they know not, and are vncertaine of?

In Pſal.118. Contro.26. 3 All thoſe reaſons which wee brought before againſt the worſhipping of Images, *part.*1.*huius quæſt.articul.*3. may be vrged againſt the adoration of Crucifixes.

Auguſtine thus writeth, *Hanc intuentes ſalutiferam crucem, omne calumniantium ſuperborum virus expellimus:* By beholding this helpefull, or healthfull croſſe, we are able to auoyd the poyſon of all proud venemous cauillers. He ſpeaketh not of any Crucifixe that they had in ſight, but of the fruitfull meditation of the paſſion of Chriſt: as he ſaith a little before, *Dum vigilantiſſima & diligentiſſima pietate Chriſtus crucifixus attenditur:* When with diligent and watchfull and godly attention we conſider Chriſt crucified. Loe, this was *Auguſtines* Crucifixe, to meditate vpon the death of Chriſt.

Though the picture of Chriſt crucified haue bin vſed of auncient time, yet was it not then adored, but put onely to a ciuill vſe, to call to remembrance the ſtorie of Chriſts paſſion. *Concil. Nicen.*2.*action.*2. *Tharaſius* the Preſident ſaith thus, *Epiſtol.ad Antiochen.Epiſcop. Agnus, qui peccata mundi ſuſtulit iuxta humanam effigiem configuratus erigitur, &c.* The Lambe of God, which taketh away the ſinne of the world, is figured in his humanitie, that we may be drawne to the memorie of his incarnation, and may be lead as by the hand, to thinke of his moſt holeſome death and paſſion.

*Action.*4. of the ſame Councell, *Germanus* writeth thus, *Epiſtol.ad Thomam Epiſcop.Claudiopol. Apud Chriſtianos ſanctorum virorum imagines nihil aliud ſunt, quam fortitudinis eorum delineatio, &c.* Among Chriſtians the pictures of holy men are to no end els, but to deſcribe their fortitude and excellent vertue, and to admoniſh vs to glorifie and praiſe God for them. *Quæ hiſtorica narratio per auditum docet, ea tacens pictura per imitationem oſtendit:* That which in hiſtorie is taught by hearing, in picture is ſhewed by imitation. Here is no mention made of any worſhipping of Images, Croſſes, or Crucifixes: but the vſe of pictures onely is to bring the hiſtorie to remembrance.

We haue alſo the ſeale of Martyrs: *Thomas Man* condemned for that he ſaid he would not be-

beleeue

leeue in the Crucifixe, neither worſhip it, *pag.815.col.2.artic.7. Franciſcus San Romanus* martyred at Burges in Spaine *anno* 1540. for refuſing to do homage to a wooden Croſſe, ſaying, it was not the manner of Chriſtians to worſhip wood, pag.930.

THE THIRD ARTICLE, OF THE SIGNE of the Croſſe in the forehead, or made ouer any thing with the hand.

The Papiſts.

THey ſay, it is an holy and venerable ſigne, and meete to be vſed, to croſſe the forehead, and other parts, to bleſſe themſelues and their meats with croſſing and ſuch like, *Rhemiſt.* 48. Error.

*Argum.*1. *Iacob* croſſed his hands when he bleſſed his ſonnes; it is like our Sauiour did lift vp his hands in the forme of the croſſe, when he bleſſed. It is a conuenient memoriall of the death of Chriſt: and therefore to be vſed, *Rhemiſt.annot.Luk.24.ſect.*5.

*Anſw.*1. *Iacob* layde his hands after that forme, becauſe of the preſent occaſion: for the younger ſonne that ſhould be the greater, was placed at his left hand, and the elder at the right.

2. Seeing the Scripture expreſſeth not in what manner Chriſt lifted vp his hands, it is great preſumption for you to ſay, it was done in the ſimilitude of the Croſſe.

3. How can it be a conuenient memoriall of Chriſts death, being neither ordained of Chriſt, nor taught by his Apoſtles ſo to be?

*Argum.*2. Ezech.9.4. The Angell is commanded to ſigne with *Tau*, the foreheads of thoſe which mourned, &c. this, ſaith *Bellarmine*, was none other then the ſigne of the Croſſe, *cap.*29.

Anſw. Firſt, though the word *Tau*, there vſed, be the name of an Hebrue letter, yet it ſignifieth a ſigne, and is ſo tranſlated by the Septuagint, σημεῖον, giue them, or marke them with a ſigne in their foreheads. Secondly, the Hebrue *Tau*, hath this forme ת, though in the Greeke language it hath another faſhion, yet this figure hath no affinitie with the ſigne of the Croſſe; wherefore they haue gayned nothing, though it be granted, that they were marked with *Tau*. Thirdly, this ſigne, which the Angell maketh, none but the godly receiue, and they are all deliuered from deſtruction: but many a wicked and reprobate man is marked with the ſigne of the Croſſe: *Ergo*, this was no ſuch ſigne.

*Argum.*3. Apocal.7.3. Hurt not the earth, til we haue ſealed the ſeauants of God in their forehead: This is the ſigne of the Croſſe, *Rhemiſt.ibid.Bellarm.cap.*29.

Anſw. It is the ſigne proper to Gods elect, and therefore not the ſigne of the Croſſe, which many reprobates haue receiued. Let them heare their owne expoſitors; *Bruno, in 2.ad Timoth.*2. thus writeth, *Deum ſuos conſignare,&c.* That as a Captaine giueth his ſouldiers ſome ſigne, whereby they are knowne: ſo God giueth his a ſigne, which the diuell ſeeing, leaueth them, as not appertaining to him; *Hoc Signum eſſe diuinam Electionem,&c.* This ſigne is the diuine election: and *Anſelme* vpon theſe words 2.Timoth.2. *God knoweth, who are his*: *Hoc cordi ſuo bonus impreſſum ſignum:* let a man print this ſigne in his heart, and ſay to himſelfe, what doth it profit mee, to ſeeme outwardly iuſt, and be inwardly wicked? And then he further ſaith, *Talis cogitatio eſt diuini ſigilli impreſſio*: Such a cogitation is an impreſſion of this ſigne: And this is the ſigne, which the Elect are marked with.

The Proteſtants.

THough we finde that the ſigne of the Croſſe hath been of ancient time vſed in Baptiſme, and is now in ſome reformed Churches without popiſh ſuperſtition: yet this ridiculous and ſuperſtitious abuſe of the ſigne of the Croſſe, which is common and vſuall among the Papiſts, to croſſe themſelues, their foreheads, their eyes, mouth, lippes, to croſſe themſelues going foorth, and returning home, thinking thereby to be ſufficiently ſhended and preſerued from euill, we doe vtterly condemne, and haue worthily aboliſhed.

*Argum.*1. This cuſtome of croſſing hath no warrant from Scripture, neither was practiſed by the Apoſtles. Yet S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of diuers croſſes, as he calleth the fruite and efficacie of Chriſts death the croſſe of Chriſt, 1.Cor.1.17. Alſo the croſſe is taken for the Goſpell which is the preaching of the Croſſe, Phil.3.18. *enemies to the croſſe of Chriſt*, that is, his Goſpell. The Croſſe is alſo taken for the affliction that followeth the Goſpell: Galath.6.14. *I reioyce in the croſſe of Chriſt.* But of any ſuch ſigne of the croſſe to be made, the Apoſtle no where ſpeaketh: wherefore hauing no warrant in the word, it is a tradition of men, and therefore not after Chriſt, Coloſſ.3.8. This is alſo confeſſed in their owne Canons, that this vſe of ſigning with the Croſſe hath no warrant in the word: *decret.p.1.diſtinct.11.c.5. Quæ Scriptura ſalutifera crucis ſignaculo,&c.* What Scripture doth teach vs to ſigne with the moſt holeſome ſigne of the Croſſe, &c.

Cod.lib.9.tit.47.leg.17.Conſtant. Nemo eſt ſignandus in fronte, nemo in facie ſcribatur: No man muſt be ſigned in the forehead, or marked in the face.

Valentinus the Heretike was the firſt that made any great account of it, *Irenæus lib.*1.*cap.*1.therefore not to be vſed amongſt Chriſtians. *Nos ab alienis noſtræ fidei demonſtrationes non recipimus:* We therefore will not borrow demonſtrations of our faith from ſtrangers and aliens, *Nicen.*2.*action.*5.ſuch as Heretikes are.

*Argum.*2. Matth.23.5. Chriſt reproueth the Phariſies for their phylacteries, that is, certaine writings of the lawe in parchment, which they bound to their foreheads, and for their broad fringes, which were notwithſtanding commanded by the ° law. If our Sauiour reproued them for abuſing the things rightly inſtituted at the firſt: much more worthie of blame is the ſuperſtition of Chriſtians that hath no ground nor warrant at all.

°Numb. 15.31. Deut. cap.6. verſ. 8.

In Iohan. tract.43.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Chriſtus elegit, vt in cruce penderet, vt ipſam crucem in cordibus fidelium figeret:* Chriſt made choiſe of that kinde of death to hang vpon the Croſſe, that his Croſſe might be fixed in faithful mens hearts: he ſaith not *in frontibus*, in the forehead, though in ſome editions that word be foyſted into the text, but *in cordibus*, in their hearts.

THE FOVRTH ARTICLE, OF THE POWER and efficacie of the Croſſe.

The Papiſts.

49.Error. THe ſigne of the Croſſe (ſay they) hath two notable and powerfull effects: one is to driue away diuels and euil ſpirites, to heale and cure diſeaſes: the other is to ſanctifie and bleſſe creatures, as our meates and drinkes, which is done by the ſigne of the Croſſe, *Rhemiſt.*1.*Tim.*4 *ſect.*12.13.*Bellarm.cap* 30.

*Argum.*1. That the ſigne of the Croſſe, euen *ex opere operato*, as *Bellarmine* ſaith, by the very act, and making of the ſigne, yea by a Iew, Infidell or Pagan, hath power to driue away the diuell, they would thus proue it: *Dauid* by his Harpe droue away the euill ſpirit from *Saul:* the Angell did the like with the fiſhes liuer, in the ſtorie of *Tobie: Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, we muſt haue better Scriptures then Apocryphall ſtories to build our faith vpon: The good Angels of God haue power from God to driue away euill ſpirits, though they vſe no externall ſignes: yet it followeth not, that euery man may doe that which is granted to the Angels, though we ſhould admit the ſtorie. Secondly, *Dauid* not ſo much by the ſound of his Harpe refreſhed *Saul*, as by his godly ſongs and muſicke chaſed away the ſpirit: neither did the euill ſpirit depart from him, but he for the while found ſome eaſe; his phantaſticall and melancholy fits which Sathan wrought vpon, being by his pleaſant harmonie ſomewhat alayed. This alſo your own gloſſe confeſſeth, *decr.p.*2.*cauſ.*33 *diſtinct.*1.*cap.*60.*Saul non poterat,&c.Saul* could not returne to his right minde, *Niſi coram eo Dauid pſalleret*: vnleſſe Dauid did ſing before him: It was not then the ſound, but the Song that helped *Saul.* Thirdly, all this being granted, yet haue they not proued by theſe examples, that Pagans & Infidels, by the ſigne of the Croſſe, may chaſe away euill ſpirits.

50.Error. *Argum.*2. That things are hallowed and bleſſed by the ſigne of the Croſſe, they alſo prooue it, becauſe the Croſſe being an holy ſigne in it ſelfe, doth communicate holines vnto the things ſigned with the Croſſe, *Bellarm.cap.*30.

Anſw. Firſt, we deny the ſigne of the Croſſe, as they vſe it, to be an holy, but rather a ſuperſtitious and deceiueable ceremony. Secondly, though it were holy, yet being abuſed, it cannot transferre any holines to other things: for in the lawe the ſacrifices of the wicked, though they lay vpon the Altar, were not thereby ſanctified, but were an abomination, being not offered in a right faith: Nay there is no outward ceremonie ſo holy, as that it can impart the holines to another thing; as it is ſhewed Hagg.2.13. Though a man did beare holy fleſh in the skirt of his garment, yet was it not thereby holy.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, it is a deceitfull toy that they beare the people in hand: the diuell at the ſigne of the Croſſe will fly away: For the weapons of our warfare (ſaith S.*Paul*) are not carnall, 2.Cor.10.4. but the ſigne of the Croſſe is an externall and carnall, no ſpirituall weapon: and therefore preuaileth not againſt ſpirituall powers. Act.19. The diuell would not giue place when *Ieſus* and *Paul* were named, much leſſe at the ſigne of the croſſe.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Signum Chriſti expellit exterminatorem, ſi cor noſtrum recipiat ſaluatorem:* The ſigne of Chriſt doth expell the deſtroyer, when our heart receiueth our Sauiour: *Tractat.in Iohan.*50. So it is not the ſigne in the forehead, but the faith of the heart, that maketh Sathan afraide: if ſometime he auoyd when men ſigne themſelues, he is diſpoſed to play with them, that he may deceiue them more ſtrongly.

Secondly, we know no ſuch meanes to ſanctifie creatures by: They are bleſſed and ſanctified for our vſes (as S.*Paul* ſaith) by the word and prayer, 1.Tim.4. Prayer therefore without warrant of the word is but preſumption. The Greeke *Scholia*, by the Word, vnderſtand *ſermonem, qui eſt in* *gratiarum actione*, the thankeſgiuing vſed before meate, and by prayer, ***Fidelium precem***, the requeſts of the faithfull, whereby meates are ſanctified: Here is no mention at all of the Croſſe. They therefore hauing no word for their ſuperſtitious croſſings, inuocations, incantations, popiſh bleſſings, doe deceiue themſelues and others, in thinking that the creatures in ſuch order are ſanctified vnto them.

*Nicen.2.action.6.tom.*3. this reaſon was vſed againſt Images, and it may very well ſerue alſo againſt the ſigne of the croſſe: ***Neque precationem vllam, qua ſanctificari poſſet, imago habet, ſed manet communis & inhonorata vt pictor eam abſoluit:*** An image hath no forme of prayer appoynted, whereby it ſhould be ſanctified, but remayneth prophane and vnholy, as it commeth from the workemans hand: ſo may we ſay of the ſigne of the croſſe, that it cannot ſanctifie, vnleſſe it be firſt ſanctified it ſelfe; it cannot be ſanctified without prayer of faith, and faith is built vpon the word: ſuch ſanctification by prayer, the ſigne of the croſſe hath none. *Ergo.*

*Concil. Laodicen. can.*32. *Non oportet hæreticorum benedictiones accipere, quia maledictiones magis ſunt, quam benedictiones:* We muſt not receiue the bleſſings of heretikes, becauſe they are curſes rather then bleſſings: yet *Bellarmine* ſaith, there is vertue in the ſigne of the croſſe made by a Iew, Pagan, infidel, or whoſoeuer: but this Councel ſaith, that the benedictions of ſuch are maledictions.

Wherefore we doubt not to conclude, that the ſigne of the croſſe as it is vſed by papiſts, is a ſuperſtitious and idolatrous ſigne; and that as one *Robert Cooper* confeſſor of the truth ſomtime ſaid, the bleſſing with a ſhooe ſole is as good as a Popiſh Biſhops bleſſing done no otherwiſe, then by croſſing, *Fox*.pag.1043.c.2.

AN APPENDIX CONCERNING THE name of Ieſus.

The Papiſts.

THe name of Ieſus (they ſay) ought to be worſhipped by capping and kneeling thereunto, by wearing it in their caps, and ſetting it vp in ſolemne places: alleaging for their purpoſe that of S. *Paul*, that at the name of Ieſus al things ſhall bow, Philip.2.10. Yea, they ſay, that Proteſtants by aboliſhing the name and image of Chriſt, do make a way for Antichriſt, *Rhemiſt.annot.Philip.*2 *ſect.*2. *Apocal.*13.17. **51.Error.**

The Proteſtants.

1. THe bowing at the name of Ieſus, as it is vſed in Poperie, to bend the knee at the ſound thereof, is not commaunded in this place: which ſheweth eſpecially the ſubiection of all creatures, of Turkes, Iewes, Infidels, yea of the diuels themſelues to the power and iudgement of Chriſt. Secondly, Proteſtants haue onely taken away the ſuperſtitious abuſe of the name of Ieſus. Thirdly, the kneeling at the name of Ieſus is ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed in poperie: for the people ſtoupe onely at the ſound, not vnderſtanding what is read, and ſo make an Idoll of the letters and ſillables, adoring and worſhipping the very name when they heare or ſee it: And againe, in ſitting and not vayling at the name of Chriſt, Immanuel, God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, and bowing onely at the name of Ieſus, *Fulk.ibid.* Fourthly, due reuerence may be vſed to our Sauiour without any ſuch ceremonie of capping or kneeling, *Fulk.* Neither do we binde any of neceſſitie to vſe this reuerence to the name of Ieſus, as the Papiſts do, which think that Chriſt cannot otherwiſe be honoured: neither doe we iudge and condemne thoſe that doe vſe it, being free from ſuperſtition, and grounded in knowledge, and carefull not to giue offence: for ſuperſtitious and offenſiue ignorance is not in any caſe to be defended. Fiftly, this outward reuerence to the name of Ieſus was firſt taken vp amongſt Chriſtians, becauſe of all other names it was moſt derided and ſcorned of the Pagans and Iewes: and therefore they did the more honour it. But now there is greater danger of popiſh ſuperſtition in abuſing holy things, then of prophane Paganiſme in vtterly contemning them: and therefore there is not ſuch neceſſarie and iuſt occaſion of vſing this externall geſture now, as was in former times: It was not vſed of neceſſitie then, much leſſe now.

*Synod.Moguntin.cap.*59, it was thus decreed: ***Pari religione ad nomen ſaluatoris noſtri D.Ieſu Chriſti, ſimiliter ad Euangelium, &c.*** Let men with like deuotion at the name of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, as likewiſe at the Goſpell, the ***Magnificat, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, Gloria in excelſis, Gloria patri***, and other parts of the diuine ſeruice, ſo compoſe themſelues by bowing the knee, vncouering the head, and the like geſture of the whole bodie, as they may ſeeme to haue their minde occupied in thoſe things that are done. I note out of this decree three things: firſt, that they ſhould bow at the name of Chriſt, as well as when Ieſus is named. Secondly, that the like reuerence ſhould bee vſed when as other Pſalmes are ſung, and when mention is made of the Father, and the holy Ghoſt, as in the ***Gloria patri***. Thirdly, that this geſture ſhould not bee done in reuerence

rence to names,words,or ſillables ſo pronounced,but onely to declare our attention. Thus then we ſee that this ſuperſtitious cuſtome in bowing to the name of Ieſus onely, is contrarie euen to their owne popiſh Canons and decrees. The like thing alſo was decreed *Synod. Auguſtenſ.cap.23.*

To this effect alſo *Gregor.10.ſext decretal.lib.3.tit.23.c.3. Quandocunque recolitur,&c.* Whenſoeuer that glorious name is rehearſed, *cordis genua flectant,* let them bow the knees of their heart, which at the leaſt let them teſtifie by the inclination of the head. So then the reuerence of the heart is more requiſite,when Ieſus is named,then the geſture of the bodie.

THE SIXT QVESTION, CONCERNING Temples and Churches.

This queſtion hath diuers parts: Firſt, of the forme and ſituation of Churches. Secondly, of the end and vſe of Churches. Thirdly, of their ornaments. Fourthly, of the dedication of Churches. Fiftly, of things hallowed and conſecrated for Churches.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE SITVATION of Churches.

The Papiſts.

52. **Error.** The Churches and Temples of Chriſtians (ſay they) are moſt conueniently and haue been of ancient time builded toward the Eaſt, *Bellarmine libro tertio,capite tertio,de ſanctis.*

*Argum.*1. Paradiſe was built in the Eaſt,Gen.2.8. and therefore wee ought to pray that way, for deſire we haue to our countrie.

Anſ. Firſt,Paradiſe was then Eaſtward vnto *Moſes* and the Iſraelites being in the Wildernes, when he wrote this ſtorie:but it cannot be Eaſt to al chriſtian nations:for Paradiſe being planted in Eden,which was part of Meſopotamia,muſt needes be Weſt to the Perſians, South to the Scythians and Tartarians, North to the Æthiopians: wherefore this reaſon is not generall for all Churches in Chriſtian nations. Secondly,it ſkilleth not where that earthly Paradiſe is ſituate: our heauenly Paradiſe is in heauen,which is euery where open to all true beleeuers.

*Argum.*2. We looke for Chriſt to come in the Eaſt to iudgement, therefore wee pray toward the Eaſt: *As the lightning ſhineth from the Eaſt to the Weſt, ſo ſhall the comming of the ſonne of man bee,* Matth.27.24. Therefore he ſhall appeare toward the Eaſt,*Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt,by that ſimilitude of the lightning,the ſuddennes of his appearing, not the place is declared. Secondly,it is great preſumption to define that which the Scripture hath not reuealed: Chriſts comming is onely generally ſet downe, he ſhall come in the clowdes, Matth.24.30. And wee ſhall be caught vp in the clowdes, 1.Theſſal.4.17. There is no particular deſcription of the place.

The Proteſtants.

To vs it is no matter,which way Churches are builded,wee may turne our ſelues in prayer as well toward any one part of the heauens,as another: Neither do we refuſe to pray in Churches builded toward the Eaſt. But that our Oratories and places of prayer ought rather to bee builded that way,then any other; out of the Scripture it cannot bee proued, and wee hold it as a meere ſuperſtitious opinion.

*Argum.*1. *S.Paul* exhorteth men euery where to lift vp pure hands, 1.Tim.2.8. He ſaith, In euery place,without exception,whether toward the Eaſt or the Weſt,or whereſoeuer.

*Argum.*2. If any place were more daungerous then other to pray in,it is not ſo ſafe,and perhaps more perilous to pray toward the Eaſt: for Idolaters were wont to turne them toward the Eaſt,and to worſhip the Sunne riſing,Ezech.8.17. And for this cauſe the holy place in the Tabernacle was toward the Weſt,Exod.26.27. And it was the cuſtome of the Iewes to pray Weſtward,leaſt they ſhould be entiſed to worſhip the Sunne riſing in his ſtrength. And therefore the Ieſuite maketh but a bad argument: The Iewes prayed toward the Weſt: *Ergo,* Chriſtians muſt pray toward the Eaſt: nay,rather contrarie, becauſe they turned their back to the Eaſt,for feare of Idolatrie; Chriſtians,if any place were to be regarded more then other, ought vpon the ſame ground alſo to follow the ſame cuſtome, for as much as all men by nature are prone to Idolatrie: and the reaſon of their ſo praying,ſeemeth rather to bee morall,then ceremoniall. This I ſay not, as though I commended the Iewes ſuperſtitious praying toward the Weſt, but only to ſhew that they haue better reaſon for their cuſtome, then our aduerſaries haue for their ſuperſtitious turning toward the Eaſt. But to Chriſtians all places are alike.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Cum quis quærit orationem, collocet membra, ſicut ei occurrit:* If any man bee deſirous to pray,let him place his bodie, as occaſion ſerueth: he ſaith not toward the Eaſt, or toward the Weſt, *ad Simplician.lib.2.quaſt.4.*

Concil.Conſtantinop.6.cap.7.Singulis diebus quiſque duabus vicibus oret, mane & veſpere,&c. Euerie day let euery man pray twice, morning and euening: if he bee in his iourney, or in the woods, or fields, whereſoeuer the morning and euening houre findeth him, ſo let him doe: knowing that God is euery where preſent. If God bee euery where preſent, then as well in the Weſt, or any other part of heauen, as in the Eaſt: therefore it ſkilleth not which way a man turneth himſelfe in prayer.

Walter Brute holy confeſſor hath ſealed this truth, who ſaith; It is the cuſtome of Necromancers to turne their face to the Eaſt, as to a place more apt for their prayers: As *Balaam* being hired to curſe the Iraelites, when he could not accompliſh his purpoſe in one place, remoued to another, &c. *Fox* pag.497.col.2. It is not ſeemely therefore for Chriſtians in their prayers to imitate the ſuperſtitious manner of the Heathen, in preferring the Eaſt before the Weſt, or one place before another.

AN APPENDIX OF THIS PART, CONCERNING the forme and faſhion of Churches.

The Papiſts.

53.Error. THey would haue their Churches to be built as *Salomons* Temple was, which conſiſted of three parts: there was firſt the porch or court for the people; then the holy place where the Altar ſtood, and the Prieſts offered ſacrifice; and laſt of all the moſt holy place, where the Arke and Mercie ſeate were placed. So they haue the Church porch, then the bodie of the Church, and aboue that, their Sanctuarie, as they call it, or the Queere or Chauncell, which was ſeparated from the reſt, by ſteps or ſtaires, hangings or curtaines, and other partitions. And here muſt ſtand their Altar, *Bellarm.lib.3.de cultu Sanctor.cap.3.*

The Proteſtants.

COncerning the faſhion and forme of Churches, and the diuiſions and partitions within, wee will not much contend, ſo theſe conditions be obſerued: Firſt, that all ſuperſtition bee auoided, in making one place of the Church holier then the reſt, wherein the Papiſts mightily offend: for the Queere or Chauncell was for their Prieſts and ſingers, the other part of the Church for lay men, they were not to enter into that holy place: and thus according to the places, they deuided the congregation: as though one part were more holie then the other. The people alſo were made to beleeue, that to be buried in the Chauncell, but eſpecially vnder the Altar, was more auaileable for the dead, then to be buried in the Church. But where learne they that our Churches ought to haue a Sanctuarie as the Iewiſh Temple had? that was an euident type, and is now accompliſhed in our Sauiour Chriſt, who is now entred into the heauens, as the high Prieſt then entred into the holy place to make attonement for the people, Heb.9.24. This therefore is very groſſe, to reuiue and renue againe Iewiſh types and figures: as their owne ordinarie gloſſe ſaith, *De quatuor concilys primitiuæ Eccleſiæ: Externi ritus & cæremoniæ legis, quia hæc fuerunt vmbra Chriſti tum venturi, & myſteriorum eius, ideo adueniente veritate Euangelica, illicita facta ſunt & euanuerunt:* The externall rites and ceremonies of the law, becauſe they were a ſhadow of Chriſt to come and of his myſteries, therefore the truth of the Goſpell being come, are made vnlawfull, and vaniſhed away. *Salomons* Temple then, with the Sanctuarie and prieſthood thereof, which were ſhadowes of things to come, are no preſidents or patternes for Chriſtians to follow.

But if herein notwithſtanding they will imitate the building of *Salomons* Temple, to haue a Sanctuarie, why doe they not alſo build toward the Weſt, as the Temple was? why bring they not their Altar downe into the bodie of the Church? for in their holy place there was no Altar. And indeede, Altar we acknowledge none, as afterward ſhall be proued. But we ſee no reaſon why the Communion Table may not bee ſet in the bodie of the Church, as well as in the Chauncell, if the place be more conuenient and fit to receiue the Communicants. But I pray you, why is your Altar rather ſet in your Sanctuarie, then the Font or Baptiſterie? they are both Sacraments, as well Baptiſme as the Lords Supper: why ſhould one be preferred, as holier then the other?

Secondly, all things in the Church ought to be done vnto edifying; and therefore wee allow no ſuch partitions, as doe hinder the edifying of the people, and exclude them from hearing; as in popiſh Churches the Prieſt is pued or mued vp by himſelfe a great way off, that his voyce can hardly be perceiued of the people. The Miniſter is ſo to ſtand and turne himſelfe, as he may bee beſt heard and vnderſtood of the people: as *Ezra* had a pulpit of wood to ſtand in when he read the law, Nehem.8.4.

Auguſtine thus writeth, *Cum Epiſcopus ſolus intus eſt, populus & orat cum illo, & quaſi ſubſcribens ad eius verba, reſpondet, Amen:* While the Biſhop or Paſtor prayeth within, the people both prayeth together with him: and ſubſcribing to his words, anſwereth, Amen. By this it appeareth, that though in *Auguſtines* time the Miniſter had a place for himſelfe (as it is meete he ſhould) yet he ſo diſpoſed himſelfe, that his prayer was heard of all the people: for otherwiſe how could they pray with him, and ſubſcribe or giue aſſent to his words?

THE SECOND PART, OF THE END and vſe of Churches.

THis part hath three ſeuerall points. Firſt, whether the Churches of Chriſtians are built to offer ſacrifice in. Secondly, whether they be in themſelues places more holy then others. Thirdly, whether they may be dedicated to Saints.

THE FIRST POINT OR ARTICLE, WHEther our Churches are for ſacrifice.

The Papiſts.

54.Error. THe principall end of Churches is for the ſacrifice of Chriſtians, and in that reſpect they are truly called Temples: they are not onely for prayer, the preaching of the word, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, but chiefly for the externall ſacrifice of the Maſſe, *Bellarm.cap.4.*

Argum.1. The Churches of Chriſtians haue Altars, therefore ſacrifices: that they haue Altars, he thus proueth: Firſt, 1.Cor.10.21. You cannot bee partakers of the Lords table, and the table of diuels. By the table here is meant the Altar; for the table of the Heathen was their altar, wherein they ſacrificed to their Idols.

Anſ. Firſt, a table is one thing, an altar another: and very vnproperly is an altar called a table: this place in any wiſe mans iudgement maketh more againſt them then with them. Secondly, Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh not here of the ſacrifices of the Heathen nor of their altars, but of the feaſts which they made in their Idolatrous Temples, which was done vpon tables, of ſuch ſacrifices as had been offered to Idols: vnto the which feaſts S. *Paul* forbiddeth Chriſtians to come, as it appeareth in the reſt of the chapter, and more plainly, chap.8.10.

Argum.2. Heb.13.10. We haue an altar, of which they haue no power to eate that ſerue at the Tabernacle: That is, the altar whereon Chriſts bodie is offered, *Bellar. Rhemiſt. in hunc locum.*

Anſ. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh expreſſely of participation of the ſacrifice of Chriſts death, (as it is manifeſt in the two verſes next following) which is by a Chriſtian faith, and not in the Sacrament onely, whereof none can be partakers that remaine in the ceremoniall obſeruations of the Leuiticall ſacrifices: For the Apoſtle ſpeaketh manifeſtly, verſ.12. of the ſuffering of Chriſt without the gate: Chriſt therefore is the altar, yea our Prieſt and ſacrifice too. Further, you abuſe this place to proue your materiall popiſh altars, which are many: but the Apoſtle ſaith, we haue an altar, ſpeaking of one. This expoſition *Richard Woodman* holy Martyr hath ſealed, that Chriſt is the true altar wheron euery true Chriſtian ought to come and offer, he proueth by the conference of theſe two places of the Goſpell, Matth.5.23. *If thou bringeſt thy gift to the altar, and remember that thy brother hath ought againſt thee, &c.* Likewiſe, Matth.18. *Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midſt:* whereſoeuer then people are gathered together in Chriſts name, there is he in the midſt; and where he is, there is the Altar; ſo that wee may bee bolde to come and offer our gift, *Fox* pag.1991.col.2.

The Proteſtants.

THe Churches of Chriſtians are the houſes of prayer, made to that end, that they ſhould come together to heare the word of God read and preached, receiue the Sacraments, and offer vp their ſpirituall ſacrifices of praiſe and thankſgiuing: other externall ſacrifices, or Altars wee acknowledge none.

Argum.1. The temple of the Iewes was called an houſe of prayer, that is, principally for praier, Marke 11.17. *Moſes* was read and preached in their Synagogues, Act.15.21. Much more are the Churches of Chriſtians appointed for preaching and praier, Act.20.7. The firſt day of the weeke, which is the Lords day, they came together to breake bread, and *Paul* preached vnto them: *Ergo,* the adminiſtration of the word and Sacraments with prayer, is the chiefe and onely cauſe of the holie aſſemblies of Chriſtians.

Argum.2. Altars we haue none in our Churches: Saint *Paul* calleth it the Lords table, 1.Corinth.10.21. where we receiue the Sacrament of the bodie and blood of Chriſt. And he calleth it bread, which is broken, 1.Cor.11.26. But bread is ſet vpon tables, not ſacrificed vpon altars.

Auguſtine alſo calleth it, *Menſam Domini,* the Lords table, *Epiſt.59.* and *Epiſt.50.* He ſheweth how cruelly the Donatiſts handled *Maximian* a Catholike Biſhop, beating him with clubs, euen in the Church, *lignis altaris effractis immaniter ceciderunt,* and wounded him with the wood of the Altar, which they had broken downe. Where though he improperly call it an Altar, yet was it a Communion table framed of wood, and made to be remoued, not faſtened to the wall, as their popiſh altars were.

*Damaſus epiſtol.*4. *Chorepiſcopi miniſterio preſbyterorum contenti ſint, atque menſæ Domini participes tantummodo exiſtant:* Let the locall Biſhops be content to miniſter as Prieſts, and to be partakers onely of the Lords table: He ſaith the Lords table, not the Lords Altar.

And that Churches are ordeined for the word of God, prayer, and the ſacraments, wee haue euident teſtimony of Councels. *Synod. Moguntin.cap.*40. *Templa orationis, diuini cultus & Sacramentorum officinas, &c.* They call our Temples or Churches, the ſhops of prayer, the diuine worſhip, and the Sacraments.

*Colonienſ.part.9.cap.*13. *Conſecratur templum, &c. vt ab omnibus pariter conuenientibus Deo laudes ſoluantur, diuinum verbum audiatur, ac eccleſiaſtica ſacramenta miniſtrentur:* The Church is conſecrate, that of all men aſſēbled together, praiſe ſhould be rendred to God, the word of God heard, and the Sacraments of the Church miniſtred.

Yet further we haue the teſtimonie of their owne law, *decret.p.*1.*diſtinct.*43.*c.*5. *Oratorium hoc ſit, quod dicitur, &c.* Let the Oratorie be that, which it is called; neither let any thing els be there done, then that which agreeth to the diuine Miniſterie: and in the ſame place *cap 6. In Oratorio præter orandi & pſallendi cultum, &c.* In the Oratorie beſide ſinging and praying, let nothing be done, &c. *decret.part.*3.*diſtinct.*1.*c.*21.*Ioannes: Eccleſias Arrianorum, &c.* The Churches of the Arrians, whereſoeuer you finde them, *Diuinis precibus & operibus conſecrate:* Conſecrate to diuine prayers, and workes. By theſe Canons it appeareth, that Churches are eſpecially conſecrated and ordayned for prayer.

Maſter *George Wiſeheart* holy Martyr: *Churches ſhould be ſuſtained and vpholden, that the people ſhould be congregate vnto them, there to heare of God: for whereſoeuer is true preaching of the worde of God, and lawfull vſe of the Sacraments, vndoubtedly there is God himſelfe. Fox.*pag.1270.col.2. This then is the right and proper vſe of Churches, as we haue ſeene.

THE SECOND ARTICLE, WHETHER CHVRCHES are more holy places in themſelues.

The Papiſts.

55.Error. GOd (they ſay) rather dwelleth and is preſent in Churches, then elſe where: and therefore it is more auaileable for a man, euen to make his priuate prayer in the Church.

*Argum.*1. The Temple of *Salomon* was ordained euen for the prayers of priuate men: and *Salomon* prayeth vnto God, that they might be heard, 1.King.8.38. So *Anna* prayed in the Tabernacle, 1.Sam.1. And the Apoſtles went vp to the Temple to pray, Act.3.1. *Ergo*, prayers made in the Temple are more auaileable, *Bellarm.cap.*4.

Anſw. 1. See what Iewiſh arguments here are: becauſe the Lord gaue an eſpeciall bleſſing to his Temple amongſt the Iewes, that was the onely place for ſacrifices, and alſo a peculiar priuiledged place for prayer: therefore he will bind and tye himſelfe to ſome certaine place now. But our Sauiour ſaith cleane contrary vnto the woman of Samaria, *The houre commeth, when ye ſhall neither in this mountaine, nor in Ieruſalem worſhip my Father*, Iohn 4.21. The prayers and ſacrifices of Chriſtians are now no more tyed and limited to places. 2. That was but a type vnto the Iewes, that as then God would be onely heard in his Temple: ſo his name is now onely truely inuocated and called vpon in his Church.

3 It is falſly alleadged that the Apoſtles went vp, onely to pray, to the Temple: they went vp at the ninth houre of prayer, when the people were accuſtomed to goe vnto the Temple, that they might preach the Goſpell vnto them.

*Argum.*2. *Daniel* praied with his window open Eaſtward to Ieruſalem, where the Temple was, Dan.6. *Anna* departed not out of the Temple, but gaue her ſelfe to continuall faſting and prayer: *Ergo*, priuate prayers are more auaileable in the Church; *Bellarm.cap.*4.

Anſw. Firſt, the argument followeth not from the vſe of the Iewiſh Temple, to the practiſe of Chriſtians now: for we denie not, but that there was an eſpeciall bleſſing promiſed to thoſe that prayed in the Temple of *Salomon*, according to the requeſt which he made at the dedication of the Temple: *If any man pray in this place, then heare thou in heauen.* 1.Reg.8.31. But now the prophecie of *Malachie* is fulfilled, Malachie 1.11. that incenſe ſhould vnder Chriſt be euery where offered vnto God: this difference betweene the Temple of the Iewes, and of Chriſtians, *Origen* maketh, *tract.*35.*in Matth. Vir quidem Iudaicus non dubitat de huiuſmodi, &c.* A Iew doth nothing doubt of this, that is, that one place is more holy for prayer then another, but he that is departed from Iewiſh fables to Chriſts doctrine, doth ſay that the place doth not make one prayer better then another.

Secondly, *Daniel* openeth not his window to Ieruſalem, in reſpect of the holineſſe of the place, but to make it knowne, that he prayed to God, that was there worſhipped, and to ſhew his confidence in Gods promiſes for their returne thither: *Anna* alſo continued in the Temple, as being the fitteſt place for her widowes ſtate, and ſolitarie life, being ſequeſtred from all humane encumbrances, and in reſpect of the helpes of religion by the ſacrifices and common prayers; not in regard of any inherent holineſſe there.

The Proteſtants.

WE preferre publike prayers made by the congregation in the Church, before priuate prayers, not becauſe of the place, but in reſpect of the congregation, whoſe prayers ioyntly altogether are more feruent and effectuall, then the prayer of one man: But if wee compare publike prayer with publike, and priuate with priuate, wee doubt not but that the one and the other being made in faith, may as well be heard out of the Church, as in it.

*Argum.*1. The promiſe of our Sauiour is generall, *Whereſoeuer two or three are gathered together, I am in the middeſt amongſt them*, Matth. 18.20. So Saint *Paul, I will that men euery where lift vp pure hands*, 1. Timoth. 2. *Ergo*, they may be heard praying in faith in any place.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of publike prayer, which is done in the Church, as it may appeare by the beginning of the chapter, verſ. 1. *I exhort, that ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions be made, &c.* which is vnderſtood of common and publike prayer; *Bellar. cap.* 4.

Anſ. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh not onely of publike, but of priuate prayer alſo: firſt, becauſe Kings, for whom the Apoſtle would haue interceſſions made, are not onely publikely, but alſo priuately to be praied for. Secondly, the Apoſtle would haue thẽ pray euery where: but in euery place there is not a Church to pray in. Thirdly, it is the ſame, with that the Apoſtle ſaith elſewhere, 1. Theſſal. 5. verſ. 17. *Pray continually:* which is vnderſtood of priuate prayer.

*Argum.*2. So our Sauiour ſaith, When thou prayeſt, enter into thy chamber: he ſaith not, go to the Church. *Bellarmine* ſaith, he entereth into his chamber, that prayeth without vainglorie, whether he doe pray ſecretly or openly.

Anſw. Our Sauiours words are plaine without allegorie, for he ſpeaketh of ſhutting the doore of the chamber: and there is a manifeſt oppoſition betweene the Phariſies praying in the corners of the ſtreets, and the frequencie of people, and the others praying in ſecret. And whereas *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that the ſhutting of the doore cannot literally be vnderſtoode, becauſe that Chriſt himſelfe prayed in the mountaines often, but in his chamber wee doe not reade, that hee praied: the anſwere is readie: firſt, by ſhutting of the doore Chriſt vnderſtandeth praying in ſecret, as it is in the text, *God, which ſeeth in ſecret ſhall rewarde thee openly:* Secondly, no maruell, if Chriſt is not read to ſhut the doore, for he had no *houſe, nor place, where to reſt his head:* Thirdly, in that Chriſt praied in the mountaine, but in the Temple he prayed not, but preached, Luk. 21. 37. it teacheth vs, that euery where our praiers are acceptable vnto God.

Argum. 3. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, that vnder the Goſpell, neither in that mountaine, nor in Ieruſalem God will be worſhipped, but in ſpirit and truth, Iohn 4.21. *Ergo*, the worſhip of God is not tied to any place.

Bellarmine anſwereth, Chriſt ſpeaketh not of the place, but of the manner of worſhip: that is, that henceforth God would not be worſhipped, after the manner of the Samaritanes and Iewes: for afterward the Apoſtles praied in the temple at Ieruſalem, *Bellarm. cap.* 4.

Contra. Firſt, our Sauiour ſpeaketh both of the place and manner: for ſo the woman propoundeth the queſtion of the place of worſhip, verſ. 20. *Our Fathers worſhipped in the mountaine, and ye ſay that in Ieruſalem, &c.* And our Sauiour anſwereth her accordingly, fitly, and appertinently to the matter: for otherwiſe the anſwere ſhould not be fitting, if the woman ſhould aske one thing, and Chriſt anſwere another. Secondly, *Bellarmine* ignorantly diſtinguiſheth that, which is not to be diſtinguiſhed, for to be addicted to a certaine place of praier, is of, or belonging to the manner of praier: wherefore, Chriſt comprehendeth both in one ſpeech, that though praier afterward might be made both in the mountaine, and at Ieruſalem, yet they ſhould not pray, with that opinion of holines in the place, as before; as the Iewes and Samaritanes did.

Lib. ſententiar. Auguſt.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Quid ſupplicaturus Deo locum ſanctum requiris? volens in Templo orare, in te ora: & ita age ſemper, vt Dei Templum ſis, ibi enim Deus exaudit vbi habitat:* When thou art about to pray, what needeſt thou to go to any ſacred place? wouldeſt thou pray in the Temple or Church? ſee that thou be the Temple of God, and there the Lord will ſooneſt heare where he dwelleth.

Bernard hath an excellent ſpeech of this matter: *Habent ſanctitatem, ſed propter corpora veſtra, &c.* Your Churches are holie, becauſe of your bodies: as your ſoules are holie, becauſe of the ſpirit that dwelleth in you; your bodies holie, becauſe of your ſoules; ſo this houſe is holie becauſe of your bodies: not in themſelues therefore are they holie, &c.

Concil. Conſtantin. 6. cap. 7. Singulis diebus quiſque duabus vicibus oret, &c. Euery day let euery man pray twice, morning and euening; in the Church, if he be in the Church: but he that is in his iourney, or vpon any occaſion in the woods or fields, whereſoeuer the morning or euening ſeaſon findeth him, let him pray there, knowing that God is euery where preſent. Euery place therefore hath Gods preſence, and therefore is alike in it ſelfe ſanctified for prayer.

Gangrenſ. Concil. in ſubſcriptione. Omnem locum ædificatum in nomine Dei honoramus, & congregationem in Eccleſia factam ob vtilitatem communem recipimus: We do honour euery place built in the name of the Lord, and do reuerence or receiue the congregation or aſſembly made in the Church, for the common vtilitie. Churches then are holy places and to be reuerenced, becauſe of their holy vſe, and for the holy aſſemblies there made: the people aſſembled for diuine exerciſes make the place holy, not the place the people. As it is ſaid of the Iſraelites, *Non propter locum gentem, ſed propter gentem Dominus locum elegit:* God did not chooſe the nation for the place, but the place for the nations ſake; *Concil. Aquiſgran. lib.2.cap.24.*

Likewiſe, *Cod.lib.3.tit.43.leg.2. Locus, in quo ſepelitur corpus, efficitur religioſus:* The place is made religious, or holy for the buriall of the dead. If the preſence of the dead make the place holy, much more the aſſemblies of the liuing: wherefore the place is not holy of it ſelfe, but becauſe of the preſence.

Decret.p.2.cauſ.13.qu.2.c.15. Iuxta altare nemo ſepeliatur, That no man ſhould bee buried neere to the Altar. But if there were an inherent holines in the Altar, it were an iniurie to the dead to barre them from the more holy place.

I cannot here omit the notable ſentence of *Origen: Locum ſanctum in terris non requiro poſitum, ſed in corde, &c.* I doe not ſeeke an holy place in the earth, but in the heart: the holy place is rather ſo to be taken, *quàm ſi putemus ſtructuram lapidum, &c.* then to thinke, that the building of inſenſible ſtones is the holy place, *Hom.5. in Leuit.*

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr hath ſealed this truth: Chriſt taking away the difference of places, will be worſhipped in euery place: Neither is there in his kingdome one place holy, another prophane, but all places are indifferent, neither canſt thou more heartely and better beleeue, truſt, and loue God in the Temple at the Altar, in the Churchyard, then in thy barne, kitchin, vineyard, bed, &c. And to be ſhort, the Martyrs of Chriſt haue honoured him in darke dungeons and priſons. *Fox* pag.1254.col.1.

THE THIRD ARTICLE, WHETHER CHVRches and Temples may be dedicated to Saints.

The Papiſts.

THey nothing doubt, but as Churches may bee conſecrated, and dedicated to the honour of 56.Error. God, ſo they may be alſo vnto Saints.

Argum.1. The Temple of *Salomon* was not only built for ſacrifices and praier, but for the Arke of God alſo: as *Dauid* ſaith to *Nathan:* Now I dwell in an houſe of Cedar trees, and the Arke of God remaineth within curtaines, 2.Sam.7.2. But there is as great honour, yea and greater, due to the reliques of Saintes: *Ergo*, it is lawfull to build Temples vnto them; *Bellarmine capite quarto.*

Anſ.1. When you haue a commaundement to build Churches for reliques, as they had to build a Temple for the Arke, ye may be bold to doe it.

2. To build a Temple for the Arke, was all one as to build an houſe for the Lord: for it was the Mercie ſeate of God: it pleaſed the Lord to dwell betweene the Cherubims, there to ſhew euident tokens of his preſence. And whereas *Dauid* conſulted to build an houſe for the Arke, the Lord doth thus anſwere him by his Prophet: Shalt thou build me an houſe for my dwelling? ver.5. So the Temple was made in the honour of God, being made for the Arke. It was all one, for the Arke to dwell there, and the Lord himſelfe to dwell there. This argument therefore maketh nothing for them.

The Proteſtants.

TO build Churches and religious houſes in the name and honour of Saints, and to make them Patrones and protectors of thoſe places, and there to call vpon them, and make prayers vnto them, all which is defended by our aduerſaries, we hold it vtterly vnlawfull, as tending to manifeſt impietie, and idolatrie.

Argum.1. No diuine worſhip is to be giuen to Saints, therfore no Churches to be made in their names: for it is part of the diuine worſhip to haue Temples.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Nos non Martyribus Templa, ſacerdotia aut ſacra conſtituimus, quoniam non ipſi, ſed Deus eorum nobis Deus eſt:* De ciuitate Dei, lib.8.cap. vlt. We doe not ordaine Temples, Prieſthoods, or ſacrifices for Martyrs: for not they, but their God, is both their God and ours. None therefore is to haue a Temple but God. But marke I pray you their diſtinction: They ſay, that Religious houſes as they are Temples, are onely conſecrated to God, but as they are *Baſilica*, palaces, ſumptuous buildings, the ſelfe ſame Churches may be dedicate to Saints. Like as (ſaith he) one and the ſame altar of ſtone, as it is an altar is conſecrated to God : and it may be alſo the tombe of ſome Martyr, and ſo alſo dedicate to the remembrance of the Martyr, *Bellarm.cap.*4.

Anſ. If one and the ſame Church may be conſecrate both to God and to ſome Saint beſide, I pray you who is the principall patrone of that Church; God or the Saint? You will ſay, I am ſure, God is. But I will prooue the contrarie, becauſe it hath the name of the Saint : It is called by the name of Saint *Peter*, Saint *Paul*, or ſome other, not by the name of God. Thus they are not contented to make Saints Gods fellowes, but will euen thruſt him out of place, giuing vnto Saints the honour of Gods houſe.

Secondly, the inſtance or example of the altar, which he alleageth, cannot ſerue his turne. Firſt, ſuch altars of ſtone to be ſacrificed vpon are not agreeable to the times of the Goſpell, the Church hauing alwaies of ancient time vſed tables, not altars, as I haue ſhewed before out of Saint *Auguſtine, error.*54. And **Origen** thus witneſſeth of his times, *Veniente principe ſacerdotum, &c.* The prince of prieſts being come, the prieſt in figure ceaſed, &c. the temple made of ſtones is deſtroyed, to giue place to the temple made of liuely ſtones : *effoſſum eſt altare, quod erat deorſum, &c.* the altar below was broken downe, becauſe the heauenly altar had appeared, *Tract.*11.*in Matth.* Wherefore if Communion tables were in vſe, not altars, they could not ſerue for Tombes or Sepulchers. Secondly, the vſe of altars being admitted, yet they ought not to be made places of buriall: *Decr. par.*2.*cauſ.*13.*qu.*2.*c.*15. *Prohibendum eſt ſecundum maiorum inſtituta, &c.* We forbid according to the decrees of our elders, that none be buried in the Church, *prope altare verò*, but neere vnto the altar in no caſe. Thirdly, though it were a lawfull place for buriall vnder the altar, yet cannot the ſame place be conſecrate to the honour both of God and the Martyr; ſeeing God will not part ſtakes with any, or deuide his honour.

Thirdly, this ridiculous diſtinction, betweene a Temple, and a *Baſilica*, or palace, is contrarie to antiquitie : *Cod.lib.*8.*tit.*12.*leg.*20. *Baſilicam inauratam nullius imaginis obumbratione fuſcari, &c.* We forbid, that the *Baſilica* be obſcured with the ſhadowing forth of any image. This law admitteth not the image of any in the Church ; how then can the Church be conſecrate to any Martyr, as patrone, whoſe image is not ſuffered to be there? Here then, *Baſilica*, is taken for a temple dedicate to the honour of God. And in the Councell of Wormes, Can.48. it is forbidden, *vt nulla baſilica*, that no *Baſilica*, that is, Church, be dedicate in the name of the dead : *Ergo*, not of Saints departed.

See alſo what one of your owne writers ſaith : *Loca publica, &c. oratoria, tum Dominica Latinis, tum baſilicæ & eccleſiæ Græcis :* The publike places of prayer are called Oratories and the Lords houſe of the Latines, of the Greekes *Baſilicæ*, &c. So that the one name of *Temple* is the Latine, the other of *Baſilica* is the Greeke, *Eſpenc. in* 1.*Timoth.*39.*b.* Thus doth it appeare how full of trifling the Ieſuite is in his ſophiſticall diſtinctions.

*Argum.*2. How names are to be giuen to places, wee cannot better learne, then of thoſe ancient founders of names, the holy Patriarkes : As *Abraham*, Geneſ.22.14. calleth the mountaine *Iehouah-yreh*, The Lord hath ſeene. So *Iacob* giueth holy names to the place where he met the Angels, Geneſ.32.2. and where he wreſtled with the Angell, verſ.31. They, as wee ſee, gaue holy and reuerent names vnto places, not made peculiar for Gods ſeruice, but onely for ciuill vſe for the places to be called and knowne by : how much more ought Churches and houſes of God to bee called by his name?

We therfore conclude, that Churches ought not to be erected in Saints names, to worſhip them thereby, and make them our Patrones, Mediators, and preſenters of our prayers : for this were great Idolatrie : Euen like as the Heathen called their Temples by the names of their Idols, *Venus, Iupiter, Diana*, and the like: Yet we refuſe not to call our Churches by the names of Saints, as they haue been called of olde, becauſe wee are not inuentors of names and termes, which inured by continuall cuſtome can hardly bee left. We vſe them onely as ciuill termes to diſtinguiſh places by : if any otherwiſe vſe them, for any religious purpoſe, they doe amiſſe. And yet we denie not, but that the names of holie men may be ſafely remembred, by thankeſgiuing vnto God for ſuch excellent inſtruments, and ſetting before our eyes their good example. And concerning the names which haue been ſuperſtitiouſly giuen in times paſt vnto Churches and other places (though it were to be wiſhed, that they neuer had been ſo giuen) yet now we vſe them (ſetting apart all ſuperſtition) as ciuill names of difference, as S.*Luke* deſcribeth the ſhip of Alexandria, wherein they were carried, whoſe badge (ſaith he) was *Caſtor and Pollux*, Act.28.11. In a ciuill matter of deſcription, he refuſeth not to vſe the names of the Heathen Gods. *Auguſtine* alſo giueth a good rule concerning ſuch names. He ſpeaketh of the names of daies, which were called after the names of Heatheniſh Idols, as the 4. day in the weeke, which wee call Wedneſday, was then called, and is yet in the Latine tongue, *Dies Mercurij*, Mercurie his day. *Sic dicitur à paganis, & à multis Chriſtianis, ſed nolumus vt dicant, & vtinam corrigantur : melius de ore Chriſtiano ritus loquendi eccleſiaſticus procedit :* So is it called of the Heathen, and of many Chriſtians, but I would

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not haue them called ſo,and I wiſh they were amended : for a Chriſtian kind of ſpeaking beſt becommeth a Chriſtian. *Sed ſi quem forte conſuetudo contraxerit,&c.ſciat illos omnes homines fuiſſe :* But if cuſtome preuaile with a man ſo to ſpeake,let him vnderſtand that all they were but men whom the Heathen take for Gods.

So ſay we,it were to be wiſhed,that we had names voide of all ſhew of ſuperſtition: but ſeeing for our ſpeaking we muſt be ruled by cuſtome,let vs know that thoſe Saints,by whoſe names places are called,are no Gods,nor Gods fellowes,nor patrones, or Mediators for vs, nor any way to be worſhipped : but,they are the fellow-ſeruants of all faithfull Chriſtians,to be reuerenced with a Chriſtian dutie of loue,not a religious worſhip of ſeruice.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie : *Concil.Gangrenſ.can.5.Eccleſia,domus Dei,&c.* The Church is called the houſe of God : *Ergo*,not of any Saint. And in the ſubſcription of the Councell : *Omnem locum in nomine Dei ædificatum honoramus :* Wee doe honour euery place built in the name of God. It was the generall vſe of thoſe times,onely to build Churches to the honour, and in the name of God.

*Concil.Vormatienſ.can.*48. *Vt nulla baſilica ſub defunctorum conſtructa nomine dedicetur:* That no Church built in the name of the dead, or departed this life, ſhould bee dedicated. But the Saints were ſometime liuing,and now are dead to the world,&c.

The holy Martyrs haue ſealed this truth: *Iohn Lambert* alleageth out of *Auguſtine*,that the Angels will not we ſhould build any Churches in reuerence of them, but would that with them wee ſhould honour the originall maker and performer of all. *Fox* pag.1108.

Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr: To build a Church in the honour of our Ladie,or any other Saint is in vaine,they cannot helpe vs.*Fox* pag.1247.col.2.artic.10.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE ADORNING and beautifying of Churches.

The Papiſts.

THe Temples and Churches of Chriſtians, they would haue built in the moſt ſumptuous and coſtly manner ; yea,in beautie to exceede the palaces of Princes,with ſiluer, gold, ſilke,veluet; to be decked and adorned,*Bellarm.cap.6.* 57.Error.

*Argum.*1. The Tabernacle of the Iewes was of exceeding beautie: the curtaines thereof, of ſilke; the veſſels, euen to the ſnuffers for the Lampes, were of gold: the Prieſts garment had a breaſtplate of gold, ſet about with precious ſtones : Therefore why ſhould not the Temples of Chriſtians be in like ſort adorned,and ſet forth? as *Iſay* prophecieth, that the Glorie of Lebanon ſhall come,the Firre,Oliue,and Boxe tree to beautifie my Sanctuarie,Iſay 60.13.which is literally to be vnderſtood,*Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt,if the Ieſuite had turned his argument and reaſoned thus: the Temple of the Iewes was gorgeous,and ſumptuous,and beautifull to the eye : therefore Churches of Chriſtians ought not to be ſo now; he had reaſoned much better : for their ſeruing of God was externall; now God will be worſhipped in ſpirit. All things were done vnto them in types and figures : the outward glorie of their Temple was a liuely figure of the ſpirituall beautie of the Church of Chriſt. Secondly,where you would haue the prophecie of *Iſay* to bee literally vnderſtood,you haue made a good argument for the Iewes : for then they ſhall haue their Sanctuarie reſtored againe, which the Prophet ſpeaketh of by name. Thirdly,if that place of *Iſay* haue a literall ſenſe,why not that alſo,54.10. I will lay thy ſtones with Carbuncle, and thy foundation with the Saphires : I will make thy windowes of Emeraulds, and thy gates ſhining ſtones? Say alſo that this ſhall be literally performed : and ſo according to this groſſe ſenſe,the prophecie of *Haggie* ſhall alſo bee fulfilled; The glorie of the laſt houſe ſhall bee greater then the firſt,Hagg.2.verſ.10. But I thinke you neuer ſaw Church built in this goodly manner, in beautie ſurpaſſing the Iewiſh Temple,nor neuer ſhall.

*Argum.*2. The widow is commended for caſting into the offringes of God all ſhee had, Luk.21.1. The woman that beſtowed the precious ointment vpon Chriſt, is ſaid to haue done a good worke : *Ergo*,by the ſame reaſon it is a good worke to beſtow ſumptuouſly vpon Churches, which are the houſes of God, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt,the argument doth not follow, for the bodie of Chriſt is more worth then ſtones, and the offrings of the Altar of more value, then the tiles of the Church : if extraordinarie coſte be fitte to be beſtowed vpon the one, it is not ſeemely for the other. Secondly, the widow caſt in all ſhe had, and would ye haue men alſo to beſtow all they haue vpon ſtone walles? Chriſts example is extraordinarie, and it was once done for his buriall : how then can you draw an extraordinarie Preſident to an ordinarie practiſe?

The Proteſtants.

THat the Churches of Chriſtians, and places of prayer, ought decently to be kept ; yea, and with conuenient coſt and ſeemely beautie to be built and repaired, and Church veſſels with other neceſſarie furniture, to be of the beſt, not of the worſt ſort, we doe both commend it, and practiſe it : the Ciuill law ſaith, *Ornare ſepulchrum, non eſt prohibitum* : It is not forbidden to adorne a ſepulcher. ***Cod.lib.3.tit.43.leg.7,*** much leſſe a Church. And we learne by the example of our Sauiour (that caſt out of the Temple ſellers of doues and money changers, and would not ſuffer them to carrie veſſels through it, Marke 11.15.16.) that the houſe of prayer ought to be reuerently regarded : but yet it followeth not, that ſuch immoderate and exceſſiue coſt ſhould be beſtowed vpon the walles of the Church and Idols, to garniſh and beautifie Idolatrie, and poore people in the meane time to want. A Matrone ought to go comely and decently apparelled, though not tricked vp with the iewels and ornaments of an harlot.

*Argum.*1. Our Sauiour Chriſt reproueth the Scribes and Phariſies, becauſe they drew the people to be good vnto the Altar, and to beſtow largely vpon them, and ſo leaue their parents helpeleſſe, Matth.15.5. And he often doth inculcate that golden ſaying, I will haue mercie and not ſacrifice : it is better to ſuccour the liuing temples of God, which are the bodies of his poore children, then to beſtow ſuperfluous coſt vpon dead temples of ſtone.

*Argum.*2. Chriſt alſo doth rebuke them, becauſe like hypocrites they did garniſh the ſepulchres of the prophets, and yet perſecuted their doctrine, Math.23.29. So all popiſh Phariſees are worthie of blame, that take greater care in garniſhing the temples and tombes of the holy Apoſtles and Martyres, then they doe in ſetting forth their holy doctrine, and preaching the Goſpell, nay they doe contemne, perſecute, and hate that doctrine, for the which thoſe holy men dyed : ſo that this prouerbe was very well deuiſed of them ; ***In times paſt we had golden Prieſts and wooden Cuppes, now we haue wooden Prieſts and golden Cuppes.***

*Argum.*3. Chriſt in the day of iudgement ſhal condemne the wicked, for omitting the works of mercie, as Matth.25. becauſe they did not feed and cloath the poore, &c. he ſaith not, becauſe they did not beſtow gold and ſiluer vpon Churches.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the leſſe ſinners are there remembred, whereby it is gathered that the greater ſinners ſhall be much more puniſhed: Chriſt ſaith not, Go into hel fire becauſe ye oppreſſed the poore, but becauſe ye did not cheriſh them: yet if this be a ſinne, the other much more; ſo if he be damned, that gaue no almes, much more he that did not build, or repaire the Church: ***cap.6.in fine.***

Contra. Firſt, Is it true then in popiſh diuinitie, that hee that buildeth not a Church, that is able, ſhall be damned ? if this were ſo, or men could be ſo perſwaded, wee ſhould haue Churches ynow, and too many : and I thinke many a pope Catholike man amongſt themſelues, hath not bin a builder of Churches. Againe, it is moſt abſurd to ſay or thinke, that not to repaire a Church with ſuperfluous coſt, is a greater ſinne, then not to refreſh a man readie to die : for the one is a liuing member of Chriſt, the other is but a dead ſtone : he may be aſhamed to broach ſuch ſtuffe. Thirdly, it is no ſinne at all not to beſtow princely coſt in garniſhing of a Church (for moderate and ſeemely coſt, we ſpeake not againſt) much leſſe a greater ſinne.

In Pſal.105. part.2.

Auguſtine exhorting the people to be liberall to their Biſhops and Paſtors, thus writeth further : ***Forte eccleſiam fabricat, forte vtile aliquid in domo Dei molitur, expectat vt attendas, expectat vt intelligas ſuper egenum.*** Perhaps he is in building a Church, and doing ſome profitable worke in the houſe of God, he looketh that thou ſhouldeſt attend, and conſider of his neede. By this it appeareth, that Churches were not ſuperfluous coſtly in ***Auguſtines*** time : for nothing was done, but what was thought neceſſarie and profitable: and the builders (which were then for the moſt part their Biſhops) were not of any great abilitie, to beſtow ſuperfluous coſt : nay they were not able to finiſh the neceſſarie workes, without the beneuolence and contribution of the people.

Apolog.Bernard.

Bernard in his time much complayned of the ſuperfluous coſt that was beſtowed vpon Churches : ***Domum Dei decet ſanctitudo, quæ non tam politis marmoribus, quam ornatis moribus delectatur: & puras magis diligit mentes, quam ſuperauratos parietes:*** Holineſſe becommeth Gods houſe, which is rather delighted with vnpolluted manners, then poliſhed marble ; with pure wits rather, then painted and gilded walles: ***ad milites templi.cap.5.*** Againe ſaith he: ***Omitto oratoriorum immenſas altitudines, immoderatas longitudines, &c.*** I omitte to ſpeake of the exceſſiue height of their oratories, the vnreaſonable length, the ſuperfluous breadth, the curious paintings: ***Quæ dum orantium in ſe retorquent aſpectum, impediunt affectum, & mihi quodammodo repræſentant antiquum ritum Iudæorum:*** Which while they draw vnto them the ſight or aſpect of him that prayeth, do hinder his affection, and do ſeeme to me to repreſent the old rite of the Iewes : &c. If ***Bernard*** had liued in theſe late popiſh times, I thinke, he ſhould haue been talked withall for this ſpeech : he ſaith contrarie to ***Bellarmine,*** who vntruely affirmeth, that the gorgeous ornaments of Churches do ſtirre vp deuotion, and not hinder it: whereas S. ***Paul*** alſo ſaith, ***We walke by faith, not by ſight.*** 2.Cor.5.7. Whereupon it may bee inferred, that the ſight of the eye doth hinder the faith of the heart.

Zepherinus Biſhop of Rome thought he had done enough, when he brought glaſſe veſſels into the Church for the vſe of the Sacrament, in ſtead of wooden. But when *Vrbanus* after him, for glaſſe veſſels gaue them ſiluer, it was then thought, that nothing could be added: but now gold vpon gold, pearles, precious ſtones, and all the coſtlines that may be, is thought too little to adorne the popiſh Maſſe: Wherein they forget the auncient decree of *Euſebius* Biſhop of Rome, *Non in ſerico panno, aut tincto, ſed puro lineo ſacrificium altaris conſecretur.* That the ſacrifice of the Altar, (for ſo ſignificantly they called the Sacrament of the Lords bodie) ſhould not be conſecrate in ſilke, or ſtained or coloured cloth, but in pure and plaine linnen.

*Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*5.*leg.*17.*Iuſt.* It is made lawful for the redeeming of captiues, to ſel the ornaments, veſſels and veſtments of the Church: & this reaſon is giuen, *Quia non abſurdum eſt, animas hominum quibuſcunq; veſtimentis præferri:* It is not abſurd to preferre the ſoules of men before veſſels & veſtments whatſoeuer: *Ergo*, it is a better worke to cloth the naked, then to hang a Church, &c.

Likewiſe *decret.part.*2.*cauſ.*12.*qu.*2.*cap.*70. *Aurum ſacramenta non quærunt:* The Sacraments need no gold. Againſt ſuperfluous ornaments there is extant the decree of *Clemens* 5. *Clementin. lib.*5.*tit.*11.*c.*1. *Deus ad animum ſibi miniſtrantium reſpicit principalitèr, non ad manum:* God chiefly reſpecteth the mind of him that miniſtreth, not his hand: neither will he be ſerued with ſuch veſſels and inſtruments, as are not agreeable to the condition of thoſe, which ſerue him, &c. Superfluitie, coſtlines, or curioſitie in Church veſſels is not ſeemely, &c. Likewiſe *extrau.com.lib.*1.*tit.*5.*c.*1.*Ioannes.*22. decreed againſt the begging Friers, *Quod plures campanas*, becauſe they had many belles in their Churches, that from henceforth, they ſhould haue but one: yet of all other ſuperfluous ornaments, ſome ſuperfluous coſt in a ring of bels ſeemeth to be more tolerable.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE DEDICAtion of Churches.

The Papiſts.

58.Error. THe ſuperſtitious dedication of their Churches, with the Annual memories therof, they would warrant by the example of our Sauiour Chriſt, who was preſent at the feaſt of the dedication, which was inſtituted by *Iudas Mac.* Ioh.10.22. and by his preſence allowed it, *Rhem.in eum loc.*

Iacob alſo conſecrated the Altar with oile, before the times of the law, and called it the houſe of God: & vnder the law *Moſes* did conſecrate the Tabernacle, & the altar with oile. *Exo.*14.*Bell.c.*5.

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. FIrſt, a thankſgiuing to God for the reſtitution of the temple after the horrible prophanation thereof, is a thing approued by Gods lawe, but it is not neceſſarie to keepe a yeerely memorie thereof: for neither was there any ſuch inſtituted by *Ezechiah*, after the prophanation of the Temple by *Achaz* and *Vrias*; nor by *Ioſias*, after the ſame had been moſt horribly polluted by *Manaſſes* and *Amon*; nor by *Zorobabel, Eſdras* or *Nehemiah*, after it was reedified, when it had been vtterly deſtroyed by the Chaldees.

Againe it is moſt abſurd, that by the example of *Iacob*, and *Moſes*, he pleadeth for the reſtitution of Iewiſh ceremonies: for S. *Paul* ſaith, theſe were ſhadowes of things to come, but the bodie is in Chriſt, Coloſſ.2.17. The bodie therefore being come, the ſhadow vaniſheth: hee might by the ſame reaſon as well bring in Iewiſh ſacrifices, becauſe *Iacob* before the Law, and *Moſes* vnder the law offered ſacrifices: but herein I refuſe not the triall of your owne law, *decret.part.*2.*cauſ.*12.*qu.*2.*cap.*71. *Tunc hæc probabantur à Domino, &c.* Then theſe things were allowed of God (ſpeaking of the ornaments of the Tabernacle) when as the Prieſts offered ſacrifice, &c. all theſe things went before in figure, &c. So may we ſay, of oyle, ſalt, oyntment, hyſſope, with other ceremonies of the Iewes: what haue we to do with them now? they were as handmaids to waite vpon the externall ſacrifices, which being aboliſhed, they alſo ſhould ceaſe.

3. Your popiſh hallowing of Churches hath nothing like vnto it, but yͤ name: for you vſe a number of fooliſh ceremonies, & many of them groſſe ſuperſtitions, in yͤ dedication of your Churches.

Firſt, there are twelue Croſſes painted round about in the Church, and twelue burning Lampes ſet ouer againſt euery one of them, one againſt one: hereby (ſay they) the twelue Apoſtles are ſignified, that by the preaching of the Croſſe gaue light to the whole world. 2. They vſe oyle in annointing their altar, & other veſſels, ſhewing hereby that they are conſecrate to holy vſes. 3. They ſprinkle water, burne incenſe, ſet vp Taper light: this ſheweth (ſaith the Ieſuite) that the place is conſecrate to prayer, & other holy actions. 4. They ſprinkle aſhes round about the Church, and write in the floore the Greeke & Latine Alphabet from one ſide of the Church to the other. This betokeneth (ſay they) the preaching of faith, which is the foundation and ground of al righteouſnes, which was firſt taught in the Greeke & Latine tongue. 5. They beat vpon the Church doore, and call vpon Saints and Angels: that is, (ſay they) to command Sathan to depart, *Bellar.cap.*5.

Firſt, they offend in the number of their fooliſh ceremonies, exceeding herein the manner of the Iewiſh dedication: ſo that vnto them it may be ſaid, as *Paul* to the Galatians; How turne you againe to impotent and beggerly rudiments? 4.9.

Secondly, they haue no warrant for their friuolous ſhadowes and ſignifications: Coloſſ.2.17 which are but ſhadowes of things to come, but the bodie is in Chriſt: we haue the bodie, what need any more ſhadowes? Chriſt will not now be worſhipped with Croſſes, aſhes, characters, candle light, and ſuch apiſh toyes.

Thirdly, ſome of theſe ceremonies are impious, and ſacrilegious: the inuocation of Angels and Saints, is a robbing of God of his honour, who onely is to be prayed vnto.

Epiſtol.119. *Auguſtine* ſaith of ſuch inuentors of newe rites and ceremonies, *Ipſam religionem, quam Deus pauciſſimis ſacramentis liberam eſſe voluit, oneribus premunt*: They cumber religion with burdenſome ceremonies, which the Lorde hath made free with a fewe Sacraments.

Neither hath this ceremonious rite of dedicating Churches, any ſuch ſignification as the Ieſuite ſetteth downe, to be applied to the materiall Church: but as *Bernard* ſaith: *In nobis ſpiritualiter impleri neceſſe eſt, quæ in parietibus viſibiliter præceſſerunt,* It muſt neceſſarily be in vs ſpiritually fulfilled, which viſibly is done to the walles: *de dedicat. eccleſ. ſerm.*1.

*Concil. Colonienſ. part.9. cap.*11. *Docendus eſt populus dedicatione eccleſiæ ſignificari dedicationem Eccleſiæ catholicæ, ac cuiuſlibet hominis Chriſtiani, qua dedicatur Deo.* The people muſt be taught, that by dedication of the Church is ſignified the dedication of the whole Catholike Church, and of euery Chriſtian man, whereby he is conſecrate to God.

THE FIFT PART, OF THINGS HALLOWED and conſecrate for Churches.

The Papiſts.

59.Error. THey maintaine their ſuperſtitious and popiſh bleſſing with the Croſſe, the hallowing of waxe, fire, palmes, aſhes, holy bread, holy water, ſalt, oyle, and ſuch like: which haue power, as they would beare vs in hand, to driue away diſeaſes and euill ſpirits, *Rhemiſt. annot.* 2. *Tim.*4. *ſect.*12.13. *Bellarm. lib.*3. *cap.*7.

*Argum.*1. Firſt, for the hallowing of theſe creatures to holy vſes, and making of them actually holy, they alleadge that ſaying of S. *Paul,* 1. Tim.4.5. Euery creature of God is good, and is ſanctified by the word of God and prayer: *Ergo,* theſe creatures may be ſanctified to holy vſes, as the water alſo in Baptiſme, and bread and wine in the Euchariſt: for the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not here onely of the common benediction of meates, but of a more high and exact applying of creatures to holy vſes, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. S. *Paul* here ſpeaketh onely of the common and ordinary vſe of Gods creatures, as of meates and drinkes for euery mans priuate vſe: and he ſheweth how they are ſanctified by the word of God, which permitteth vnto the faithfull the free vſe of them; and by prayer: not that they are vncleane by nature, but by pollution of ſin; and by this meanes are made holy and cleane. Secondly, we confeſſe alſo, that ſome things ſet apart for the ſeruice of God, are more ſpecially called holy, as the Arke, Altar, and Temple: but it is not lawfull to ſeuer what creatures we will from the common vſe, and conſecrate them to the ſeruice of God, but ſuch as are appoynted by his word; as water in Baptiſme, and bread and wine in the Lords Supper haue the warrant of Gods word, as none of your popiſh trumperie haue: neither are theſe creatures ſo conſecrate holy in themſelues, to conferre or impart their holineſſe to other things, but are ſo called in reſpect of the holy vſe, for the which out of the word of God they are appoynted.

*Argum.*2. For the efficacie and power of theſe hallowed things, they thus reaſon. The bitter water giuen to the adulterous woman cauſed her thigh to rot, if ſhe were guiltie, otherwiſe it made her fruitfull, Numb.5. *Eliſæus* healed the bitter water with caſting in ſalt: the Apoſtles healed the ſicke with annoynting them with oyle, *Rhemiſt. Bellarm. ibid. Ergo,* theſe ſanctified creatures may doe the like.

Anſw. Firſt, the bitter water of it ſelfe had not that power, but by vertue of that oth, with the which the woman was charged. Againe, it hath the warrant of the word, as yours haue not. Secondly, *Eliſæus* and the Apoſtles had the ſpirit to worke miracles, ſo haue not you: and they might haue done that they did without any ſuch meanes. Againe, it was common ſalt, and ordinary oyle which they vſed, not bleſſed before, after your popiſh manner.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, we hold that no ſuch things ought to be ſeparated for holy vſes, becauſe they haue not the warrant of the word of God: for all things that are ſanctified, are ſo ſanctified by the word of God and prayer, 1. Timoth.4.5. But they haue not the word of God for their warrant, neither doe they vſe any prayer of faith, but a ſuperſtitious kind of croſſing. *Nadab* and *Abihu* were conſumed with fire, becauſe they offered ſtraunge fire, not taken from the Altar: that is, they preſumed of their owne authoritie, without Gods commandement, to conſecrate a ſtrange element to Gods ſeruice, and were puniſhed, Leuit.10. *Ergo*, it is dangerous without Gods word, to conſecrate any ſuch things.

Interrelig. Cæſarea. in præfation. thus wee reade: *Si quid in ceremonijs ſuccreuerit, ex quo ſuperſtitio cauſari poſſit, illud tollatur*: If any thing haue growne by the ceremonies of the Church, which may giue occaſion of ſuperſtition, let it bee remoued. But ſuch are popiſh rites and cermonies: *Ergo*, &c.

See the confeſſion of the holy Martyrs: ***Iohn Fortune***, being asked what he ſaid to the ceremonies of the Church: anſwered by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, *All things that are not planted by my heauenly father, ſhall be plucked vp*, Matth.15. And againe, *In vaine doe men worſhip me with mens traditions and commaundements.* Chriſt openly rebuked the Scribes, Phariſees, Prieſts, for making Gods commaundement of none effect, to ſupport their owne tradition. The Biſhop of Norwitch replied; Thou lieſt, there is not ſuch a word in all the Scriptures, *Fox* pag.1919. So cunning were theſe popiſh Biſhops in Scripture.

Concerning the ſprinkling and waſhing with holy water, *Auguſtine* thus writeth of the ſame or like cuſtome of waſhing: *Ne ad ipſum baptiſmi ſacramentum videretur pertinere, multi hoc in conſuetudinem recipere noluerunt: nonnulli de conſuetudine auferre non dubitarunt*: Many would not receiue that cuſtome, leaſt it ſhould ſeeme to bee another baptiſme: and ſome haue not doubted cleane to take it away. Epiſtol.119. cap.18.

I will obiect againſt them a conceit of one of their Popes: ***Innocent***.3. who decreed, that, *Oleum non conſecratum, &c.* Oyle not hallowed or conſecrated may be mingled with hallowed oyle, in the dedication of Churches; *Decret. Greg. lib.3. tit.40. c.3.* Thus wee ſee that they themſelues hold not alwaies the conſecrating of theſe toyes neceſſarie.

Secondly, though ſuch things were rightly hallowed, yet haue they no ſuch power: Chriſt ſheweth the way, whereby euill ſpirits are chaſed away; by prayer and faſting, Mark.9.29. And therefore to coniure creatures, to expell Sathan, without the word of God, is no better then a kinde of Magicke and enchantment.

Synod. Moguntin. cap.39. Paſtores ſedulò doceant, effectus, qui inde petuntur, non ipſarum rerum efficaciæ, ſed diuinæ virtutis operationi, per fortiſſimi nominis Domini inuocationem tribuendos eſſe: Let the paſtors diligently teach, that the effects (of theſe ceremonies of holie bread, holie water, &c.) are not to be aſcribed to the efficacie of the things themſelues, but to the working of the diuine power, by calling vpon the moſt powerfull name of God: *Ergo*, theſe hallowed things haue no ſuch power of themſelues.

Thomas Haukes holy Martyr hath put to his ſeale: who vpon theſe words, Act.19. *God ſo wrought by the hands of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him, &c.* which gaue health; inferreth, that it was God that wrought, not the ceremonies, *Fox* pag.1588. If theſe ceremonies wrought not of themſelues warranted by the Apoſtles, much leſſe ſuch as are inuented by men.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF PILGRIMAGES and Proceſſions.

The Papiſts.

60.Error. FIrſt, they hold that pilgrimages made to Ieruſalem and the holy land, as they call it, to Rome, and to the memories of Saints in other places, to aske and obtaine their helpe, are godly and religious, and to bee much vſed of Chriſtians, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.25. Bellarm. cap.*8. The halt and lame went vp to Ieruſalem to be healed in the poole of Betheſda, Iohn 5. Certaine Greekes came vp to worſhip at the feaſt, Iohn 12.20. The Eunuch went vp in pilgrimage to Ieruſalem, Act.8. *Ergo*, it is lawfull and requiſite, *Rhemiſt. Bellar. cap.*8.

Anſ. Firſt, when you can proue that ſuch miracles are wrought at the memories of Saints, as the Scripture teſtifieth of this poole, men may be bold to goe vnto them for their bodily health, as we ſee there is reſort vnto Bathes: but not for any religion. Secondly, the Grecians, that viſited Ieruſalem, were Iewes that dwelt amongſt the Gentiles, or Proſelytes, which were bound to viſite the Temple at Ieruſalem. Thirdly, the Eunuch went not vp in pilgrimage to Ieruſalem, but to worſhip: for there was yet no other knowne place of the world, where God was worſhipped.

Secondly, their ſolemne proceſſions, eſpecially vpon Palme Sunday, with carying the Sacrament about, ſtrawing of ruſhes, bearing of Palmes, ſetting vp of boughes, hanging vp rich clothes, the Quire and Queriſters ſinging: they would warrant by that action of our Sauiour Chriſt, Mat.21.8. when he came riding to Ieruſalem, and the people ſtrawed their garments in the way, *Rhemiſt. annot. Mat.21. ſect.1.* 61.Error.

Anſ. Firſt, your proceſſions are horrible abuſings and prophanations of the Lords inſtitution, who ordained his Supper to bee eaten and drunke, not to bee caried about in proceſſion like an heatheniſh Idol. Secondly, that which the people and Chriſts diſciples did, they had warrant for out of the Scripture: but who required this theatricall pompe at your hands? The riding of Chriſt vpon an aſſe was before prophecied of, Zachar.9. and the childrens crying out in the temple, Pſalm.8. The cutting downe of Palme branches was a ceremonie belonging to the feaſt of Tabernacles, truly accompliſhed by our deliuerance in Chriſt. But you haue turned the holy myſterie of Chriſts riding to Ieruſalem, to a Maygame, and Pageant play.

The Proteſtants.

First, that no places ought to be frequented, or reſorted vnto for religions ſake, or more holines, or for the health of the ſoule: we proue it out of the word of God.

S. *Peter* ſaith, That in euery nation he that feareth God is accepted with him, Act.10.35. *Ergo*, one nation is as holy as another. And now our Sauiour ſaith, That God will not be worſhipped at Ieruſalem, or in Mount Garrizin, but in ſpirit, and truth, Ioh.4. He therefore that ſeeketh places to worſhip God in, as though he were rather to be found in one place then another, hath left the ſpirituall worſhip.

Auguſtine thus writeth concerning pilgrimage: He wiſheth men to ſeeke them teachers and inſtructors, by whom they might be taught: *Deerat in ea terra, quam incolebas? quæ cauſa vtilius cogeret peregrinari?* But is there no teacher in the Countrey where thou dwelleſt? what better cauſe canſt thou haue to trauaile, and goe in pilgrimage to ſeeke one in other countries? *De vtilit. credend.cap.*7.

Thus he would haue men to play the pilgrims, not to runne gadding to reliques and Images, but to ſeeke for teachers and inſtructors.

Againſt this ſuperſtitious vſe of pilgrimages it was thus decreed: *Conc.Cabilonenſ.ſub Carolo, can.*44.45. *Sunt presbyteri, qui negligenter viuentes, in eo ſe purgari à peccatis putant, ſi præfata loca attingant, Romam ſcilicet ſeu Turonem: ſunt quidam laici qui ſe impunè peccare putant, &c.* There be prieſts, who liuing diſſolutely, do thinke themſelues purged from their ſinnes, by going to Rome or Turraine: there be certaine lay men, which thinke they may ſinne without controulement, by reſorting to theſe places to pray: ſome mightie men, which vnder the pretence of going on pilgrimage do oppreſſe the poore: ſome poore men which do it, *vt maiorem habeant mendicandi materiam*, to begge more freely: *Non attendentes quod ayt B.Hieronymus, Non Hieroſolymam vidiſſe, ſed Hieroſolymis bene vixiſſe, laudandum eſt:* They marke not what *Hiereme* ſaith, it is not prayſe worthy to haue ſeene Ieruſalem, but to haue liued well at Ieruſalem: which ſentence of S. *Hierome* is approued in their decrees. *par.*2.*cauſ.*12.*c.*71. We ſee then much hurt, but litle good to come by pilgrimages.

Let vs heare the determination of one of their Popes: *Innocent.*3.*decret.Gregor.lib.*3.*tit.*34.*c.*7. *gloſſ. Quia iam impletum eſt verbum Dei dicentis, &c.* Becauſe now the word of Chriſt is fulfilled, ſaying, *The houre ſhall come, and now is, when neither in this mountaine, nor at Ieruſalem, yee ſhall worſhip the father, &c. Videri poterat, quod non minus in eccleſia tua, quam Orientali terra proficeres pijs orationibus*: It might ſeeme, that you might as much profite by your praiers in your owne Church at home, as in the Eaſt Countrie: meaning, that which they call the holy land. Here wee haue the determination of a Pope againſt the neceſſitie of pilgrimages, and that warranted by Scripture.

See the confeſſion of holy Martyrs: ***William Sweeting*** perſecuted to death, for ſaying to his wife, that it were better for her to keepe at home, and attend vpon her buſineſſe, then to go on pilgrimage, *Fox* pag.818. *Iſabel Morwin*, for ſaying, ſhe would go no more on pilgrimage while ſhe liued, for all Saints (ſaid ſhe) are in heauen, pag.827.col.2. *Thomas Geffrey* perſecuted for ſaying, That true pilgrimage was barefoot to go and viſit the poore, weake, and ſicke; for they are the true Images of God, pag.827.col.1. Miſtreſſe *Cotiſmore*, for ſpeaking theſe words, That if ſhe went to her chamber and prayed there, ſhee ſhould haue as much merite, as though ſhee went to Walſingham in pilgrimage: and that folkes go on pilgrimage more for the greene way, then any deuotion, pag.835.col.2.

Secondly, as touching the popiſh pompous proceſſions, they are both ſuperſtitious, in reuiuing and renewing the Iewiſh ceremonies, ſuch as the feaſt of Tabernacles was, which are all now aboliſhed as ſhadowes by the comming of Chriſt: and they are plainely idolatrous, for they carrie about their breaden god in proceſſion, and make an Idoll of a peece of baked wheat: but *Paul* ſaith, The Sacrament ought to be receiued with thankſgiuing in the Churches and congregations of Chriſtians, 1.Cor.11.33. not to be caried about to be gazed vpon in the fields. Seemly proceſſions, void of ſuperſtition, which are vſed for ciuill purpoſes, as to maintaine the limits and bounds of townſhips, and withall by the ſight of Gods bleſſing vpon the creatures to be ſtirred vp to thankfulnes, we neither miſlike nor condemne.

*Conc.Colon.part.*9.*cap.*8. *Vt proceſſiones per agros & campos amplius non peragantur, &c.* That proceſſions ſhould be no longer made through the fields, becauſe that by occaſion of ſuch walking, which was inſtituted for the appeaſing of God, many ſinnes are committed: Wherefore it ſeemeth better to vs, that theſe and ſuch like ſupplications from henceforth ſhould be made within the compaſſe of the Church. Popiſh proceſſions, as we ſee, are heere by a popiſh Councell abridged. This alſo hath been the iudgment of the holy Martyrs: *Thomas Spicer*, *Iohn Deny* put to death, for refuſing to follow the Croſſe in proceſſion, p.1912.*col.2.artic.6.Ralfe Allerton* for refuſing to carry the Croſſe in proceſſion.p.2018.col.1.

AN APPENDIX CONCERNING THE HOLY Land, and holy warres for the ſame, as they were called.

The Papiſts.

THey which are but a little acquainted with ancient ſtories, ſhall find, that there were neuer in 62.Error. Chriſtendome ſuch bloudy warres, and for ſo long a time, as thoſe, which were at the inſtigation of the Popes, taken in hand by chriſtian Princes for the recouery of the holy land; in ſo much that they were made to beleeue, that it was a meritorious worke: Whereupon King *Richard* the firſt, calling to minde his rebellion and diſobedience to his father, in part of ſatiſfaction, purpoſed a voyage into the Holy land, as it was called, to redeeme Chriſts patrimonie from the Infidels, *Fox*.pag.235.*Bellarm.de laicis.lib*.3.*cap*.16. For why? they ſay, it is an Holy land: for if the places of Gods apparition are counted holy, Exod.3.5.Ioſ.5,15.much more the places of Chriſts natiuitie, buriall, paſſion, and reſurrection. Saint *Peter* calleth the place where Chriſt was transfi- 2.Pet.1.18. gured, The holy mount, *Rhemiſt*.1.*Tim*.4.*ſect*.10.

Anſw. The places where God appeared in times paſt, were holy for that time onely of Gods preſence, not for euer after: and the mount is called holy in reſpect of the time, wherein the transfiguration was, not that the holineſſe of the place doth alwayes continue: for that place which *Iacob* called *Bethel*, the houſe of God, Geneſ.28. is by the Prophet called *Bethauen*, the houſe of wickedneſſe, Oſe.4.15. becauſe of the idolatries there committed: What was now become of the holineſſe of the place? So the mount of Oliues, which for the fruitfulneſſe thereof was called *Mons Miſchcha*, the mount of oyle; was afterward termed *Mons Maſchchith:* the mountaine of corruption, becauſe of the idolatrie there committed, 2.*Reg*.23.13.

This alſo is **Origens** iudgement of the holineſſe of places, *Nec ipſa Ierico locus erat ſanctus, &c.* Hom.6.in Ioſ. Neither was Ierico an holy place, but becauſe the Prince of Gods warfare was there, it was called holy: The place alſo where *Moſes* ſtood, was not holy of it ſelfe, but becauſe the Lord ſtood with *Moſes*, *Præſentia Domini ſanctificauerat locum*: The preſence of the Lord did ſanctifie the place. If then the holy preſence made thoſe places holie, they were no longer holy, then they had that preſence.

Nicen.2. action.4. ex Leontio: Sion tanquam illius ciuitatem, &c. We reuerence Sion, as his citie: Nazareth, as his countrie: Iordane, as his lauer: not worſhipping the region it ſelfe, or the ſtones, but him that there appeared, and was conuerſant, euen Chriſt our Lord. The land therefore is not holy in it ſelfe, but it was holy becauſe of Chriſt, while hee was conuerſant there.

The Proteſtants.

TO warre againſt the Turkes vpon iuſt cauſe, as to ſeeke to defend our ſelues from their inuaſions, and to maintaine the confines and bounds of Chriſtendome, to deliuer Chriſtians vniuſtly and cruelly kept in ſlauerie vnder him, we hold it lawfull: but to wage battaile with him, onely for a ſuperſtitious deuotion to the land of Paleſtina, to recouer it out of his hand, we ſee no warrant at all for it.

*Argum.*1. The euill ſucceſſe that Chriſtians haue had againſt them, and the ſhamefull ouerthrowes that they haue ſuſtained at their hands, doe euidently ſhewe, that God was not pleaſed with thoſe ſuperſtitious warres. While Princes had a good quarrell, ſeeking onely to maintaine their owne, and to deliuer Chriſtian countries from the thraldome of the Turkes, God proſpered them, as the famous victories of *Scanderbeius*, and *Iohannes Hunniades* obtayned againſt *Amurathes* the 8. Turkiſh Emperour, doe notably teſtifie: but thoſe ſuperſtitious and pope-holy warres, though ſometimes they had good ſucceſſe, yet in the end al went to wracke. And as their cauſe was not good, ſo neither were the meanes that they vſed: for they brought S.*George*, and S.*Denys* into the field againſt the Turkes, and left Chriſt at home. If the Iſraelites could not be deliuered from the Philiſtims by the preſence of the Arke, but thirtie thouſand fell before them, and all becauſe of their ſinnes: let not men thinke that popiſh Saints can defend them, while their liues remaine vnreformed at home.

*Argum.*2. That the heathen are not to be prouoked to warre, but vpon iuſt cauſe, that is, when they prouoke vs; it appeareth by the example of the Iſraelites, who as they came from Ægypt, ſent vnto the King of Edom and Moab, that they might haue leaue to walke through their land:

but they not graunting ſo much, yet the people of God offered them no violence, but went a longer iourney about, Iudg.11.17.

De Ciuitat. Dei lib.19. cap.7. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Sapiens geſturus eſt iuſta bella : ſed multo magis dolebit iuſtorum neceſſitatem extitiſſe bellorum* : A wiſe man will take iuſt warre in hand : but it more grieueth him that he hath iuſt cauſe to warre. And what he meaneth by iuſt warre, he further ſheweth : *Iniquitas partis aduerſæ iuſta bella ingerit gerenda ſapienti.* The iniquitie or iniuries of the aduerſe part, doth giue vnto a wiſe man occaſion of iuſt warre. Iuſt warre therefore ariſeth, when men are prouoked by iniuries.

In the Ciuill law, the citie of Rome is called *ſacra Vrbs*, the holy citie, and that vnder the heathen Emperors : *Cod.lib.4.tit.33.leg.2. Diocletian.* Wherefore this title is not onely proper to Ieruſalem.

Looke your owne decrees, *part.1.diſtinct.40.c.9.* there you ſhall finde, that *Gratia, non locus, ſaluat animam* : Grace, and not the place, doth ſaue the ſoule : *Extra Paradiſnm factus, &c.* Man made without Paradiſe in an inferior place, was found better : and the woman made in Paradiſe in a better place, was found worſe. Wherefore it is in vaine ſo much to contend for the holineſſe of the place.

Lateranenſ. ſub Iulio.2.ex oration. Ægidy Viterbienſ. epiſcopi: Freta initio ſuis armis eccleſia Africam capit, Europam obtinuit, &c. The Church in the beginning vſing her owne weapons, obtayned Africa, Europa, Aſia, not by violence, or by ſword, but by religious actes : But ſince the ſpouſe hath changed the golden robe of the ſpirit, for the Iron weapons of madde *Aiax*, ſhee hath loſt Aſia, Ieruſalem, Africa, Egypt. Thus he ſpake in the hearing of the Pope, inſinuating thus much, that rather by religious acts the Turke might be wonne, then by forceable warre ſubdued.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, CONCERNING holy and feſtiuall dayes.

THis queſtion hath diuers parts. Firſt, of holy dayes in generall. Secondly, of the Lordes day. Thirdly, of the feſtiuall dayes of Chriſt and the holy Ghoſt. Fourthly, of Saints holy dayes.

THE FIRST PART, OF HOLY dayes in generall.

The Papiſts.

63.Error. FIrſt, they hold that holy and feſtiuall dayes, are in themſelues, and properly and truely, more ſacred and holy, then other dayes are, *Bellarm.cap.10.propoſit.2. Apocal.1.10.* I was in the ſpirit (ſaith the Apoſtle) on the Lords day : God reuealeth ſuch great things to Prophets rather vpon holy dayes, then prophane dayes : *Ergo*, ſome dayes holyer then other, *Rhemiſt. Apocal.1. ſect.6.*

Anſw. God giueth not his graces in reſpect of times, but according to his owne pleaſure. Times of prayer he chuſeth often, and of other godly exerciſes, not for the worthines or holines of the times, but for the better diſpoſition of his ſeruants in ſuch exerciſes, to receiue them: yet this was not perpetually obſerued; for God appeared to *Moſes* keeping of ſheepe, Exod.3. to *Amos* following his heard, Amos 7.

Argum.2. If holy dayes were not in themſelues holier then other dayes, then it would follow, that all feſtiuall dayes ſhould be of the like holineſſe, not one more holy then another: but ſo are they not, for the Lords day is the chiefe of all the reſt : *Ergo. Bellarm.lib.3.cap.10.*

Anſ. Firſt, we grant, that as feſtiuall dayes in themſelues are not holier then other dayes, but in reſpect of the vſe, ſo neyther are they in the nature of the day more holy one then another; yet in reſpect of the inſtitution one feſtiuall may be preferred before another : as the Lords day is more holy, becauſe it was inſtituted of God, the other feſtiuals of the Church ; and in reſpect of the religious vſe and obſeruation thereof, being more ſtrictly to be kept, then any other feſtiuall whatſoeuer ; but not in the nature of the day is it more excellent, for then it could not haue bin changed : wherefore firſt the argument followeth not, as I haue ſhewed.

Secondly, I am glad, that he giueth the Lords day the preeminence ; yet their popiſh practiſe is contrarie : for whereas they diuide their feaſts, into *duplex feſtum, & ſimplex* : double feaſtes, and ſingle feaſts : they make 4. kinds of *duplex feſtum*, principall double, more double, leſſe double, inferior double ; yet the Lords dayes are none of this number, as may be ſeene in the Calendar of their Maſſe booke according to the vſe of *Sarum*.

Argum.3. Chriſt in his Birth conſecrated the manger, where he lay ; in his death the Croſſe whereon he ſuffered; riſing againe the Sepulcher, where he was buried: why ſhould not the daies as well of his birth, paſſion, reſurrection, be conſecrated, and before other dayes preferred? *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, we denie not, but that theſe Feſtiuals of our Sauiour are to be preferred before other dayes, but not as in their nature more holy, but in reſpect of the vſe, and commemoration of the holy actes of Chriſt. Secondly, the places of Chriſts birth, paſſion, reſurrection, were holy, not by any inherent or naturall holineſſe, but in reſpect onely, and during the preſence of Chriſt: ſo are the Feſtiuals of Chriſt holy in regard of the commemoration of the holy actions of Chriſt, and not otherwiſe: Wherefore *Bellarmine* hath gained nothing by theſe reaſons.

The Proteſtants.

WE graunt that the Lords day being commaunded of God, and ſo diſcerned from other daies, may be ſaid to be holier then the reſt, in reſpect of the preſent vſe, but not in the nature of the day: for then could it not haue been chaunged from the laſt day in the weeke to the firſt: as water in Baptiſme is holier then other waters, becauſe of the ſacred vſe, not in it ſelfe, as by a qualitie of holines inherent. And as for other feſtiuall daies, which haue not the like inſtitution, they are appointed onely of the Church, for Chriſtian policie and orders ſake, for the exerciſe of religion: but this now Popiſh, and before time Iewiſh diſtinction of daies, as being by their nature holier then other, is flatly againſt the Apoſtles rule, Rom.14.5. *One putteth difference betweene day and day.*

Anſ. Bellarmine anſwereth firſt, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of thoſe, whereof ſome thought good to faſt euery day, ſome onely certaine daies, and both of them did well: and this is the iudging betweene day and day, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle maketh no mention at all of faſting, but of eating: wherefore this diſcerning of daies was not in any ſuch reſpect of faſting, or not faſting. Secondly, verſ.6. the Apoſtle maketh the obſeruing, and not obſeruing of daies, and eating or not eating, to be two ſeuerall things, and he bringeth them in as diuers inſtances: wherefore it is not agreeable to the Apoſtles meaning to confound them into one, as *Bellarmine* doth. Thirdly, the Apoſtle, ſaying, *He that obſerueth, or obſerueth not the day; obſerueth, and obſerueth not vnto the Lord,* verſ.6. approueth not the obſeruation of daies: But firſt we muſt conſider the times, when as yet ſome ceremonies of the Iewes remained, which the Apoſtles did for ſome while beare with, for feare to offend the weake. Secondly, the perſons muſt be reſpected, of whom the Apoſtle treateth, not ſuch as obſtinately maintained Iewiſh rites, but the weake in faith, verſ.1. that did all of conſcience, whom the Apoſtle would haue gently and charitably dealt with, and not rigorouſly to bee condemned: as verſ.15. *Deſtroy not by thy meate, for whom Chriſt died:* But what is this to theſe times, when as all Iewiſh ceremonies ought long agoe to be buried? or to the perſons of our aduerſaries, who not of weaknes and conſcience, but profeſſedly and purpoſely maintaine the difference of daies? Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſaying, *he obſerueth to the Lord, &c.* he ſaith none other thing, then before verſ.4. *why iudgeſt thou another mans ſeruant? he ſtandeth or falleth to his owne maſter:* he obſerueth, or not obſerueth to the Lord, that is, he is left to Gods iudgement.

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *You obſerue daies and moneths, times, and yeeres, I am afraid of you, leaſt I haue beſtowed on you labour in vaine,* Galath.4.10.11. And againe, Coloſſ.2.16. *Let no man condemne you in reſpect of an holy day, or of the new moone, or of the Sabboth, which are but a ſhadow of things to come, but the bodie is in Chriſt.* From hence we reaſon thus, out of the firſt place, That which hindreth, and deſtroyeth the faith of the Goſpell, is to bee auoided; but the obſeruation of daies cauſeth the Apoſtles labour to be in vaine, and ſo deſtroyeth the preaching of the Goſpell: *Ergo.* Againe, all figures ought to ceaſe, the bodie being come; obſeruation of daies was in figure, Chriſt is the bodie. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the Iewiſh obſeruation of daies, and not of the feſtiuals of Chriſtians: for S.*Paul* himſelfe obſeruing the feaſts of Chriſtians, as of Pentecoſt, Act.20. did make difference of daies.

Contra. Firſt, the feaſt of Pentecoſt, which *Paul* obſerued at Ieruſalem, was a feaſt of the Iewes: for as yet the Iewiſh feſtiuals were not aboliſhed, as it may appeare. 1. By the name, it being called the feaſt of Pentecoſt, that is the feaſt of fiftie daies, or the feaſt of weekes: which was a feaſt appointed in the law. 2. Becauſe it is kept at Ieruſalem, whereas it was not neceſſarie to keepe the Chriſtian feſtiuals there. 3. Saint *Paul* comming to Ieruſalem, did other things according to the law, as he purified himſelfe, Act.21.24. 4. The feſtiuals of Chriſtians were not yet eſtabliſhed. Secondly, though wee graunt it was a feaſt of the Chriſtians, yet the Apoſtle made no ſuch difference of daies, but onely for the holy vſe. Thirdly, theſe places ſerue as well againſt popiſh, as Iewiſh obſeruation of daies, for there is no difference.

Bellarmine would ſeeme to make a treble difference, betweene the Iewiſh feſtiuals and theirs. Firſt, the Iewiſh feſtiuals after Chriſt haue a falſe ſignification, but ours haue a true.

Contra. Firſt, the Iewiſh Sabboth hath a true ſignification yet in remembring the creation of the world. Secondly, ſome of yours haue a falſe ſignification, as the feaſt of the aſſumption of *Mary*, which is a fable.

Secondly, the chiefe end of their Sabboth, was to ſignifie things to come; but the end of ours is to acknowledge Gods benefits.

Contra. 1. So alſo the Sabboth now is a ſymbole of our euerlaſting reſt, Hebr.4. as theirs was a type of our reſt in Chriſt. 2. The Iewes alſo vpon the Sabboth remembred Gods benefits, as of the creation, Exod.31.17.

Thirdly, the chiefe part of their feſtiual, was to abſtaine from bodily labour: but the chiefe part of ours is to be occupied in diuine ſeruice. ***Bellarm.ibid.***

Contra. Firſt, their Sabboth conſiſted not onely in bodily reſt, but ſpirituall duties alſo, as in not doing their owne will, nor ſpeaking a vaine word, Iſay.58.13. Secondly, your Sabboth hath no ſpirituall duties, but a ſuperſtitious and idolatrous ſeruice, in worſhipping of Idols, inuocation of Saints, and ſuch like: So then in the obſeruation of daies there is no difference betweene the Iewes and Papiſts.

Auguſtine ſaith; ***Nos dominicum diem & paſcha celebramus, ſed quia intelligimus, quò pertineant, non tempora obſeruamus, ſed quæ illis ſignificantur temporibus, Cont. Adimant.cap.16.*** We keepe the Lords day and the feaſt of Eaſter, not obſeruing the times, but remembring what is ſignified by thoſe times: that is, for what cauſe they were ordained: *Ergo*, obſeruers of times are reproued.

Leonis Epiſtol.4.cap.4. Notum ſit dilectioni veſtræ vniuerſos dies Chriſti, &c. Be it knowne to your brotherhood, that all the daies of Chriſt are conſecrate with innumerable vertues: yet if wee ſhould indifferently honour the memorie of all his acts, all daies ſhould bee holy, becauſe euery one of them is full of his miracles. Hence I gather, that daies in themſelues are not one holier then another, in as much as they all and euery of them were beautified and adorned with ſome miracle of Chriſt.

The ſcrupulous obſeruation of daies is forbidden by the Imperiall law of ***Theodoſ.Cod.lib.6. tit.30.leg.17.*** and by the Canon law, ***part.2.cauſ.26.qu.7.c.17. Ad animæ periculum pertinent ſuperſtitioſæ temporum obſeruationes:*** Superſtitious obſeruation of daies bringeth daunger to the ſoule, as the Apoſtle ſaith, ***I feare I haue laboured in vaine amongſt you.***

The Papiſts.

64. Error. 2. THey affirme the keeping and ſanctification of holy daies to bee neceſſarie, ***Rhemiſt.annot. Galath.4.ſect.5.*** and that we are bound in conſcience to keep the holy daies appointed of the Church, although no offence or ſcandale might follow and enſue vpon the neglecting of thẽ.

Eſther 9. *Mardocheus* and *Eſther* appoint a new feſtiuall day, not inſtituted of God, and binde euery one to the obſeruing thereof, that none ſhould faile to obſerue it, verſ.27. ***Ergo,*** men bound in conſcience to keepe feſtiuall daies. ***Bellarm.cap.10.***

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, though we refuſe not ſome other feſtiuall daies, yet we acknowledge none neceſſarie, more then are of the holie Ghoſts appointing in the Scripture. Secondly, wee denie that the conſtitutions of the Church for holy daies doe binde Chriſtians, in reſpect of the daies themſelues, in conſcience to keepe them, otherwiſe then they may giue offence by their contempt and diſobedience to the holeſome decrees of the Church: for it ſelfe in it owne nature is indifferent; neither can the Church make a thing neceſſarie in nature, which God hath left indifferent: nothing bindeth abſolutely in conſcience, but that which is neceſſarie by nature: wherefore keeping of holy daies, being not inioyned but left indifferent in the word, bindeth no otherwiſe then wee haue ſaid. Thirdly, the example of *Eſther* ſheweth that the Church hath authoritie to appoint for ciuill vſes, daies of reioycing: that feſtiuall day then begun did not binde the obſeruers in conſcience, no otherwiſe then they were bound in all lawfull things to obey their gouernours, for their conſent was required, and they promiſed both for themſelues and their ſeede to keepe that day, Eſth.9.27. Whereby it appeareth that they were not bound abſolutely in conſcience to obſerue it.

Argum. If Chriſtians were bound in conſcience to keepe all holy daies which are enioyned them in the popiſh Church, their burden ſhould be greater then the Iewes was (ſeeing they haue a great number of holy daies more) yet the Iewes yoke was ſuch, as neither they, nor their forefathers were able to beare. Act.15.10.

Bellar. anſwereth: firſt, that the yoke of the Iewes is heauier, in reſpect of the hard obſeruances, as that it was not lawfull to ſeeth meate, to kindle a fire on the Lords day, thrice a yeere they went vp to Ieruſalem, they were enioyned to eate vnſauourie and vnleauened bread: it was not heauie in reſpect of the multitude of their feaſts, but of other ceremonious rites, *cap.10.*

Contra. Firſt, the popiſh yoke euen in reſpect of their hard iniunctions is more intolerable then the Iewes was: your pilgrimages to Rome, to Ieruſalem, to other remote places, are more then their going vp to Ieruſalem: your preſcription to faſt bread and water is harder, then to eate vnleauened

leauened bread, and yet you vſe that to: not to eate an egge in Lent is more, then not to dreſſe meate vpon the Lords. Secondly, the heauines of the Iewiſh yoke did much ſtand in the multitude of their feaſts, as Iſay.1.14. if they were a burden to the Lord, much more vnto men: and therefore the popiſh yoke inioyning the keeping of many more holie daies, is much more grieuous.

Auguſtine ſpeaking of the Sabboth, ſaith thus: *Hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea:* This is the day which the Lord hath made, let vs reioyce and bee glad therein, Pſal. 118.24. This onely holy day, he ſaith, is of the Lords making, and therefore of all other neceſſary to be kept. De tempor. Serm.36.

Synod. Moguntin.cap 61. *Sanctorum celebritates in diem dominicum incidentes, cenſemus ſubmouendas, &c.* We think it meete, that holy daies falling within the Lords day ſhould be remoued, and tranſlated to the day before, or after, that the ſolemnitie of them all may bee reſerued and referred to their Lord, &c. The Lords day we ſee, is preferred before the reſt, as being of neceſſitie onely to be kept, and the reſt to giue place to it.

This truth alſo hath been ſealed: *Ioane Iohn*, the wife of *Lewis Iohn*, perſecuted for ſaying, That God commanded no holy daies to be kept but the Sabboth day, *Fox* pag.803.col.2.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE Lords day.

The Papiſts.

CONcerning the Lords day, our aduerſaries doe graunt: firſt, that it is the moſt ancient of all Chriſtian feſtiuals, *Bellar.cap.*11. Secondly, that it was inſtituted by the Apoſtles, *ibid.* Thirdly, that it ſucceeded in ſtead of the Iewiſh Sabboth, *ibid.* Fourthly, that it is the moſt excellent, and to be preferred before all other holy daies, *Bellarm.cap.*10. Theſe points are on both ſides condeſcended vnto, and whatſoeuer elſe is affirmed agreeable to Scripture.

The ſeuerall points wherein our aduerſaries and wee doe differ about the Chriſtian Sabboth, are theſe:

First, the principall exerciſe of the Sabboth, ſay they, is for the people to come to the Church and heare Maſſe, which their abominable and idolatrous ſacrifice they make the proper worke of the Sabboth, *Catechiſm. Roman.pag.*649. 65. Error.

The Proteſtants.

THe Sabboth was ordained for the people to aſſemble together to heare the word read, Act.15 verſ.21. and preached; and to receiue the Sacraments, Act.20.7. and to offer vp their praiers: theſe were the proper exerciſes of the Sabboth: as for the popiſh ſacrifice of the Maſſe, wee finde no mention at all thereof in Scripture.

*Concil. Moguntiac.can.*34. *Nunquam deſit diebus dominicis, aut feſtiuitatibus qui verbum Dei prædicet:* Let there bee neuer wanting, vpon the Lords daies and other feſtiuities, one that ſhould preach the word of God.

Colonienſ.part.9.cap.9. Dies dominicus à temporibus Apoſtolorum celebris, vt in vnum omnes pariter conuenirent, ad audiendum verbum domini, ad audiendum quoque ſacrum & communicandum, &c. The Lords day hath been obſerued ſince the Apoſtles time, that all might meete together to heare Gods word, to heare alſo and receiue the Sacraments. Theſe then are the principall exerciſes of the Lords day. And yet more euidently it was thus decreed, *Synod. Auguſtenſ.cap.*18 *Euangelia & epiſtolæ diebus dominicis lingua Germanica exponantur, eoque tempore nulla miſſa, ne populum ab auſcultatione diſtrahi contingat, celebretur:* Let the Goſpels and the Epiſtles bee expounded vpon the Lords daies in the Germane tongue, and at that inſtant let no Maſſe bee celebrated, leaſt the people be drawne away from hearing. From hence wee reaſon thus: That whereunto other exerciſes giue place, is the chiefe exerciſe of the Lords day; but other giue place, as the ſaying of Maſſe, to preaching and expounding of Scripture: *Ergo*, &c.

The Papiſts.

2. WE diſſent about the reſt of the Sabboth: they allow ſuch workes to bee done vpon the Sabboth, as ſhall be permitted by the Prelates and Ordinaries, and ſuch as by long cuſtome haue been vſed, *Bellarm.cap.*10. 66. Error.

The Proteſtants.

WE hold, that as the Lords day was inſtituted of God, ſo the manner of celebrating and keeping it holy, is to bee learned out of the word, and neither cuſtome nor authoritie ought to giue libertie for ſuch workes vpon the Lords day, as are not warranted by the word.

Firſt, we graunt that we are not ſo neceſſarily tyed to the reſt of the Sabboth as the Iewes were: for thoſe things are aboliſhed which appertained to the Iewiſh Sabboth: Firſt, the preſcript of the day. Secondly, the ceremonious exerciſes of the Sabboth in the ſacrifices and other rites of the

Law. Thirdly, the typicall ſhadowes and ſignifications of their Sabboth, as firſt it betokened their reſt in Canaan; then the reſt and peace of the Church by Chriſt, Hebr. 4. 3. 5. Fourthly, the ſtrickt and preciſe reſt, wherein Chriſtians haue more libertie then the Iewes had: and againe, they obſerued their reſt, as being properly and ſimply, and in it ſelfe a Sabboth dayes duety; but we doe conſider it, as being referred to a more principall end: as making of vs more fit for ſpirituall exerciſes.

Secondly, we allow theſe workes to be done: Firſt, *opera religioſa* or *pietatis*, the religious workes, and conferring to pietie: as the Prieſts did ſlay the ſacrifices vpon the Sabboth, and yet brake not the reſt of the Sabboth, Matth. 12. 5. ſo the people may walke to their pariſh Church, though ſomewhat farre off: the Paſtor and Miniſter may goe forth to preach; yea, and preaching is of it ſelfe a labour of the body, to ſtudy alſo and meditate of his ſermon, to ring the bels to call the people to the Church: all theſe are lawfull, as being helpes for the exerciſes of religion. Secondly, *opera charitatis*, the workes of mercie are permitted, as to viſite the ſicke, the Phiſition to reſort to his patient; yea, to ſhew compaſſion to brute beaſts, as to helpe the ſheepe out of a pitte, Matth. 12. 11. Thirdly, *opera neceſſitatis*, the workes of neceſſitie, as the dreſſing of meate and ſuch like, Matth. 12. 1. 3. Our Sauiour excuſeth his Apoſtles for plucking the eares of Corne, when they were hungry. As for *opera voluntaria*, workes of pleaſure and recreation, we haue no other permiſſion to vſe them, then as they ſhall be no lets or impediments vnto ſpirituall exerciſes, as the hearing of the worde, and meditating therein, and ſuch other: Otherwiſe they are not to be vſed.

Auguſtine ſaith, ſpeaking of the Iewes, who did greatly prophane their Sabboth, in ſporting and daliance: *Melius toto die foderent, quàm toto die ſaltarent*; It were better for them to digge all day, then to daunce all day: euen ſo verily it were better for many poore ignorant people, that vpon the Sabboth giue themſelues to drinking, and quaffing, and gaming, if they ſhould goe to plough or cart all the day. But as for other ſeruile workes, as to keepe Faires and Markets vpon the Lords day, to trauell themſelues, their ſeruants, and beaſts vpon the Sabboth, it is flat contrary to the commandement of God, and the practiſe of the Church, Nehem. 13. 16. where there is no extreame and vrgent neceſſitie: ſo that it is not to be doubted, but that as the keeping of the Lords day is a morall commandement; ſo alſo the manner of the obſeruing thereof in ſanctifying it, and reſting therein, is morall: the ceremonies of the reſt being aboliſhed, that is, the Iewiſh ſtricktnes thereof, and the opinion which they had of their reſt, as being ſimply a part of the ſanctifying of the Sabboth. But we do conſider it, as referred vnto more principall duties, and obſerue it, not as of it ſelfe pleaſing God, but as making vs more fit for ſpirituall exerciſes. Contrary to theſe rules, we acknowledge neither power in ordinaries, nor priuiledge in cuſtome, to diſpence with the Sanctification of the Sabboth.

In Pſal. 32. part. 1.

Decret. part. 1. diſtinct. 86. cap. 24. Gregor. writeth ſharpely to one *Ianuarius* an old Biſhop, becauſe he preſumed vpon the Lords day, *exarare alterius meſſem*, to enter vpon anothers harueſt, to ſpoyle it: By this we may ſee what great diſcretion popiſh Ordinaries haue, in preſcribing Sabboth day workes.

Concerning ſuch ſanctification of the Sabboth as we ſpeake of, which conſiſteth partly in abſtaining from all corporall labors, and worldly affaires, partly and chiefly in giuing our ſelues to ſpirituall exerciſes, we haue the full conſent of antiquitie.

Concerning the firſt: *Concil. Aurel. 3. can. 27. Die dominico cum caballis, bobus, vehiculis itinerari non debere*: That none ought to trauell with horſe, oxen, carts vpon the Lords day. *Cabilonenſ. can.* 18. *Ruralia opera nemo facere præſumat*: Let no man vpon this day preſume to do any country work, as to ſow, to reape, to plough. *Matiſconenſ. 2. can. 1. Nullus cauſarum actiones exerceat*: That no man ſhould goe to law. *Colonienſ. part. 9. cap.* 10. Markets and Faires are forbidden to be kept. *Moguntin. cap. 61. Tripudia, ſaltationes, profana ſpectacula non permittenda*: Dauncing, and leaping, and all prophane playes and ſights muſt be forbidden.

As touching the affirmatiue part of this ſanctification, in ſequeſtring our ſelues to ſpirituall exerciſes, thus alſo it hath been decreed: *Trullam. can. 19. Vt omnibus diebus ſed præcipuè dominicis populum doceant pietatis eloquia*: That vpon all dayes, but chiefly on the Lords dayes the paſtors inſtruct the people: preaching of the word is one chiefe worke of the Lords day: the receiuing of the Sacraments is another, *Colonienſ. part. 9. cap. 9. Populus conueniat ad communicandum*: the people muſt come together to communicate. Prayer is another Sabboth worke: *Matiſconenſ. 2. cap. 1. Die dominico quiſque ſeipſum precibus & lachrimis afficiat*: Vpon the Lords day let euery man giue himſelfe to prayer and teares. Giuing of thankes and prayſing of God is proper alſo for the Lords day: *Synod. Colonienſ. part. 9. cap. 9. Dies illa tantum orationibus, hymnis, Pſalmis tranſigatur*: Let that day onely be ſpent in prayer, Hymnes and Pſalmes, and ſpirituall ſongs. *Aurelianenſ. 2. can. 20. Vincti in carceribus, &c.* Let the Biſhops viſite thoſe on the Lords dayes that are bound in priſon. *Conſtantin. 6. cap. 8. tantummodo vacandum eſt orationi, & celebrationi eleemoſynarum*: Vpon this day, they muſt giue themſelues only to prayer, and celebrating of almes. Here be other exerciſes of the Lords day. And thus, as we ſee, the auncient Canons doe teſtifie with vs for the ſanctification of the Lords day.

To theſe Canons agree the imperiall lawes : which bid, ***Omnium Iudicum & artium officia ceſſare, &c.*** Both the offices of Iudges, and artificers ſhops to ceaſe and be ſhut vp vpon the Lordes day, *Cod.lib.3.tit.12.leg.3.Theod.*and that no playes or enterludes ſhould be kept vpon that day, or any ſuch games, *ibid.leg.10.Leo,et Anthem.* Yet workes of neceſſitie are excepted, as in time of haruest and ſeede time,*leg.3.*and ***cauſæ piſtoriæ,***Bakers cauſes,as touching the making of bread, are excepted, *leg.5.Valentin.* Likewiſe workes of charitie, as in according and reconciling men, are tolerated, *leg.10.* as alſo manumitting and ſetting bond-men at libertie, *leg.8.Valentin.* Thirdly, workes of pietie are excepted, as doing of Iuſtice in executing of malefactors and offenders, *leg.9.Honor.Theodoſ.*

The Papiſts.

THey affirme that the Apoſtles altered the Sabboth day, from the ſeuenth day to the eight, 67.Error. counting from the creation ; and they did it without Scripture, or any commandement of Chriſt : ſuch power (ſay they) hath God left to his Church.This then they hold,that the Sabboth was changed by the ordinarie power and authoritie of the Church,not by any eſpeciall direction from Chriſt : thereupon it followeth, that the Church, which (they ſay) cannot erre, may alſo change the Sabboth to any other day in the weeke,*Rhemiſt.Apoc.1.ſect.6.*

The Proteſtants.

1. THe Apoſtles did not abrogate the Iewiſh Sabboth, but Chriſt himſelfe by his death, as he did alſo other ceremonies of the Lawe: and this the Apoſtles knew both by the Scriptures, the word of Chriſt and his holy ſpirite.

2 They did not appoint a new Sabboth of their owne authoritie : for firſt they knew by the Scripture,that one day of ſeuen was to be obſerued for euer, for the ſeruice of God and exerciſe of religion,although the preſcript day according to the Law were abrogate : for the Lord before the morall law was written,euen immediately after the creation,ſanctified the ſeuenth day,ſhewing thereby,that one of the ſeuen muſt be obſerued ſo long as the world endured. Secondly,they knew there was the ſame reaſon of ſanctifying the day of Chriſts reſurrection,and the reſtitution of the world thereby,as of ſanctifying the day of the Lords reſt, after the creation of the world. Thirdly,they did it by the direction of the Spirite of God,whereby they were ſo directed and gouerned,that although they were fraile men by nature, and ſubiect to error : yet they could not decline in their writings and ordinances of the Church, from the truth, which aſſurance of Gods ſpirit in the like meaſure the Church hath not now ; but ſo farre forth is promiſed to be led into all truth, as ſhe followeth the rule of truth expreſſed in the Scriptures. Wherefore the Church hath no authoritie to change the Lords day,and to keepe it vpon Monday or Tueſday,or any other day ; ſeeing it is not a matter of indifferencie, but a neceſſary preſcription of Chriſt himſelfe, deliuered by the Apoſtles : for the Lords day began in the Apoſtles time, and no doubt by their Apoſtolike authoritie directed by the ſpirit of Chriſt, was inſtituted, Act.20.7. Apocal.1. verſ.10.Neither can there come,ſo long as the world continueth,ſo great a cauſe of changing the Sabboth,as the Apoſtles had by the reſurrection of Chriſt. Wherefore the lawe of the Sabboth,as it is now kept and obſerued, is perpetuall.

Conſtantin.6.can.8. ***Diei dominici,quia in eo Deus lucem condidit, in eo Manna in eremo pluit, &c. tanta debet eſſe reuerentia, &c.*** The Lords day muſt be had in great reuerence, becauſe vpon this day God created the Light, it rained Manna in the Wilderneſſe : Chriſt then vouchſafed to be borne : on this day the ſtarre appeared to the Wiſe men: Chriſt fed fiue thouſand men with fiue loaues and two fiſhes : on this day he was baptized, roſe againe, ſent downe the holy ſpirit vpon his diſciples, &c. theſe are the reaſons why we doe now keepe the Lords day vpon the firſt in the weeke : but greater reaſons than theſe, ſhall neuer fall out vpon any other day : *Ergo,*the Lordes day cannot be remooued to any other day of the weeke.

The Papiſts.

4. THey affirme that the keeping of the Lords day,in ſtead of the Iewiſh Sabboth,is a tradition 68.Error. of the Apoſtles,and not warranted by Scripture,*Rhemiſt.Mat.15.ſect.3.*

The Proteſtants.

THe obſeruation of the Lords day is not deliuered by blinde tradition,but hath teſtimonie of holy Scriptures,1.Corinth.16.2. Act.20.7. Apocal.1.10. and the obſeruation thereof is according to Gods commaundement, not after the doctrine of men, ***Fulk.ibid. Bellarmine*** out of theſe three places proueth the Lords day to be inſtituted in the Scripture : *de cultu. ſanctor. lib.3.c.11.*

Leon.epiſtol.79.cap.1. ***In hac mundus ſumpſit exordium, in hac per reſurrectionem Chriſti mors interitum,vita accepit initium,&c.***On this day the world tooke beginning by the reſurrection of Chriſt, death was deſtroyed, and life entred: on this day the Apoſtles receiued commiſſion to preach: Chriſt entred in to his diſciples, the doores being ſhut,&c. *Ergo*, the Lords day is no humane tradition, but a diuine inſtitution: Theſe workes, whereby the Lords day is ſanctified, were the workes of the Trinitie,and ſet forth in Scripture: *Ergo*, the Lords day is inſtituted of God and grounded vpon Scripture.

Decret.part.1.diſt.76.c.5. Leo, Quòd die dominica ordinationes Sacerdotum celebrentur, &c. That orders muſt be celebrated vpon the Lords day, it is not grounded onely vpon cuſtome, but on the Apoſtles doctrine in Scripture,&c. and he proueth it out of the 13.of the Actes: But this can not be ſhewed out of Scripture, that Orders ſhould be kept vpon the Lordes day, but that the Scripture euidently teſtifieth for the Lords day it ſelfe.

The Papiſts.

69.Error. 5. THey teach that the Lords day is commanded,and likewiſe kept for ſome myſticall ſignification,not onely for the remembrance of benefites alreadie accompliſhed;as of the reſurrection of Chriſt,and the Aduent or comming downe of the holy ſpirite: but alſo to betoken vnto vs things to come, as our reſt and glorie in the kingdome of God, *Bellarmin. de cultu ſanctor. lib.3.cap.11.*

The Proteſtants.

1. WE graunt, that the Sabboth may be ſo applyed, both to call to remembrance things already, as vpon that day done: as the reſurrection of Chriſt,and the deſcending of the holy Ghoſt. Some thinke alſo that Chriſt vpon that day was baptized,vpon that day turned water into wine,fed fiue thouſand with a few loaues, came vnto his Apoſtles after his reſurrection the doores being ſhut,and that as vpon this day he ſhall appeare to iudgement: but vpon what ground I know not. Certaine it is,that vpon this day Chriſt roſe againe,and that the holy Ghoſt came downe then vpon his Apoſtles. We deny not but that the keeping of the Lords day holy, may fitly bring vnto our remembrance theſe things: yea and that it may be a type and ſymbole vnto vs in ſome ſort, both of things ſpirituall, as to betoken our ceaſing and reſting from the workes of ſinne,Heb.4.10.and 1.Pet.4.1. as alſo of things to come, as the kingdome of heauen is called a Sabboth,Iſai.66.23.

Auguſt.de tempor. ſerm.154.

But we dare not,neither will affirme, that the Sabboth was ordayned and conſtituted for any ſuch end: for the commandement of the Sabboth now to vs is onely morall,not typicall or ceremoniall,as the Iewiſh Sabboth was; but looke wherein the Sabboth was morall to the Iewes,ſo it is kept ſtill: As in theſe two poynts it was morall to them; firſt, to be a ſigne betweene them and the Lord,and to diſtinguiſh them from other people,Exod.31.17. And ſo alſo the right keeping of the Lords day is a notable outward marke of difference betweene the Church of God and all others. Secondly,that vpon the Sabboth they ſhould reſort together,and heare the lawe read and preached,Act.15.21. And for this cauſe,namely,the exerciſe of religion,are Chriſtians chiefly bound to the Sabboth. It may (I ſay) fitly be drawne to reſemble heauenly and ſpirituall things: but that is not any end of the inſtitution. The Iewes had two kindes of types, *typos factos*, and *typos deſtinatos*, types made and applyed, and types appointed and ordayned of God to ſhadow forth ſome notable thing: as the Paſchall Lambe, was *typus deſtinatus*, of our Sauiour Chriſt, as they were not to breake a bone of the Lambe; ſo was it accordingly perfourmed in Chriſt. They had alſo many types beſide,that were not deſtinated to ſignifie any certaine thing: of ſuch S. *Paul* ſpeaketh,1.Corinth.10.6.11. So we ſay of the Sabboth, that it is not *typus deſtinatus*, it is not inſtituted for any ſhadow or ſignification, though it may be fitly applied to ſuch an vſe.

Matiſconenſ.2.can.1. Ipſe eſt dies requietis perpetuus,ipſe nobis per ſeptimi diei vmbram inſinuatus noſcitur in lege & Prophetis: This is a day of reſt for euer, this is knowne to haue been inſinuated by the ſhadow of the ſeuenth day in the law: ſo then the Lords day was rather ſhadowed foorth, then it doth ſhadowe;it had ſhadowes,it ſelfe is no ſhadowe.

Colonienſ.part.9.cap.9. Dies dominicus à temporibus Apoſtolorum ſemper in eccleſia celebris fuit, vt tum in vnum omnes pariter conuenirent: The Lords day hath been alwaies celebrated in the Church ſince the Apoſtles time,that the people might come together to heare the word of God,&c. For this end then the Lords day was appoynted principally,not to be a ſhadow of things to come.

The Papiſts.

70.Error. 6. THey ſay that we are not bound vpon the Sabboth by any peculiar commandement to abſtaine from ſinne,more then vpon any other day: neither that the internall act of religion appertaineth to the keeping of the Sabboth,but the externall: that any ſinne committed vpon the Sabboth is not thereby the greater: neither that we are more bound vpon the Sabboth to ſeeke for internall grace then vpon any other day, *Bellarm.lib.3.cap.10.propoſ.4.*

*Argum.*1. *Bellarmine* reaſoneth thus, the internall act of religion is the end of this commandement,but the meanes tending to the end,not the end it ſelfe,are commaunded.

Secondly, the internall worſhip is preſcribed in the firſt commandement: for this is the order: In the firſt precept, the worſhip of the heart; In the ſecond, the worſhip of the mouth; In the third, the worſhip or ſeruice of God in our workes is preſcribed.

Thirdly, it were dangerous to appoint ſo many holy dayes, for this were but to entangle mens conſciences, if ſinne be more grieuous committed vpon feſtiuals, *cap.*10.

Anſw. To the firſt we anſwere; Firſt, that it is vntrue, that the meanes onely, and not the end is commanded: for loue is the end of the commandement, 1.Timoth.1.5. and yet is commanded, and one of the greateſt commandements, Matth.22.39. So in the 7. Commandement the end is, not to commit adulterie; the meanes tending to adulterie, as chambering and wantonneſſe are likewiſe prohibited, Rom.13.13. ſhall we ſay therefore that adulterie it ſelfe is not forbidden? ſo admit that the internall ſanctification of the Sabboth is the ende, yet it may be and is commanded. Secondly, though it be the end, in reſpect of the meanes tending vnto it, as the corporall reſt, and the externall exerciſes of religion; yet it is alſo as a meane referred to the principall end of all, which is the glory of God; and therefore may be commanded, according to *Bellarmines* owne rule.

To the ſecond, we anſwere: Firſt, though ſome internall act of religion be preſcribed in the firſt Commandement; Thou ſhalt haue no other gods; and as to loue God, and feare him: yet that internall act, which is peculiar for the Lords day, is onely preſcribed in the fourth commandement. Secondly, he very fondly deuideth the firſt table into 3. precepts, whereas it containeth foure; as *Origen* ſheweth by this reaſon: ſome men thinke, ſaith he, that theſe two are one Commandement: *Quod ſi ita putetur, &c.* which if it be ſo, then are there not ten commandements, what is become then of the Decalogue? therefore the firſt Commandement is, *Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods*: the ſecond, *Thou ſhalt make no grauen image, &c.* thus farre *Origen. hom.*8. *in Exod.* Thirdly, to make a grauen image to worſhip it, is an externall act of religion, yet this is forbidden in the ſecond commandement, which *Bellarmine* ioyneth to the firſt, therefore his diuiſion is not good, referring all external actes of religion to this fourth, or as he maketh it, the third Commandement.

To the third we anſwere; Firſt, that other holy dayes are not enioyned with the like ſtrict precept of ſanctification, as the Lords day is, which is of Gods inſtitution onely; the other were ordeined by the Church, ſome are the meere inuentions of men, as popiſh holy dayes: but the ſpeciall ſanctifying of a day to an holy vſe, dependeth vpon Gods commandement and inſtitution.

Secondly, it is *Bellarmines* owne poſition, that men are bound in conſcience to keepe the Feſtiuals of the Church, *cap.*10. *prop.*3. whereas we do not ſo affirme: therefore it is he himſelfe, and not we, that doth lay ſnares by the ſuperſtitious obſeruation of holydaies, to entangle mens ſoules and conſciences. Thirdly, we yeeld vnto him, that it is very hurtfull to appoint ſo many holy dayes, as they do, which in deed is nothing els but to clogge mens conſciences with a multitude of ceremonies, which are burdenous to the Church.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. First, we graunt that all ſinne, as of theft, adulterie, and the like, are in their owne nature alike, at what time ſoeuer they are committed; yet they may be made more heynous by the circumſtances: as of the place, as ſacriledge is greater than common theft; ſo why not of the time?

Secondly, if that which is no ſinne vpon the worke-day, be a ſinne vpon the Sabboth, as to digge, to plough, to cart; then that which is a ſinne of it ſelfe, as to ſteale, to commit adulterie, muſt needs be greater and more hainous being done vpon the Sabboth: for beſide the ſinne, hee alſo prophaneth the Sabboth, which is the breach of another commandement. Thirdly, the internall act of religion, is properly commaunded in the ſanctifying of the Sabboth: for it cannot be ſanctified by the externall act of going to Church, and hearing the worde, vnleſſe a man be inwardly in the deuotion of his heart prepared for thoſe holy exerciſes. So inward grace is more ſought for vpon the Sabboth, not in reſpect of that inward deſire which we haue vnto them, which ought alwaies to be alike feruent in vs, if it were poſſible, but becauſe of thoſe outward meanes, of hearing the word, publike prayer, receiuing the Sacraments, which are vpon the Sabboth: for the which we ought more eſpecially to prepare & examine our ſelues, Eccle.4.17. 1.Cor.11.28.

The Prophet *Eſay* doth teach vs, how the true Sabboth muſt be kept, Chap.58. verſ.13. *If thou turne away thy foot from the Sabboth, from doing thy will on my holy day, &c. and ſhalt honour the Lord, not doing thine owne wayes, nor ſeeking thine owne will, nor ſpeaking a vaine word, &c.* Abſtinence from ſinne then is chiefly required vpon the Lords day: wee muſt not doe our owne waies. So is it decreed, *Colonienſ. part.* 9. *cap.*10. *Blaſphemijs ac periurijs nomen Domini profanatur, ac Sabbatum, quod nos admonet, vt quieſcamus peruersè agere, & benefacere diſcamus, contaminatur*: By blaſphemies and periuries the name of God is prophaned, and the Sabboth, which teacheth vs to leaue doing peruerſly, and to learne to doe well, is polluted.

Auguſtine ſaith, ſpeaking of the Iewiſh women: *Quanto melius fœminæ eorum lanam facerent, quam illo die in neomenijs ſaltarent: ſpiritualiter obſeruat Sabbatum Chriſtianus, abſtinens ſe ab opere ſeruili, ideſt, à peccato: Tract.* 3. *in Iohan.* Their women might be better occupied in ſpinning at home, than in dauncing vpon this day: for a Chriſtian doth ſpiritually keepe the Sabboth, in abſtaining from all ſeruile worke, that is, from ſinne. They then that doe obſerue the Sabboth onely in externall acts, doe but carnally keepe it.

Concil. Matiſcon. 2. *can.* 1. *Eſtote omnes in hymnis & laudib. Dei corpore & animo intenti, die dominico, quiſque ſeipſum lachrymis & precibus afficiat:* Let euery man bodie and ſoule be occupied in ſetting forth the praiſe of God: vpon the Lords day let euerie man giue himſelfe in his affection to teares and praiers. Here is more than the externall act of religion required: intention and affection, are inward things. Againe in the ſame Canon, *Exhibeamus deo liberam ſeruitutem, non quia hoc à nobis Deus expetit, vt corporali abſtinentia diem Dominicum celebremus, ſed quærit obedientiam, per quam nos calcatis terrenis actibus ad cœlum vſque miſericorditer prouehat:* Let vs yeeld vnto God our free ſeruice: for God requireth vs not by bodily abſtinence to keepe the Lords day, but he looketh for our obedience, by the which we ſhould tread vnder our feet all earthly and carnall acts, and ſo bee lifted vp in meditation euen vnto heauen. Obedience then is eſpecially required vpon the Lords day.

The Papiſts.

71. Error. 7. THey hold it a thing vnlawfull for Chriſtians to faſt vpon the Lords day, *Bellarm. lib.* 3. *de cultu ſanctor. cap.* 11.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, we graunt that this opinion is very auncient, and that in *Tertullians* time it was receiued in many Churches: and they thought it as vnlawfull to bow the knee vpon the Lords day, *Tertul. lib. de coron. Militis. Die dominico ieiunare nefas ducimus, & de geniculis adorare:* Wee count it vnlawfull to faſt vpon the Lords day, and to pray kneeling.

So likewiſe, *Trullan. Synod. can.* 90. *Ne dominicis diebus genua flectamus:* that wee bow not our knees vpon the Lords day: but the Papiſts obſerue not the one, why then ſhould they bind themſelues to the other? *Ignatius* maketh faſting vpon the Sabboth as great an offence, as the killing of Chriſt himſelfe, *Epiſtol. ad Philip.* But, I truſt, they will not ſay ſo.

Epiſt. 86. Secondly, the reaſons why faſting is not to be vſed vpon the Lords day, becauſe the Ieſuite ſetteth downe none, I will ſupply out of *Auguſtine:* firſt, *Sentio* (ſaith hee) *ad ſignificandam requiem ſempiternam* (*vbi eſt verum Sabbatum*) *relaxationem, quàm conſtrictionem ieiunij aptius conuenire.* I think that to ſignifie the eternall reſt, which is the true Sabboth, libertie rather, than the vrging of faſting doth moſt fitly agree. But to this we anſwere, that this ſignification of eternall reſt, is no eſſentiall part of ſanctifying the Sabboth, nor no end of the inſtitution, as we haue ſhewed afore, though it may haue ſuch an application: and therefore this reaſon prooueth not ſuch a neceſſitie of not faſting vpon the Sabboth. Secondly, *Die dominico ieiunare magnum eſt ſcandalum:* It is a great offence to faſt on the Lords day, becauſe the Manichees made choice of that day to faſt in. *Per quod factum eſt, vt ieiunium Sabbathi horribilius haberetur,* By the which (ſaith hee) it came to paſſe, that the faſt of the Sabboth was more abhorred, *Auguſtin. ibid.* But this reaſon now bindeth not vs, becauſe the name and hereſie of the Manichees is now worne out, and therefore there is no feare of any ſcandale to ariſe that way.

Thirdly, we graunt that the Lords day is not the fitteſt time for publike faſts: firſt, becauſe it is a day of reioycing: ſo wee read that the people in *Nehemiah* his time, were forbidden to mourne and weepe, after the lawe was read vnto them by *Ezra*, becauſe it was a day of ioy and mirth, Nehem. 8. 11. Secondly, the day of ſolemne and publike faſting ought to be ſet apart from other daies, and to be proclaimed ſolemne, and to be ſpent wholly in ſpirituall exerciſes, euen as the Sabboth, with vacation and reſt from other bodily labours, as we may read, 2. Chron. 20. 3. Nehem. 9. 1. And therefore any day is more fit than the Sabboth, becauſe that is a holy day alreadie vnto the Lord: but when we will humble our ſelues before the Lord by faſting and praier, ſome day would only for that purpoſe be conſecrate vnto God: that may be as a voluntarie ſacrifice: whereas we are bound of neceſſitie to keepe the Lords day.

But concerning priuate and particular faſts, when men by themſelues haue occaſion to giue themſelues to prayer, whereof S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, 1. Cor. 7. 5. Such priuate exerciſes may bee better performed vpon the Sabboth, becauſe of the ordinarie exerciſes of the word, which are notable meanes to kindle and ſtirre vp true deuotion in him, which at that time will humble himſelfe; yea and publike faſts, though not ordinarily, yet when there is iuſt occaſion, may bee kept vpon the Sabboth: as we read Act. 20. 7. how that *Paul* continued his preaching till midnight: whereof *Auguſtine* writeth thus, *Neceſſarius ſermo reficiendi corporis cauſa interrumpendus eſſe non viſus eſt profecturo Apoſtolo:* The neceſſarie preaching of the Apoſtle, he thought not good, for the refreſhing of their bodies to breake off, being readie to depart. We conclude therefore, that it is lawfull to faſt vpon the Lords day, though it bee not alwaies expedient. And *Auguſtine* very well determineth this matter: *Ego in Euangelicis, & Apoſtolicis literis video præceptum eſſe ieiunium: quibus autem diebus non oporteat ieiunare, & quibus oporteat, præcepto domini, vel Apoſtolorum non inuenio definitum:* I finde both in the Euangelicall and Apoſtolicall writings, that faſting is commanded: but vpon what daies we ought to faſt, vpon what wee ought not, I do not finde it defined, *Epiſt.86.* Wherefore to faſt or not to faſt vpon the Lords day, or vpon any other, being not determined in Scripture, is left as a thing indifferent to the Church of God.

Concil.Gangrenſ.can.18.Si quis tanquam hoc continentiæ conuenire iudicans die dominico ieiunauerit, aut in eiuſdem diei contemptum, anathema ſit: If any man doe faſt vpon the Lords day, as iudging it more agreeable to a continent life, or in contempt of the day, let him be accurſed. The Councell doth not ſimply forbid faſting vpon this day, but that it ſhould not bee done ſuperſtitiouſly, with an opinion of greater holines, nor in contempt of the day, which is to Chriſtians a day of reioycing.

So likewiſe *Carthaginenſ.4.can.64. Qui dominico die ſtudioſè ieiunat, credatur non catholicus:* He that of purpoſe doth faſt on the Lords day, let him bee counted not Catholike. A man may faſt then vpon the Lords day, ſo it be not of a ſuperſtitious or wilfull purpoſe.

In their owne decrees it ſtandeth thus: *Decret.par.1.diſt.76.cap.Vtinam omni die ieiunare poſſimus, &c.* I would we might faſt euery day, which in the Acts of the Apoſtles wee reade, that S.*Paul* did, and the reſt of the faithfull with him in the daies of Pentecoſt, and vpon the Lords day.

The Papiſts.

8. THe name Sunday, is an heatheniſh calling, as all other weeke-daies in our language: ſome impoſed after the names of Planets, as in the Romanes time: ſome by the name of certaine Idols, which the Saxons did worſhip: which names the Church vſeth not, but hath appointed to call the firſt day the *Dominike*, after the Apoſtle, Apocal.1.10. the other by the name *Feries*, vntill the laſt of the weeke, which ſhe calleth by the old name Sabboth, becauſe that was of God, not by impoſition of the Heathen, *Rhemiſt.annot. Apocal.1.ſect.6.* 72.Error.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, as the name of Sunday, and the reſt, is of the heatheniſh beginning, and therefore were better to be otherwiſe termed, as the firſt, ſecond, or third from the Lords day, as the Iewes called their daies from the Sabboth: ſo your terme of *Feries*, is no leſſe heatheniſh, deriued from the word *feria*, or *feriæ*, which were ſo called, *à feriendis victimis*, of ſtriking the heatheniſh ſacrifices, as *Sextus Pompeius* ſaith, *Fulk.ibid.*

2. We haue other names alſo that might be reformed, as of our moneths: as March is ſo called of *Mars*, Iune of *Iuno*, Ianuary of *Ianus*, which were Heathen Gods: Iuly and Auguſt doe beare the names of men: yea, and if we might be inuentors of new names, the termes of Chriſtmas, Michaelmas, Candlemas, ſhould not ſtand in force, nor any more bee vſed, which are as offenſiue as the reſt: for as for the names of Heathen Idols, the moſt part are ignorant of them; but the vulgar terme of Maſſe, is to too well knowne, and too much loued of many of our countrie men. Now for the name Sunday, which is ſo great a mote in your eye, if there were no more but that, *Auguſtine* ſheweth, how it might be fauourably expounded, *Dies magni ſolis celebramus illius ſolis, de quo dicit ſcriptura, orietur vobis ſol iuſtitiæ*: Wee doe keepe Sunday holy, namely, of that great Sunne, whereof the Scripture ſpeaketh, the Sunne of righteouſneſſe ſhall ariſe. So in the Ciuill law, *Cod.lib.3.tit.12.leg.3.* it is called, *dies ſolis*, Sunday: though the other name, *dies Dominicus*, the Lords day, be preferred; as *ibid.leg.7.Valentin. Dies ſolis Dominicos rite dixere maiores*, the Sundaies, our anceſtors rightly called the Lords dayes. Auguſt.cont. Fauſt.18.5.

3. We wiſh that all theſe termes might be laid downe, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Nolumus vt dicant, & vtinam corrigantur vt non dicant*: Wee would not haue men ſo to ſpeake, and I wiſh they were reformed. But ſeeing by continuall cuſtome mens tongues are inured to ſuch termes, let them know, that they are vſed onely as ciuill names, to call things by, not for any religion or myſterie in them contained, or ſignified. In Pſal.93.

And here I doe commend *Hieromes* two rules concerning heatheniſh names: the firſt, where he ſaith, *Libr.de veſte ſacerdotal.in Iob, Arcturum & Orionem, &c.* In *Iob* we reade of *Arcturus*, and *Orion*, and other names of the ſtarres, not that the Hebrues doe ſo call them: *ſed quòd nos non poſſumus, quæ dicuntur, niſi conſuetis vocibus intelligere*, but becauſe wee cannot vnderſtand what is ſaid, but vnder the common termes. So then, where vſe and cuſtome hath obtained to haue things called by ſuch names, and they are knowne by no other, there neceſſitie doth diſpenſe with Heatheniſh names.

His other rule is this, that ſuch Pagan termes, which haue no neceſſarie vſe, but proceed of prophanenes or wantonnes, ſhould bee left: *Abſit, vt de ore Chriſtiano ſonet, &c.* God forbid, that a Chriſtian mouth ſhould ſound, *Iupiter, Hercules, &c. quæ portenta ſunt magis, quam nomina*, which are monſters rather, then names. This is a good caueate for young Students, that they ſhould in their exerciſes,as declamations,diſputations,Comedies,Tragedies,auoid and decline thoſe monſtrous Heatheniſh names,which yet are too rife among them.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE FESTIVAL dayes of Chriſt and the holy Ghoſt.

The Papiſts.

73.Error. THe feaſts of Eaſter and Whitſontide, and other ſolemnities of Chriſt, were preſcribed (they ſay) by the Apoſtles, *Rhemiſt.Matth.*15.*ſect.*2.to be kept vpon certaine daies, and that *Peter* did appoint that Eaſter ſhould not be kept the 14.day of the firſt Moone,as the Iewes obſerued it, but the Lords day after. And of the feaſt of Pentecoſt mention is made, 1.Corinth.16.8. *Ergo*, theſe feaſts were inſtituted of the Apoſtles,*Bellarm.cap.*12.13.

Bellarmine to proue the celebration of Eaſter,as it is now obſerued in the Latine Church,to be Apoſtolicall,alleageth the 8.Canon of the Apoſtles,which decreeth,*That he which obſerued Eaſter before the vernall Equinoctium, whether Biſhop or prieſt,ſhould be depoſed.*

Anſ. It is a cleere caſe,that thoſe Canons are forged and falſely aſcribed to the Apoſtles: 1. In the laſt Canon the Goſpell of S.*Iohn* is counted among the Canonicall bookes of the new Teſtament,which was not at that time written, when theſe Canons are ſaid to haue been made by the Apoſtles aſſembled together: for Saint *Peter*,a principall compoſer of theſe Canons,is brought in ſpeaking, Can.28. who was put to death before S.*Iohn* writ his Goſpell. 2. Of what validitie theſe Canons be,it appeareth in the Trullane Councel, Can.12. where they forbid Biſhops after their conſecration to haue ſocietie with their wiues, directly contrarie to the 5.Canon of the Apoſtles: and they giue a reaſon thereof, *Statum eccleſiaſticum in pulchriorem ordinem reducentes:* Their meaning was to bring the ſtate eccleſiaſticall to a more beautifull order, whereas the Apoſtles in the beginning of the Goſpell, *ad fidelium imbecillitatem ſe demittebant*,did ſubmit themſelues to the imbecillitie of the weake. But if they were the Canons of the Apoſtles indeede, what boldnes had this been,ſo lightly to reuerſe their decrees? 3. In the laſt Canon there are three bookes of the Macchabees made Canonical,whereas the Papiſts themſelues receiue but two:why then doe they themſelues tranſgreſſe the Apoſtles Canons? 4. *Gelaſius,decret.de Apocryphis*,doth in direct termes make,*Librum canonum Apoſtolorum*,the booke of the Canons of the Apoſtles Apocryphal. The authoritie therefore of theſe forged Canons doth little moue vs.

Againe, *Bellarmine* vrgeth a diuine teſtimonie, as he calleth it,how that *Paſchaſinus* reporteth, that in Pope *Zozimus* time there being a queſtion about the time of the celebration of Eaſter:the Pope with the Weſt Church appointing the 25.of March, the Eaſt Church the 22. of Aprill, it ſo fell out,that in a certaine Church in Sicilie,a certaine fountaine,that vſed euery yeere to fill it ſelfe againſt Eaſter day for thoſe that ſhould bee baptized, was emptie vpon the 25.of March,but was full the 22.of Aprill: whereby the Pope and the Weſt Church,did perceiue themſelues to be in an error,and the Eaſt Church in the right,*Bellar.cap.*12.

Anſ. Firſt,if this tale beare any credit,it ſheweth, that the Eaſt Church was ſounder,concerning the celebration of Eaſter, than the Pope. Secondly, this miracle alloweth that Eaſter day ſhould be kept after the 20.day of Aprill,contrary to the decree of the Nicen Councell: which limited the time for Eaſter from the 21.of March to the 20.of Aprill,and no further. Thirdly, this fained miracle is of like credit to that viſion, which Pope *Pius* affirmeth to haue been ſhewed to one *Hermes:* how that an Angell appeared vnto him, commaunding him to keepe Eaſter vpon the Lords day,*decret.p.*3.*diſt.*3.*cap.*21. But if the celebration of Eaſter were grounded vpon the inſtitution of the Apoſtles, they neede not bring ſuch beggerly ſtuffe, by lying miracles and viſions,to make proofe of their matter.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, we graunt that it is expedient for the Church to keepe the memoriall of the Natiuitie,Paſſion,Reſurrection,Aſcenſion of Chriſt,and of the comming of the holy Ghoſt;and the daies inſtituted for the remembrance thereof,no doubt, ought to bee had in greater account, then any other holy daies inſtituted by the Church. Secondly, it cannot bee prooued, that they were preſcribed by the Apoſtles;or if they were,but as indifferent ceremonies, which are ſubiect to alteration,and in the which the religion or worſhip of God doth not conſiſt. Certaine it is,that
Concil.Aurel. 4.cap.1. before the time of *Conſtantine* the great,there were not many feſtiuall daies kept,in ſo much, that the feaſts of the Natiuitie of Chriſt, Eaſter, Pentecoſt, were not vniformally obſerued for many yeeres after,as appeareth by diuers Councels. And before *Conſtantines* time, there was great con-
Tolet.10.c.1. tention betweene the Biſhop of Rome and the Biſhops of the Eaſt,about the celebration of Eaſter; they alleaging the conſtitution of Saint *Iohn*, the other of Saint *Peter:* wherefore it is like that the Apoſtles appoynted no ſuch certaine daies: for then the Church would not haue broken them.

Thirdly, Pentecoſt, whereof Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh, was the feaſt of the Iewes, which, with other ſolemnities of theirs, the Apoſtles obſerued not as a portion of Chriſtian religion, but taking occaſion of the meeting of the Iewes in thoſe feſtiuall daies: and ſo doe we obſerue thoſe holy daies for order and edification of Gods people, that vſe to aſſemble at ſuch times, *Fulk. Mat.*15.*ſect.*3.

Fourthly, what cauſe is there, why Eaſter and Whitſontide ſhould be tied to the Lords day, and the Natiuitie of Chriſt, which *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, was vpon the Lords day, ſhould indifferently bee kept vpon any day? but that hereby we vnderſtand, that it is an indifferent matter, whether they ſhould be kept vpon the Lords day, or any other, and whether vpon any certaine day, or to be left to the diſcretion of the gouernours of the Church to be obſerued, as any other occaſion ſhall be offered, *Fulk annot. Apocalypſ.*1.*ſect.*6.

Laſtly, wee ſhewed *Auguſtines* opinion, in the firſt part of this queſtion, how he vnderſtandeth that ſaying, Pſal. 118. This is the day which the Lord hath made, onely of the Sabboth: thereby inſinuating, that other holy daies either were not inſtituted of God at all, or elſe not with the like neceſſitie.

Let vs ſee further the conſent of antiquitie: that the obſeruation of Eaſter is no Apoſtolicall conſtitution it appeareth: 1. Becauſe there was no vniforme order ſet downe for it before the firſt Nicen Councell, where, as *Theophilus Alexandrinus* witneſſeth, theſe three rules were made for Eaſter: the firſt, that it ſhould not be kept before the 21. of March, nor after the 20. of Aprill, becauſe their *Equinoctium* did fal then vpon the 21. of March, and Eaſter muſt in no wiſe be kept before the *Equinoctium*. The ſecond, that they ſhould wait for the 14. day of the firſt Moon from the 21. of March, till the 14. of Aprill. The third, that they ſhould obſerue the firſt Lords day after the 14. of the firſt Moone, and ſo keepe their Eaſter. This order was begun in the Nicen Councell, not by the Apoſtles: *Ergo*, it is not Apoſtolicall.

2. Neither after the Nicen Councell did this order hold: for in Pope *Zozimus* time, the Weſt Churches kept Eaſter the 8. from the Calends of Aprill, that is the 25. of March: the Eaſt Churches the 22. of Aprill: *Leon. epiſtol.*61. Againe, *Leo. epiſtol.*62. maketh mention how *Theodoſius* the Elder committed this matter to the Biſhop of Alexandria, to compoſe the cycle of the Paſch: who committed in his account a great error (as *Leo* ſaith) for in the 76. yeere of his order, Eaſter fell vpon the 24. of Aprill, whereas by the order of the Nicen Councell, it ſhould not exceede the 20. day. Further, the ſame *Leo* writeth, *Epiſtol.*92. that whereas ſome appointed the next Eaſter then comming vpon the 15. from the Calends of May, ſome vpon the 8. he writ to the Emperour *Martian*, who according to the order of the Eaſt Church, would haue it kept the 8. day: and thereunto *Leo* conſented. This could not then be an Apoſtolicall decree, whereof there was no more certaintie.

But that the feſtiuities of Chriſt and the holy Ghoſt are to be preferred before other holy daies, wee willingly graunt: as *Cod. lib.*3.*tit.*12.*leg.*7. by the conſtitution of the Emperours, *Valentin. Theodoſ. Arcad.* the feaſts of the Paſch, the Natiuitie, and Epiphanie, are eſpecially authorized. And *Decret. par.*2 *cauſ.*7.*qu.*1.*c.*29. the Natiuitie of our Lord, Epiphanie, the Paſch, and Pentecoſt, are reckoned vp for the principall feaſts.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE ſolemnities of Saints.

The Papiſts.

1. THey hold that holy daies may be dedicated vnto Saints, for their honour and worſhip: as Chriſt promiſed that the charitable act of *Mary Magdalen* wrought vpon him ſhould bee recorded and remembred, Matth. 26. verſ. 13. Hereby wee learne that the good workes of Saints may bee recorded to the honour of Saints in the Church, whereof ariſe their commemorations and holy daies, *Rhemiſt. annot. Matth.*25.*ſect.*1. 74. Error.

The Proteſtants.

THe good workes of Saints may bee remembred to the honour of God, without their holy daies and commemorations: Chriſt inſtituted no holy day of *Mary Magdalen*, nor commanded an image of her fact to bee made, but a memorie of her in preaching the Goſpell. Secondly, we graunt, that Chriſtian ſolemnities may bee kept, as things indifferent, which the Church may retaine or abrogate as it ſhall ſeeme beſt for edification, not obſerued of neceſſitie as a part of the worſhip of God, not conſecrate to the honour of Saints; ſeeing all diuine worſhip is wholly to be reſerued to God, not to be giuen to any other: For times and ſeaſons, the Scripture ſaith, the Lord hath put only in his owne power: therfore he is only to haue the honour of them, Act. 1. 7. Thirdly, what honor is due vnto Saints *Auguſtine* ſheweth: *Colimus martyres eo cultu dilectionis, & ſocietatis, quo & in hac vita coluntur ſancti homines dei*: We do honor Martyrs with the ſeruice of loue and fellowſhip, as holy men are honoured in this life. But it is not lawfull to conſecrate times and Contra Fauſt. lib. 2. cap. 21.

daies

daies to holy men liuing, therefore neither to Saints departed: for one and the ſame kinde of honor is due to them both.

*Leon.*1.*epiſtol.*4.*c.*4. *Notum ſit dilectioni veſtræ vniuerſos dies Chriſti innumeris conſecratos fuiſſe virtutibus, &c.* Be it knowne to your brotherhood, that all the dayes of Chriſt are conſecrate with his innumerable vertuous acts: yet if we ſhould indifferently honour all the workes of Chriſt, all dayes ſhould be holy dayes, for they are all full of the miracles of Chriſt. From hence we collect theſe two arguments againſt Saints dayes. 1. The miracles of Chriſt are more forcible to conſecrate an holy day, then the acts of Saints; but all his miracles make not holy dayes: *Ergo.* 2. By the ſame reaſon, that all Chriſts acts haue not their feſtiuals, becauſe then all dayes ſhould be feſtiuall, we doe alſo exclude Saints dayes, becauſe that if all Saints ſhould haue their commemorations, the dayes of the yeere would not ſuffiſe thereto: and we ſhould haue none but feſtiuals.

*Cod.lib.*3.*tit.*12.*leg.*4. a law was made by *Conſtantinus* the Emperour, that none but the Prince ſhould, *ferias condere*, erect daies of recreation for the people. If ciuill holy daies muſt be appointed only by the Emperour the Lord of the earth; in the Church holy dayes ſhould be grounded vpon the inſtitution of Chriſt Lord and King of his Church.

The Papiſts.

75.Error. 2. They maintaine, that there may be holy dayes and commemorations of all Saints, as Chriſt promiſeth there ſhould be of *Mary Magdalene*, *Rhemiſt.Matth.*25.*ſect.*1.

The Proteſtants.

Ex Tileman. Loc.28. This is another principall fault, which we finde and complaine of in their holy dayes: that they haue peſtred the Church with ſuch a number of Saints and Saints dayes. Firſt, as we haue partly ſhewed before, they appoynted a ſeuerall Saint almoſt for euery purpoſe, as here we haue ſet it downe:

Saint *Leonard* for captiues.
Saint *Rochus* for the peſtilence.
Saint *George* for warre.
Saint *Anna* giues riches.
Saint *Nicholas* and *Chriſtopher* for the ſea.
Saint *Apallonia* for the toothake.
Saint *Otilia* for the eyes.
Saint *Margaret* for women in trauell.
Saint *Laurence* keepeth from the fire.
Saint *Catherine* giueth wit and learning.
Saint *Iohn* againſt poyſon.
Saint *Quirine* for the fiſtula.
Saint *Protaſius* and *Geruaſius*, helpe to bewray theft.

And thus it is true of them, as *Ieremie* complayned of the Idolatrous Iſraelites: that their gods were after the number of their cities, Ierem.2.28. In like manner alſo haue they multiplied their Saints dayes: for beſide the feſtiuals of Chriſt, the holy Ghoſt, and of the Apoſtles, they haue added theſe beſides.

Ex Concil. Oxonienſ. ſub Stephano: hæc ſunt feſta Angliæ celeberrima: Theſe are the moſt ſolemne feaſts of England, to be kept with great reuerence.

The feſtiuals of the
1. Annuntiation of *Mary*.
2. Natiuitie of *Mary*.
3. Aſſumption of *Mary*.
4. Chaire of *Peter*.
5. S.*Gregorie*.
6. S.*Auguſtine* in May.
8. Two feaſts of the Croſſe.
9. Tranſlation of *Thomas*.
10. Decollation of *Iohn Bapt.*
11. S.*Margaret*.
12. S.*Mary Magdalene*.
13. S.*Peter ad Vincula*.
14. S.*Laurence*.
15. S.*Martine*.
16. S.*Edmund* Confeſſor.
17. S.*Edmund* Martyr.
18. S.*Catherine*.
19. S.*Nicholas*.
20. S.*Clement*.
21. The dedication of the Church.
22. The patron of the Church.

Vulgare feaſts to be kept of the Clergie.

The feaſts of
1. S.*Fabian*.
2. S.*Sebaſtian*.
3. S.*Agnes*.
4. S.*Blaſe*.
5. S.*Vincent*.
6. S.*Agatha*.
7. S.*Felix*.
8. S.*George*.
9. S.*Iohn port-latine*.
10. S.*Dunſtane*.
11. S.*Etheldred*.
12. Inuention of the Croſſe.
13. S.*Hierome*.
14. S.*Stephen*.
15. S.*Fides*.
16. S.*Michael* in the Mount.
17. S.*Denis*.
18. S.*Lucy*.
19. S.*Cecile*.
20. S.*Leonard*.
21. All Soules.

The whole number is 63. holy dayes, beſide the Sabboth dayes 52. and the feſtiuals of Chriſt, the holy Ghoſt, and the Apoſtles: ſo that by this reckoning the better halfe of the yeere ſhould be ſpent in holy dayes.

Adde vnto theſe, *Corpus Chriſti* day, *Interrel. Cæſar. cap.*24. the 15. feſtiuals of S. *Rubert* in the dioceſſe of Saliſburg: *Reformat. Ratiſpon. articul.*20. the feaſts of *Huddericus* and *Affra*, *Synod. Auguſtenſ. cap.*24. the feſtiuals of *Maximinus*, *Simeon*, the viſitation of *Mary*, *Helena*, *Paulinus*, the tranſlation of *Maternus* and *Eucharius*, *Synod. Treuerenſ. cap.*10. Here be 24. holy dayes more.

To theſe we may adioyne a ſupply of holy dayes made by our Rhemiſts, as they haue ſet them downe in their marginals vpon the Goſpels.

The feſtiuals of
1. S. *Ioſeph. annot. Matth.*1. *verſ.*18.
2. All Hallowes and al Martyrs, Mat. 5.
3. Of Doctors, *annot. Mat.*5.13.
4. *Athanaſius*. Matth. 10.23.
5. S. *Francis*. 11.25.
6. The 7. brethren. 12.46.
7. The octaues of *Peter*, *Paul*. 14.22.
8. The coronation of the Pope. 16.13.
9. The transfiguration. 17.1.
10. Apparition of *Michael*. 18.1.
11. S. *Gregory thaumaturg*. Mark. 11.22.
12. *Monica Auguſtines* mother. Luk. 7.11.
13. S. *Baſile*. Luk. 14.26.
14. Saint *Lewes* King of France. 19.12.
15. Of the holy Angels. Ioh. 1.47.
16. Holy Rood day. Ioh. 3.1.
17. Saint *Thomas of Canturburie*. 9.12.
18. S. *Ignatius*. Ioh. 12.14.
19. The election of the Pope. 14.14.
20. Lammas day. Act. 12.6.

Here we haue 20. more: all theſe ioyned together will make a round ſumme: we ſhall haue very neere 200. play dayes enough; Of which number ſome are blaſphemous, as to keepe the Conception of *Mary*, in remembrance that ſhe was conceiued without ſinne: ſome of them fabulous and forged; as the Aſſumption of *Mary*, in memorie of her Aſſumption in body to heauen, which is a meere fable: But all the reſt are idolatrous and ſuperſtitious, ordained for the honor and worſhip of creatures. And thus haue they cumbred the people of God with their infinite obſeruations. So that the Lord ſaith to them, concerning their feaſts, as vnto the Iſraelites: They are a burden vnto me, I am weary to beare them, Iſai. 1.14.

In *Auguſtines* time, or who elſe it was that made thoſe Sermons, when there were nothing ſo many feſtiuals, as now among Papiſts, yet more than needed, he writeth thus in a ſermon vpon a feſtiuall: *Latus ſum hodierno die propter tantam feſtiuitatem: ſed aliquantulum triſtis, quia non video tantum populum congregatum, quantus congregari debuit:* I am glad to day, becauſe of this feſtiuall day: and ſomwhat grieued withall, that the people reſort not in ſuch frequencie, as they ſhould. We may ſee by this, that euen then the people began to waxe wearie of their many holy daies. De diuerſ. ſerm. 47.

Bernard in his time complained of this multitude of feaſts: *Patria eſt, non exily frequentia hæc gaudiorum, & numeroſitas feſtiuitatum ciues decet, non exules:* This frequencie of mirth belongeth to our countrey, not to exile, and the multitude of feaſts becommeth citizens in heauen, not exiles vpon the earth. To this purpoſe there is a notable ſaying, *Opuſc. Tripartit. lib.*3. *cap.*1. *tom.*2. *Concilior. Vulgare eſt, quod malæ mulieres dicunt, quòd plus lucrantur in vno die feſto de peccato ſuo, quam per totam ſeptimanam, &c.* It is a common thing in the mouthes of naughtie women, that they gaine more by their ſinne in one holy day, than all the weeke beſide, and ſo of other ſinnes: *Et ideo videtur, quod acceptum eſſet Deo, quòd pauciara feſta eſſent in eccleſia:* And therefore it ſeemeth to be acceptable to God, that there ſhould be fewer holy daies in the Church, &c.

*Cod. lib.*3. *tit.*12. *leg.*7. *Valentin. Theodoſ.* Beſide the feſtiuities of Chriſt, as the Natiuitie, Epiphanie, Paſch: onely, the feſtiuals of the Apoſtles are enioyned to be kept.

Likewiſe, *Bonifac.*8. though a corrupt Pope, yet herein not ſo ſuperſtitious as the reſt, enioyneth, that the feaſts of the twelue Apoſtles, the foure Euangeliſts, and the foure Doctors of the Church, *Gregorie*, *Auguſtine*, *Hierome*, *Ambroſe*, ſhould bee ſolemnely kept aboue the reſt: and in that decree there are no other holy daies particularly named: *Sext. decret. lib.*3. *tit.*22. *cap.*1.

Maſter *Tindall* holy martyr hath ſealed this trueth: The multiplication of holy daies, of feaſts of *Corpus Chriſti*, the viſitation of our Ladie, is a wicked face and colour, and indeed fooliſh, vnprofitable, vaine, *Fox*. p.1253. col.1.

The Papiſts.

76. Error. THey inioyne ſanctification and neceſſarie keeping of all their feſtiuities and holy daies: and ſo make no difference betweene the obſeruation of holy daies appointed of God, and others ordained of men, requiring the like ſtrictnes in keeping of them all, *Rhemiſt. annot. Gal.* 4. *ſect.*5. And *Bellarmine* alſo affirmeth, that men are bound in conſcience to keepe all the feſtiuals of the Church, *cap.*10. *prop.*3.

The Proteſtants.

THere are no daies neceſſarie to be kept, but thoſe that are of the Lordes appointment: the reſt, being void of ſuperſtition, may be celebrated as indifferent: and therefore not to bee commaunded with the like ſtrictneſſe, as is the Lords day. There is greater libertie vpon holie daies for bodily labour, than vpon the Sabboth: for bodily reſt vpon the ſeuenth day is commanded of God: bodily labour vpon all other daies permitted, and may without offence of conſcience be vſed, when it is not by the lawfull authoritie of the gouernours of the Church vpon iuſt occaſion reſtrained, as during the time of publicke praiers and faſts, hearing of the word, and ſuch like.

The reſt of the Sabboth, ſo farre as it helpeth our preparation and fitnes to ſpirituall exerciſes, and is a part of ſanctifying the Lordes day, bindeth ſimply in conſcience, becauſe it is the commaundement of God: but the reſt vpon holy daies doth not in it ſelfe binde vs, no otherwiſe than by reaſon of offence, that may ariſe by our contempt of the conſtitutions of the Church.

We find that *Simon Iſlip*, Archbiſhop of Canterburie, directed his letters patents to all Parſons and Vicars, wherein hee ſtreightly charged them and their pariſhioners vnder paine of excommunication, not to abſtaine from bodily labour vpon certaine Saints daies, which before were wont to be hallowed and conſecrated to vnthriftie idlenes, *Fox*. p.393. *Ergo*, by their own iudgement, all the feſtiuities of their Church are not to be kept alike.

Reformat. Ratiſpon. artic. 20. *In minoribus feſtiuitatibus liberum cuique facimus, &c.* In the ſmaller feaſts, we giue leaue to euerie man, after hee hath heard Maſſe, to returne to his labour, whereby he may prouide ſuſtenance for him and his.

Synod. Treuerenſ. cap. 10. *Vſque in meridiem in feſtis diebus feriari volumus, & facto ſacro, cuique ad labores, & negotia ſecularia redire liceat:* Wee will haue men to keepe holy daie vpon the feſtiuals till noone, and then to returne to their labours and worldly buſines, hauing firſt ſerued God. All feſtiuals therefore are not with the like ſtrictnes to be obſerued.

This truth hath alſo been ſealed: *Iſabel Tracher* perſecuted, becauſe ſhe did worke vpon holie daies. *Fox*. p. 829. col. 1. *William Wingraue, Thomas Hawkes*, with other perſecuted for the like, for ſaying, That God biddeth vs worke one day as well as another, ſauing the Sundaie. p. 985. col. 1.

Auguſtine maketh three degrees of feſtiuall daies: in the firſt and higheſt degree he placeth the Lords day: *Quomodo Maria virgo, mater domini, principatum tenet inter omnes mulieres; ita inter cæteros dies, hæc omnium dierum mater eſt:* As amongſt women the virgine *Marie*, the mother of our Lord, is the chiefe; ſo this daie is the mother and chiefe of all other daies: ſpeaking of the Sabboth of Chriſtians, *De tempore Serm.* 36.

In the next place or degree hee putteth the feſtiuals of Chriſt, and the holy Ghoſt, as the commemorations of his Natiuitie, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion: as in his ſermon vpon the Aſcenſion day he thus ſaith, *Conditoris baſilicæ huius S. Leontij hodiè depoſitio eſt: ſed dignetur obſcurari ſtella à ſole:* To day wee haue the commemoration of the depoſition or ſepulture of S. *Leontius* the founder of this Church: but let not the ſtarre thinke much to be obſcured of the Sunne. So in the third ranke he counteth the commemorations of holy men, which vnto the feſtiuities of Chriſt were but as the ſtarre to the Sun. We will adde a fourth place or degree, diſtinguiſhing betweene the commemorations of the holy Apoſtles, and other ſuperſtitious and popiſh Saints daies, which our Church hath worthily thruſt out at the doores.

Let vs ſee their owne decrees: *Decret. part.* 3. *diſtinct.* 3. *c.* 1. *Reliquas feſtiuitates, &c.* Vpon other feſtiuals, *neque cogendi ad feriandum, &c.* men muſt neither bee conſtrained to play, or ceaſe from worke, nor yet be forbidden: Therefore by this decree all their feaſts are not of neceſſitie to be kept. Againe, *ibid. cap.* 12. *Peruenit ad nos, &c.* It is come to our eare, that certaine doe forbid to worke vpon the Saturday, who are nothing elſe but the preachers of Antichriſt. But the Papiſts forbid to worke vpon Saturdaies being their holy daies: *Ergo*, by the determination of *Gregorie*, they are Antichriſts preachers.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, OF THE VIGILES AND NIGHT WATCHES ANNEXED TO FESTIUALL DAIES.

The Papiſts.

77. Error. 1. THey were wont vpon Saints eeues to giue themſelues to faſting, and watching. But their night vigiles or watches they doe not now ſo ſtrictly obſerue, becauſe of the great abuſes which did grow thereupon, *Bellarm. cap.* 17. Yet they haue not altogether left them, for they haue their *Nocturnes* or midnight Mattens, and their prime houres in the morning, *Rhemiſt. annot. Act.* 10. *ſect.* 6.

The Proteſtants.

THe Chriſtians in time of perſecution had their ***antelucanos hymnos***,their early and timely ſongs and hymnes: they met together to worſhip God, before the Sunne riſe,becauſe they could not ſafely,neither were ſuffered to aſſemble in the day time. But that is no reaſon,why now the Church ſhould vſe vigiles or nocturnes, ſeeing wee now haue free exerciſe of religion in the day time: no more then *Pauls* example is to be vrged,that prayed by the riuers ſide with the people, and there preached vnto them,becauſe in idolatrous cities they could haue no places of meeting, that therefore we now ought to doe the like,hauing Churches and Oratories to aſſemble in. *Auguſtine*,if the ſermon be his,thus witneſſeth: ***Iubente Ambroſio ceſſabant vigiliæ Mediolani, quia cùm vigilabant per noctem,ad eccleſiam,ludendo & chorizando conueniebant:*** At Millaine by *Ambroſes* commaundement the vigiles ceaſed,becauſe the people,when they watched,did come by night,daunſing,and ſporting and playing,to the Church. Ad fratres in eremo ſerm.

Decretum Teleſphori,Vt nocte natiuitatis domini miſſas celebrarent, reliquis verò temporibus non ante horam diei tertiam,&c. That Maſſe ſhould bee celebrate the night before the natiuitie of our Lord, at other times not before the third houre of the day,becauſe Chriſt was crucified at that houre,&c. Here vigiles are forbidden,except onely one night in the yeere. This Canon is rehearſed *diſtinct.*1. *cap.*48.

*Synod.Colonienſ.ſub Adulpho.part.*1.*cap.*7.*Ne Canonici & Vicarij Cleri noſtri Colonienſis vigilijs defunctorum,&c.* Leſt that the Canons and Vicars of our Clergie at Colen,ſhould be hindered from frequenting more neceſſarie leſſons by the vigils of the dead, which they were wont to performe at ſeuen in the morning; we will,that from henceforth vigils ſhall begin at two in the afternoone, that they may bee finiſhed before euening prayer. Here vigils and night watches are cleane cut off,and turned to day-exerciſes.

And how well they kept their vigils may appeare by that decree of ***Innocentius***, ***decr.Greg.lib.***3. *tit.*41.*cap.*9. ***Dolentes referimus,&c.*** Wee ſpeake it with griefe, that certaine, not onely inferiour prieſts,but prelates,ſpend the time in eating and drinking vntill midnight,&c.

The Papiſts.

2. THey haue alſo another ſuperſtitious cuſtome, to ſet vp waxe candles, and Taber-light before Images,and vpon the Altar,to carrie them about in proceſſion, and euen at midday, and high noone: And *Bellarmine* would authoriſe this cuſtome by the continuall burning of the Lampes day and night,as he ſaith,in the Tabernacle among the Iewes. 78.Error.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt,we ſay of this, as we did of the vigiles of the Church before: that Chriſtians in thoſe daies in their night aſſemblies vſed candle light, as S.*Hierome* ſaith, anſwering thus to *Vigilantius*: ***Cereos non clara luce accendimus,*** Wee doe not burne candles at noone day, as you doe falſely cauill: but thereby to temper,or qualifie the darknes of the night,&c. But it followeth not, that the vigiles being now left, wee ſhould burne candles at noone day: and that this was their cuſtome, to burne their Lampes onely in the night, ***Auguſtine*** ſheweth, where he ſpeaketh of thoſe that did vow ***ceram ad luminaria noctis,*** waxe candles for the lights of the Church in the night. De tempor. ſerm.7.

Secondly,it is vtterly vntrue, that the Lampes in the Tabernacle burned all day: the contrarie is proued,that they were lighted in the euening,and ſo burned al night,for thoſe that kept the watch in the Temple,2.Chron.13.11.and that in the morning againe they were put out,1.Samuel 3.verſ.3. The Prieſts ſhall ſet the Lampes on fire, ***inter duas veſperas,*** betweene the two twilights,that is,the euening and morning,Exod.30.8. And he ſhall dreſſe them to burne from the euening to the morning,Leuit.24.3. And S.*Hierome* vpon thoſe words,1.Sam.3.*before the lampe of God went out,&c.*thus writeth: ***Intelligi oportet,antequam lux diurna fieret:*** It muſt be vnderſtood before it was day,when the lampe was put out. That therefore which the Ieſuite made for an argument for himſelfe,wee will vrge againſt him: that ſeeing the lampes amongſt the Iewes, who abounded in types and ceremonies,were burnt onely in the night, and not vpon the day; it is ſhame for thoſe that would bee counted Chriſtians,in ſuperſtitious cuſtomes,to exceede and goe beyond them.

THE NINTH QVESTION, CONcerning the Virgine *Marie*.

THis queſtion ſtandeth of many parts. Firſt, whether the bleſſed Virgin *Marie* were conceiued without ſinne. Secondly, whether ſhe vowed virginitie before the Angell was ſent vnto her. Thirdly,of the aſſumption of her bodie into heauen. Fourthly,of the dignitie and preeminence that ſhe hath (as they affirme) aboue all other Saints, yea, and the Angelles too. Fiftly, of the merites of the Virgin *Mary* and of the *Aue Maria*.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE VIRGIN *Marie*, were voyd of originall and actuall ſinne.

The Papiſts.

79.Error. 1. ALl men are borne in ſinne,Chriſt only excepted,and his mother for his honour : *Rhemiſt. Rom.5.ſect.9.*

Anſ. It is no more diſhonour for Chriſt to be borne of a ſinner, than to haue taken his fleſh, and lineally deſcended, according to his humanitie, of *Thamar* that committed inceſt with *Iuda*, and *Rahab* which was an harlot, Matth. 1.3, 5. Secondly, it maketh more for the honour of God that Chriſt was borne without ſinne of a woman which was a ſinner, and more ſetteth forth his power,than otherwiſe,leaſt he ſhould be thought to haue deriued his puritie from his mother.

80.Error. 2. They hold, that there was no actuall ſinne in the Virgin *Marie*,no not in the leaſt and ſmalleſt ſinnes, which they call veniall, *Rhemiſt.* 1. *Iohn.* 1. *ſect.* 5. Shee was eſpecially protected, and preſerued from ſinning by the grace of God.

Anſw. That God is able cleerely to ridde his children from ſinne, and to preſerue them from falling thereinto,we denie not : but, ſeeing you haue no ſcripture for this priuiledge, that ſhould be beſtowed onely vpon *Marie*, to be free from ſinne : but rather the contrarie is prooued out of ſcripture, That all haue ſinned, Rom. 3. 23. it is too raſh and bold an aſſertion, contrarie to the will of God,to aſcribe any thing to his power.He is as able to exempt all from ſinning as one:vnleſſe therefore you can ſhewe ſome eſpeciall warrant out of Gods word, for *Maries* freedome, by your reaſon, all the children of God ſhall be freed from ſinne as well as *Marie*, becauſe God is able to doe it.

Let vs heare *Bellarmines* opinion : he ſaith that men are ſtained three waies with originall ſin. Firſt,the whole poſteritie of *Adam* may be ſaid to haue ſinned potentially in *Adam*, being at that time in his loynes. Secondly, as ſoone as the bodie beginneth to haue any being in the wombe. Thirdly, when as the ſoule is inſpired into the bodie : hee confeſſeth, that the Virgine *Mary* was conceiued as all other are,after the two firſt waies: that is,if we either reſpect her being in *Adams* loynes, or the firſt conception of her fleſh : but concerning the third, her ſoule was without ſpot of originall ſinne, in the verie inſtant of the infuſion thereof into her bodie. And this he ſaith is a godly and probable opinion, though it be not yet determined in their Church as a point of faith: *De amiſſion.grat.lib.4.cap.16.*

Anſ. This diſtinction,which the Ieſuite hath coyned,concerning theſe three kinds of conception in ſinne,is both verie friuolous and vntrue : for the firſt is none at all : if all that were in *Adams* loynes, when he ſinned, may be ſaid to be conceiued in ſinne, then our Sauiour Chriſt alſo, which were blaſphemie to affirme. The other two kinds make indeed but one : for to be conceiued in originall ſinne, implyeth a pollution both of bodie and ſoule : And the time of the conception is more properly referred to the beginning of the knitting of the fleſh in the womb, than to the inſtant of the infuſion of the ſoule : as *Dauid* in the Pſal. 51. 5. ſaith, In ſinne hath my mother conceiued me : But the mother conceiueth onely the fleſh : the ſoule is infuſed and inſtilled of God,as the Ieſuite alſo thinketh.Wherfore in graunting that the virgine *Marie* was in her fleſh conceiued in originall ſinne,he affirmeth in a maner the ſame that we doe : for how can the ſoule remaine vnſpotted, comming into a bodie alreadie infected with originall ſinne ? But let vs examine ſome of his reaſons.

Argum. 1. *Adam* was a figure,as S. *Paul* ſaith,of him that was to come,that is, of Chriſt : but *Adam* was created of the earth,before it was curſed : *Ergo*,Chriſt alſo muſt be borne of the Virgin *Marie* void of curſe, and ſo free from originall ſinne : *Bellar.cap.*15.

Anſ. Firſt, the Ieſuit knoweth that theſe are but weake arguments, that are drawn from types and allegories,and conclude not. Secondly, *Adam* was a forme or figure of Chriſt, but not in all things,neither in this,which the Ieſuit vrgeth : but *Auguſtine* ſhall ſpeake for vs both, wherein he was a figure : *Adam forma futuri eſt, i. Chriſti,&c. Adam* was a figure of Chriſt to come, becauſe, as he was cauſe of death by eating the forbidden meat, euen vnto thoſe of his linage, which did not eat of the tree: ſo Chriſt vnto thoſe,which are of him,although they haue done nothing righteouſly in themſelues, hath giuen righteouſnes by his croſſe. *Cont. Iulian. lib.* 1. The words alſo of the Apoſtle doe carrie the ſame ſenſe : for in the ſame verſe he ſaith,That death hath reigned euen ouer thoſe, that ſinned not after the manner of the tranſgreſſion of *Adam*, verſ. 14. that is,ouer children : ſo that this muſt be the meaning: That as *Adams* ſinne extended to thoſe that committed it not, ſo Chriſts righteouſneſſe is applyed to thoſe that wrought it not : herein then is *Adam* a figure of Chriſt. 3. And yet if we ſtretch this allegorie to this point,which the Ieſuit vrgeth, it will onely enforce the virginitie of *Marie*, not her freedome from ſinne : as *Auguſtine* elſewhere maketh this alluſion : *Adam de terra virgine natus, Chriſtus de Maria virgine procreatus* : As *Adam* De tempor. Serm.77.

was made of the earth, being yet a virgine that had brought forth none before; ſo Chriſt alſo was borne of the virgine *Mary*.

Argum.2. Thou art all faire my loue,and there is no ſpot in thee,Cantic.4.7. this is vnderſtood of the virgine *Mary*: *Ergo*, ſhe was without ſpot,*Bellar. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, S. *Paul* I thinke vnderſtood this place better than the Ieſuit doth: the Apoſtle applyeth it to the Church of Chriſt, That he might make it to himſelfe a glorious Church,without ſpot or wrinckle,Epheſ.5.27. Secondly, Chriſt maketh it without ſpot by ſanctifying it and waſhing it in his bloud: this place therefore ſerueth not for any originall pureneſſe by nature.

The Proteſtants.

THat the virgine *Mary* was both conceiued in ſinne, and was alſo ſubiect to actuall ſinnes in her life, as other of the children of God: thus out of the ſcripture we doe declare it.

1 How elſe can the word of God be true,that ſaith, All haue ſinned,Rom.3.23.and 5.12? They will anſwer,that *Mary* had an eſpeciall priuiledge: then let them ſhew it out of the word of God, and we wil beleeue it:otherwiſe the generall concluſion muſt ſtand,that All haue ſinned. Againe, *Marie* her ſelfe in her ſong,calleth Chriſt her Sauiour,Luk.1.47. *Ergo*, ſhe was a ſinner: for how elſe could ſhe be ſaued from her ſinnes which ſhe had not? If they anſwere as they do,that Chriſt Fox.p.801. was her Sauiour only, becauſe he preſerued her from ſinne: we doe thus reply. Firſt, that a Sauiour in ſcripture is defined to be hee that ſaueth the people from their ſinnes, Matth.1.21. not that preſerueth onely. Secondly, if *Mary* were free from originall ſinne, as they ſay ſhe was, ſhe needed not a Sauiour to keepe her from ſinne, for ſhe might haue preſerued her ſelfe.

Argum.2. *Mary* died: *Ergo*,ſhe was a ſinner: for ſinne brought death into the world, Rom.5.12. If ſhee had had no ſinne, ſhee had not died. Chriſt indeed, though he were no ſinner, yet hee bare our ſinnes, and therefore dyed for vs.

Theſe places alſo may be vrged: In whome, that is,in *Adam*,all haue ſinned,Rom.5.12.As in *Adam* all die, ſo in Chriſt we ſhall be made aliue, 1.Cor.15.22. and Chriſt died for all, 2.Corin.5.15. Therfore the virgine *Mary* alſo ſinned,and was dead in *Adam*,and Chriſt died for her: *Ergo*, ſhe was a ſinner.

Anſ.1. *Mary* ſinned potentially in *Adams* loynes: and in that reſpect wee confeſſe ſhee was redeemed by the bloud of Chriſt: and though by nature ſhe had an abilitie to ſinne,yet was ſhee preuented by grace, *Bellar. cap*.16.

Contra.1. If ſhe ſinned onely as ſhe was in *Adams* loynes,then all that were in *Adames* loynes ſinned,ſo Chriſt ſhall be counted in the number of ſinners. 2. As we ſinned in *Adam*,ſo we are made righteous by Chriſt; but we are not potentially made righteous, but verily and indeed: *Ergo*, if *Mary* haue life and righteouſnes in Chriſt, ſhe ſinned more then potentially in *Adam*. 3. She was preuented, you ſay, by grace, and kept from ſinne, *Vt ſimul eſſe, & iuſta eſſe inciperet*: That ſhe began to haue her being, and to be iuſt at one time. How then is it true,as you confeſſe, that *Mary* was redeemed by the bloud of Chriſt, and that Chriſt dyed for her? For *Chriſt dyed for vs,while we were yet ſinners*, Rom.5.8. and reconciled vs being enemies,verſ.10. *Ergo*, *Mary* was ſometime both a ſinner, and an enimie to God, if ſhe haue any benefit by Chriſts death: for redemption and freedome purchaſed,betokeneth bondage and ſlauerie before.

Chriſt checked and rebuked his mother,Ioh.2.4. Woman what haue I to doe with thee? *Ergo*, it ſeemeth ſhe was not without fault. *Rhemiſt*. *Anſw*. It was rather a doctrine to others, to teach them not to doe any thing for reſpect of kinred, againſt reaſon, then a reprehenſion to *Mary*. We reply: But I pray you, how could the Apoſtles learne to beware of that fault, if it had been no fault in *Mary*? How could they be admoniſhed in her,if ſhe were not firſt her ſelfe admoniſhed? And the manner of ſpeech ſheweth, it was a rebuke, Chriſt ſaluting her by no other name,then if he had ſpoken to any other woman.

Argum.3. The Papiſts themſelues are in a ſtagger,and dare not conſtantly affirme,that *Mary* was conceiued without ſinne,but put in this clauſe(as many godly deuout men iudge) *Rhemiſt. Rom*.5.*ſect*.9. And *Bellarmine* ſaith, *In maiori parte Eccleſiæ pie credi*: That the greater part of the Church doth ſo godly beleeue,yet he dare not determine vpon it himſelfe,*De cult.ſanct.lib*.3.*c*.16. But why are they afraid to hold it as an vndoubted truth, ſeeing Pope *Sixtus* hath cleerly deter- Fox.p.800. mined,that it was ſo,forbidding the Dominicke Friers to preach the contrary,and hereupon erected a newe holy day of her Conception? Here then they are driuen to a great ſtreight: for either they muſt abſolutely hold, that ſhe was not conceiued in ſinne, againſt the Maſter of ſentences, and *Thomas Aquinas*,with other Schoolemen; or els hold the contrarie, and ſo confeſſe the Pope to haue been in error.

I maruaile, that the Ieſuite is not aſhamed to ſay, that Pope *Sixtus* the fourth left this queſtion of the virgine *Maries* conception vndetermined; ſeeing he erected an holy day in memorie of her conception: and tooke part with the Franciſcanes, that held her pure and vndefiled conception,againſt the Dominickes that maintained the contrary: yea and the ſame Pope vpon this occaſion added this clauſe to the *Aue Marie: Et benedicta ſit Anna mater tua, de qua ſine macula tua proceſſit caro virginea:* And bleſſed be *Anna* thy mother, of whom thy virgins fleſh proceeded without blot of originall ſinne: granting alſo great Indulgence, and releaſe of ſinnes, to all thoſe that would inuocate the bleſſed Virgine with the ſame addition. For all theſe euident and ſubſtantiall proues, which make this matter as cleere as noone day: yet *Bellarmine* would face vs downe, that this Pope holy father concluded no ſuch thing, but left it as a matter indifferent, *cap.* 15. It was alſo thus determined, *Concil. Baſilienſ. ſeſſ.* 36. *Doctrinam illam diſſerentem glorioſam Virginem ſemper immunem fuiſſe ab omni originali & actuali peccato, tanquam piam & catholicæ fidei conſonam definimus, nullique de cætero licitum eſſe contrarium prædicare, aut docere:* This doctrine, that the glorious Virgine was free from all ſinne originall and actuall, we define to be a godly doctrine and conſonant to the faith, and that no man teach the contrary. And *extrauag. commun. lib.* 3. *tit.* 12. *cap.* 2. *Sixtus* 4. decreeth all thoſe to be heretikes, which affirme the Virgin *Marie* to haue been conceaued in originall ſinne. How then is this matter left vndetermined?

De ſanct. virginit. cap. 4. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Beatior Maria percipiendo fidem Chriſti, quàm concipiendo carnem Chriſti: materna propinquitas nihil Mariæ profuiſſet, niſi fœliciùs Chriſtum corde, quàm carne geſtaſſet. Marie* was more happie in perceiuing the faith of Chriſt, then in conceiuing the fleſh of Chriſt: neither had it profited her to be the mother of Chriſt, if ſhe had not more happily borne him in her heart, then ſhe did in her wombe. But what neede had *Marie* to beleeue in Chriſt, if ſhe had been pure from her natiuitie, and had no ſinnes to be forgiuen her?

In Pſal. 34. conci. 2. *Auguſtine* yet more plainly ſaith, *Maria ex Adam mortua propter peccatum Adæ: Adam mortuus eſt propter peccatum, & caro domini ex Maria mortua eſt propter delenda peccata: Marie* dyed being borne of *Adam*, becauſe of the ſinne of *Adam*: *Adam* dyed becauſe of his owne ſinne: Chriſt dyed in the fleſh to take away our ſinnes: *Ergo, Marie* by his ſentence was borne in the ſinne of *Adam*.

Auguſtine further ſaith, *Nullus exiſtit homo, de quo in hac vita conſtituto veraciter dici poteſt, quod nullum habeat peccatum excepto vno mediatore:* There is no man liuing of whom it may be truly ſaid, that he hath no ſinne, our Mediator onely excepted: *Contr. Pelag. lib.* 2. 29. What now is become of the Virgine *Marie?* ſhe is found to be a ſinner with the reſt.

Leo epiſtol. 91. *cap.* 9. thus writeth againſt the *Priſcillianiſts* that ſaid, the children of promiſe were borne of women, but conceiued of the holy Ghoſt: *Quod catholicæ fidei repugnans, atque contrarium eſt, &c.* Which aſſertion, ſaith he, is repugnant and contrarie to the Catholike faith, which confeſſeth that euery man receiueth life in his mothers wombe, that contagion of ſinne and mortalitie remayning, which is deriued into the offſpring from the firſt parent: but they are regenerate and made the children of promiſe by the holy Ghoſt in the Sacrament of Regeneration, not in the wombe of fleſh: but in the efficacie of Baptiſme. Here this Catholike Biſhop concludeth all men vnder originall ſinne in the wombe, there is no exception made of the Virgine *Marie*.

Origen ſaith; *Solus Chriſtus ſine macula eſt, &c.* Onely Chriſt is without ſpot, who did no ſinne, &c. *hom.* 1. *in Leuitic.* and S. *Hierome. Concluſit Deus omnes ſub peccato, &c.* God hath ſhut vp all vnder ſinne, to haue mercie vpon all, onely he is excepted, which did no ſinne, neither any guile found in his mouth, *Algaſ. quæſt.* 8. If onely Chriſt be excepted, then not the virgin *Marie*.

See the Teſtimonie of Maſter *Philpot* holy Martyr: Praiſed be God, that hath giuen you this ſorrowfull heart in reſpect of righteouſneſſe, and I pray you let me be partaker of theſe godly ſorrowes for ſinne, which be the teſtimonie of the preſence of the holy Ghoſt: did not the ſword of ſorrow pierce the heart of the elect and bleſſed mother of our Lord? did not Peter weepe bitterly for his ſinnes? &c. pag. 1833. *Epiſtol. ad Ioan. Careleſſ.* This holy Martyr confeſſeth, that the virgin *Mary* was a ſinner, and that ſhe ſorrowed for her ſinne.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER MARY vowed Virginitie before the Annuntiation.

The Papiſts.

81. Error. THey would gather and conclude ſo much out of the anſwere of *Marie* to the Angell, who told her, ſhe ſhould conceiue and beare a ſonne: *How can this be* (ſaith ſhe) *ſeeing I know no man?* That is, ſhe plainely declareth, ſhe could haue no child by knowing a man, becauſe of her vow, for otherwiſe ſhe needed not haue asked ſuch a queſtion, how a woman might haue a ſonne promiſed her, if ſhe had married to haue carnall copulation. *Rhemiſt. Luke* 1. *ſect.* 13. *Bellarm. de Monachis cap.* 22.

Anſw. Firſt, *Origen* thinketh, that this queſtion of the Virgin *Marie* (*how can this be*) proceeded from doubtfulneſſe, and ſome incredulitie or hardnes of beliefe: as thus he writeth, *homil.* 1. *in Geneſ. Si dixiſſet Scriptura, creſcite, &c.* If the Scripture had ſaid, encreaſe and multiplie, not adding further, he made them male and female, he might haue beene incredulous of this bleſſing, as the virgin *Marie* was of the Angels bleſſing, ſaying, *how can this be?* Wherefore *Bellarmine* needed not ſo to take vp *Caluine*, as deuiſer of a new fantaſie, in imputing ſome doubting to the Virgin; ſeeing this ancient father before him long agoe ſo affirmed.

Secondly, *Ambroſe* maketh this to be the cauſe why *Marie* ſo anſwered, ſhe had read the Prophecie of *Eſay*, that a Virgin ſhould conceaue and bring forth a ſonne, and therefore knew very well, that this holy child ſhould be otherwiſe conceaued, then by the knowledge or helpe of man, *Fulke ibid.* Thirdly, as alſo the Angell deliuering at once his whole meſſage, and ſhewing what manner of childe it ſhould be, euen the ſonne of the moſt High, who ſhould ſit on the throne of *Dauid*, and of his kingdome there ſhould be no end: that is, that the child ſhould be the Sonne of God: ſhe ſtraightwayes conceiued that ſuch a holy ſeede could not be borne of man, and therefore asketh, How without man he might be borne. *Sic Caluin. Beza.*

Bellarmine replieth, Firſt, that it is like the Virgin *Mary* was ignorant of the Prophecie of *Iſay*, that Chriſt ſhould be borne of a Virgin, *lib.*1.*de monach.cap.*22.

Contra. Firſt, it is a wonder, that they which do in other things aduance the Virgin *Marie* aboue the ſtate of a woman or creature, making her equall to the Angels, ſhould now ſo much depreſſe her, imputing vnto the mother of Chriſt ſo groſſe ignorance, as not to know the moſt manifeſt Prophecies of Chriſt. Secondly, it is vntrue, that ſhee knew not the Prophets, as may appeare by her ſong, *Luc.*2.*verſ.*55. *As he hath ſpoken to our forefathers, to Abraham, and his ſeede.*

Secondly. ſaith he, ſhe was a moſt humble Virgine, and therefore would not curiouſly ſearch after the manner, how this child ſhould be borne, *ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, it is no curioſitie, to deſire to be further inſtructed for the confirmation of our faith, but godly ſimplicitie: as it was no curioſitie in *Gedeon* to deſire to be confirmed in his calling by the ſigne of the fleece, Iudg.6.36. Secondly, it proceedeth rather of pride and curioſitie, not to ſeeke to be confirmed, or to refuſe the meanes of our further ſtrengthning, as *Ahaz* is reproued, becauſe hee would not aske a ſigne of the Lorde for his further confirmation, Iſay 7.12.

The Proteſtants.

THat *Mary*, as ſhe was an entire virgin before the birth of Chriſt, ſo that ſhe continued alſo a virgin all her life after, we doe verely thinke, and condemne their opinion that hold the contrarie: but that ſhe vowed or purpoſed virginitie, before the meſſage of the Angell was brought vnto her, it is raſhly without Scripture, nay rather againſt it, affirmed.

*Argum.*1. The text is plaine, that they had a purpoſe to conſummate their mariage: when as *Mary* was betrothed to *Ioſeph*, before they came together, Matth.1.18. *Ergo*, there was a meaning to come together, if ſhe had not in the meane time been found to be with childe of the holie Ghoſt: for otherwiſe, it ſhould ſeeme to haue beene a mockerie on *Maries* behalfe, to promiſe mariage to *Ioſeph*, without any purpoſe to performe the dutie of mariage. But if it were done with both their conſents, then mocked they with God, who inſtituted mariage for ſome end and purpoſe, which could not be attained out of mariage: for they ſhould haue maried neither for auoyding fornication, nor for procreation, which are the two chiefe ends of mariage: as for the third, which is mutuall comfort, it ariſeth of the former.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this vow of *Mary* was no hinderance to their mariage, in as much as ſhe knew by reuelation, that *Ioſeph* would neuer exact mariage duties of her: *Bellarm.lib.*2.*de monach.cap.*22.

Contra. 1. Thus they build their fanſies vpon deuiſed dreames and ſpeculations, Scripture they haue none for *Maries* vow, and therefore they ground it vpon their owne conceits. 2. If *Marie* had any ſuch reuelation, it is like alſo it was reuealed vnto her, for what cauſe *Ioſeph* ſhould forbeare her companie; but this is contrarie to the Scripture: for it appeareth by the annunciation of the Angell vnto *Marie*, when ſhe muſed with her ſelfe, what manner of ſalutation that ſhould bee, Luk.1.verſ.28. that ſhe was not vſed or accuſtomed to ſuch reuelations and viſions. 3. Your Maſter of Sentences thinketh that *Ioſeph* alſo purpoſed virginitie, *lib.*4.*diſtinct.*30.*b.* If they both purpoſed virginitie, and yet contracted mariage, how was it not a kinde of mockerie, or deceit in them? 4. Your owne Doctors are vncertaine what to hold: *Thomas Aquinas* thinketh, that *Mary* made not an abſolute vow before the eſpouſals; *Scotus* affirmeth ſhe did: wherefore agree firſt among your ſelues, and let vs know your mind, and you ſhal haue our anſwere.

*Argum.*2. It was not the manner among the Iewes to vow virginitie, but it was rather a ſhame and reproch to remaine and die a virgin: and therefore *Iephtahs* daughter lamented her virginitie, Iudg.11.38. How then could *Mary* bee induced contrarie to the cuſtome of the Church, to vow virginitie? Yea *Auguſtine* confeſſeth as much: *Hoc mores Iſraelitarum recuſabant:* The manners of the Iſraelites did not ſuffer it, *de Virginit.cap.*4. though he himſelfe elſewhere, and in the ſame place ſeemeth to incline to the contrarie opinion.

Againe, if *Mary* vowed virginitie, ſhe vowed alſo againſt the bearing of children, and ſo her vow ſhould haue hindred the accompliſhment of that meſſage, which the Angell brought vnto her: for ſhe vowed not to bee a mother, if ſhe vowed any thing, then had ſhe vowed againſt her ſelfe, who was choſen then to be the mother of our Lord.

The Arauſicane Councell ſaith: *Concil.2.can.11.Nemo quicquam rectè Deo vouerit, niſi ab ipſo acceperit, ſicut legitur, quæ de manu tua accepimus, damus tibi,* 1.Chron.29. No man can rightly vow any thing to God, vnleſſe he haue receiued it of God, as wee reade, that which we haue receiued at thy hands we giue vnto thee: *Mary* therefore ſhould not haue done well to haue vowed virginitie, hauing not at that time receiued the gift, when ſhe eſpouſed her ſelfe to *Ioſeph*. It is ſufficient for vs to know, that *Mary* was both before Chriſts natiuitie, and after ſo continued an vndefiled virgin: As *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Synod.Telenſ. Quæ eſt illa porta, quæ manet clauſa, & nemo pertranſibit per eam ſed ſolus Deus Iſrael, Ezech.44.nonne hæc porta Maria eſt, per quam in hunc mundum redemptor intrauit?* What is that gate which remaineth ſhut, and no man ſhall paſſe thorough it but onely the God of Iſrael? is not the Virgin *Mary* this gate, by the which the Redeemer came into this world?

Let vs ſee their owne decrees: *Part.2.cauſ.27.qu.2.cap.44. Inuenta eſt habens in vtero,&c. Mary* was found to be with childe, of *Ioſeph*, who though he did not touch her, yet knew almoſt all the ſecrets, *vxoris futuræ*, of her that was to be his wife. And *cap.40.Licentia maritali*, By the right and power of an husband *Ioſeph* found her to bee with childe, &c. This then being knowne to *Ioſeph*, that ſhe was with childe, and not to others, ſheweth, that ſhe was in ſubiection to *Ioſeph*, as his eſpouſed wife: and therefore no ſuch vowed virginitie.

Saint *Ambroſe* alſo thus writeth: *Ecce ancilla, apparatus eſt officij; contingat mihi, conceptus eſt voti:* Behold thy handmaid, here is the yeelding of her dutie and obedience; be it vnto me according to thy word, here is the conceiuing of her vow, *lib.2.in Luc.* Saint *Ambroſe* maketh this to bee her vow, namely, that ſhe might beare this holy childe without the ſeede of man: and this vow taketh beginning after the annunciation, not before, which was long after the eſpouſals.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE ASſumption of the Virgin Marie.

The Papiſts.

82.Error. THey report the ſtorie of the death and departure of the Virgin *Mary*, after this manner: At the time of her death after ſhe had liued ſixtie three yeeres, all the Apoſtles, being diſperſed into diuers nations, were miraculouſly brought together to Ieruſalem, to ſolemnize her funerall. They buried her in Gethſemani: and for three daies together the Angels were heard to ſing melodious ſongs: At three daies end alſo Saint *Thomas* came; who being deſirous to ſee her bodie, and not finding it in the graue, they thereupon aſſuredly deemed that her body was aſſumpted into heauen, *Rhemiſt.Act.*1.*verſ.*14.

*Argum.*1. It is beſt agreeable to the priuiledge of the mother of God, not to ſee corruption, *Rhemiſt.ibid.* Seeing alſo her ſonne was exempted from corruption, *& natura Mariæ excipitur*, the nature of *Marie* muſt be excepted: *caro enim Ieſu eſt caro Mariæ*, the fleſh of Ieſus is the fleſh of *Marie*. And ſeeing Chriſt came to fulfill the law, which ſaith, Honor thy parents: it is very like, *eum in morte ſpeciali gratia eam honoraſſe*, that he did honor her by ſpeciall grace in her death. Theſe reaſons and other are to be read in a forged booke amongſt *Auguſtines* workes, bearing title, *De aſſumptione Mariæ*.

Anſ. Firſt, there is no credit to bee giuen to the forged writings which paſſe vnder the name of Saint *Denis*, and *Athanaſius*, out of whom they doe report the aſſumption of *Mary*, nay their owne leſſon, which they reade vpon the Aſſumption day, doth controll and confute the other. Firſt, that ſtorie ſaith, that without doubt ſhe was taken vp in bodie: but your leſſon leaueth it as vncertaine, whether ſhe were raiſed vp in bodie or not. Secondly, the forged ſtorie ſaith, ſhe was buried in Gethſemani, which was in Mount Oliuet: your leſſon ſaith, that the place of her buriall is in the midſt of the valley of Iehoſaphat, which is betweene Mount Oliuet and the citie, *Fulk.ibid.*

Secondly, it followeth not becauſe Chriſt tooke fleſh of the Virgin, that therefore ſhe ſhould alſo as well be exempted from corruption: for he tooke fleſh alſo of *Dauid*, and other his progenitors, who by the ſame reaſon ſhould be made immortall. And if ſhe were priuiledged by being the mother of Chriſt, from ſeeing corruption; why not alſo from hauing any ſinne? for her ſonne after the fleſh ſaw neither.

Thirdly, Chriſt alſo both did and might honour his mother as he was man, though ſo great a priuiledge be not graunted vnto her. The reuerence which was to bee done to his mother, was in regard of his manhood, and ſo was he obedient vnto them, Luk.2.51. and ſo long as he liued in the fleſh: and therefore he did care for her euen vpon the croſſe, commending her to the diſciple whom he loued. But he neither was to honour her as he was God, and therefore not to free her from corruption, which had bin a worke of his Godhead: and the naturall affection and honour due vnto parents ceaſeth after this life. It were then too groſſe a conceit, to thinke that Chriſt hath ſuch regard now of the Virgin *Mary* in heauen, as he had of her, being his mother, in the daies of his fleſh: for Chriſt, as he is not now knowne after the fleſh, 2.Corinth. 5.16. ſo neither knoweth he any after the fleſh.

The Proteſtants.

THis vncertaine report of the aſſumption of *Mary*, with other circumſtances thereof, wee hold to be a very counterfeit ſtorie, and worthie of no credit.

*Argum.*1. If it were a matter of ſuch waight, as they make it, who haue erected a new found holy-day of the aſſumption of *Mary*, ſurely the Scriptures would not haue been ſilent therein: eſpecially Saint *Iohn* (as *Auguſtine* ſaith) to whoſe charge ſhe was committed, would haue left ſomewhat in writing of that matter: for (ſaith he) *Nullus fidelius id narrare potuerit*, for no man could more truly and faithfully make relation thereof.

De Sanct. ſerm.35.

*Argum.*2. That generall ſentence pronounced vpon ***Adam*** and all ***Adams*** ſeede, muſt needes alſo take place in the Virgin *Mary*, Thou art duſt, and to duſt ſhalt thou returne, Geneſ.3.19. Chriſt onely is excepted, and that by the teſtimonie of the word of God: wherefore, vnleſſe this priuiledge of the Virgin could bee proued out of Scripture, as Chriſt is, wee muſt needes hold her ſubiect to that generall law of corruption.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Aſſumptio eius in apocrypha non in catholica reperitur hiſtoria:* The aſſumption of *Mary* is found in an Apocryphal, that is, an obſcure and vncertaine, not a Catholike or authenticall ſtorie.

Gelaſius decr. de Apocryphis: Liber qui appellatur tranſitus ſeu aſſumptio Mariæ, Apocryphus: The booke called the paſſage, or aſſumption of *Mary*, is Apocryphall: And in the end of the decree, he doth anathematize this booke and other the like, *cum ſuis authoribus hæreticis*, with heretikes the authors thereof. *Gelaſius* thought ſome heretike to bee the inuentor of this fable of *Mary* her aſſumption.

There is a booke intituled, Of the aſſumption of *Mary*, bearing S.*Hieromes* name, the author thereof ſeemeth to be more reaſonable concerning this point, than our new Maſters of poperie: firſt, whereas the tombe, where *Mary* is ſaid to haue been buried, was found emptie; the like (ſaith the author) many doe report of Saint *Iohn* the Euangeliſts graue, that there was nothing, but Manna, found therein: *Veruntamen, quid horum verius cenſeatur, ambigimus*, Wee are in doubt, which of theſe ſhould bee moſt true. Secondly, after the ſame manner diuers learned doe thinke (ſaith he) that they roſe for euer, that were ſeene in the citie, out of their graues, at the reſurrection of Chriſt, and *Dauid* amongſt the reſt: and therefore Saint *Peter* durſt not ſay, whoſe bodie, but whoſe graue is with vs, Act.2. *for his bodie being riſen, the graue was emptie*. Like to this fanſie he thinketh the ſtorie of *Maries* aſſumption to be. Thirdly, he thus concludeth, *Melius Deo totum, cui nihil eſt impoſſibile, committimus &c.* It is better to leaue this matter to God, to whom nothing is impoſſible, then to define of our owne authoritie, that which wee cannot prooue. Thus farre that author.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE HONOR and worſhip of the Virgin Mary.

The Papiſts.

THey doe aſcribe vnto her a kinde of religious honor, more then to any of the Saints beſide: For whereas they call the worſhip of Saints, δουλεῖα, ſeruice; the honour of the Virgin, they tearme, ὑπερδουλεῖα, a higher kinde of ſeruice, *Bellar. de Sanct. lib.2. cap.*15. They call her *Regina mundi, ſcala cœli, thronus Dei, ianua paradiſi*, The Queene of the world, the ladder of heauen, the throne of God, and gate of paradiſe: yea, they giue her iuriſdiction ouer her ſonne, *Iube natum*, command thy ſonne, *Iure matris impera filio*, commaund thy ſonne by the right of a mother: *Coge Deum*, compell God to be mercifull to ſinners, *annot. Fulk.* 1.15.

83.Error.

Againe, they ſay, ſhe is to be honoured with the feaſts of her Natiuitie, Aſſumption, and Conception: for the other two, of her Purification, and Annunciation, are not proper to the Virgin, but concerne Chriſt: the one his Conception, the other his Preſentation, *Rhemiſt. actor.* 1. *ſect.*7.

Argum. She her ſelfe propheſieth of all Catholike generations, that they ſhould bleſſe her in keeping her feſtiuities and memorials: but if theſe feſtiuities of her Conception and Aſſumption be not kept, ſhe ſhould haue none at all: and ſo bee thought worthie of leſſe remembrance, than any other Saint, *Galat.*4. *ſect.*5. *Rhemiſt.*

The Proteſtants.

1. WE doe not celebrate any feſtiuall daies in the honour of creatures, neither of the Virgine *Marie*, nor any other Saint, but onely to the honor of God: and therefore the feaſts of the Annuntiation, and Purification, may much better be receiued, becauſe they belong and are referred vnto Chriſt, then the other feſtiuities of the aſſumption and conception of *Marie*, the inſtitution whereof was moſt ſuperſtitious: the one for the fayned aſſumption of her body, which your owne writers are vncertaine of; the other to maintaine the hereſie of the Franciſcanes, that ſhe was conceiued and borne without ſinne. As for the memorie of the Virgine *Marie*, it may better be kept, then by ſuch feſtiuities: as our Sauiour Chriſt taught to keepe the remembrance of *Marie Magdalen*, by preaching the Goſpell, Matth.26.13.*Fulk.annot.Act.*1.7. And if they onely are Catholike generations, that call her bleſſed in keeping theſe feſtiuities in her memoriall: then there were no Catholike generations for many hundred yeeres after, and ſo doe you condemne the age of the Apoſtles: for neither then, nor many yeeres after were theſe ſuperſtitious feſtiuities heard of. But *Marie* ſaith in her ſong, From henceforth, euen from this time forward, ſhall all generations call me bleſſed: ſo that, if her bleſſednes had conſiſted in the memorie of thoſe dayes, they ſhould immediately haue been kept, eſpecially the day of her natiuitie.

2 We doe allow all praiſe giuen vnto the virgin, without the diſhonor of God and her Sonne and Sauiour Chriſt: we doe acknowledge the honour that God vouchſafed her, not to be a meritorious or principall efficient cauſe of our redemption, but onely an holy veſſell, and inſtrumentall cauſe of the conception and birth of Chriſt, by whoſe only merit and worthines our redemption is perfited, as by a proper and principall, and onely meritorious efficient cauſe thereof. And therefore, thoſe are blaſphemous titles which are giuen vnto her, to call her the ladder of heauen, and gate of Paradiſe, and ſuch like: and ſo in a manner to make her our redeemer. ***Auguſtine*** ſaith, Shee was more happie, in that ſhee conceiued the faith of Chriſt, than in conceiuing the fleſh of Chriſt. If then theſe titles be vnmeet for her, in reſpect that ſhe receiued the faith of Chriſt, which is common to all the children of God, then are they more vnfit, in that ſhe conceiued the fleſh of Chriſt.

De ſanct.virgine, cap.3.

3 It is great preſumption to thinke, that the virgine *Mary* may commaund her Sonne in heauen, ſeeing ſhe had no authoritie to commaund him vpon earth, in any thing pertaining to his office, Ioh.2.4. And now likewiſe that carnall reſpect of children to their parents ceaſeth in the kingdome of God.

As for that ſuperioritie and higher kind of honour which ſhe hath aboue all the Saints beſide, wee find no warrant out of ſcripture. Shee is reſpected now in heauen, not as ſhe bare the fleſh of Chriſt, but as ſhee liued by faith in Chriſt: ſhe alſo reioyced in God her Sauiour. The Scripture therefore maketh one condition and eſtate of all that ſhall be ſaued: and ſaith generally of all, of others as well as the virgine Chriſts mother, That they ſhall be as the Angels in heauen, Mat. 22.30. Yea, our Sauiour ſheweth, that Whoſoeuer doth the will of God, is his ſiſter, brother, and mother, Matth. 12.50. By the which we learne, that other the faithfull ſeruants of God may by their faith in Chriſt, be as well accepted of God as if they had borne Chriſt in the fleſh. Where then is that high dignitie which ſhee hath, as the mother of Chriſt, aboue all Saints? ***Auguſtine*** ſaith: ***Tu concinis ſine fine choris coniuncta, Angelis & Archangelis ſociata:*** Thou (O Virgine) doeſt reioyce being ioyned vnto the heauenly quire, being aſſociated to Angels and Archangels. He maketh her not Lady or Queene of heauen, but onely a fellow companion of the Saints and Angels.

Serm.35.de aſſump.Mariæ.

*Synod Moguntin.cap.*45.*ſancti qui vitæ huius curſum beato fine clauſerunt,&c.* The Saints departed, as the moſt noble members of Chriſt, muſt be honored of vs with that dutie and worſhip of loue and fellowſhip, which the Saints liuing are to be worſhipped withall. If then the moſt noble members of Chriſt are no otherwiſe to be adored, then holy men vpon earth, the Virgine *Marie* can haue no greater honour: for more ſhe cannot be, then a moſt noble member of Chriſt.

This truth hath been ſealed: ***Helen Stirke*** perſecuted, becauſe lying in childe bedde, ſhe refuſed to call vpon the name of the Virgine *Marie*, being thereto exhorted by her neighbours, but onely vpon God, for Ieſus Chriſts ſake, ***Fox***.pag.1267.

Saint ***Hierome*** hath this ſentence writing againſt ***Heluidius***; ***Inuocandus eſt Spiritus ſanctus, vt Mariæ virginitatem ſuo ſenſu, ore meo defendat,&c.*** The holy Spirite muſt be called vpon, to defend the virginitie of *Marie* by my tongue, &c. the Lord Ieſus muſt be inuocated, to deliuer from all ſuſpition the ſacred wombe, &c. God the father muſt be prayed vnto, to declare the mother of his Sonne to be a Virgin. And why, I pray you, doth he not alſo call vpon the virgin *Marie* to defend her owne virginitie, if ſhe be to be prayed vnto?

And concerning the feſtiuities of *Marie*, if you would indeed haue them ſo ſolemnely kept aboue other holy dayes, what meaneth then your owne darling ***Boniface*** 8. to preferre the feaſts, not onely of the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts, but of the foure Doctors of the Latine Church, making no mention at all of *Maries* feſtiuals ? for theſe are the words of the decree, *Sext.decretal. lib.3. tit.22. cap.1. Meritò prouidit, Apoſtolos, Euangeliſtas et confeſſores in vniuerſali eccleſia honorificentiæ maioris impendus attollendos,&c.* This Sea hath worthily prouided that the Apoſtles, Euangeliſtes and Confeſſors,ſhould through the vniuerſall Church be more highly extolled, that they may be ſo much the more honoured of the Church, as they haue more, then others, lightned the ſame. This decree preferreth the commemorations of S. *Ambroſe,Gregorie,Hierome,Auguſtine,* before the memorie of the virgine *Marie.*

AN APPENDIX OR FIFT PART, OF THE merites of the Virgine,and of the *Aue Maria.*

The Papiſts.

1. THey doe teach and holde, that ſhee onely amongſt all women deſerued to beare the redeemer of the world, and ſo by her merites obtayned that fauour to be the mother of Chriſt. 84.Error.

Argum. The Angell ſaluteth her, and calleth her, Full of grace, which ſheweth the prerogatiue that ſhee had aboue other women, and the worthineſſe that was in her, *Rhemiſt. Luk.1. ſect.12.15.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſw.1. WE acknowledge that herein ſhe was bleſſed aboue all other women, in that ſhe was choſen to be the mother of our Sauiour, and that ſhe was indued fully with the graces of the holy Ghoſt : but thoſe graces ſhe had not of her ſelfe, but of the free gift of God, without her merites : and S. *Hierome* ſheweth how ſhe was full of grace, *Sancta Maria, quia conceperat eum,&c.* Holy *Marie,* becauſe ſhe conceaued him, in whom the Godhead dwelled bodily, is ſaluted full of grace, *tom.4.ad Principium*; ſhee was full of grace, becauſe ſhee was filled with Chriſt:and as S. *Ambroſe* ſaith,*quia gratiæ replebatur authore*,becauſe ſhe was repleniſhed with the Author of grace, *lib.2. in Luc.*It was not then her owne grace, but the grace of Chriſt.

2 The word κεχαριτωμένη, ſignifieth freely beloued, not ful of grace, as it is likewiſe taken, Epheſ. 1.6. ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς,He hath made vs accepted in his beloued Sonne.

3 She her ſelfe confeſſeth her ſelfe in her ſong,to be of a low degree,poore in ſpirit,and hungry, whom God in mercy looked vpon,Luk.1.50.whereas God ſent away the proud and rich : as the proud Phariſie that thought himſelfe rich of good workes, obtayned nothing of God, Luk.18. Wherefore if ſhe had ſtoode vpon her owne deſerts,ſhe had made her ſelfe rich, not poore : neither ſhould ſhe haue magnified the mercy of God, but his iuſtice : for when a reward is giuen according to deſert,it is of his iuſtice and not mercy.

Saint *Ambroſe* thus concludeth;*Simul ancillam dicendo, nullam ſibi prærogatiuam tantæ gratiæ vendicauit,&c.* and in calling her ſelfe handmaid,ſhee challengeth no prerogatiue of ſo great grace, for being to bring forth one, that was humble and meeke, it became her alſo to be humble.

And S. *Hierome* vpon thoſe words, Luc.1.48. *From henceforth ſhall they call me bleſſed* : *Animaduerte, quòd beatam ſe eſſe dicit, non proprio merito, aut virtute,&c.* Marke, that ſhee calleth her ſelfe bleſſed, not by her owne merite or vertue, but by the mercie of God dwelling in her,&c.*dialog.1. aduerſ.Pelag.*

Auguſtine thus commenteth vpon the words of her ſong, *Magnificet anima mea Dominum, & recordetur, quòmodo nullis ſuis præcedentibus meritis, ſed ſola dei bonitate ſit ab iniquitate ſaluata:* Let my ſoule praiſe the Lord,and remember, how that not by any merites going before, but through the onely gracious goodnes of God,it is deliuered from ſinne. De ſanct. virginit. Serm.35.

Bernard ſaith, *Regina miſericordiæ dicitur, vt ſoli tribuamus diuinæ miſericordiæ non meritis, quod ſuper omnem creaturam præcellens,&c.* She is called the Queene of mercy,that we ſhould aſcribe it only to Gods mercy,not her merits,that ſhe is exalted aboue all other creatures,*Serm.ſuper ſalue Regina:Ergo,Marie* not ſaued by her merites,nor conſequently the mother of Chriſt,by her merites, but onely by the meere fauour of God.

This truth alſo wanteth not the ſeale, *Helen Stirke* perſecuted becauſe ſhe affirmed in effect, That there was no merites in the Virgine, which procured her that honour, to be the mother of Chriſt, and to be preferred before other women, but Gods free mercy only exalted her to that eſtate,*Fox.*pag.1267.

The Papiſts.

2. THey much commend the often vſing of the *Aue Marie,* which is done (ſay they) to the honour of Chriſt and our Lady. 85.Error.

Argum. They be the very ſumme and abridgement of the whole Goſpell : and therefore to be vſed, *Rhemiſt.Luc.1.ſect.11.*

The Proteſtants.

1. YOu do ſhamefully abuſe thoſe words, in making a prayer of them, which was but a forme of ſalutation vſed by the Angell: neither can you ſay them in that ſenſe they were vttered in by the Angell. Alſo you offend in the vaine repetition of them vpon your beades, as the heathen did, Matth.6.7. and in committing idolatry, in the inuocating of the Virgine, and praying vnto her in theſe words: who is a creature,and not a God to be called vpon.

2 What myſterie ſoeuer be contained in theſe words,yet the people vnderſtand nothing at all. And though we denie not but that the words are holy and myſticall,yet it followeth not that they ſhould be vſed for a prayer.

Fox.p.800.

3 What great account they make of the *Aue Marie*, it may appeare by this: that they thinke they may alter and change it, and adde to it at their pleaſure: as by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, there was a clauſe more added vnto the common *Aue Marie*, in this manner: *Haile Marie full of grace, the Lord is with thee,bleſſed art thou amongſt women, and bleſſed is the fruit of thy wombe Ieſus Chriſt,and bleſſed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgines fleſh hath proceeded without blotte of originall ſinne.* What a fearefull thing is this, that they ſhould thus dare to adde vnto the Scriptures? How can they now eſcape that iudgement that is threatned againſt al thoſe that doe adde,or take, ought to or from the word of God? Apocal.22.18.

That the *Aue Marie* is no prayer,nor to be vſed as a prayer ,we haue the glorious teſtimonie of the holy martyrs, *Claudius Monerius* Martyr, being asked whether it were not good to ſalute the Bleſſed Virgine with the *Aue Marie*, made this anſwere: When ſhe was on earth, ſhe had then neede of the Angels greeting,for then ſhe had neede of ſaluation,as well as another: but now ſhe is bleſſed,that no more bleſſing can be wiſhed to her,*Fox*.pag.905.col.1.

Benet Romaine,a French Martyr,becauſe he refuſed to ſay the *Aue Maria*,was tormented of the Friers,pag.926.col.2.

Maſter *Latimer* B. Martyr, moleſted and troubled for affirming, that the *Aue Maria* was a ſalutation onely and no prayer,pag.1736.col.2.

Thus farre of ſuch queſtions and controuerſies, as concerne the kingdome of Chriſt, which is his Church: of the which we haue now entreated at large: firſt in generall of the whole, and then of the ſeuerall parts and members thereof in order. Now follow thoſe controuerſies, which belong vnto the Prieſthood of Chriſt,the third excellent and glorious office of our Sauiour: which his Prieſthod is partly ſeene in his interceſſion and mediation for vs, partly in his ſacrifice, where we are to handle the great and waightie controuerſies of the Sacraments, by the which the ſacrifice of his death is applyed vnto vs.

THE TENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE INTERCESSION AND MEDIAtion of Chriſt,whether he be only our Mediator and Interceſſor.

The Papiſts.

86.Error.

THey ſeeme in theſe very words to confeſſe, that Chriſt is the onely ſingular aduocate and patron of mankinde,that by himſelfe alone,and by his own merites procureth all grace and mercie, none asking or obtaining either grace in this life,or glory in the next, but by him.But this letteth not, but that there may be other inferiour mediatours, though not in that ſingular ſenſe,*Rhemiſt.annot*.1.*Tim*.2.*ſect*.4.

Argum. Chriſt is the only Sauiour and Redeemer of the world,yet the name of Sauiour and Redeemer is giuen to men in the Scriptures, as Iudg. 3.9.*Othniel* is called a Sauiour: Act.7.35.*Moſes* a Deliuerer or Redeemer: and all this without derogation to him,that in more excellent manner is the onely Sauiour of the world: *Ergo*,there may be alſo many mediators,in an inferiour degree to that ſingular mediatour, to offer vp our prayers,*Rhemiſt.ibid.*

*Anſw.*1. If Chriſt be ſufficient to procure all grace and mercy vnto vs, what need then the mediation or inuocation of Saints? for we muſt either doubt of his power, in ioyning other helpers with him, or make queſtion of his good will and readines to helpe vs, in making other mediators vnto him.

2 They make other mediators and interceſſors beſide Chriſt, euen in that high and ſingular degree: for not onely Chriſt by their doctrine, by his merites procureth grace, but other Saintes alſo by their merites, are our mediators: as it is plaine to ſee in that popiſh prayer, *Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem,&c.* By the blood of *Thomas, which for thée he did ſpend, make vs, Chriſt, to climbe, whither Thomas did aſcend.* In this blaſphemous prayer and a thouſand ſuch, they pray onely to Chriſt as God, not as Mediator; men departed, and many of them no Saints, they make their onely Mediators by their owne proper merites. *See Fulke ibid.*

Againe, their Saints are not onely interceſſors for grace, but conferrers of grace and helpe, which is the higheſt degree of Mediation. They appoint ſeuerall Patrones amongſt the Saintes for all purpoſes: S. *Apollonia* for the toothach: Saint *Rooke* for the peſtilence: Saint *Petronil* for the ague: Saint *Gregorie* for Schollers.: Saint *Morris* for Souldiers: Saint *Luke* for Painters: Saint *Criſpin* for Shoomakers: Saint *Nicholas* for the ſea: Saint *Iodocus* for corne: Saint *Vrbane* for wine. And thus do they not onely (as they beare vs in hand) pray for theſe graces and bleſſings, but they haue power themſelues to beſtow them.

*Anſw.*3. Concerning the name and title of Sauiour and Redeemer, we anſwere: firſt, men are called in the Scripture Deliuerers and Sauiours, in reſpect of ſome temporall deliuerance, not of the ſpirituall or eternall redemption, which belongeth onely to Chriſt: but you make your Saints mediators of eternall redemption. Secondly, they whom the Scripture calleth Redeemers and Sauiours, were appointed by God for ſuch temporall deliuerance: but you cannot ſhew the like appointment for Saints to be mediators of eternall ſaluation, though in an inferiour degree to Chriſt. Thirdly, ſeeing the name of God and Chriſt is giuen to men in the ſcriptures, as to Princes and Prophets: why may you not as well ſay, that there may be many Gods and Chriſts properly, though in an inferiour degree to him which is onely God and Chriſt, as to appoint other inferior Redeemers, Sauiours and Mediators?

See more of their arguments for the mediation of Saints againſt the onely mediation of Chriſt. *contr.9.qu.3.par.2.*

The Proteſtants.

WEe acknowledge but one onely Mediatour as well of interceſſion as redemption, euen Ieſus Chriſt our Lord: to whom and through whom all our prayers and ſupplications ought to be made: to him we onely pray, as being one God with the Father and the holy Ghoſt: by him and through him we onely pray, as being the onely Mediatour betweene God and man.

*Argum.*1. S. *Paul* ſaith, *There is one Mediatour of God and men, the man Ieſus Chriſt*, 1.Tim.2.5. Hence we do frame this argument: The Mediatour betweene God and men, muſt himſelfe be both God and man: but ſo is none but Chriſt: *Ergo*, he is the onely Mediatour. *Bellarmine* here anſwereth making a diſtinction of Mediators, whom at large with his ſophiſticall diſtinction ſee confuted, *Contr.9.qu.3.part.2.argum.Proteſtan.3.*

*Argum.*2. He is onely the Aduocate and Mediatour for our ſinnes, that is the propitiation for our ſinnes, 1.Iohn 2.1. Chriſt onely is the propitiation for our ſinnes: *Ergo*, the onely Mediatour.

I will adioyne other arguments for the ſole mediation of Chriſt out of the fathers, grounded vpon the Scriptures.

*Argum.*3. If any were ioyned with Chriſt in the office of mediation, the Angels are moſt like, being the next in dignitie to the Trinitie of all Gods creatures: but the Angels are not our mediatours: for Saint *Paul* ſaith, Galath.3. *The law was giuen by the Angels in the hand of a Mediatour:* wherefore Angels are not mediatours. Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Quem inuenirem, qui me reconciliaret tibi, an eundum mihi ad angelos?* Whom ſhould I finde to reconcile me vnto thee? ſhould I goe to the Angels, &c. *lib.confeſſ.*10.*cap.*42.

*Argum.*4. There is one and the ſame Mediatour, both of the Law and Goſpell, as the Apoſtle ſaith, The law was giuen in the hand of a Mediatour, that is Chriſt, Galat.3.19. Thus *Origen, Chryſoſtome*, with moſt of the Greeke interpreters, expound this place: but the Saints could not be mediatours of the law, being not yet borne: *Ergo*, neither are they mediatours of the Goſpell.

*Argum.*5. There is the ſame Mediatour of the recreation of man, and redemption, which was of the creation: as *Athanaſius* ſaith, *Vt creaturæ exiſterent, opus fuit mediatore:* A mediatour was neceſſarie, that the creatures might haue a being, *Epiſtol.de ſynod. Nicen.decret.* But Chriſt only was the Mediatour of the creation of man, Heb.1.2. by him he made the worlds: *Ergo*, onely of the redemption.

*Argum.*6. He is the onely true Mediatour, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Pro quo nullus interpellat, ſed ipſe* *pro omnibus :* For whom no man prayeth, but he prayeth, for all. But the Saints had one neede of an others prayers, Chriſt onely needeth the interceſſion of none: *Ergo*, he is the only Mediatour.

Cont.Parmen.lib.2.c.8. *Auguſtine* thus further writeth vpon this place : *Si Apoſtolus ita diceret,&c.* If the Apoſtle had ſaid thus: If any man ſinne, you haue me a mediatour with the Father, and I doe by my prayer obtaine pardon for your ſinnes (as *Parmenianus* in a certaine place maketh the Biſhop a mediatour betweene the people and God:) *Quis ſicut Apoſtolum Chriſti, & non ſicut Antichriſtum intueretur?* Who would behold him as an Apoſtle of Chriſt, and not as Antichriſt? It is then Antichriſtian doctrine, in *Auguſtines* iudgement, to make any other mediatours or interceſſors beſide Chriſt.

Decretal.Gay.Licèt in conſpectu Domini pretioſa mors iuſtorum, nullius tamen inſontis occiſio redemptio fuit mundi: Although in the ſight of God, precious be the death of his Saints; yet the ſlaying of no Innocent (but Chriſt) is the redemption of the world. Againe, *Non eſt redemptio captiuitatis humanæ, niſi in ſanguine eius qui dedit ſe redemptionem pro omnibus, ibidem :* There is no redemption of mans captiuitie, but in his blood, that gaue himſelfe a redemption for all : *Ergo,* there are no more Sauiours, Redeemers, or Mediatours, but Chriſt.

Likewiſe, *Extrau.commun.lib.*3.*tit.*11.*c.*1.*Ioann.*22.*Expediens immo neceſſarium æſtimamus, vt ad illum, qui ad dextram patris reſidet in excelſis,&c.* We thinke it expedient, yea neceſſarie, that to him that ſitteth at the right hand in the higheſt, whom both the windes and Sea obey, wee lift vp our heart with our hands,&c. This Canon maketh no mention of any inuocation of Saints, but of praying vnto Chriſt, as not onely expedient, but neceſſarie.

I will adde alſo the teſtimonie of a learned Papiſt of their owne ſide : *Maneat igitur ſuus Chriſto mediatoris,&c.* Wherefore the title of Mediatour betweene God and man, reconciling and appeaſing, doth remaine vnto Chriſt, as proper vnto him, and not communicable with any creature, either man or Angell : *Eſpenc.in* 2.*Timoth.p.*202.*d.*

This doctrine hath been ſealed : *Richard Feurus* a French Martyr ; I beleeue, as in the worde of God is teſtified, Ieſus Chriſt to be yͤ only mediatour, and aduocate for al ſinners: albeit the Virgin *Mary* be a bleſſed woman, yet the office of an aduocate belongeth not vnto her, *Fox*.p.912.col.1.

Iohn Lambert holy Martyr : The Scripture vſeth to ſpeake but of one Mediatour, which ſignifieth a maker of peace or attonement betwixt God the Father and man, 1.*Tim.*2. there is one God and one Mediatour,&c.*Fox.pag.*1109.*reſponſ.ad articul.*15.

HERE FOLLOW SVCH CONTROVERSIES, as concerne the Sacraments of the Church.

OF the Sacraments then, we muſt firſt intreate in generall, and afterward handle them in particular.

THE ELEVENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, OF THE SACRAMENTS IN GENERAL.

THis Controuerſie containeth diuers queſtions : firſt, of the nature and definition of a Sacrament. Secondly, of the efficacie and vertue of the Sacraments. Thirdly, of the number and order of the Sacraments, the difference and preeminence amongſt them. They thus follow in their order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE NAME, nature, and definition of a Sacrament.

FIRST, OF THE NAME OF a Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

87.Error. FIrſt, concerning the name, Sacrament, they doe enforce it, as neceſſarie, and would deriue this word taken in this ſpeciall ſignification for the myſticall rites of the Church, out of the Scriptures, *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de Sacram.cap.*7.

Argum. Epheſ.5. verſ.31. Saint *Paul* calleth Matrimonie a Sacrament; *This is a great Sacrament,&c.*

Anſ. Firſt, the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe, *This is a great myſterie, but I ſpeake concerning Chriſt and his Church:* So then this myſterie is not in the coniunction of man and woman, but in the ſpirituall vniting of Chriſt and his Church; as S. *Ambroſe* alſo expoundeth this place: *Sacramentum grande in vnitate viri & fæminæ.* He ſignifieth that there is a great Sacrament, or myſterie, in the vnitie of man and woman: then it followeth, *Nec hoc prodit, ſed aliam cauſam flagitat,&c.* But the Apoſtle alleageth not this, but requireth a greater cauſe, that is of Chriſt and his Church. Secondly, if it ſhall be anſwered, that the ſpirituall vnion of Chriſt and his Church, is ſignified in Matrimonie, which is the externall ſigne or ſacrament thereof: Wee graunt, that there is ſuch a myſticall ſignification in Matrimonie; but it followeth not, that it is therefore a Sacrament, as Baptiſme and the Euchariſt are: for it being inſtituted in Paradiſe, cannot be a Sacrament of the Goſpell. Thirdly, they doe not well to tranſlate, Sacrament, ſeeing the Greeke word is *myſterium,* which ſignifieth a ſecret and myſticall thing, which name, as they well know, is giuen to many things in Scripture, which are no Sacraments. Wherefore this place ſheweth no ſuch ſpeciall vſe of this word Sacrament.

The Proteſtants.

THis word Sacrament, being the Latine of the Greeke word, μυςήριον, wee refuſe not to vſe, being fitly applied to the myſteries of Baptiſme and the Lords Supper, though in this ſpeciall ſenſe and ſignification, it cannot be found vſed in Scripture: the name (*myſterie*) is diuerſly read in the Scripture, taken ſomtime in the good part, as Rom.16.25. 1.Tim.3.16. the Goſpel is called a myſterie: ſometime in the euill, as 2.Theſſ.2.7. The myſterie of iniquitie: Apoc.17.5. the whore of Babylon is called a myſterie; yet as a ſpeciall name for the Sacraments of the Church, we finde it not expreſſed in Scripture: yet notwithſtanding we doe receiue it as a fit terme, to ſignifie the myſteries of religion.

Argum. Like as the Church of God in the diuiſion of *Arrius,* vſed the name, *homouſion,* though it were not read or found in Scripture, to expreſſe one and the ſelfe ſame ſubſtance of the Trinitie: the Arrians obiected, that the word was not to bee vſed, becauſe the Scriptures had it not: Saint *Ambroſe* anſwereth, *Quæro ſi ita credi liceat, ſi nominari non liceat:* I aske, if it be not lawfull ſo to beleeue, though not to vſe that name: If we may beleeue ſo, why not alſo profeſſe, or name it ſo? *de fide orthodox.cap.3.* So we ſay, that this word Sacrament being agreeable to the Scriptures in this ſenſe, which we vſe it, wee ſtand not ſo much vpon the very acception of the word in Scriptures. But as S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Non eſt nobis cura de vocabulo, cum ſenſus ſit in tuto:* Wee care not much for the word, agreeing vpon the ſenſe: *aduerſ.Lucifer.*

SECONDLY, OF THE DEFINITION of a Sacrament.

WE thus define a Sacrament, to be an outward viſible ſigne, repreſenting an holy, inward, ſpirituall grace, inſtituted of Chriſt, to be vſed in that manner he hath appointed, to ſeale vnto vs the promiſes of God, and to aſſure vs of the remiſſion of ſinnes, by the righteouſneſſe of faith in Chriſt, Rom.4.11.

Some things there be in this definition, that are agreed vpon betweene vs and our aduerſaries: as that the Sacraments are outward ſignes of ſpirituall and holie graces, and that there muſt be a conueniencie and agreement betweene the ſigne and the thing ſignified: that not euery thing may be repreſented by a Sacrament, but an holy and ſpirituall grace: that a Sacrament ought to be inſtituted by a diuine not an humane authoritie, *Bellarm.de Sacram.in gener.lib.1.cap.9.*

The ſeuerall points then wherein wee diſſent from them, and which they miſlike in this definition, are theſe: Firſt, concerning the authoritie of inſtituting a Sacrament, which wee affirme to be deriued onely from Chriſt, and manifeſtly to be proued out of the Scriptures. Secondly, of the forme and matter of the Sacraments. Thirdly, of the inſtrumentall or miniſteriall cauſe, which is the Miniſter. Fourthly, of the vſe and end of a Sacrament, whether it be a ſeale of the promiſes of God, and inſtituted for that end.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE EFFICIENT CAVSE, that is, the author or inſtitutor of a Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

THey doe willingly graunt, that neither the Apoſtles then had, nor the Church now hath authoritie to inſtitute Sacraments: but that this power is onely in Chriſt, and that the Apoſtles did but declare and deliuer that which they receiued of Chriſt: yet for the triall of this, they re- 89.Error.

fuſe to be iudged by the expreſſe word of God, but flie vnto their traditions, which they call the word of God not written, *Bellarm.lib.1.de Sacram.cap.14.& 23.*

Argum. The ſacrament of Baptiſme, and of the Euchariſt, were inſtituted without expreſſe warrant of Scripture: for at that time the new Teſtament was not written, when Chriſt ordained thoſe myſteries: *Ergo,* for the other Sacraments we neede not the expreſſe commaundement of Scripture, *Bellarm.lib.1.cap.14.*

Anſ. Firſt, the traditions of our Sauiour giuen vnto the Apoſtles concerning thoſe two Sacraments, were afterward written by the Apoſtles, and expreſly ſet downe in Scripture: and therefore we doubt not, but that they were of Chriſts inſtitution. But your traditions being not committed to writing, concerning your other forged ſacraments, are iuſtly ſuſpected, ſeeing the Apoſtles ſhould haue as well been charged with all the Sacraments, if Chriſt had inſtituted them, as with onely two. Secondly, how followeth it, the word of God was ſometime vnwritten, therefore it is ſo ſtill? or Chriſt, who was the author of the word written, might inſtitute Sacraments without expreſſe Scripture: *Ergo,* the teſtimonie of Scripture is not neceſſarie now?

The Proteſtants.

WE hold no Sacraments to bee of Chriſts inſtitution, but thoſe onely which the Scripture teſtifieth to haue been commaunded by Chriſt, as Baptiſme, Matth.28.19. the Lords Supper, Luk.22.20. The other which haue no teſtimonie of Scripture, were not appointed by Chriſt.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, That the Scriptures are able to make the man of God abſolute and perfect to euery good worke, 1.Timoth.3.17. But how can the Miniſter of God bee perfectly furniſhed and prepared for the worke of the Miniſterie, if he haue not ſufficient direction out of the Scriptures concerning the Sacraments of the Church? for how can he abſolutely execute euery part of his office, if he faile in the right vſe of the Sacraments? *Ergo,* ſeeing the Scriptures are able to make him perfect, from thence he receiueth ſufficient inſtruction for the Sacraments.

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, ſpeaking of the Sacrament, *I haue receiued of the Lord, that which I haue alſo deliuered vnto you,* 1.Cor.11.23. wherefore no Sacraments ought to bee deliuered to the Church, but ſuch as haue beene receiued of Chriſt: and what is receiued of Chriſt, cannot bee ſhewed but out of the Scripture. Wherefore their opinion is more reaſonable amongſt the Papiſts, that denie all the Sacraments to haue been inſtituted of Chriſt, as *Hugo,* and *Peter Lumbard,* with other, becauſe they cannot finde all their Sacraments in Scripture, than *Bellarmines* aſſertion is, who graunteth, that all the Sacraments are of Chriſts inſtitution: but for the proofe thereof, he runneth from Scripture to tradition.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Chriſtus ſacramentis numero pauciſſimis, obſeruatione facilimis, &c.* Chriſt hath ioyned his people together by the Sacraments, few in number, eaſie in obſeruation: ſuch are Baptiſme, and the partaking of his bodie and blood. Then it followeth: *Et ſi quid aliud in ſcripturis canonicis commendatur:* And if any other Sacrament be commanded in the Canonicall Scripture, *Epiſt.*118. *Ergo,* we muſt attend vpon the Scripture and written word of God, if we wil be inſtructed aright concerning the Sacraments.

Concil.Florentin.ſeſſ.7. Andreas Coloſſenſ. Velim à vobis ampliſſimi patres doceri, &c. I would gladly learne of you (honourable fathers) whether the moſt ſacred Goſpell doe not containe the moſt certaine doctrine of our religion: I thinke, you will not (ſuch is your godlines) make other anſwere, then that the moſt abſolute knowledge of our faith is there comprehended. If the Goſpell then doe teach the perfect rule of faith, and religion, then it muſt needes inſtruct vs concerning the Sacraments, without the which our religion is not perfect.

S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Ergo vt ad inſtitutionis plenitudinem, verbum Domini, hoc eſt Euangelium, &c.* For the fuller inſtitution, I pray you diligently reade the word of the Lord, that is the Goſpell: let vs in no wiſe reſt vpon our owne iudgement, &c.

Maſter *Philpot* holy Martyr: Our Sauiour ſaith, *Verbum quod locutus ſum, &c.* The word that I haue ſpoken ſhall iudge you in the latter day; if the word ſhall iudge vs then, much more ought it to be a iudge of our doings now: *Fox* pag.1805. *Ergo,* wee ought to enterpriſe nothing in religion, without the warrant of Gods word in Scripture.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE FORME OF A Sacrament, and the manner of conſecration; and of the matter: firſt of the forme.

The Papiſts.

90. Error. THe Sacrament is not conſecrated (ſay they) by all the words of the inſtitution, but by a certaine forme of ſpeech to be vſed ouer the elements: as theſe words to be ſaid ouer the bread, *This is my bodie:* and the like ouer the wine, *This cup is the new teſtament, &c.* And in Baptiſme theſe:

In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt. Theſe are the formes of the Sacrament, and very words of conſecration,though ſpoken in a ſtraunge tongue, without further inuocation of the name of God, or giuing of thankes,or without a ſermon,which we require (as they ſay)as neceſſarie to the eſſence of a Sacrament, *Rhemiſt.*1.*Corinth.*11.*ſect.*11.15.*Bellarm.lib.*1.*de Sacrament. cap.*19.

Argum. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *The cup of bleſſing which wee bleſſe*, 1.Corinth.10.16. The Apoſtle referreth the benediction or bleſſing to the cup or Chalice, which is nothing elſe but the conſecration thereof, *Rhemiſt ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt,we deny not,but that to bleſſe here doth ſignifie to ſanctifie or conſecrate: but that is not done by a magicall murmuration of words ouer the Sacrament, but by the whole action according to Chriſts inſtitution,in diſtributing,receiuing,giuing of thankes: as the Apoſtle afterward ſaith in the ſame verſe,*the bread which we breake,&c. which we breake*,ſaith he, as before of the cup,*which we bleſſe*,ſhewing thus much,that the benediction conſiſteth not onely in the pronouncing of the words,but in the whole action,of taking, receiuing, breaking, diſtributing,giuing of thankes,&c. Secondly,as for the words which Chriſt vttered in the inſtitution,we rehearſe them not, as a magicall charme to bee ſaid ouer the bread and wine to conuert their ſubſtance: but to declare what they are made to vs by force of Chriſts inſtitution, namelie, his bodie and blood.

91.Error. *Bellarmine* alſo affirmeth,that the words of the inſtitution doe not ſerue at all for the inſtruction of the people,but onely to conſecrate the elements;and therefore they may be as well repeated in Latine,ſaith he,as in the vulgar tongue,becauſe God vnderſtandeth all languages,*cap.*19.

Argum. The words to be vſed in Baptiſme: *In the name of the Father,of the Sonne,and of the holy Ghoſt*,are words of inuocation or benediction,not of inſtruction.*Ergo.*

Anſ. Firſt,and doth he thinke, that in theſe words there is no inſtruction? how then ſaith the Apoſtle,*whatſoeuer is written,is written for our learning and inſtruction*,Rom.15.4. If theſe words then be written in Scripture,they are for our learning. Againe, when the whole Trinitie is named,is it no point of inſtruction to the people to know in whoſe name they are baptized? which certaine diſciples of Epheſus were ignorant of, that had not heard, whether there were an holie Ghoſt, Act.19.2.

Secondly,it is no good reaſon,that the Sacraments may bee celebrate in any tongue, becauſe God vnderſtandeth: for ſo it ſhould not be neceſſarie to vſe any tongue,becauſe God vnderſtandeth the thoughts: the prieſts intention then by this reaſon might ſerue without any words at all. Againe, if the words containe a prayer and inuocation, it is fit the people ſhould vnderſtand it, that they may giue conſent and ſay Amen to the prayer.

The Proteſtants.

B*Ellarmine* chargeth vs with three great vntruths: firſt,that we hold,that the words of inſtitution are not neceſſarie in euery Sacrament,but Baptiſme onely. Secondly,that wee ſay,a ſermon is of the eſſence of the Sacrament. Thirdly, that the words of inſtitution doe not ſerue at all towards conſecration,or benediction of the elements: but our opinion is this; We doe not hold, that it is an eſſentiall part of the Sacrament, alwaies to haue a ſermon before it, as they vnderſtand a ſermon; which notwithſtanding were moſt conuenient,and alwaies to bee wiſhed: but this wee affirme, that the ſacrament cannot be rightly miniſtred,vnleſſe there bee a declaration, and ſhewing foorth of the Lords death,not onely in the viſible action of breaking and diſtributing the elements; but alſo in ſetting foorth the end of the Lords death out of the word of God, with an exhortation to thankfulnes, which is alwaies obſerued amongſt vs in the daily celebration and receiuing of the Sacrament. Concerning the words of the inſtitution, wee alſo graunt, that they are neceſſarily to be vſed in the celebration of the Sacrament; but not as the Papiſts vſe them: For firſt,they make them not all of one value, but out of the whole inſtitution, picke out certaine conſecratorie words,as they call them: as, *This is my bodie,This is the cup*; whereas the other words,*Take ye,eate ye, drinke ye,doe this in remembrance:* doe as well belong to the inſtitution, as the other. Secondly, they ſay, that the words of inſtitution doe not ſerue any thing at all for the inſtruction of the people, to ſhew them the right vſe of the Sacrament, but onely for benediction and conſecration of the elements,*Bellarm.cap.*19. Thirdly,they doe hold,that onely by the pronouncing of thoſe words, the elements are conſecrated: whereas by the whole action, and celebration of the Sacrament, the giuing, receiuing, inuocation, thankſgiuing, according to Chriſts inſtitution, the conſecration is performed vpon the elements: *Fulk.*1.*Corint.*10.*ſect.*4.

*Argum.*1. That the words of inſtitution rehearſed, doe helpe as well to admoniſh and ſtirre vp the people to a thankfull remembrance of the death of Chriſt, as to conſecrate and bleſſe the elements,it is manifeſt: whereas Chriſt ſaith, as the words are vſually rehearſed, *Doe this in remembrance of me:* And S.*Paul* ſaith, That by receiuing the Sacrament, wee doe ſhew foorth the

Lords death, 1.Cor.11.26.*Ergo*,the people are by the words pronounced,inſtructed and admoniſhed,and taught the right vſe of the Sacrament.

Argum.2. That the words of inſtitution doe helpe toward the benediction or conſecration of the elements,wee denie not; but not by them alone, but prayer alſo and thankſgiuing, and the whole action beſide of receiuing. To the conſecration or ſanctifying of any creature, two things are required: the word of God, and prayer, 1.Timoth.4.5. Neither the word ſanctifieth without prayer, nor prayer without the word: *Ergo*, to the ſanctifying and conſecrating of the Sacrament,the bare rehearſall of the inſtitution ſufficeth not, without inuocation and prayer.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Accedat verbum ad elementum, & fiet Sacramentum*: Let the word be ioyned to the element,and it is become a Sacrament. And in another place,he ſheweth what word he meaneth: *Faciente verbo,non quia dicitur, ſed quia creditur,hoc eſt verbum fidei,quod prædicamus*: The word effecteth this, not becauſe it is ſpoken or vttered, but becauſe it is beleeued: this is the word of faith,ſaith the Apoſtle, which we preach: Thus farre *Auguſtine tract.in Iohan*.80. Wherefore it is not the muttering of a few words in a ſtrange tongue, after the manner of inchaunters, that by any ſecret force giuen vnto them hath power to conſecrate: but the vnderſtanding,hearing,and beleeuing the inſtitution of Chriſt,with calling vpon the name of God, and thankſgiuing before him.

Alſo one of your great Maſters *Innocent*.3.thus decreeth: That two things are required in Baptiſme,the word and the element; *Iuxta quod de verbo veritas ayt &c.* Out of the word the truth thus ſaith, *Goe and preach the Goſpell to euery creature, baptizing them.* Here he vnderſtandeth by the word,the word preached: *Decret. Greg.lib*.3.*tit*.42.*c*.5.

Origen. in 15.Matth. *Origen* thus writeth: *Quod ſanctificatur per verbum Dei & obſecrationem,non ſuapte natura ſanctificat vtentem,&c.* That which is ſanctified by the word of God,doth not of it ſelfe ſanctifie the vſer, or receiuer: for ſo it ſhould ſanctifie him,that eateth vnworthily,&c.therefore then the bread of the Lord is profitable to him that eateth,when with a pure conſcience,and vnpolluted minde he is made partaker,&c. We ſee then that conſecration and benediction conſiſteth in the whole action of prayer,thankſgiuing,and faithfull receiuing,not in the pronouncing of certaine words.

Synod. Auguſtenſ.c.15. *Volumus populum,quid in cuiuſque ſacramenti collatione agatur in concionibus & ſacramentorum adminiſtratione frequenter doceri*: We would haue the people, when any Sacrament is conferred to be taught in Sermons, and in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, what is there done. We ſee then that the words vſed in the diſtribution of the Sacraments,ſerue not onely to conſecrate,but to teach and inſtruct the people.

AN APPENDIX OF THIS PART, WHETHER THE forme of words in the inſtitution of the Sacraments may not be by ſome addition,or other alteration changed.

The Papiſts.

92.Error. THe words of inſtitution may be changed two manner of wayes: either ſubſtantially, *when* the ſenſe is alſo altered with the words; or accidentally, when the elements, or ſillables are only changed,but the ſenſe remaineth the ſame. If there be a change in the ſubſtance of the words, the Sacrament is imperfect: if the alteration be of the forme onely of words, and not of the ſenſe, the Sacrament is not deſtroyed: but he ſinneth that doth ſo alter them. Wherefore it is not lawfull any way at all to alter or chaunge the forme of words, *Bellarm.cap*.21.*lib*.1.

Argum.1. It is not lawfull to adde or take, to or from the words of Scripture, much leſſe to change the words appointed to be vſed in the Sacrament, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. To adde or detract to or from the word of God, with a purpoſe and intent, to wreſt it to a contrary meaning,and deſtroy the true ſenſe thereof,cannot be done without great impiety: and ſuch is the manner of all heretikes: But to alleadge Scripture, in keeping ſtill the full ſenſe, though we miſſe of the words, is not to be counted ſo heynous a ſinne: we ſee the holy Apoſtles in citing textes of Scripture, doe not alwayes bind themſelnes to the very words, as Act.7.43. Heb.10.5. The Apoſtle ſaith, *A body thou haſt ginen me*: In the Pſalme we reade, Pſal.40.6. *Mine eares haſt thon opened*: diuers words,yet the ſame ſenſe: and in other ſuch places many.

De doctrin. Chriſtian.lib. 4.cap.5. *Auguſtine* ſaith very well, they that vnderſtand the Scripture, though they keepe not alwayes the words, are better then they that reade and vnderſtand not: *Sed vtriſque ille melior, qui & cum volet,eas dicit,& ſicut oportet,intelligit*: But he is better then both,that both remembreth the words, and keepeth the ſenſe too: yet he alſo deſerueth prayſe,that beareth the ſenſe in minde,though he cannot the words.

Argum.2. To change the matter of the Sacrament, as the water in Baptiſme, &c.is vnlawfull, for this were to deſtroy the Sacrament: *Ergo*,neither are the words to be changed. *Bellar.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, how then can your ſelues be excuſed, that in the *Euchariſt*, take away the one part of the matter, namely the Wine, and when you vſe it, you mingle it with water, what is this els, but to change the matter of the Sacrament? Secondly, there is not the like reaſon of the words and the matter, for the element cannot be altered or changed without corruption of it, but ſome alteration in the words may be, and yet the ſenſe remaine whole and ſound ſtill: wherefore from the change of words, to the change of the things, the argument followeth not.

The Proteſtants.

NO ſubſtantiall change (we confeſſe) is to be admitted in the forme of inſtitution, which may alter the ſenſe: neither is any particular man by himſelfe to make any accidentall change, and bring in a new forme of words, but the publike and vniforme order of the Church muſt be kept; yea, and the Church likewiſe is bound both to reteine the true ſenſe, and, as neere as may bee, the very words: but where occaſion ſerueth, to make ſome ſmall accidentall change of the words, the ſenſe being nothing diminiſhed, it is not condemned as an vnlawfull and ſinfull act.

*Argum.*1. The Euangeliſts report not all the ſame forme of words, which ſhould be vttered by our Sauiour, neither yet S.*Paul* fully accordeth with them, in the preciſe and ſtrickt forme of inſtitution: as by comparing of them together, it may be ſeen,

Matth. 26. verſ.27.	S.Luke.cap.22.	S.*Paul.*
Take, eate, This is my body.	This is my body which is giuen for you, do this in remembrance of me, verſ.19.	Take, eate, this is my body which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of me, 1.Cor.11.24.
Verſ.28. This is my blood of the newe teſtament, that is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes.	This cup is the newe teſtament in my blood which is ſhed for you.	This cup is the newe teſtament in my blood: this doe as oft as you drinke it in remembrance of me.

If it had beene a ſinne, to haue miſſed in ſome termes and ſillables, no doubt the ſpirit of God would not haue ſuffered theſe holy writers to haue made the leaſt ſcape. Is it to be thought a ſinne in the Church, which in ſteade of *Take ye, eate ye*, in the plurall number, hath appointed the Sacrament to be miniſtred particularly in the ſingular number, to euery of the communicants, ſaying, *Take thou, eate thou, drinke thou?* Wherefore all accidentall change of words carieth not with it a guilt of ſinne.

*Argum.*2. In the other ſacrament of Baptiſme, the preſcript words are to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, Matth.28. yet your owne Canons allow ſome change, and alteration in them: as *decret.part.*3*.diſtinct.*4*.c.*24. *Nicolaus* alloweth Baptiſme pronounced onely in the name of Chriſt: *cap.*30. *Pelagius* approueth Baptiſme celebrated onely in the name of the Lord: *cap.*86. *Zacharias* determineth the Baptiſme of a certaine Prieſt, that ſpake falſe Latine, ſaying, *in nomine patria, filia & ſpirita ſancta*, to be good Baptiſme: the Maſter of ſentences alſo alloweth of Baptiſme onely in the name of Chriſt, *lib.*4*.diſtinct.*3*.b.* wherefore in their owne iudgement the words may be altered.

Auguſtine indeede ſaith, *Certa ſunt verba euangelica, &c.* The words of the Goſpell are certaine, whereby baptiſme is conſecrated. But yet he ſaith elſwhere, *In ipſo verbo aliud eſt ſonus tranſiens, aliud virtus manens:* In the word ſpoken the ſound which paſſeth, is one thing, the vertue or ſenſe of the words which abideth, is another. It is then the ſenſe of the words, not the ſound or ſillables, that is certaine and permanent. Contr.Donat. de baptiſ.lib.6. cap.25. Tractat.in Iohan.80.

Againe, *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Si non ſanctificatur aqua, &c.* If the water be not ſanctified, when ſome words vnskilfully are pronounced, many as wel good, as bad men ſhould not baptize at all, &c. and this ſentence is rehearſed in the decrees, *part.*3*.diſt.*4*.c.*72. If a change proceeding of error may be tolerated, much more a change tending to edifying may be admitted, as when for, *Take yee, eate yee*, we ſay in the ſingular, *Take and eate.*

Dominicus a Soto, their owne darling, is of opinion, that the Greekes do truely baptize, ſaying thus, *baptizetur ſeruus*, let the ſeruant of Chriſt be baptized in this water: and yet the Latine Church vſeth to ſay: *Ego baptizo*, I baptize thee: Wee ſee then that there may be ſome alteration. Qu.1 art.8.

OF THE MATTER OF the Sacraments.

The Papiſts.

FOr the matter of the Sacraments, they hold it not neceſſarie to be a viſible and palpable element, but it is ſufficient, ſay they, if it be any way ſenſible, as to the eares if it be but audible onely: for in penance, they haue no materiall part, but the ſound of the words: *Bellarm.cap.*14. *lib.*1. 93. Error.

Argum. The ſenſe of hearing in the Sacraments ought not to be excluded, ſeeing they are the moſt excellent ſignes, that are perceiued of that ſenſe. *Bellarmine ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, which is the moſt excellent, and fitteſt ſenſe for the Sacraments, it is not left to vs to determine, but therein we muſt follow the inſtitution of Chriſt. Secondly, the ſenſe of hearing is not permitted in the vſe of the Sacraments, ſeeing that hearing is of the word, Rom. 10. 17. which accompanieth the Sacraments. Thirdly, though hearing be the moſt excellent ſenſe for inſtruction, for faith commeth by hearing, Rom. 10. yet the ſight of the eyes ſerueth moſt fitly to confirme the weake, as it may appeare in *Thomas*, Iohn 20. 25. And that which we haue by hearesay, is made more euident by ſight; as *Iob* ſaith, 42. 5. *I haue heard of thee, by the hearing of the eare, but now mine eye ſeeth thee.*

The Proteſtants.

WEe define a Sacrament onely to be a viſible and tractable ſigne, obiect to the eye, taſte, and feeling, not to the eare, or any other ſenſe.

Argum. Our reaſon is this, Chriſt hath inſtituted onely two Sacraments, Baptiſme and the Euchariſt: the ſcripture in the new Teſtament maketh mention of no more: but the matter of theſe Sacramentes is onely obiect to the ſenſes of ſeeing, taſting, handling: *Ergo:* to this purpoſe S. *Iohn, That which our eares haue heard, which we haue ſeene with our eyes, and our handes haue handled of the word of life, &c.* 1. Iohn 1. 1. Theſe are the three ſenſes, wherewith Chriſt is receiued, and perceiued of vs; the word we do heare with our eares; with our eyes and hands, wee ſee Chriſt, and feele him in the Sacraments.

Hugo a popiſh writer, thus alſo defineth a Sacrament, *Sacramentum eſt materiale, vel corporale elementum, &c.* A Sacrament is a materiall, or corporall element; *lib.1.part.9.cap.2.* but a ſound is not a materiall, or corporall element: *Ergo,* it is no Sacrament.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE INSTRVMENTAL cauſe of the Sacraments, that is, the lawfull Miniſter.

SOme things are yeelded vnto of both ſides: Firſt, that no man ought to take vpon him to adminiſter the Sacraments, vnleſſe he be thereunto lawfully called and ordained by the Church, ſauing that they make exception of Baptiſme, which in caſe of neceſſitie, as they teach, may be giuen by the hands of lay-men or women: but of this matter we ſhall haue fitter occaſion afterward to conſider. Secondly, it is agreed, that the efficacie or vertue of the Sacrament, dependeth not of the faith or honeſty of the Miniſter: but a faithfull man may receiue the Sacrament worthily, euen at the hands of an vnworthy Miniſter.

The Papiſts.

94. Error. THe point of difference betweene vs, is this: They doe teach that the efficacie, perfection, and being of the Sacrament, doth neceſſarily depend of the intention of the Miniſter, ſo that they hold it to be no Sacrament, if the Miniſter haue not, *Intentionem faciendi, quod facit eccleſia,* A full purpoſe and intent in miniſtring the Sacrament, to do that which the Church doth; that is, to conſecrate the elements, & to make a Sacrament, *Trid. Conc. ſeſſ.7.can.11. Bellar. c.27.* So that by this rule, if the Miniſters intention be not wholy vpon the buſines he hath in hand, it ſhal be no Sacrament.

Argum. If the Miniſters intention were not neceſſary to make a Sacrament, when it chanceth that the Goſpell is read at the table by a Miniſter, there being both bread and wine ſet before him, and he in reading ſaith, This is my body, and This is my bloud, ſtraightwayes all that bread and wine ſhould be conſecrate, and become a Sacrament; but becauſe his intention is wanting, it is none, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. But what if the Miniſter ſhould haue a fantaſticall conceit and intent, as he readeth, to conſecrate all the bread and wine vpon the table, then it ſhould ſeeme by your rule, that it muſt needes be a Sacrament, which were euen as abſurd a thing as the other? Secondly, there are other lets and impediments, from hauing a Sacrament at the table, then the intention of the Miniſter being wanting or kept backe: for the elements are not conſecrated, nor the Sacrament made by the bare pronouncing of the words; but the whole inſtitution ought to be obſerued: there muſt be eating, drinking, taking, and doing, all in the remembrance of the death of Chriſt: there muſt be diſtributing, receiuing, inuocation, thankſgiuing: the whole action in the Sacrament, is the conſecration thereof: theſe things then being wanting, there can be no Sacrament.

The Proteſtants.

IF the Sacrament be adminiſtred aright according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, whatſoeuer the Miniſter be, howſoeuer affected, be he neuer ſo prophane in his heart, without any godly purpoſe or intention; yet to the worthie receiuer it ceaſeth not to be a Sacrament, *Caluin. in antidot. concil. Tridentin. ſeſſ.7.can.11.*

Argum. 1. The word of God, with what intention ſoeuer it be preached, yet may haue his effect, and worke faith in the hearer. So Chriſt be preached (ſaith S. *Paul*) whether vnder pretence, or ſincerely, I therein ioy, Philip. 1.18. *Ergo*, the Sacraments alſo may haue their efficacie, without the intent of the Miniſter, *Argum. Lutheri.*

He alleadgeth alſo how *Alexander* B. of Alexandria ratified and confirmed the baptiſme, which *Athanaſius* being a child, conferred in ſporte vpon other children.

Bellarmine anſwereth to the firſt: 1. that there is not the ſame reaſon of the word and the Sacraments: for the word hath not a ſacramentall effect, neither doe the Sacraments ſerue to beget or reuiue faith, as the word doth, and therefore the word may profite without an intention, ſo cannot the Sacraments.

Contra. Though the word and the Sacraments worke not the ſame particular effect, becauſe in the Sacraments our ſenſes are more liuely touched, yet they tend both to the ſame generall end, that as the word preached begetteth faith; ſo the Sacraments increaſe and nouriſh it (as it followeth in the nexte ſection to be proued:) wherefore if the word, though the preachers intention be wanting, may beget faith, why may not the Sacraments likewiſe without the Miniſters intention nouriſh faith?

2 The Ieſuite diſtinguiſheth, *Aliud eſt intendere non concionari, aliud intendere concionari, ſed ad malum finem:* That it is one thing to intend not to preach; an other to haue an intention to preach, but for an euill end: of the latter (ſaith he) ſpeaketh S. *Paul:* and ſo he truly is ſaid to baptize, that hath an intention ſo to doe, though to an euill end: *cap.28. reſpon. ad argum.* 1.

Contra. 1. It is not likely that a man that is ſober minded, of diſcretion and well in his wittes, ſhould not intend to doe that thing which he doth: what intention then call you this when a man preacheth, or miniſtreth the Sacraments, to intend not to doe it, whereas the action proceedeth from the intention: and therefore this diſtinction is friuolous. 2. The Miniſter muſt haue an intent to doe that, which the Church doth: but the Church doth baptize to a good end, therefore his intention by their owne learning, will not ſerue to baptize, vnleſſe it be for the right ende. Whereas therefore he anſwereth, that *Athanaſius* had an intent to baptize indeede, though for a wrong ende, namely for ſport: it is both falſe, that he had ſuch an intent to make a Sacrament, being a childe, and ſporting himſelfe among his companions; and if he had, it ſhould haue been inſufficient, becauſe he propounded not to himſelfe the right end. Wherefore no ſuch intention is neceſſarie.

Argum. 2. If the effect of the Sacrament conſiſteth vpon the intention of the Miniſter, then ſhould euery man be vncertaine whether any thing be wrought in him, or he haue receiued any benefit by the Sacrament, becauſe he knoweth not the intent of another mans heart, and ſo ſhould he be depriued of the ſpirituall comfort, which he might reape by the Sacrament, *Caluin.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that we may haue a certaine morall and humane, that is, a coniecturall certitude of the Sacrament, though it depend of the Miniſters intention, *ibid.*

Contra. The Sacraments muſt worke not a coniecturall, but an infallible certitude in vs: as it is thus ſhewed: To haue Chriſt dwelling in vs is a ſacramental worke, Ioh. 6.56. as the Papiſts vnderſtand that place of the ſacramentall eating, but we ought to be ſure of Chriſts dwelling in vs: 2. Cor. 13.5. *Know ye not your ſelues how that Chriſt Ieſus is in you, &c. Ergo,* we muſt be ſure of the ſacramentall worke.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Sacramentum Baptiſmi tam ſacrum eſt, vt nec homicida vel ebrioſo miniſtrante polluatur:* The Sacrament of Baptiſme is ſo holy, that it cannot, either by a murtherer or drunken perſon miniſtring it, be defiled. And I pray you, is it not like to be a good intention, that ſhould enter into the hearts of ſuch lewd and wicked men? Therefore without any good intention, euen by the hands of ſuch, may the Sacraments be giuen.

Tractat. 5. in Iohan.

Synod. Colonienſ. Gratia ſacramentorum non ex ipſa externarum rerum virtute, nec ex merito miniſtri, ſed ex interna & diuina operationis virtute æſtimanda eſt: The grace of the Sacraments muſt not bee eſteemed by the vertue of things externall, or the worthines of the Miniſter, but by the inward vertue of the diuine operation. But the intention of the Miniſter is no diuine thing: *Ergo, &c.*

We haue further euidence from their owne writings, *Innocent.* 4. *cap. Si quis puerum, &c.* affirmeth, that it is a Sacrament, *etiamſi non gerat in mente facere, quod facit eccleſia,* although the prieſt do not thinke in his minde to doe that, which the Church doth.

Decret. Greg. lib. 3. *tit.* 41. *cap.* 7. *Innocentius* decreeth againſt thoſe, *qui ſuppreſſis verbis,* which ſuppreſſing the words of conſecration, *per hoc, quod intendit, &c.* doth thinke, by that, which he intendeth, not to prouoke God, &c. From whence we may reaſon thus; Intention being preſent maketh not a Sacrament; therefore being abſent, it deſtroyeth it not.

Catharinus a learned Papiſt holdeth no ſuch intention to be requiſite, *Opuſcul de intentione Miniſtri:* and he alleageth *Thomas in* 4. *diſtinct.* 6. *qu.* 1. *art.* 2. *q.* 1. *Non requiri mentalem intentionem Miniſtri, ſed ſufficere expreſſionem verborum, &c.* That an intention of the minde is not neceſſarie in the Miniſter, but only an expreſſing of the words, wherein is contained the intention of the Church. Of the ſame minde alſo is the Maſter of Sentences, *lib.* 4. *diſt.* 13. *b.*

This doctrine alſo is ſealed: Maſter *Bland* holy Martyr; It is a great abſurditie that the intent of the Miniſter conſecrateth, and not the word of God: for ſo ſhould mans intent bee ſtronger then Gods word. Againe, becauſe the Sacrament is not the ſame to an vnbeleeuer, which it is to a beleeuer, the beleeuer muſt needes haue ſomewhat to doe in the conſecration, ſo that all is not in the Miniſters intention: *Fox*.pag.1671.col.2.

Nicholas Sheterden Martyr: Thus it ſhould bee euer doubtfull, whether the people worſhip Chriſt or bread, becauſe it is doubtfull what the Prieſts doe intend. Againe, if the minde of the Prieſt, and not the words, doe make the bread Chriſts bodie, as they ſay, if the Prieſt do then mind his harlot, or any other vaine thing, that thing ſo minded was there made, and ſo the people ſhould worſhip the Prieſts harlot in ſtead of Chriſts blood: *Fox* pag.1673.col.2.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER THE SAcraments be ſeales of the promiſes of God.

The Papiſts.

95.Error They vtterly denie, that the Sacraments be pledges and ſeales vnto vs of the promiſes of God, or that thereby our faith is nouriſhed and confirmed, and wee aſſured of free remiſſion of ſinnes by the death of Chriſt: neither that the Sacraments were ordained for any ſuch end, *Bellar. lib.1.de Sacram.cap.14.*

*Argum.*1. If the Sacraments confirme vnto vs the promiſes of God in his word, then muſt they of neceſſitie be more euident, and better knowne vnto vs, then is the word of God: for that which is leſſe knowne, and not ſo notorious, cannot perſwade vs of that, which wee haue better knowledge of. But ſuch are the Sacraments, which are not ſo euident, being called myſteries of religion, as are the words of God: *Ergo, Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, it is ſtrange to ſee, that you ſhould now contend for the euidence, and plainenes of Scripture, which you haue locked vp from the people, with no other pretence, then becauſe they are hard and obſcure, and dangerous to be read of the ſimple. Secondly, you doe not well in comparing the word and the Sacraments together: for they cannot be diuorced or ſeparated: for the word giueth life to the Sacraments, the Sacraments againe giue liuely teſtimonie and witnes to the truth of the word. But let this bee the queſtion, not whether the writing by it ſelfe, and the ſeale by it ſelfe are of greateſt force; but whether an inſtrument with a ſeale be not of greater euidence and ſtrength, then without it: So the word of God, which doth but beate vpon the ſenſe of hearing, muſt of neceſſitie, not in it ſelfe, but in reſpect of vs, worke more effectually, being ſealed by the Sacraments, where wee receiue inſtruction by two other ſenſes of ours, the ſight, and the taſte.

*Argum.*2. If the Sacraments are appointed to be ſeales of the promiſes of God, for the increaſe and ſtrengthening of our faith, then children ſhould not be baptized at all, becauſe they haue no faith to be ſtrengthened, *Bellarm.cap.14.argum.*4.

Contra. 1. This argument taketh away onely this vſe of the Sacraments in children, ſo that it holdeth notwithſtanding in all other. Secondly, although in children the ſeale goeth before, and righteouſneſſe of faith followeth after, as Circumciſion was to *Iſaac*, as *Auguſtine* ſheweth, and they as yet, when they are baptized, haue no faith to make preſent vſe of the Sacrament; yet when they come to yeeres of diſcretion, they are prouoked and ſtirred vp, by the remembrance of the ſeale of faith giuen in Baptiſme: which was indeede receiued but once, but the vſe and benefit thereof remaineth all the life long: ſo that this notwithſtanding the Sacraments are ſeales of faith, whether the ſeale goe before faith, or follow after.

*Argum.*3. If the Sacraments bee ſeales of the grace of God, to euery one that receiueth them, then they ſhould many times bee falſe ſignes, when as many vnworthie receiuers are not made partakers of grace, nor of the promiſes of God, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, yet notwithſtanding are the Sacraments true and certaine ſeales on Gods behalfe, the obſtacle and impediment is in thoſe that beleeue not: The Sun is a true light to the world, yet to him that wilfully ſhutteth his eyes, it giueth no light; yet is it a true light notwithſtanding. Secondly, by this reaſon, they may make Chriſt a falſe redeemer of the world, as they make the Sacraments falſe ſeales: for euery one is not redeemed by the death of Chriſt, but only thoſe which beleeue: wherefore faith is required in them, which by the Sacraments will be aſſured of Gods promiſes.

Bellarmine replieth, *Fides eſſe debet certa*, Faith muſt bee certaine, and dependeth not of this condition, *ſi homo credat*, if a man beleeue: faith muſt be abſolute, not conditionall.

Contra. Firſt, he ſpeaketh moſt abſurdly, that faith muſt not haue any ſuch condition, if a man beleeue: as though faith could bee without beleefe: for what is beleefe, but an act of faith? Secondly, faith indeede is not conditionall, but abſolute: but faith is the condition it ſelfe, for ſaluation is not promiſed in Chriſt to any, ***niſi ſub conditione fidei***, but vnder the condition of faith: As ***Philip*** anſwereth to the Eunuch, who ſaid, ***What letteth me to be baptized? If thou beleeueſt*** (ſaith he) ***with all thy heart, thou maiſt***, Act.8.verſ.37. Here Baptiſme is graunted with the condition of faith.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Sacraments are ordained of God, to be pledges and ſeales of his promiſes made vnto vs in Chriſt, that as verely as the externall elements are applied to the outward man; ſo our ſoules ſpiritually are refreſhed with an aſſured hope of the remiſſion of our ſinnes in Chriſt, and ſo the Sacraments to be ſeales only of the righteouſnes of faith, and not giuers or workers of grace in vs: it is euident out of the Scripture.

Argum.1. ***Abraham*** receiued the ſigne of circumciſion, as the ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith, Rom.4.1. Circumciſion then was to ***Abraham*** a ſeale of the righteonſnes of faith, that is, that he was iuſtified by faith: ***Ergo***, ſo are all other Sacraments.

Rhemiſt. Indeede Circumciſion was a ſeale to ***Abraham***, for he was iuſt before, and receiued this Sacrament, as a ſeale thereof afterward. But it followeth not, that it was ſo in all: for in ***Iſaac*** his ſonne, and ſo conſequently in the reſt, the Sacrament went before, and iuſtice followed, ***annot. Rom.4.ſect.8.*** So anſwereth ***Bellarmine*** alſo, that vnto ***Abraham*** onely circumciſion was a ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith, ***Lib.1.de Sacram.cap.17.*** And he further ſaith, that the ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith, and of Gods promiſe or couenant, are not all one.

Anſ. Firſt, the promiſe of God, and the righteouſnes of faith, in effect are all one: for on Gods behalfe, it is a promiſe or couenant, on our part it is called the righteouſnes of faith: and thus the Apoſtle taketh them for the ſame, Rom.4.13. ***The promiſe was made to Abraham through the righteouſnes of faith.*** And verſ.14. ***If they, which are of the law, be heires, faith is made voide, and the promiſe of no effect:*** the nullitie of faith, and of the promiſe is all one.

Secondly, the Apoſtle ſetteth forth the example of ***Abraham***, to ſhew how all men are iuſtified before God, and what is the vſe of the Sacraments in all men: and therefore it is no extraordinarie or exempt caſe, but the common caſe of all the faithfull, ***that righteouſnes*** (ſaith the Apoſtle) ***might be imputed to them alſo***, Rom.4.11.

Thirdly, although ***Iſaac*** with many other, were firſt circumciſed, and after iuſtified: yet this is perpetuall, they were no more iuſtified by circumciſion, then ***Abraham***, who was iuſtified before he was circumciſed, but by faith onely: and therefore the Sacraments are ſeales of the iuſtice of faith, whether the iuſtice of faith goe before, or follow after.

So ***Auguſtine*** ſaith, ***In Iſaac, qui octauo die circumciſus fuit, præceſſit ſignaculum iuſtitiæ fidei, & quoniam patris fidem imitatus eſt, ſecuta eſt in creſcente ipſa iuſtitia, cuius ſignaculum in infante præceſſerat:*** In ***Iſaac***, who was circumciſed the eight day, the ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith went before: and becauſe he did follow his fathers faith, as he grew, iuſtice it ſelfe followed, the ſeale whereof went before in his infancie: ***Ergo***, circumciſion was a ſeale as well to ***Iſaac*** as to ***Abraham***, and ſo conſequently to all.

De Baptiſ. contr. Donatiſt. lib.4.c.24.

Argum.2. Geneſ.17.11. Circumciſion is called the ſigne of the couenant betweene God and ***Abraham***: but Baptiſme is ſucceeded in the place of Circumciſion: ***Ergo***, it alſo is a ſigne of Gods couenant.

Bellarm. It was a ***commemoratiue***, not a ***confirmatiue*** ſigne; it brought to their memorie the couenant of God, it confirmed not their faith.

Contra. Firſt, verſ.9. The Lord ſaith, ***Thou ſhalt keepe my couenant, thou, and thy ſeede after thee, &c.*** Circumciſion then was a ſigne of keeping Gods couenant: but the couenant is not kept by memorie, but by faith: wherefore Circumciſion was not a ſigne to ſtirre vp the memorie onely, but alſo to helpe their faith. Secondly, the Apoſtle expounding this place, Rom.4.11. ſaith, ***it was a ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith: Ergo***, it ſerued not for memorie, but for faith. Your owne Maſter alſo doubteth not to call Circumciſion, ***ſignaculum iuſtitiæ fidei***, the ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith, ***lib.4.diſt.1.g.***

Argum.3. Saint ***Peter*** ſaith, that in Baptiſme ***the ſtipulation or taking to witneſſe of a good conſcience before God, ſaueth vs by the reſurrection of Chriſt***, 1.Pet.3.21. Whereby we doe gather, that Baptiſme is a ſeale vnto vs of Gods promiſes in Chriſt, being a liuely repreſentation of his reſurrection, and a pledge vnto vs and aſſurance of the remiſſion of ſinnes, without the which our conſcience cannot be quieted before God, as here the Apoſtle affirmeth.

Bellarmine replieth: firſt, that there is great difference betweene the teſtimonie and couenant of God, and the teſtimonie of a good conſcience: Baptiſme is here ſaid onely to ſeale or confirme the teſtimonie of our conſcience, ***cap.17.reſponſ.ad argum.5.***

Contra. To ſeale vnto vs the promiſe of God, and to ſeale or confirme the peace of conſcience, tend both to the ſame end: for we cannot be at peace with God, vnleſſe we bee iuſtified by faith, Rom.5.1. and faith is an apprehenſion of Gods promiſes. Wherefore in Baptiſme we cannot haue peace of conſcience by the inward worke of the ſpirit, vnleſſe by faith wee bee aſſured of Gods promiſes.

Secondly, Baptiſme is here ſaid, not to ſeale vnto vs our iuſtification, but actually indeede to ſaue and iuſtifie vs, as the Arke did actually ſaue *Noah* from the deluge.

Contra. Firſt, if he will ſo ſtrictly vrge the figure of the Arke, then it muſt follow, as then *Noah* was not in hope onely, but in act ſaued from the waters; ſo wee alreadie are not onely aſſured by faith in Baptiſme, but actually ſaued indeede from euerlaſting deſtruction, which is contrarie to the Scriptures, which teach, that *the ſpirit of promiſe, wherewith we are ſealed, is the earneſt penie of our inheritance, vntill the redemption*: ſo that our deliuerance and redemption is not yet accompliſhed, but onely in hope and aſſurance. Secondly, Baptiſme is ſaid to ſaue vs by the reſurrection of Chriſt, becauſe by faith confirmed in Baptiſme, wee haue an infallible aſſurance in the death of Chriſt, of our ſaluation: as our Sauiour ſaith, Ioh.5.24. *He that beleeueth is paſſed from death to life*: he is as ſure thereof by faith, as if it were alreadie done. Wherefore this place of S. *Peter*, notwithſtanding his obiections, doth prooue directly that remiſſion of ſinnes is ſealed vnto vs in Baptiſme: firſt, becauſe it is a liuely repreſentation of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, whereby we haue remiſſion of ſinnes. Secondly, becauſe wee haue peace of conſcience before God, as the Ieſuite expoundeth this place, which cannot be without remiſſion of ſinnes.

Epheſ.1.13.

Synod. Colonienſ. part.7. cap.2. Excitanda eſt fidelium fides & deuotio in Deum, vt credentes, ac diuinum myſterium intelligentes, ad Dei ac Saluatoris noſtri gratiam participandam accedant: The faith of the faithfull and their loue toward God muſt be ſtirred vp, that beleeuing, and vnderſtanding the diuine myſterie, they may come to bee partakers of the grace of God our Sauiour. Here wee ſee that by occaſion of celebrating the Sacraments, our faith is more liuely ſtirred vp.

This truth alſo is ſealed: *Iohn Careleſſe* Martyr; A Sacrament being miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, is a viſible ſigne of an inuiſible grace, and hath the promiſe of Gods mercie annexed to it, *Fox*. p.1928. The Sacraments then of the Goſpell are ſeales of Gods promiſes.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE efficacie and vertue of the Sacraments.

THis queſtion alſo hath diuers parts: Firſt, whether the Sacraments doe giue or conferre grace by the worke wrought. Secondly, of the difference of the Sacraments of the old and new Teſtament. Thirdly, whether the Sacraments of the new law doe imprint a ſigne or character in the ſoule, that can neuer be put out. Fourthly, of the neceſſitie of the Sacraments.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE SACRAments of themſelues doe giue or conferre grace.

The Papiſts.

96. Error. THe Sacraments giue grace, *ex opere operato*, by the worke wrought, that is, by force and vertue of the worke and word done and ſaid in the Sacrament, *Rhemiſt. Act.22. ſect.1.* So that not faith onely iuſtifieth, but the Sacraments alſo, and other workes of religion, *Rhemiſt. Rom.6. ſect.5.* The Sacraments then are immediate inſtruments and efficient cauſes of our iuſtification, not mediately, as they nouriſh and increaſe our faith, but properly and in themſelues: Faith in the receiuer giueth no efficacie to the Sacrament, but onely taketh away the lets and impediments which might hinder the efficacie of the Sacrament: as the drines of the wood maketh it to burne the better, yet is it no efficient cauſe of the burning, which is the fire onely, but onely a helpe. Thus they compare the Sacrament working of it ſelfe, to fire that burneth, and faith is as the drying of the wood, but a diſpoſing and preparing of the heart, *Bellarm. lib.2. de Sacram. cap.1.*

Argum.1. Be baptized and waſh away thy ſinnes, in calling on the name of the Lord, Act.22. ver.16. The Sacrament of Baptiſme doth of it ſelfe waſh away ſinnes, *Rhemiſt*. And wee ſee in S. *Iames*, that remiſſion of ſinnes is annexed to the vnction with oyle, *Rhemiſt. 1. Timoth.4.14. Ergo*, the Sacraments giue and conferre grace.

Anſw.1. To the firſt we anſwere, that the text ioyneth with the Sacrament, the inuocation of the name of God, to the which ſaluation is promiſed, Rom.10.13. *Whoſoeuer ſhall call vpon the name of the Lord ſhall be ſaued*: Wherefore that place maketh nothing for your purpoſe. Secondly, in the other place health of body is promiſed by the gift of miracles, but remiſſion of ſinnes is ſaid to be obtained by the prayer of the Elders. The prayer of faith ſhall ſaue the ſicke, Iam.5.15.

Argum.2. S. *Paul* ſaith, He hath cleanſed his Church, by the lauer of water in the word, Epheſ.5.26. *Ergo*, Baptiſme is an inſtrumental cauſe of our iuſtification; *Bellarmine*.

Anſ.1. It is not vnuſuall in the Scripture to call the ſigne or Sacrament by the thing ſignified: as Exod.12.11. the Paſchall Lambe is called the Paſſe-ouer, whereas it was but a ſigne and memoriall thereof. So Baptiſme is called, The lauer of regeneration, Tit.3.5. becauſe it is a ſure ſigne of our regeneration by the holy Ghoſt. Secondly, the Apoſtle in this place expoundeth himſelfe: for he ſaith, that we are waſhed by water in the word: that is, the outward element doth ſend and referre vs to the word and promiſe of God, whereof it is a ſeale.

*Argum.*3. Marke 16.16. *He that ſhall beleeue, and be baptized, ſhal be ſaued.* Here ſaluation is aſcribed to Baptiſme: and not to faith ſealed or confirmed by Baptiſme, for it were very prepoſterous, to put the effect before, and the cauſe after. *Bellar.lib.2 cap.3.argum.2.*

Anſw. Firſt, beliefe is ſet before Baptiſme, becauſe they, which were then to be baptized, were *adulti*, men of ſufficient yeeres, in whom faith and confeſſion of their ſinnes was firſt required: as Matth.3.6. *They were baptized, confeſſing their ſinnes.* Secondly, that ſaluation dependeth of faith, not of Baptiſme, it may appeare, Iohn 5.24. *Hee that beleeueth, is paſſed from death to life:* hee that beleeueth ſhall be ſaued: and it followeth, in this place, *Hee that will not beleeue, ſhall be damned;* Hee ſaith not, hee that will not be baptized: Baptiſme is ioyned notwithſtanding to beliefe, that no man ſhould neglect or deſpiſe the ordinance of God.

*Argum.*4. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith; *Except a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen.* Iohn 3.3. Here water in Baptiſme is made the cauſe of regeneration and newneſſe of life. *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Though it be admitted, that by water here we may vnderſtand the Sacrament of Baptiſme, which notwithſtanding doth receiue a more fit and proper interpretation, as ſhall afterward be declared more fitly in the queſtion of the neceſſitie of Baptiſme; yet this place enforceth not any thing for the element, ſeeing that the ſpirit is ioyned, which giueth the efficacie to the water; as *Auguſtine* ſaith, to whom the Maſter of ſentences ſubſcribeth: *Viſibilis ſanctificatio, quæ fit Sacramento tenus, ſine inuiſibili prodeſſe non poteſt, cùm illa ſit omnis illius vtilitas:* The viſible ſanctification, which is in the Sacrament onely, doth not profite without the inuiſible, wherein conſiſteth all the vtilitie of the other. *Mag.lib.4.diſtinct.4 d.*

The Proteſtants.

THe Sacraments haue no power to giue or conferre grace to the receiuer: neither are they immediate inſtruments of our iuſtification: inſtrumentall meanes they are to encreaſe and confirme our faith in the promiſes of God: of themſelues they haue no operation, but as the ſpirit of God worketh by them, our internall ſenſes being moued and quickened by thoſe externall obiects. Neither doe we ſay, that the Sacraments are bare and naked ſignes of ſpirituall graces: but they doe verily exhibite and repreſent Chriſt to as many, as by faith are able and meete to apprehend him. So to conclude, looke how the word of God worketh being preached, ſo doe the Sacraments; but the word doth no otherwiſe iuſtifie vs, but by working faith at the hearing thereof: So Sacraments doe ſerue for the encreaſe of our faith: faith is not a ſeruant and handmaide to the Sacraments; (as the Ieſuite declared by the homely ſimilitude of the fire and drie wood) but faith is the more principall, and the Sacraments haue no other vſe or end, then as they are helpes for the ſtrengthening of our faith. Grace of themſelues they can giue or conferre none.

*Argum.*1. Rom.1.17. The iuſt ſhall liue by faith: *Ergo,* he liueth not, that is, he is not iuſtified by any worke wrought, as by the Sacraments, but onely by faith: faith therefore giueth life and efficacie to the Sacraments.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtle ſaith not, the iuſt onely liueth by faith; wherefore, although he liue by faith, he may alſo liue by the Sacraments, and other workes.

Contra. Firſt, if life be by faith, and beſide the life of the ſoule, other things are ſuperfluous; then all other meanes to life are ſuperfluous beſide faith: for what els is to be deſired but to liue? but life is by faith, therefore faith is of it ſelfe ſufficient, becauſe the effect of faith, which is life, is ſufficient: wherefore no other helps are requiſite vnto life. Secondly, to liue by faith, and for Chriſt to liue in vs, are all one, as Galat.2.20. *Thus I liue, not I now, but Chriſt liueth in me; and that I now liue in the fleſh, I liue by the faith of the Sonne of God, &c.* We reaſon thus: The iuſt liueth only by Chriſt; but Chriſt liueth in vs onely by faith: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *In that I liue, I liue by faith. Ergo,* there is no life but by faith.

*Argum.*2. The Apoſtle ſheweth, Rom.4.10.11. that righteouſneſſe was imputed to *Abraham* by faith, before he was circumciſed, and that circumciſion was added afterward as a ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of faith: *Ergo,* as *Abraham* was not iuſtified by circumciſion, but by faith, no more are we by the Sacraments.

Bellarmine hath nothing els to anſwere, but that this onely was a priuiledge granted to *Abraham,* to haue circumciſion as a ſeale and teſtimonie of his faith, *reſp.ad argum.*3.

Contra. The Apoſtle ſaith contrary, verſ.11. that he ſhould be the father of them that beleeue, not being circumciſed, that righteouſneſſe might be imputed to them alſo: the father and the ſonnes are iuſtified one and the ſame way: *Abraham* was not iuſtified by circumciſion, but by faith: *Ergo.* And verſ.23. it was not written for him onely, &c. but for vs, &c.

*Argum.*3. Saint *Peter* ſaith, Baptiſme ſaueth vs, not the putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but in that a good conſcience maketh requeſt vnto God, by the reſurrection of Chriſt, 1.Pet.3.21.*Ergo*, it is faith in the reſurrection of Chriſt, which worketh in vs peace of conſcience, and not the outward waſhing, that ſaueth or iuſtifieth.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that by the reſurrection is not vnderſtood faith in the reſurrection, but mention is made thereof, becauſe when we are baptized, we doe repreſent the reſurrection of Chriſt, and by Baptiſme do riſe vp to newneſſe of life.

Contra. Firſt, if by the reſurrection of Chriſt, nothing els were ſignified, but the repreſentation of Chriſts reſurrection in Baptiſme; it were an improper ſpeech to ſay, Baptiſme ſaueth by the reſurrection, that is, Baptiſme ſaueth by Baptiſme: wherefore ſeeing that the reſurrection of Chriſt giueth life and efficacie to Baptiſme, it is our faith in the reſurrection of Chriſt, which ſaueth vs in Baptiſme. Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, not the waſhing of the fleſh ſaueth: *Ergo*, not the externall act of the Sacrament, but the teſtimonie of a good conſcience; what is that els, but the aſſurance of faith, whereby the conſcience is ſetled as the Apoſtle ſheweth, Rom.5.1.

*Argum.*4. The Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ.5.26. *That he might cleanſe it and ſanctifie it, by the waſhing of water through the word.* Here our cleanſing and ſanctifying is not aſcribed to the water, but to the word of God, that is, his gracious promiſe in Chriſt, apprehended by faith, which els where the Apoſtle calleth the word of faith, Rom.10.8.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that by the *word* here is not vnderſtood the word preached, that begetteth faith, but the word of conſecration in the Sacrament, *reſp.ad argum.*5.

Contra. Firſt, neither do we vnderſtand in this place, the word preached, as though there could be no Baptiſme without a ſermon, nor yet the word of conſecration: for though the conſecratorie word ioyned to the element doth make it a ſacrament, yet doth it not make it alwayes a cleanſing and ſanctifying ſacrament to preſent the receiuer without ſpot and blameles, as it followeth in the ſame place, but onely in the faithfull and beleeuers. Secondly, the word therefore that cleanſeth, is the word of faith, whereby our hearts are purified: Act.15.9. which is begotten in vs by the preaching of the word, and confirmed by the Sacacraments.

Auguſtine thus writeth: *Aliud eſt aqua ſacramenti, aliud aqua, quæ ſignificat ſpiritum dei: iſta viſibilis eſt, & abluit corpus, & ſignificat, quid fit in anima, per illum ſpiritum anima mundatur & ſaginatur.* The water of the Sacrament is one thing, the water which ſignifieth the ſpirit is another: the one is viſible, and waſheth the fleſh, and ſignifieth what is done in the ſoule: but by the ſpirit the ſoule is cleanſed. The Sacrament of Baptiſme then, by this fathers ſentence, and ſo all other Sacraments, doe not giue grace, but ſignifie onely and repreſent grace.

*Synod.Colonienſ.part.9.cap.*13. *Quod præter preces, aſperſiones, & vnctiones, aliarumq; rerum ſolennia adhibentur, &c.* In that beſide prayer, we vſe ſprinkling, annoynting, with other externall rites, therein lyeth a myſterie, not that theſe dead things are capable of grace, but when theſe things are viſibly done, Chriſtians are admoniſhed, that God worketh by the inuiſible vertue of his ſpirit. The externall things therefore worke not, but are ſignes of the inward working of the ſpirit.

We want not the witneſſe of their owne decrees: *Decret.part.*3*.diſtinct.*4*.c.*145. *Melior Centurio nondum baptizatus, Simone baptizato, &c.* The Centurion being not yet baptized was better, than *Simon* baptized: for he before Baptiſme was repleniſhed with the holy ſpirit; the other after Baptiſm was poſſeſſed with an vncleane ſpirit. How then is grace annexed to the Sacrament, when as both he that wanteth the Sacrament, may haue grace; and he that hath the Sacrament, wanteth grace?

Heare alſo an euident teſtimonie of one of your owne writers: *Conſtat in omni ſcriptura, ieiunam eſſe & languidam operam noſtram, etiam Apoſtolicam, etiam Chriſti, &c.* It is apparant throughout the whole Scripture, that our outward endeuour is weake, and of no force, yea the labour of the Apoſtles, and of Chriſt himſelfe, vnleſſe it bee helped by the inward worke of the ſpirit, &c. *Eſpenc. in* 2*.Timoth.p.*97.

This doctrine hath the ſeale of Martyrs: *George Carpenter* gaue his life in teſtimonie thereof, that the very element of water in Baptiſme doth not giue grace, pag.884. Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr: That the Sacrament is but an inſtrument, but the inward vertue of Chriſt giueth grace to the Sacrament. pag.1452.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE DIFFErence of the olde and new Sacraments.

The Papiſts.

97.Error. THe ſacrifices and ceremonies of the old law were ſo farre from giuing ſpirit, grace, remiſſion, iuſtification, and thereupon the entrance into the ioyes of heauen, that they were but meere ſhadowes, obſcurely repreſenting the graces of the new Teſtament: whereas the Sacraments inſtituted by Chriſt, containe and giue grace, and iuſtification, *Rhemiſt.Heb.*10*.ſect.*3.

*Argum.*1. They were but ſhadowes of good things, not the image of the things themſelues, Heb.10.1.They were but ſhadowes and repreſentations of the Sacraments of the new Teſtament: *Ergo,*they had not the ſame efficacie or power,*Rhemiſt.ibid.*

*Anſw.*1. Their Sacraments were onely ſhadowes of Chriſts ſacrifice, not of our Sacraments, though theſe come in the place of the other, and are anſwerable and correſpondent vnto them. Secondly,neither doe the Sacraments of the new teſtament giue grace or iuſtification,but are onely liuely teſtimonies of grace and reconcilation wrought by the death of Chriſt. Thirdly,their Sacraments were as effectuall to aſſure the Fathers of grace and remiſſion of ſinnes by Chriſt,as our Sacraments are to vs.

*Argum.*2. The Sacraments of the new law or Goſpell doe giue grace and iuſtification, ſo did not the Sacraments of the old law : *Ergo,*there is not the ſame efficacie of them both. Againe,Saint *Paul* calleth them impotent and beggerly rudiments,Galath.4.9.ſo are not the Sacraments of the Goſpell : *Ergo:Bellarm.lib.*2.*de Sacram.cap.*14.*argum.*4.

*Anſw.*1. The Sacraments of the new law are no more able by any efficacie in themſelues to iuſtifie vs,then the Sacraments of the old : It is the propertie of faith onely to iuſtifie vs, Rom.3.28.and cap.5.1.*Being iuſtified by faith,we are at peace with God:* Where it cannot be anſwered, that faith iuſtifieth but in part,for that is perfect iuſtification which worketh peace of conſcience in vs, but faith bringeth ſuch iuſtification : *Ergo,*it iuſtifieth perfectly. Therefore in this reſepect,the Sacraments differ not,becauſe neither of them iuſtifie,but are ſeales only of the righteouſnes of faith, Rom.11.4.

To the ſecond place we anſwere : firſt, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the Sacraments of the law,but of other ceremonious rites,as the obſeruation of dayes,moneths,yeeres. Secondly,he reſpecteth that preſent time, when ſuch ceremonies ought of right to haue ceaſed and giuen place, the Goſpell being now reuealed,and therefore he calleth them beggerly,becauſe of the ſuperſtitious vſe of them,not hauing in this ſpeech any relation to the originall and firſt inſtitution. Thirdly,they are ſaid to be impotent, not in reſpect of our Sacraments (and yet we deny not, but that as our Sacraments haue a more cleere ſignification, and liuely repreſentation of holy things; ſo the other being herein compared, may be called more impotent) but as they are ſet againſt iuſtifying faith : in reſpect whereof out Sacraments are weake and impotent : as S.*Paul* ſaith, *That neither circumciſion is any thing,nor vncircumciſion,but faith working by loue*, Galat.5.6. where faith is ſet againſt all other things whatſoeuer,as being of no value,that is weake aud impotent to iuſtifie, whether appertaining to the circumciſed or vncircumciſed (as there are no Sacraments but belong to either of theſe orders.) Wherefore onely faith is auaileable and ſtrong to iuſtifie,all other things impotent and weake.

*Argum.*3. Coloſſ.2.11.*In whom* (ſaith the Apoſtle)*ye are circumciſed with circumciſion made without hands,&c.through the circumciſion of Chriſt, in that you are buried with him through Baptiſme, &c.*Here circumciſion made with hands is oppoſed to circumciſion made without hands, that is Baptiſme : ſo that which could not bee wrought by circumciſion, is wrought by Baptiſme: *Ergo,* there is not the ſame effect of circumciſion and Baptiſme,*Bellarm.loc.*7.

Anſ. Firſt, Baptiſme is not the circumciſion made without hands,for as much as in Baptiſme there is the miniſtrie of the hands of men, as well as in circumciſion : but by circumciſion without hands the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth,the ſpirituall circumciſion of Chriſt, as he himſelfe expoundeth it. Secondly,as the externall circumciſion of it ſelfe profited not,ſo alſo the Apoſtle ſaith of Baptiſme,that,*wee are buried with him in Baptiſme,&c.through the faith of the operation of God,&c.* So it is faith by the operation of God, not the outward act of Baptiſme : wherefore out of this place no difference can be gathered.

*Argum.*4. *Bellarmine* heapeth vp many places together; as Iſay.1.11.*What haue I to doe with the multitude of your ſacrifices :* Rom.4.10. *Abraham* was counted iuſt being vncircumciſed : Galat.4. they are called beggerly elements : Coloſſ.2. the ſhadowes of things to come : *Ergo,*the Sacraments of the old law did not conferre grace.

Anſ. Firſt,the Prophets did not ſimply condemne the ſacrifices,but becauſe they were offered in ſinne and hypocriſie: and therefore the Prophet ſaith,Iſay.1.16. *waſh you, make you cleane.* Secondly, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the times of Chriſt, when as the old ſacrifices and ceremonies were out of date : the figures were to ceaſe,the bodie being come. Thirdly, they are called impotent and weake, not in reſpect of the Sacraments of the Goſpell, but being compared to faith, which is the complement both of their Sacraments and ours. Fourthly, we graunt, that the ſacrifices of the law did not conferre grace,no more doe the Sacraments of the Goſpell : wherefore he hath ſaid nothing, vnleſſe he had proued, that our Sacraments doe conferre grace, which theirs did not.

The

The Proteſtants.

WE doe holde and conſtantly affirme and teach, that the Fathers in the law receiued no leſſe the truth and ſubſtance of Chriſt by faith in their Sacraments, then we doe in ours: although in reſpect of more cleere and lightſome ſignification, our Sacraments doe farre exceede theirs, and ſo alſo may more liuely ſtirre vp our faith: yet the ſubſtance and effect both of their Sacraments and ours, was all one and the very ſame.

*Argum.*1. S. *Paul* ſpeaketh plainly, that the Iſraelites did all eate the ſame ſpirituall meate, and all drinke of the ſame ſpirituall rocke, and the rocke was Chriſt, 1. Cor. 10. 3. 4. Therefore Chriſt was exhibited as well to them in their Sacraments, as he is in ours.

Bellarmine anſwereth. Firſt, they did all eate the ſame ſpirituall meate amongſt themſelues, not the ſame together with vs. So alſo ſay the Rhemiſts, that they amongſt themſelues did all feede of one bread, and drinke of the ſame rocke. The Apoſtle ſaith not, that they and we doe eate and drinke of the ſelfeſame meate and drinke, *Rhemiſt. in hunc locum.*

*Anſw.*1. Yes the Apoſtle ſaith ſo in effect, that there is one and the ſelfe ſame ſpirituall meate and drinke to vs all, both to them and vs: for what doe we eate and drinke but Chriſt? and ſo doe they: The rocke, ſaith the Apoſtle, was Chriſt. Secondly, *Auguſtine* ſaith ſo expreſly, that they did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate, and drinke the ſame ſpirituall cup that wee doe: *Quicunque in Manna Chriſtum intellexerunt, eundem, quem nos cibum ſpiritualem manducauerunt: De vtilitat. pœnitent. c.* 2. They which in the eating of Manna did vnderſtand Chriſt, did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate that wee doe: *Ergo*, Chriſt was as well preſent by faith to them in their Sacraments, as he is to vs in ours.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that *Auguſtines* meaning is, that their Sacraments and ours had not the ſame efficacie, but the ſame ſignification onely, becauſe both theirs and ours doe ſignifie Chriſt.

Contra. 1. He hath not anſwered to this place of *Auguſtine*, wherein he affirmeth, that *they did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate with vs:* and if they did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate, then not in ſignification only, but in vertue and efficacie their Sacraments are equall with ours. 2. That Chriſt gaue the ſame vertue and efficacie to both Sacraments, *Bernard* plainly affirmeth, *Serm. de cœna Domini*, or who elſe vnder his name: *Chriſtus pro ſalute mundi ſemel factus eſt hoſtia ſalutaris: omnibus ſacramentis tam pracedentibus quam ſubſequentibus virtutem dedit & efficaciam, vt tanta & tali hoſtia ſanctificarentur omnes liberandi per illam:* Chriſt to ſaue the world was once made an acceptable ſacrifice: to all the Sacraments both going before and following after he gaue vertue and efficacie, that all might be ſanctified with this worthie ſacrifice, for whoſe deliuerance it was appointed.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that the Manna is called a ſpirituall meate, either in reſpect of the cauſe, which was heauenly and ſpirituall, it being wrought by a miracle; and ſo alſo the water; and therfore the rocke is ſaid to be Chriſt, not becauſe Chriſt was the author, or the efficient cauſe to bring the water out of the rocke: or elſe in reſpect of the ſignification onely, not becauſe it had any ſpirituall effect. His reaſons are theſe:

Firſt, the beaſts and birds did drinke of the ſame water, therefore it was not ſpirituall. Secondly, we reade of no ſpirituall promiſe made to thoſe, that did eate Manna, or drinke of the rocke; ſuch as are annexed to the Sacraments. Thirdly, our Sauiour ſaith, *your fathers did eate Manna, and are dead, and Moſes did not giue you bread from heauen*, Ioh. 6. wherefore it was a corporall foode onely, not ſpirituall.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith *they did all eate the ſame ſpirituall meate*, that is both amongſt themſelues and with vs, as we haue ſhewed: but to vs it is ſpirituall meate, not in reſpect of the author onely, but in regard of the ſpirituall efficacie; therefore it was ſo vnto them: And in that the Apoſtle ſaith, they did drinke Chriſt ſpiritually, this betokeneth not the ſignifying onely, but the exhibiting alſo of Chriſt vnto them: for this were a ſlender eating and drinking of Chriſt, to haue him ſignified onely and ſhadowed forth, vnleſſe they ſhould verely bee made partakers of him.

Secondly, wee anſwere to his reaſons: to the firſt, that it letteth not the rocke to bee ſpirituall drinke, becauſe the cattell alſo did drinke thereof: for your ſelues denie not, but that your conſecrated hoſt may be deuoured of myce and dogs: And againe, the cattell alſo and beaſts went thorow the red ſea as well as the Iſraelites, yet was it a Baptiſme to the Iſraelites, though not to the other: and Sacraments are ordained for men, and not for beaſts.

To the ſecond: the Apoſtle ſaith, *they dranke of the ſpirituall rocke, which rocke is Chriſt*; they therfore did ſpiritually drinke Chriſt: but to thoſe that eate and drinke Chriſt, ſpirituall promiſes are made, as Ioh. 6. 54. *Whoſoeuer eateth my fleſh, &c, hath eternall life, &c.* wherfore ſo many of them, as by faith did ſpiritually in Manna eate Chriſt, and in the rocke drinke Chriſt, were made partakers of this ſpirituall promiſe.

To the third we anſwere: that *Moſes* indeede gaue but the materiall Manna, but Chriſt concurring with *Moſes* outward miniſterie, gaue himſelfe the true bread from heauen: like as in the Euchariſt, the Miniſter giueth the externall elements, Chriſt working together giueth the ſpirituall grace. Wherefore our Sauiour ſaith not, that the Iſraelites had not the true bread, for elſewhere he teſtifieth, *that Moſes wrote of him*, Ioh.6.46. but that beſide the materiall Manna, whereof their fathers did eate, and yet died, there was another ſpiritual and heauenly bread exhibited to all beleeuers both of the old and new Teſtament: for vnleſſe they alſo vnder the law, had eaten the fleſh of Chriſt and drunk his blood, they could not haue had life, as our Sauiour ſaith, verſ.53. but ſome of them had life: *Ergo*, they did eate the true bread of heauen.

*Argum.*2. In Circumciſion, which was a Sacrament of the old law, there was promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes and of life euerlaſting, as there is in Baptiſme: *Ergo*, there is the ſame vertue and efficacie both of the old and new Sacraments.

That to Circumciſion was annexed the promiſe of life eternall; firſt, it appeareth Geneſ.17.7. where the Lord maketh this couenant with *Abraham*, whereof circumciſion was a ſigne, *I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeede*: that is, thy God for euer, not onely in this world, but the next: for our Sauiour expoundeth it, Matth.22.32. *I am the God of Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob: he is not God of the dead, but of the liuing.* Secondly, Epheſ.2.12. the Apoſtle ſaith, that *the Gentiles being vncircumciſed, were ſtrangers from the couenant of promiſe, and had no hope, and were without God in this world:* therefore circumciſion was a couenant of Gods euerlaſting promiſes.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that *Abraham* was reputed righteous and iuſt before Circumciſion: *Ergo*, to him in Circumciſion there was no promiſe made of remiſſion of ſinnes, which he had alreadie.

Contra. We ſay not, that Circumciſion cauſed remiſſion of ſinnes: for then the effect could not goe before the cauſe; but that it was a ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of faith, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.4.11. and of remiſſion of ſinnes: and ſo it may be, whether righteouſnes goe before circumciſion, as in *Abraham*, or follow after, as in *Iſaac*. So wee reade, Act.10.47. that the holy Ghoſt went before, and then Baptiſme followed: the thing ſignified appeared firſt, and then the ſigne or ſeale was added: *Can any man forbid water* (ſaith S. *Peter*) *that theſe ſhould not be baptized, which haue receiued the holy Ghoſt, as well as we?*

Secondly, ſaith *Bellarmine*, the Lord, in ſaying, *I will be thy God, and of thy ſeede*, maketh no promiſe of euerlaſting ſaluation, but of temporall protection peculiar to that people, both to the good and bad: and the ſaying of Chriſt, *he is not God of the dead, &c.* doth but implie that God is God not of thoſe that are not, but of thoſe that are, whether they be good or bad.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle by ſeede vnderſtandeth Chriſt: he ſaith not, to thy ſeedes, as ſpeaking of many, but to thy ſeede, as of one, euen Chriſt, Galath.2.16. wherefore this promiſe, *I will be thy God, and of thy ſeede*, hath a ſpirituall relation to Chriſt. Secondly, this couenant appertained not to the wicked, but is applied onely by the Apoſtle to the faithfull, Heb.13.5. *He hath ſaid, I will not leaue thee, nor forſake thee.* Thirdly, to bee God of *Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob*, is to bee God not onely of thoſe which are, but, that are liuing with God: for if God be not God of the dead in reſpect of this life, how much leſſe of thoſe that are dead eternally: and the Apoſtle ſpeaketh euidently, Epheſ.2.15. *of whom is named the whole familie in heauen and earth*, that God doth onely name and call himſelfe by thoſe, whether liuing or departed, that are of his familie.

Thirdly, it was not the want of Circumciſion, but the want of faith, that made the Gentiles ſtrangers from the couenant: for *Iob* and *Cornelius* were not circumciſed, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. So may it bee ſaid of Baptiſme, that many which haue it not among the Turkes and Iewes, if they contemne it not, may by Gods extraordinarie mercie be ſaued, if they beleeue; yet Baptiſme hath the promiſe of life eternall: ſo though ſome vncircumciſed might beleeue, yet ordinarily the circumciſion had the promiſe of life and ſaluation in Chriſt.

*Argum.*3. Leuitic.5.verſ.12.13. *He ſhal bring his offring to the Prieſt, &c.* who ſhal make attonement for him, as touching his ſinne, and it ſhall be forgiuen him: *Ergo*, the ſacrifices of the law had promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes by the force of Chriſts death repreſented in the ſame.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the ſacrifices did purge the offerers ſinnes onely in reſpect of the temporall puniſhment, and ſome legall vncleanneſſe, but they did not cleanſe them ſimply before God in reſpect of euerlaſting puniſhment: and this may appeare, for that the ſacrifices were not ordained for all ſinnes, but of ignorance onely committed againſt the ceremonies of the law. *Bellarmine c.*17.*reſp.ad argum.*2.

Contra. Firſt, it is falſe, that the ſacrifices ſerued onely to purge ſinnes of ignorance, for Leuitic.6.2.3. there are ſacrifices preſcribed for the ſinnes of deceite, robberie, oppreſſion, falſe ſwearing, which were voluntarie ſinnes, and not of ignorance.

Secondly, it is alſo vntrue, that the temporall puniſhment was onely pardoned, and not the ſinnes truely remitted. Firſt, where the Prieſt is ſaid to make attonement, the word is כפר *caphar:* which ſignifieth to reconcile, to remoue wrath: and it is vſed, Pſal.79.9. *Be mercifull vnto our ſinnes,*

ſinnes,&c. will he now ſay, that the Church here prayeth onely for the mitigation of temporal puniſhment? wherefore, if the Prieſt made attonement for them, and Gods wrath was appeaſed for their ſinne, then was it verily remitted. Secondly, there is confeſſion of the ſinne required. Leuitic. 5.5. and reſtitution, Leuitic. 6.4. but where there is confeſſion, and reſtitution, there is repentance; and where repentance is, there is remiſſion of the ſinne it ſelfe before God.

*Argum.*4. Coloſſ. 2.11. S. *Paul.* ſaith, *In whom yee are circumciſed by circumciſion made without handes, by putting off the ſinful bodie of the fleſh, through the circumciſion of Chriſt, &c.* Here the Apoſtle affirmeth, that the ſpirituall circumciſion, which did accompany the ſacramentall circumciſion, in them that did beleeue, was effectuall to the putting off the bodie of ſinne: We ſay not, that the externall act of circumciſion onely had this effect, but the inward grace in the circumciſion of the heart in all true Iſraelites working with the circumciſion of the fleſh, was auaileable to the remiſſion of ſinnes: as the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom. 2.28. *He is not a Iew, which is one outward, neither is that circumciſion, which is outward in the fleſh, &c.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that in circumciſion not the whole bodie, but one part onely was circumciſed, and therefore it did not ſerue to the putting off the whole bodie of ſinne.

Contra. Neither when Chriſt waſhed *Peter*, did he waſh any thing but his feete, though *Peter* would haue had his hands and head alſo waſhed: yet was the waſhing of his feete ſufficient, Iohn 13.10. ſo though in circumciſion the outward ſigne onely touched one part, yet the inward circumciſion thereby repreſented, was ſufficient to purge the whole inward man.

We want not here their owne witneſſe againſt themſelues, *decret. part. 3. diſtinct. 2. cap.* 81. *Inquit Apoſtolus (omnes eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducarunt) &c.* The Apoſtle ſaith, they did all eat the ſame ſpirituall meate: the ſame ſpirituall meat indeed, but another corporall, becauſe they did eate *Manna*, and we ſome other thing: and hee addeth, and they all dranke the ſame ſpirituall drinke; they one thing, and we another; *ſed ſpecie viſibili*, but in outward ſhew; *Quod tamen idem eſt virtute ſpirituali*, which is notwithſtanding the ſame in the ſpirituall vertue: This Canon affirmeth, that they did eate the ſame ſpirituall meat, not amongſt themſelues, but with vs, which though it were in ſhape diuers, yet in vertue is the ſame: *Ergo*, there is the ſame efficacie and vertue, both of the old and new Sacraments.

The Maſter of ſentences alleageth thus out of *Gregorie*: *Quod apud nos valet aqua Baptiſmi, hoc egit apud veteres, vel pro paruulis ſola fides, &c.* That which the water of Baptiſme is to vs, faith only was in time paſt to children, and to the elder ſort, the vertue of the ſacrifices, &c. or the myſterie of Circumciſion, *lib. 4. diſtinct. 1. g.* If Circumciſion was auaileable then, as Baptiſme is now, then the vertue and ſubſtance of the Sacraments was the ſame.

Likewiſe *Innocentius* 3. thus decreeth, *decret. Greg. lib. 3. tit. 42. c. 3. Originalis culpa remittebatur per Circumciſionis myſterium, et damnationis periculum vitabatur*: Original ſinne was remitted by the myſterie of circumciſion, and the perill of damnation auoided. Here is an euident teſtimonie of one of their moſt learned Popes, that remiſſion of ſinnes was had by the Sacraments of the old law.

Further, it is the opinion of ſome of their beſt ſchoolemen, that circumciſion did conferre iuſtification, *ex opere operato*, by the very worke that was wrought; which efficacie the reſt of theirs aſcribe only to the Sacraments of the new Teſtament; thus holdeth *Alexander, Bonauenture, Scotus, Gabriel*: ſo that in their opinion, between Circũciſion a Sacrament of the old Teſtament, & the reſt of the Sacraments of the new, there was no difference: yea, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, it is *Communis ſententia Theologorum*, the common ſentence of popiſh diuines, that the old ſacraments did onely iuſtifie *ex opere operantis*, by the worke of the doer, that is, the faith and deuotion of the receiuer: and the new Sacraments do no more; for though we truely hold, that we are iuſtified onely by faith, not by the Sacraments, yet by them is iuſtifying faith confirmed; and without the faith of the receiuer, they are altogether vnprofitable: for S. *Paul* biddeth euery man to examine himſelfe before, 1. Cor. 11.28. which examination, is to prooue, *whether they be in the faith*, 2. Cor. 13.5. Wherefore neither old nor new Sacraments are profitable without faith.

See alſo this doctrine ſealed: *Iohn Frith* holy Martyr; *They did all eate the ſame ſpirituall meate, and did drinke the ſame ſpirituall drinke, all one ſpirituall thing, but not all one corporall matter: for they did eate Manna, and we another thing, but the ſelfe ſame ſpirituall thing that we doe: Fox.* pag. 1033.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE CHARACTER or badge, which (as they ſay) is imprinted in the ſoule by the Sacraments.

The Papiſts.

98. Error FIrſt, there is a certaine ſeale, and ſpirituall marke or badge, imprinted by the Sacraments, in the ſoules of the receiuers, which can neuer bee blotted out, neither by ſinne, apoſtaſie, or hereſie.

reſie. Secondly, but it perpetually remaineth for the cogniſance of their Chriſtendome, and diſtinction from others, that were neuer of Chriſts fold, by which alſo they are conſecrated and deputed to God. Thirdly, this indeleble Character, is giuen by three Sacraments onely, Baptiſme, Confirmation, Orders; which is the cauſe they are not reiterable, nor euer to be receiued but once, *Rhemiſt.annotat.2.Corin.1.ſect.7.Trident.Concil ſeſſ.7.can.9.Bellar.lib.2.de ſacram.cap.*19.

*Argum.*1. 2.Corin.1.22.*He hath ſealed vs, and giuen the earneſt of the ſpirit into our hearts* Likewiſe, Epheſ.1.13.*Ye were ſealed with the holie ſpirit of promiſe.* Epheſ.4.30.*Greeue not the ſpirit of God, by whom ye are ſealed againſt the day of redemption.* This ſealing is nothing elſe, as they ſay, but an imprinting in the ſoule of this indeleble marke or character.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh manifeſtly of the ſpirituall and inward ſeale of the ſpirit of God, whereby the promiſes of God are ſealed and aſſured vnto vs, whereof Baptiſme is an outward ſeale in our bodies. Secondly, it is an abſurd thing to holde, that he that hath vtterly and maliciouſly renounced Chriſtianitie, and blaſphemed Chriſt himſelfe, ſhould ſtill retaine this Character of Baptiſme, as cogniſance of his Chriſtendome. Thirdly, Baptiſme is not reiterable, that is, to be iterated or repeated, not becauſe it leaueth an indeleble character in the minde of the baptiſed; which is but a meere deuiſe and fanſie: but becauſe, as it ſufficeth once to be borne in the fleſh, ſo once to be borne againe, and to be regenerated by the ſpirit, (of the which regeneration, Baptiſme is a ſeale and pledge) it is ſufficient. As for confirmation, and orders, we acknowledge them to be no Sacraments: and therefore to haue no ſuch indeleble character.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that theſe places cannot be vnderſtood, of the ſealing or aſſuring of Gods promiſes by his ſpirit in our hearts in the Sacrament: firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, he hath ſealed vs, not ſealed the promiſes.

Contra. Firſt, in the ſecond place the Apoſtle ſaith, *we are ſealed with the ſpirit of promiſe*: to bee ſealed with the promiſe, and to haue the promiſe ſealed vnto vs, are all one. Secondly, in the firſt place, where he ſaith, *he hath ſealed vs*, a little before he ſaid, in him the promiſes of God, *are yea, and Amen*, verſ.20. What is that elſe, but the promiſes are ſealed in him?

Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *after you beleeued, ye were ſealed*, Epheſ.1. that is, in Baptiſme, which commeth after faith, *Bellar.cap.*20.

Cont. Firſt, here *Bellarm.* leaueth the Vulgar text, which readeth, *credentes*, beleeuing, and preſſeth the Greeke word of the preter tence, πιστεύσαντες, hauing beleeued: ſo inconſtant are they, ſometime preferring the Latin, ſometime the Greeke. Secondly, though Baptiſme came after faith then, it is miniſtred before faith now. Thirdly, it followeth not: this ſeale was after faith: *Ergo*, in Baptiſme: for vpon their very beleeuing they were ſealed. Fourthly, wee denie not, but that Baptiſme is a ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith, as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of Circumciſion, becauſe thereby the promiſes are ſealed to vs: yet there is no ſuch character in Baptiſme, as there was not in Circumciſion.

Now further, that theſe places cannot be vnderſtood of any ſuch character, or marke, or infuſed, inherent, or imprinted qualitie in the ſoule by their three Sacraments, it may thus appeare.

Firſt, 2.Cor.1.22. As we are ſaid to be ſealed, ſo alſo are we annoynted: but our annoynting, or oyntment, is the holie Ghoſt, 1.Ioh.2.20. as the Rhemiſts themſelues expound it: *Ergo*, the ſame is alſo the ſeale.

Secondly, *He hath ſealed vs, and giuen the earneſt of his ſpirit in our harts*: the ſame is both the ſeale, and the earneſt, the ſpirit of God is our earneſt vntill the day of redemption: *Ergo*, alſo the ſeale.

Thirdly, Epheſ.4.30.*We are ſealed to the day of redemption*: which is not in Baptiſme, as *Bellarmine* fondly expoundeth, taking *of* for *in*, and redemption for Baptiſme: for this ſeale none haue, but they for whom the inheritance is purchaſed, Epheſ.1.14. but all that are baptized ſhall not be ſaued: *Ergo*, there is no ſuch ſeale in Baptiſme.

Fourthly, as we are ſealed, ſo doe wee ſeale: Ioh.1.33. *He that receiueth his teſtimonie, hath ſealed that God is true*: If by being ſealed wee receiue a character, then by ſealing wee giue a character: theſe places then ſerue not his turne.

*Argum.*2. They which were baptized with *Iohns* baptiſme, were afterward baptized againe, Act.19.4,5. And this was the reaſon thereof, becauſe *Iohns* baptiſme did not imprint an indeleble character in the ſoule, as Chriſts baptiſme did, *Bellar.cap.*22.*reſp.ad* 3.*ration.*

Anſw. Firſt, it cannot be proued, that the Apoſtles baptized thoſe that had receiued *Iohns* baptime, neither hath that place, Act.19.5. any ſuch meaning: ſee the full anſwere for this afterward, *Contr.*12. of Baptiſme, *qu.*7.*arg.*2.*Papiſtar.* Secondly, though that after *Iohns* baptiſme they had been baptized againe, it followeth not, that it was becauſe of any ſuch character. *Hierome* giueth another reaſon: *Ioannis baptiſma imperfectum, &c.* *Iohns* baptiſme was imperfect, and did not giue remiſſion of ſinnes, therefore they were baptized againe with *Iohns* baptiſme, *aduerſ.Luciferian.* Though this be an error alſo, yet it is againſt them.

The Proteſtants.

THat by Baptiſme and ſome other ſacraments, there is imprinted in the ſoule a marke, or character, which can neuer bee blotted out, no not by Apoſtaſie; and that this is the cauſe why Baptiſme cannot be iterated, wee holde it to bee a meere deuiſe, and inuention of men.

*Argum.*1. Where the ende and fruites of Baptiſme are vtterly extinguiſhed, there cannot remaine any character or badge, or ſigne of Baptiſme: The fruites of Baptiſme are repentance, and regeneration by the ſpirit: But it is poſſible for theſe, in ſome that are baptized, to bee vtterly loſt, as in them that fall away by Apoſtaſie, they cannot be renewed by repentance, Hebr. 6.6. Therefore in ſuch there is not to be found any character, badge or ſigne of Baptiſme, which they haue vtterly renounced: onely the memoriall thereof is kept before God, they being ſo much worſe, then they that were neuer baptized, becauſe they haue wilfully reiected their profeſſion.

Argum. 2 The cauſe why Baptiſme is but once to be giuen, is not, as they alleage, becauſe it leaueth ſuch a ſure marke behinde, ſo deeply died in the ſoule, that it cannot be blotted out. There are other cauſes that come neerer the trueth: Firſt, as God is but one, who maketh a couenant with vs in Baptiſme; and the faith but one, into the which we are entred by that Sacrament: ſo Baptiſme is one and the ſame, Epheſ. 4.5. and as it ſufficeth once to be borne in the fleſh; ſo once to be regenerated by the ſpirit in Baptiſme. Secondly, the inſtitution of God is another cauſe, who hath appointed the other Sacrament often to be receiued, 1.Corinth.11.25. But for the iteration of Baptiſme, wee haue no ſuch commaundement. Thirdly, Baptiſme commeth in the place of Circumciſion: as that was but once miniſtred, ſo likewiſe it muſt be in the other. Fourthly, In Baptiſme God maketh a perpetuall couenant with vs, which he alwaies remembreth; and therefore neede not to be put in minde, by the often vſing of that Sacrament. Theſe and the like reaſons may be alleaged, why baptiſme is not often to be required: and not that, which by them without any ground is pretended.

Bellarmine thus obiecteth againſt theſe reaſons: Againſt the firſt, that Baptiſme is not iterated, becauſe it is our ſpirituall birth: Firſt ſaith he, we are alſo borne by the word, yet ſermons are often repeated. Secondly, though our carnall birth cannot be iterated, yet our ſpirituall may, as in the reſurrection: for as the bodily death is but once, the ſpirituall often; ſo the ſpirituall birth may be renued, as the carnall cannot.

Contra. Firſt, though faith is begotten by the word, Rom.10.17. and we by faith are made the children of God, yet becauſe Baptiſme is a ſeale and confirmation of this faith, it is properly called in Scripture, *the lauacre of regeneration or new birth* Tit.3.5. Secondly, the reſurrection is a regeneration of the bodie, not of the ſoule, and therefore improperly alleaged. Thirdly, as the bodie dieth but once, no more doth the ſoule, when it finally falleth away from God, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, Heb.6.6. *That if they fall away, they cannot be renued by repentance*: but as the bodie once borne, may be in danger of death by ſicknes, and not die; ſo the ſoule may be weakned and decay by ſinne, and ſo be renued: as the Apoſtle ſaith, *our inward man is renued daily*, 2.Cor. 4.16. but the ſoule once begotten vnto God, cannot die by ſinne, *becauſe his ſeed remaineth in him, neither can he ſinne*, that is vnto death, *becauſe he is borne of God*. 1.Iohn.3.9. Here the Apoſtle euidently ſpeaketh, that the ſpirituall birth cannot be loſt.

To the Second he obiecteth, that as in Scripture it is not written, that Baptiſme ſhould be iterated; ſo neither it is found, that it ſhould not.

Contra. Firſt, in that the often receiuing of the Euchariſt is commaunded, 1.Cor.11.25. but no ſuch charge giuen of Baptiſme, it is euident that the holy Ghoſt in this reſpect hath ſet a difference betweene them: if the Scripture had beene ſilent as touching both, there had beene ſome colour in *Bellarmines* obiection, but now there is none. Secondly, it is vntrue that the Scripture forbiddeth not Baptiſme to be iterated: for Iohn.13.10. our Sauiour ſaith, that he which hath his feet waſhed, that is, is regenerate in his affections, whereof Baptiſme is a ſeale, *need not to be waſhed*, but more euidently, Hebr.6.6. *He that falleth away cannot be renued by repentance*: that is, as the Rhemiſts expound it, *it is impoſſible to be baptized againe. Annot. in hunc locum.*

Leo alſo in his decree, proueth thus out of Scripture that Baptiſme is not to be iterated: *Lauacrum ſemel initum nulla iteratione violetur*: The lauacre once entred vnto muſt not by any iteration be violated, the Apoſtle thus ſaying, *one God, one faith, one Baptiſme: decr.p.2.cauſ.1.qu.1.c.51.*

Thirdly, he obiecteth, that circumciſion was therefore not repeated, becauſe it left a character, or ſcarre in the fleſh, as Baptiſme doth in the ſoule, which print of circumciſion was a cognizance betweene the Iewes and the Gentiles, *Bellarm.cap.22.*

Contra. The outward marke in the fleſh by circumciſion, was not that mark, wherby the Iewes were diſcerned, but the circumciſion of the heart: Firſt, becauſe circumciſion was a ſigne betweene the Lord and them, Gen.17.11. *But the Lord looketh to the heart.* 1.Sam.16.7. *not to the outward appearance.* Secondly, the women amongſt the Iewes were counted among the circumciſed, and diſcerned from heathen women: but they were not circumciſed in the fleſh, therfore it was the inward circumciſion, whereby they were ſanctified, as by their faith: this your Maſter confeſſeth. *lib.4 diſtinct.3.g.* Thirdly, the marke in the fleſh, being in the ſecret parts, and remote from the eye could be no cognizance to know a Iew by: If the fleſhly marke were any thing, it ſhoulde haue beene in the hand, or forehead; as the Angell is commaunded, *to marke them in the foreheads,* Ezech.9.4. Fourthly, the Apoſtle ſaith, he is not a Iew, that is one outward: neither is that circumciſion which is in the fleſh, Rom.4.28. wherfore the fleſhly mark was no cauſe of the not iterating of circumciſion.

Fourthly, to the firſt reaſon he obiecteth, that the perpetuitie of Gods couenant made in Baptiſme can be no cauſe why it is not iterated: Firſt, becauſe God maketh no couenant in Baptiſme: for a couenant is made betweene two conſenting: but children in Baptiſme being without faith, cannot conſent. Secondly, God couenanteth as well with vs in the word, and in the Euchariſt; yet that is often preached, the other often receiued. Thirdly, Gods couenant is alwaies conditionall; ſo to him that keepeth not the condition it is not perpetuall.

Contra. Firſt, *Bellarmines* firſt reaſon is ridiculous: for though children in their own perſon cannot conſent, yet are they within the couenant, which God maketh to vs and our ſeed. Gen.17. Otherwiſe Gods couenant ſhould be weaker then the couenant of men, who do make couenants for themſelues and their ſeed: as *Dauid* and *Ionathan.* 1.Sam.20.42. And againe, if circumciſion were a ſigne of Gods couenant, how much more Baptiſme which is more excellent: and S.*Peter* perſwadeth the Iewes to be baptized, becauſe *the promiſe was made to them, & their ſeed.* Act.2.39. therfore it is great impudēcy in him to deny ſo manifeſt a truth, that there is no couenāt made in Baptiſme.

Secondly, there is difference between the writing of a couenant, and the ſealing, as Nehem.9.38. the people make a couenant with God, they both write it and ſeale it: ſo the word of God, is as the writing of the couenant, & therfore is repeated; Baptiſme is as the ſure ſeale, that remaineth inuiolable: Likewiſe God couenanteth with vs in the Euchariſt: but it is a diuers couenāt from that in baptiſme: for this is the couenant of adoption, which once ſufficeth; the other of continual feeding and preſeruation, and therefore may be often vſed: as in circumciſion there was a couenant made, whereby the Iſraelites became his people; in the paſſeouer a promiſe and couenant of protection and preſeruation. Exod.12.27.

Thirdly, Gods couenant in it ſelfe remaineth ſtedfaſt, though men be deceitfull: and therefore it is called *a couenant of ſalt.* 2.Chro.13.5. ſo that God doth not make a new couenant, when men returne vnto him, but remembreth the old, as Exod.31.13. *Remember Abraham, Iſaac and Iacob, to whom thou ſwareſt, &c.* And Saint *Paul* thus reaſoneth, Epheſ.4.5. *One Lord, one faith, one Baptiſme:* from the conſtancie of God, to the ſtablenes of Baptiſme: wherefore *Bellarmine* hath babled much, and ſaid little: other arguments might alſo be adioyned, as theſe.

*Argum.*3. Circumciſion vnder the law was the ſame in effect, which Baptiſme is vnder the goſpell: ſo the Maſter of ſentences confeſſeth. *lib.4. diſtinct.4.g.* but circumciſion left no indeleble character in the ſoule, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth. *cap.19.propoſ.7. Ergo,* neither doth Baptiſme.

*Argum.*4. There was no character imprinted in the ſoule of Chriſt by Baptiſme: confeſſed by *Bellarmine. cap.19.propoſ.*8. but we are baptized with the ſame baptiſme, that Chriſt was baptized with: vnleſſe they will ſay, that the head and members are baptized with diuers baptiſmes; which were moſt abſurd, and contrarie to the Apoſtle, who ſaith, *There is one Lord* (that is Chriſt) *and one faith* (that is in Chriſt) *and one baptiſme* (that is in the name of Chriſt:) but if Chriſts baptiſme were diuers, there ſhould not be one Lord, one baptiſme.

Ambroſe alſo ſaith. *ſerm.41. Ergo fratres tingi debemus eodem fonte, quo Chriſtus, &c.* Therefore brethren, we muſt be dipped in the ſame fountain with Chriſt, that we may be the ſame, that Chriſt is.

We haue alſo their own witnes againſt them: *Durandus* ſaith, that this character is but *reſpectus rationis,* a relation or reſpect vnto the miniſter, no permanent or infuſed qualitie, *in 4. diſt.4. qu.1. Scotus* holdeth, that it cannot be proued by any manifeſt teſtimonie of Scripture. *diſt.6. c.9. Gabriel* doubteth, whether the Church hath defined it. *ibid. qu.2.*

Innocent 3. ſaith, that they which are baptized being madde, or aſleep, *characterem non ſuſcipiunt,* do not receiue this character: *Ergo,* Baptiſme doth not alwaies imprint a character.

Greg.lib.3. tit.42.c.3.

Auguſtine is flat againſt them, for the iteration of confirmation: *Manus impoſitio non ſicut baptiſmus repeti non poteſt. Quid enim eſt aliud, niſi oratio ſuper hominem?* The impoſition of hands is not as Baptiſme, neuer to be iterated againe: for what is it elſe, but praier ouer a man? *de baptiſ. cont. donat. lib.3.c.16.* Confirmation in his opinion may be iterated, & therfore imprinteth no ſuch character.

Neither doth Orders leaue any ſuch character behinde it: *Concil. Agathenſ. can.50. Clericus falſum teſtimonium dicens, &c.* A Cleargie man bearing falſe witneſſe, let him be depoſed from his office: *Et laicam tantummodo communionem accipiat:* Let him communicate only as a lay man. What is now become of your indeleble character?

See the teſtimonie of *Walter Brūte* holy confeſſor: *The Pope ſaith, that in the adminiſtration of* *euery Sacrament he doth imprint a certaine character or marke into the ſoule of him that receiueth.* &c. *I know that in a Sacrament are two things: the ſacramentall ſigne, which is giuen to man of man, the ſpirituall grace giuen of Chriſt.*

In giuing of Orders the Biſhop doth imprint the corporall markes, but of the ſpirituall markes I know none, &c. pag. 500. The reaſon is, that man in the miniſtery of the Sacrament conferreth onely the external things, but this inuiſible character is internal, & therfore not conferred by man.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE NECESſitie of the Sacraments.

THey willingly grant, that no Sacraments are abſolutely neceſſary in their nature, but in reſpect of the inſtitution and commaundement of God; for he is as able to worke without Sacraments, as with them. In this point, we are agreed: the points of difference are theſe.

The Papiſts.

99. Error. 1. THeſe three Sacraments are abſolutely and ſimply neceſſarie, as they are inſtituted of God: Baptiſme vnto all: penance to thoſe that fall after Baptiſme: Orders ſimply neceſſary to the whole Church. And thus they vnderſtand neceſſarie, that without the which a man cannot be ſaued: without the reſt of the Sacraments men may be ſaued, ſo there be no negligence or contempt, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de ſacram. cap. 22.* yea, he is not aſhamed to ſay, that the Sacraments are more neceſſary then faith: his reaſon is, becauſe without the Sacramēts, as Baptiſme, or the deſire therof, none, neither children nor others, can be ſaued: but without faith children are ſaued, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de ſacram. cap. 22.*

Anſw. Firſt, he may be aſhamed ſo impiouſly to contradict the Scriptures: for our Sauiour ſaith, *One thing is neceſſary*, Luk. 10. 42. ſpeaking of *Maries* diligent hearing of the word, whereby faith is obtayned, Rom. 10. 17. ſo that faith comming by the hearing of the word, is the onely or chiefe neceſſary thing. Againe, Mark. 16. 16. our Sauiour ſaith, *He that ſhall beleeue and be baptized, ſhall be ſaued; but he that beleeueth not, ſhall be damned:* he ſaith not, he, *that is not baptized, but he, that beleeueth not:* therefore faith is more neceſſary then baptiſme.

Secondly, it is vntrue, that none can be ſaued, no not children without baptiſme: ſeeing that *Dauids* child dying the ſeuenth day, before it was circumciſed, 2. Sam. 12. 18. was ſaued, as *Dauid* himſelfe ſaith, verſ. 23. *I ſhall goe to him:* and there was as great neceſſitie of circumciſion then, as of baptiſme now: Likewiſe the children which *Herod* ſlew, from two yeeres and vnder, ſome of them being but newly born, were neither circumciſed, nor baptized, yet we hold thē all to be innocēts.

Thirdly, children are not capable of faith, as they are of baptiſme, and therefore in them there can be no compariſon between faith & baptiſme: ſeeing one is required in them, & not the other.

Fourthly, this argument may better be returned vpon his owne head: that ſeeing children without baptiſme may be ſaued, as they are an holy ſeed, 1. Cor. 7. 14. and ſo vnder the couenant, of the which Sacrament they are capable; but none can be ſaued without faith, that are capable of faith, that therefore faith is more neceſſary then baptiſme.

The Proteſtants.

THough the Sacraments being appointed for our comfort, are neceſſary & profitable as holeſome meanes to be vſed for the increaſe of our faith, and much to be deſired & ſought for: yet God hath not laid ſuch a neceſſitie vpon any of them, as that the want of them ſhould cauſe hazard of ſaluation. The theefe vpon the croſſe was ſaued both without Baptiſme & Penance: I pray you what penance did *Peter* after his thrice denial of Chriſt, but that he wept bitterly, & earneſtly repented him of his fall? as S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *lachrymas Petri lego, ſatisfactionem non lego:* I read of *Peters* teares, not of his ſatisfaction. Such repentance we hold to be neceſſary, but a Sacrament of penance we acknowledge none. So the ordaining of miniſters to preach, is the ordinary meanes to beget men vnto the faith; yet many haue beene called without ſuch preaching: as *Paul* was conuerted by the voyce of Chriſt from heauen, *Nabuchadnezzar* was called by the great miracle of the preſeruation of the three children in the firy ouen.

So *Auguſtine* ſaith *Vndique vocat nos Deus ad pœnitentiam, vocat per lectorem, vocat per tractatorem, vocat per intimam cogitationem, vocat per flagellum correptionis, vocat per miſericordiam conſolationis:* God calleth vs euery way to repentance; he calleth, by the reader, by the preacher, by the inward thought, by the ſcourge of correction, by the mercy of conſolation *in Pſalm. 102.* God therefore may call and inſtruct vs by more waies then one, he is not tyed to any.

The Papiſts.

100. Error. 2. THe Sacraments of the new law are neceſſary to ſaluation, that is, it is impoſſible to obtaine the grace of iuſtification, by faith alone, without the celebrating of the Sacraments, *ſine ſacramentis, aut eorum voto*, or at leaſt, hauing a will, purpoſe, and deſire to celebrate and vſe them, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 7. can. 4.*

The

The Proteſtants.

A Neceſſitie of the Sacraments we graunt, as alſo of other profitable meanes, as of preaching the word, of prayer, and the like: but no ſimple or abſolute neceſſitie, as we haue ſaid: neither are the Sacraments neceſſarie at all to any ſuch purpoſe (being ordained for no ſuch vſe) as to be a meanes to applie the grace of iuſtification vnto vs: but our iuſtification is onely applied and apprehended by faith, as Saint *Paul* concludeth, Rom. 3. 28. that a man *is iuſtified by faith onely, without workes of the law*: yea, all workes whatſoeuer are excluded, as deſtroying grace, Rom. 11. verſ. 6. The Sacraments are profitable inſtruments, to ſtirre vp the gift of faith, and other graces in vs, but not by their proper worke to iuſtifie vs.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Primò fides catholica Chriſtiano neceſſaria eſt, per ipſam renaſcimur in baptiſmate, & ſalutem æternam impetramus*: Firſt of all, the Catholike faith is neceſſarie for a Chriſtian, by the which in Baptiſme wee are borne againe, and obtaine eternall ſaluation. He ſaith not that Baptiſme but that faith is neceſſarie, and that it is faith which giueth life to the ſacrament; it worketh not by it owne proper act: which is contrarie to *Bellarmine*, who ſaith, that *fides non tribuit vim ſacramentis*, that faith doth not adde any force to the Sacraments, *lib. 1. de ſacram. cap. 22.* whereas the Apoſtle ſaith, that he which *eateth the bread, and drinketh the cup of the Lord vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation*, 1. Cor. 11. 27. ſo that the worthie receiuing conſiſteth in the examination of our ſelues, verſ. 28. and to examine our ſelues, *is to proue whether we are in the faith*, 2. Corinth. 13. 5. Wherefore by faith wee are made worthie receiuers, and the Sacrament is vnto vs to life, which was before vnto death.

De tempor. Serm. 53.

Bernard alſo ſaith: *Nos ſi ſanguinis teſtimonium non habemus, id eſt Martyrij, &c.* If we haue not the witneſſe of blood, that is of Martyrdome, let vs haue the witneſſe of the ſpirit and water: for without the ſpirit, neither blood, nor water ſufficeth: yea, if we haue the ſpirit without both blood and water, the witneſſe thereof is ſufficient. Baptiſme then is not neceſſarie, and if it bee not, none is.

Synod. Trullan. can. 59. In oratorio priuato baptiſmus nullatenus peragatur, ſed ad catholicas eccleſias accedant: ſi quis contrà fecerit, Clericus deponatur, laicus excommunicetur: In a priuate oratorie, Baptiſme muſt in no caſe be adminiſtred; but they muſt goe to the common Church: if any man doe contrarie, if a Clergie man, he ſhall be depoſed; if a lay man, excommunicate.

It ſhould ſeeme that Baptiſme was not in thoſe dayes counted ſo neceſſarie, ſeeing they forbad it to be kept in priuate houſes.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE NVMBER and order of the Sacraments.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE number.

The Papiſts.

THeir generall ſentence and opinion is this, that there are ſeuen Sacraments, neither more or leſſe: Baptiſme, the Euchariſt, Confirmation, Penance, Matrimonie, Orders, extreame Vnction. If any man ſay that any of theſe are not truly and properly Sacraments, or that they are not all of Chriſts inſtitution, let him be anathema or accurſed, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 7. can. 1.*

101. Error.

Argum. 1. The number of ſeuen is myſticall, propheticall, perfect: the Prophet commaunded *Naaman* to waſh himſelfe ſeuen times, 2. King. 4. The Altar muſt bee cleanſed ſeuen dayes, Exodus 29. 37. *Iob* offered ſeuen bullocks and ſeuen rammes for his friends, Iob. 42. So in the Apocal. ſeuen Churches, ſeuen Angels, ſeuen Starres, ſeuen Candleſtickes, ſeuen Thunders, and the like: And why not alſo ſeuen Sacraments? *Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 26. Rhemiſt. annot. Apocal. 1. ſect. 3.*

Anſw. Firſt, the number of ſeuen is ſometime applied, to deſcribe myſteries of wickedneſſe, as well as of godlineſſe: As the beaſt with ſeuen heads, Apocalypſ. 17. 8. is called a myſterie, or as your Vulgar Latine hath it, a ſacrament. And with greater reaſon may wee conclude, that this beaſt with ſeuen heads, is Antichriſt, with his ſeuen popiſh ſacraments, than you out of *Naamans* ſeuen times waſhing, can picke out ſeuen ſacraments. But if you will needes make a myſterie of ſeuen: it may as well be a myſterie of iniquitie as of godlines, euen the myſterie of the beaſt with ſeuen heads, as wee haue ſaid. Secondly, what though the number of ſeuen, and of ſome other numbers, bee ſometime myſticall and ſignificatiue, when it pleaſeth the Lord in his word ſo to applie and appoynt them? doth it therefore follow, that men vpon their owne heads, may ſuperſtitiouſly applie numbers to ſacramens, prayers, faſtings, times, as though there were any religion in numbers, or that the Lorde had the rather reſpect vnto ſuch things, becauſe of the number?

*Argum.*2. Man hath ſeuen wounds to be healed or cured: *Ergo,* there ought to be ſeuen ſacraments as remedies againſt the ſame: Baptiſme is a remedie againſt originall ſinne, Penance againſt actuall, extreame Vnction againſt the reliques of ſinne, Confirmation againſt infirmitie of faith, the Euchariſt againſt malice, Matrimonie againſt concupiſcence, Orders againſt ignorance: *Bellarm.lib.2.cap.26.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Sacraments are not properly of themſelues remedies againſt ſinne: no otherwiſe than they are tempered with faith, from whence they haue their whole ſtrength and vertue. Secondly, if they were ſuch remedies, what neede ſo many? as though one medicine may not heale diuers diſeaſes. Thirdly, the Ieſuite hath not well matched the diſeaſes and remedies together: firſt, the efficacie of Baptiſme, which ſetteth forth our ſpirituall waſhing by the blood of Chriſt, ſerueth as well againſt actuall, as originall ſinne: ſeeing we are cleanſed from both by the blood of Chriſt. Secondly, if Baptiſme ſerue againſt originall, and Penance againſt actuall ſinne, what other ſinne remaineth to bee helped by the other remedies? Thirdly, if Matrimonie be auaileable againſt concupiſcence, why doe ye forbid your luſtfull and belly-fed prieſts to marrie? and if Orders helpe ignorance, how commeth it to paſſe that you haue ſo many doltiſh and ignorant Maſſe-prieſts?

Bellarmine hath other arguments, ſhewing in particular that euery one of their ſeuen are Sacraments, which ſhall be anſwered in their ſeuerall places.

The Proteſtants.

THis word or name, Sacrament, may be taken two wayes: firſt, generally for any myſticall ſigne or ſymbole, which may repreſent an holy thing: and ſo wee will graunt, that there may bee not onely ſeuen Sacraments, but ſeuen and ſeuen; which are more properly ſymboles and ſignes, than Sacraments: As the couering of the head in the woman is a ſymbole of ſubiection, 1.Cor.11.10. the Sabboth day a ſymbole or ſacrament of the heauenly reſt, Hebr.4. In this ſenſe *Auguſtine* calleth the myſterie of the Trinitie a ſacrament: yea hee ſaith, the ſacrament of fire, becauſe therein in ſome ſort, by the vndeuided and inſeparable properties thereof, the heate, light, and ſhining brightnes; the Trinitie, ſaith he, is ſhadowed forth. Wherefore euery ſigne or ſymbole of a holy thing, that hath a ſpirituall ſignification, either found in ſcripture, or deuiſed by men, is not by and by a ſacrament.

De ſymbol. lib.3.cap.9.

Secondly, if wee will take a ſacrament in the ſtrict and proper ſenſe, there are eſpecially three things required thereunto. Firſt, that they doe not onely ſignifie, but exhibite and repreſent vnto vs after a liuely manner, the ſpirituall things which are ſignified. Secondly, they muſt haue the inſtitution and perpetuall commaundement of Chriſt. Thirdly, the ſacraments of the new law muſt ſucceede in the place of the old. Hereupon wee will inferre, that there are but two ſacraments in the new Teſtament, Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper.

*Argum.*1. Theſe two alone are not onely ſignes of heauenly things, but ſeales and pledges vnto vs thereof, whereby our faith is ſtrengthened, and our hope confirmed in the promiſes of God: as the remiſſion of ſinnes is repreſented in Baptiſme, Act.2.38. the death of Chriſt ſhewed forth in the Euchariſt, 1.Corin.11.26. The like commendation is not giuen of any other of their ſacraments.

*Argum.*2. Chriſt onely commaunded theſe two ſacraments to be vſed for euer in his Church: to ſuch ſpirituall purpoſes, as Baptiſme is inſtituted and commaunded, Matth.28.19. the Lords Supper likewiſe, Matth.26. Many other ceremonies Chriſt vſed himſelfe, as lifting vp of hands, the tempering of clay and ſpittle, his Apoſtles impoſition of hands, and annoynting with oyle: But hee hath not laid his commaundement vpon theſe ceremonies, inioyning vs perpetually to keepe them, as he hath charged vs with the other two.

*Argum.*3. The ſacraments of the new Teſtament ſucceede in the roome of them of the old: Baptiſme ſtandeth in ſtead of Circumciſion, the Lordes Supper is come in place of the Paſchall Lambe. But they cannot ſhew what old ſacraments, thoſe fiue other newly inuented, Confirmation, Orders, Penance, Matrimonie, extreame Vnction, doe ſucceede and ſupplie: *Ergo,* they are none. And beſide, if all theſe ſhould bee ſacraments, and ſo ſeuen in all: wee ſhould haue more in number than the Iewes had, which is not to be admitted: for they had but two ordinarie ſacraments, Circumciſion, and the Paſchall Lambe: two extraordinarie, as their baptiſme in the red ſea and the clowde, and their eating of the Manna, and drinking of the rocke, 1.Cor.10.2.3. So they ſhould haue but foure ſacraments, for your ſeuen. Other legall rites, ceremonies, and ſacrifices they had, and many typicall ſhadowes and ſignifications, but no more ſacraments than wee haue heard.

Other arguments we haue in particular againſt their fiue ſacraments, which I referre to their ſeuerall places, which being prooued to be no ſacraments at all, they muſt needes faile of their ſeuen.

Auguſtine yeeldeth to haue no more ſacraments than onely two: As *Eue* was made out of *Adams* ſide as he was aſleepe: *Sic ex latere domini dormientis in cruce manauerunt ſacramenta, ex quibus formaretur eccleſia*: So out of the Lords ſide ſleeping vpon the croſſe, the ſacraments of the Church iſſued: that is, water and blood: by the which he vnderſtandeth the two ſacraments. Tract. in Iohan.119.& expoſit.in Pſal.56.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that though Baptiſme be fitly vnderſtoode by water, and the Euchariſt by blood, which iſſued out of Chriſts ſide, yet are not the other ſacraments excluded: as Heb.6.2. there is mention onely made of Baptiſme and impoſition of hands, yet were there more ſacraments, *Bellarm.cap.*27.

Anſw. Firſt, we doe not greatly vrge this analogie, to proue two ſacraments: but onely ſhew what *Auguſtines* iudgement was herein: neither can the proportion hold, if there ſhould be more ſacraments than two: for as out of *Adams* ſide onely *Eue* was made: ſo out of Chriſts ſide the ſacraments iſſued, whereof the Church conſiſteth: if this collection be good, there can bee no more but two ſacraments: vnleſſe they can ſhew, that ſomewhat elſe beſide water and blood was ſhed from Chriſts ſide. Secondly, that place to the Hebrues is not like: for the Apoſtles purpoſe is not to ſet downe there all the ſacraments of religion, but onely ſuch principles, as young beginners were to learne, who after theſe beginnings were admitted to the Euchariſt.

Now laſtly in defence of this truth, that Chriſt hath left onely two ſacraments to his Church, many holy Martyrs haue giuen their liues: As *Thomas Whittle, Bartlet Greene*, with fiue other, condemned for denying the ſeuen popiſh ſacraments, *Fox* pag.1844. Likewiſe thirteene holy Martyrs burned at Stratford the bow for the ſame cauſe. pag.1914.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE ORDER AND degree of the ſacraments among themſelues.

The Papiſts.

IF any man ſhall ſay, that theſe ſeuen ſacraments are of equall dignitie, and not one in ſome reſpect to be preferred before the other, let him bee accurſed, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.7.can.3.* In diuers reſpects one ſacrament may excell another, as Baptiſme excelleth the reſt, becauſe of remiſſion of ſinnes thereby effected, or, as we ſay, repreſented. Orders excell, in reſpect of the Miniſter, becauſe they are onely, ſay they, conferred by a Biſhop. Matrimonie excelleth, in reſpect of the ſignification, the coniunction of Chriſt and his Church. But ſimply the Euchariſt exceedeth all, becauſe of the ſubſtance of the ſacrament, the reall and bodily preſence of Chriſt, *Bellarm.lib.2. cap.*28. 102.Error.

Anſw. Firſt, that Baptiſme and the Euchariſt exceede all the other, wee doe eaſily admit: for we hold them to be no ſacraments: and therefore wee ſtand not vpon their ſeuerall priuiledges. Secondly, neither Baptiſme is more excellent than the Lords Supper, becauſe it repreſenteth the remiſſion of ſinnes: for that alſo is inſinuated in the other: for how can we ſhew forth the Lords death, which is done in that ſacrament, vnleſſe wee call to minde the benefits purchaſed by his death, as remiſſion of ſinnes? Neither doth the Euchariſt goe beyond Baptiſme, in regarde of a more full preſence of Chriſt: for hee is not otherwiſe preſent in one ſacrament, than in the other, preſenting himſelfe in both ſpiritually to be apprehended of the worthie receiuer: as for that carnall and groſſe preſence of the bodie of Chriſt in the ſacrament, wee acknowledge none: as afterward it ſhall more fully appeare, when we come in order to that queſtion.

Auguſtine ſheweth, that Chriſt is no otherwiſe preſent in the Euchariſt, than in the preaching of the worde, for the manner of his preſence: *Euchariſtia panis noſter quotidianus eſt, & quod vobis tracto, panis quotidianus eſt, & quod in eccleſia lectiones quotidie auditis, panis quotidianus eſt*: The Euchariſt or Sacrament of thankſgiuing is our daily bread, that which I handle and preach to you, is our daily bread, that which you heare read daily in the Church, is our daily bread. If Chriſt then be no more really preſent in the ſacrament than in the word, what is become of the preeminence, that the one ſacrament in that reſpect ſhould haue aboue the other? De diuerſ. ſerm.

The Proteſtants.

THat the one ſacrament ſhould be ſo much extolled aboue the other, namely, the Lords Supper to be preferred before Baptiſme, as the more worthie and excellent ſacrament, wee finde no ſuch thing in the word of God: but that both of them are of like dignitie in themſelues, and to be had equally and indifferently in moſt high account: thus it is proued.

*Argum.*1. They are both commaunded and inſtituted by the ſame authoritie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: as Baptiſme, Matth.28.19. the Lords Supper, Luk.22.19. *Doe this in remembrance of me*: neither is one by the firſt inſtitution aduanced aboue the other. Secondly, there is the ſame matter and ſubſtance of both ſacraments, Chriſt Ieſus with all his benefits, as Baptiſme is ſayd to ſaue vs by the *reſurrection of Chriſt*, 1.Pet.3.21. and the cup, and the bread in the Euchariſt are *a* *communion of the bodie and blood of Chriſt,* 1.Corinth.10.16. Thirdly, one and the ſame end of them both, which is the increaſe and ſtrengthening of our faith in the promiſes of God: as Rom.6.5. we are ſaid to be graft in Baptiſme to the ſimilitude of Chriſts death and reſurrection: and 1.Corinth.11.26. the receiuing of the Communion is a ſhewing forth of the Lords death: *Ergo,* they are both of equall dignitie and worthines.

*Argum.*2. As Circumciſion was vnder the Law to the Paſſeouer, ſo is Baptiſme now vnto the Euchariſt: but Circumciſion then was equall in dignitie, and commaunded vnder as great a puniſhment, as the celebration of the Paſſeouer, and eating of the Paſchall Lambe: for both are enioyned vnder the ſame paine of being cut off from the congregation. Circumciſion, Geneſ.17.14. the Paſſeouer, Exod.12.19. *Ergo,* Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper are Sacraments of equall dignitie and excellencie.

I might vrge them alſo with their owne fanſies: for by like reaſon, as **Bellarmine** would preferre Baptiſme before faith, becauſe children are ſaued without faith, and yet not without Baptiſme (in their opinion) ſo becauſe without Baptiſme children cannot be ſaued, as they hold, and yet may without the other Sacrament: therefore Baptiſme is more neceſſarie, and ſo conſequently more worthie: wherefore they doe contrarie themſelues in their owne fanſies.

Let them ſay now, which is the more worthie thing, Baptiſme, or the word preached? no doubt they will preferre Baptiſme: for they holde that the ſacraments doe giue grace by the worke wrought, and ſo doth not the word: yea, they are offended, becauſe wee ſay, that the ſacraments are no otherwaies inſtruments of our iuſtification, than the word preached is; but that the one worketh by the hearing, the other by the ſenſes of ſeeing, handling, taſting: but they all ſerue to one end, namely, to beget and increaſe faith in vs. This our aſſertion they vtterly miſlike, *Bellar. lib.2.de ſacram.cap.2.* Whereby it appeareth, that they prefer Baptiſme before the word. We then thus reaſon out of *Auguſtine:* he thus writeth: ***Dicite mihi, quid plus videtur vobis, verbum Dei, an corpus Chriſti? reſpondere debetis, quod non ſit minus verbum Dei:*** Tell me, which is the chiefer in your opinion, the word of God, or the bodie of Chriſt? (that is the ſacrament of his bodie:) ye muſt anſwere, that the word of God is not inferiour, *Homil.*26.

Hence we frame this argument: The word of God is equiualent to the Sacrament of the Lords bodie: Baptiſme is equiualent to the worde of God, by our aduerſaries owne confeſſion: *Ergo,* alſo it is of equall value and dignitie with the other Sacrament.

THE THIRD BOOKE OR CENTVRIE, CONTAINING A THIRD HVNDRED OF POPISH ERRORS AND HERESIES:

CONSISTING OF SVCH CONTROVERSIES, AS ARISE CONCERNING THE TWO RIGHT SACRAMENTS of Baptiſme and the Lords Supper, and the fiue other *Popiſh Sacraments.*

Saint *Paul* ſaith, I haue receiued of the Lord, that, which I haue deliuered vnto you: 1.*Corinth*,11. *verſ*.23.

Hieron. Rogo, vt ad inſtitutionis plenitudinem, verbum Domini, hoc eſt, Euangelium, diligentius legas: nullo modo paſsim, nos noſtro iudicio committamus, ne nobis exclamet Eſaias, væ, qui prudentes ſunt apud ſeipſos: I pray you more fully to imitate the inſtitution, to reade diligently the word of God, that is, the Goſpell: let vs not in any wiſe refer our ſelues to our owne iudgement, leaſt *Eſaias* crie out againſt vs, woe to them that are wiſe in their own conceite: *de ſcient. diuin. legis.*

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THE TVVELFTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, OF THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISME.

THis controuerſie ſtandeth vpon diuers queſtions. Firſt, of the name, and definition of Baptiſme. Secondly, of the parts of Baptiſme. Thirdly, of the neceſſitie of Baptiſme. Fourthly, of the Miniſter of Baptiſme. Fiftly, of the parties which are to be baptized. Sixtly, of the effects of Baptiſme. Seuenthly, of the difference of Chriſts Baptiſme and *Iohns*. Eightly, of the ceremonies of Baptiſme.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE NAME and definition of Baptiſme.

COncerning the name, there is no queſtion betweene vs, for the name of Baptiſme hath the originall and beginning from the Scripture: S. *Paul* vſeth this word, Coloſſ. 2. verſ. 12. *We are buried with him through Baptiſme.* And againe, Heb. 6. 2. All the queſtion is about the definition of Baptiſme.

The Papiſts.

1. Error. THey define Baptiſme to be a Sacrament of regeneration by water in the word: that is, not which ſignifieth and ſealeth vnto vs our regeneration, and aſſureth vs of remiſſion of ſinnes: but actually iuſtifieth and regenerateth vs, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de Baptiſm. cap. 1.*

Argum. Bellarmine groundeth his definition vpon thoſe words of our Sauiour, Iohn 3. 5. *Except a man be borne of water and the ſpirit*: and Epheſ. 5. 26. *That he might ſanctifie it by the waſhing of water through the word:* Hence he would inferre, that we are ſanctified by the water in Baptiſme. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. It is manifeſt by thoſe places, where the ſpirite and the word are ioyned to the outward waſhing by water; that the efficacie is not in the water, but in the ſpirit, and the word or promiſe of God, which is apprehended by faith: theſe places proue that Baptiſme is a Sacrament, ſigne and ſeale of regeneration, but no efficient or working cauſe thereof.

The Proteſtants.

WE rather, according to the Scriptures define Baptiſme, to be a ſigne or ſeale of our regeneration and new birth, whereby we are aſſured, that as verily by faith in the bloud of Chriſt we are cleanſed from our ſinnes, as our bodies are waſhed with water, In the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt: So that Baptiſme doth not actually beſtow remiſſion of ſinnes by the worke wrought, but is a pledge and ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith, as S. *Paul* ſaith of Circumciſion, Rom. 4. 11. For it is not the waſhing of the fleſh by water, but the eſtabliſhing of the heart with faith and grace, that ſaueth vs, 1. Pet. 3. 21. See this poynt handled more at large, *Controuerſ.* 11. next before, *queſt. 2. part. 1.*

Auguſtine ſaith, *Per fidem renaſcimur in baptiſmate*: by faith we are borne againe in Baptiſme, *De tempor. Serm.* 53. It is then the proper act of faith, to regenerate vs, not of Baptiſme; the vſe and end whereof, is to ſtrengthen and increaſe our faith.

Wee haue againſt this actuall iuſtification, by water in Baptiſme, the euident teſtimonie out of their owne decrees, *decret. p. 2. cauſ. 1. qu. 1. c. 54. Vnde iſta tanta virtus aquæ, &c.* From whence is this ſo great vertue of the water, that it toucheth the bodie, and cleanſeth the heart, *Niſi faciente verbo*, but by the working of the word; *Non quia dicitur, ſed quia creditur*: not becauſe the word is ſpoken, but beleeued.

Cauſ. 27. qu. 2. c. 45. gloſſ. Fides eſt cauſa, quare in Baptiſmo à peccatis mundamur: Faith is the cauſe, that our ſinnes are cleanſed in Baptiſme.

Decret. 3 *diſt. 4. c. 1. Sine Sacramento viſibili, et fide inuiſibili nemo ſaluatur*: Without the viſible Sacrament, and inuiſible faith, no man is ſaued.

Ibid. c. 8. *Per fidem et Baptiſmum, &c.* By faith and Baptiſme wee are freed from our ſinne. And yet more euidently *cap.* 39. of the ſame diſtinction, vpon thoſe words of our Sauiour, *Iam vos mundi eſtis*, and now you are cleane through the word, that I haue ſpoken vnto you; *Quare non ayt, mundi eſtis propter Baptiſmum, &c.* Why doth he not ſay, you are cleane becauſe of Baptiſme, wherewith ye are waſhed, (but becauſe of the word) but becauſe the word cleanſeth in the water. We ſee then, that the vertue of the Sacrament dependeth vpon faith, ſo that *Bellarmines* aſſertion, That faith addeth no force to the Sacrament, *lib.1.de Sacram.c.22.* is not onely repugnant to Scripture, but contrarie to their owne Canons.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE parts, which are the matter and forme of Baptiſme.

AS touching the matter: that is, the externall element vſed in Baptiſme, there is no queſtion betweene vs, but that it ought to be plaine and common water, Act.10.47. S.*Peter* ſaith, Can any man forbid water, that theſe ſhould not be baptized? Wherefore we condemne the fooliſh and vngodly practiſes and inuentions of heretikes, that either exclude water altogether, as the Manichees, with others; or doe vſe any other element, as the Iacobites, that in ſtead of water burned them that were to be baptized, with a whot yron; or as the Æthiopians, which are called Abiſſines, that vſed fire in ſtead of water: miſconſtruing the words of the Goſpell, Matth.3.11. That Chriſt ſhould baptize with the holy Ghoſt and with fire: which is not literally to be vnderſtood, but thereby is ſignified the internall and forceable working of the ſpirit, which kindleth zeale and loue in our hearts as fire. Bez.Matth.3. verſ.11.

Concerning the forme of Baptiſme: we all agree, that no other is to be vſed, then that preſcribed by our Sauiour Chriſt: To baptize in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghoſt: that it is neither lawfull to change this forme in ſenſe, as many heretikes haue done, nor yet in words, as to leaue out any of the three perſons in Trinitie, and incluſiuely to vnderſtand them by naming of one: for whereas ſome alleage that place, Act.2.38. Be ye baptized in the name of Ieſus Chriſt, for remiſſion of ſinnes; to proue, that it is lawfull onely in the name of Chriſt to baptize, we are to vnderſtand, that the forme of Baptiſme is not in that place expreſly ſet downe, but the ſcope onely and end of Baptiſme, which is to aſſure vs of remiſſion of ſinnes in the name of Chriſt, as *Beza* very well noteth vpon that place: Wherefore it is a manifeſt Error, which is imputed to Pope *Nicholas*, who defineth Baptiſme in the name of Chriſt onely to be ſufficient, *decret.part.3. diſtinct.4.c.24.* *Bellarmine* would helpe this matter, and ſaith, that he bringeth in S. *Ambroſe* authoritie, but determineth nothing himſelfe, whereas the very words of the Pope are theſe, *Conſtat eos denuò non eſſe baptizandos*: It is euident, that ſuch are not to be baptized againe, namely, they, that were baptized onely in the name of Chriſt: what are theſe els, but definitiue words? Wherefore wee allow rather the decree of *Alexander* 3.*decret.Greg.lib.3.tit.42.c.1. Si quis non dixerit, ego baptizo*: Vnleſſe a man ſay, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, he baptizeth not: this is agreeable to the Scripture, where Chriſt commandeth his diſciples to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, Matthew 28. but the very forme of ſpeech, as whether to ſay, I baptize, or according to the vſe of the Greeke Church, Bee thou baptized, is not of like neceſſitie, as to vſe the name of the Trinitie. The poynt then of difference betweene vs, concerning the forme of Baptiſme is this.

The Papiſts.

2.Error. THey are bolde to affirme, that this forme of Baptiſme, to baptize in the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt, is not fully concluded out of Scripture, but deliuered by tradition: for (ſay they) the commaundement of Chriſt, to baptize in the name of the Trinitie, Matth.28. may be vnderſtood thus: to baptize them into the faith of the Trinitie, or by the authoritie of the Trinitie. And it were ſufficient, by thoſe words, to doe and performe it in act, without ſaying the words; were it not, that we haue otherwiſe learned by tradition, that this very forme of words is to be kept, *Bellarm.de baptiſm.lib.1.cap.3.*

The Proteſtants.

WE neede no tradition for this matter; the very forme which is to be vſed in Baptiſme, is plainely proued out of the Scriptures: for that commandement of Chriſt, *Goe and baptize, &c.* doth neceſſarily imply a forme of ſpeech to be vſed. We graunt, that in the Scriptures, this word (name,) is taken for power, vertue, authoritie, as Act.3.6. In the name of Ieſus ariſe and walke. So alſo, as there is a Baptiſme with water, there may be a baptizing with fire, Matth.3.11. Wherefore if part of the commandement be to be taken properly and literally, as this, Goe and baptize, why not the reſt alſo, In the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt? If then the whole commandement be properly and plainely vnderſtood: how can they baptize in the name of the Trinitie, vnleſſe the Trinitie be ſpoken and named?

Secondly, it appeareth alſo out of other places of Scripture, that this forme was vſed in the Apoſtles time: As Act.10.47. *Can any man forbid water, why theſe ſhould not be baptized, which haue receiued*

ceiued the holy Ghoſt,as well as we? As if S.*Peter* ſhould haue reaſoned thus: theſe haue receiued the giftes of the Holy Ghoſt: *Ergo,* they may be alſo baptized in the name of the holy Ghoſt. Likewiſe, Act.19.2. When the brethren at Epheſus had anſwered *Paul,* that they had not heard, whether there were a holy Ghoſt: he ſaith vnto them, Vnto what then were you baptized? By this interrogatorie it appeareth, it was their manner to baptize in the name of the holy Ghoſt, and ſo conſequently of the whole Trinitie. We haue no cauſe then to flie vnto tradition, this matter being ſo plainely decided by the Scripture.

*Auguſtin. tract. in Iohann.*80. Vpon thoſe words of our Sauiour, Iohn.15.3. You are cleane thorough the word, which I haue ſpoken vnto you. *Detrahe verbum, & quid eſt aqua niſi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, & fit ſacramentum:* Take away the word, and what remaineth in Baptiſme but bare water? Let the word be ioyned to the element, and it maketh a Sacrament. The forme then of Baptiſme, is the word, which Chriſt ſpake: and where elſe ſpeaketh Chriſt, but in the Scriptures? *Ergo,* the forme of Baptiſme, is the word of Chriſt, preſcribed and commaunded in the Scriptures. Away therefore with your vncertaine and deceitfull traditions. Our Baptiſme is builded vpon a ſurer foundation: namely, the word of God.

*Concil.Florentin.ſeſſ.*7.*Andreas Coloſſenſ.Velim à vobis ampliſſimi patres doceri,&c.* I would learne of you (reuerend fathers,) whether the moſt holy Goſpell doe conteine the moſt perfect doctrine of our religion: I thinke (ſuch is your godlineſſe) that you will not anſwere otherwiſe, but that the moſt abſolute knowledge of our faith, is therein conteined: *Ergo,* the perfect doctrine of Baptiſme is expreſſed in the Goſpell.

The Maſter of ſentences thus determineth this matter: *lib.4.diſtinct.3.g. Non tunc illam formam Chriſtus,&c.* Chriſt did not firſt giue that forme of Baptiſme to his Apoſtles, when he ſent them to preach to the Gentiles, but before when he ſent them to preach to the Iewes: ſo that the inſtitution of Baptiſme may be better ſaid to haue bin made when Chriſt was baptized of *Iohn* in Iordane, &c. *Tunc ergo inuocato nomine Trinitatis,&c.* Then was the Baptiſme of Chriſt inſtituted, the name of the Trinitie being inuocated, which there appeared in myſterie, &c. Your Maſter groundeth the forme of Baptiſme in the name of the Trinitie, vpon the Baptiſme of Chriſt, where the whole Trinitie appeared in myſterie, the Father ſpake from heauen, the holy Ghoſt deſcended like a Doue, the Sonne himſelfe was in the waters: wherefore here is no neede to runne vnto tradition.

Hereunto the holy Martyrs giue conſent: The word of God written by the Prophets and Apoſtles, left and conteined in the Canonicall bookes of the whole Bible, I doe beleeue to conteine plentifully all thinges neceſſarie to ſaluation, &c. *Iohn Bradford,*pag.1626. But the doctrine of Baptiſme is neceſſarie to ſaluation to be knowen, both concerning the forme & matter: *Ergo.*

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE neceſſitie of Baptiſme.

The Papiſts.

THey affirme, that Baptiſme is ſimply neceſſarie to ſaluation by Gods appointment: ſo that all which die vnbaptized, vnleſſe the want of Baptiſme be recompenced either by Martyrdome or penance, muſt needes periſh, and be depriued of eternall life, *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.7.can.7. Bellar. lib.1.de Baptiſ.cap.4.* 3.Error.

Argum. Ioh.3.5.Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Vnleſſe a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of God: Ergo,* it is neceſſarie to ſaluation to bee baptized, *Bellarm.ibid.Rhemiſt.in hunc locum.*

Anſw. Firſt, it is not neceſſarie by water here to vnderſtand materiall water, but the purifying grace of Chriſt, which is called the water of life, Iohn 4.11. Water then is here added as an Epithete of the ſpirit, becauſe it clenſeth and purgeth as water: as Iohn 7.38. He that beleeueth, out of his bellie ſhall flow riuers of waters of life: *Quid aqua ſit* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *euangelium interroga:* Inquire of the Goſpell, what this water is. Then it followeth, verſ.39. This ſpake he of the ſpirit, which they that beleeued in him, ſhould receiue. By water then it is no rare thing, to vnderſtand the ſpirit. Secondly, why may not water bee here figuratiuely taken, to expreſſe the working of the ſpirit, as fire is added to the ſpirit, Matth.3.11. *He ſhall baptize with the holy Ghoſt and with fire?* What greater neceſſitie is there in this place, to vnderſtand water literally, than fire in the other? Tractat.in Epiſtol. Ioh.6.

Obiect. Bellarmine replieth: that water muſt needes be here vnderſtood literally: firſt, becauſe the words in Scripture, if there follow not apparent abſurditie, muſt be properly vnderſtood. Secondly, if water be not here ſignified, then it will bee hard to proue, that Baptiſme ought to bee miniſtred only with water: for other places, where mention is made of water, do proue that men may be baptized with water; but they proue not, that they cannot be baptized with other things: *Lib.1.de Baptiſm.cap.4.*

Anſ. Firſt, it is true that where any abſurditie may follow, the words are not to be taken properly: as when Chriſt ſaid (*this is my bodie*) becauſe it is an abſurd thing and inconuenient to eate mans fleſh, wee ſay the ſpeech is figuratiue: but it followeth not of the contrarie, that where no abſurditie followeth, there the words are properly to bee taken, as Matth. 3. where mention is made of Baptiſme with fire; it were no very abſurd thing, if Chriſt had ſo appointed, for children to be ſomewhat ſinged with fire, as they were in the law circumciſed and cut with a knife: yet fire properly is not there vnderſtood. Secondly, if the element of water were here ſignified, a great abſurditie would follow, that for want of a little ſprinkling of water, children ſhould bee vtterly loſt. Thirdly, wee haue other places to prooue the neceſſitie of water in Baptiſme beſide this place: As firſt, the example of Chriſt, Matth. chapt. 3. who was baptized onely in water. Againe, the commaundement of Chriſt, Matth. chap. 28. *Goe and baptize:* which worde ſignifieth properly to waſh with water: As alſo the practiſe of the Apoſtles that onely vſed water, Act. 10. Saint *Peter* ſaith, *Who can forbid water? &c.*

Thirdly, as you expound theſe words of Baptiſme, ſo ye doe applie another place, Ioh. chapt. 6. verſ. 53. to the other Sacrament: *Vnleſſe you doe eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, you ſhall not haue life in you.* If this bee ſpoken of the Sacramentall eating and drinking of Chriſt, as the Rhemiſts take it; then belike there is as great neceſſitie of the Euchariſt, as of Baptiſme: and ſo indeede *Auguſtine* ſometime thought, that the one was as neceſſarie to ſaluation as the other: *Sine Chriſti carne & ſanguine, nec paruuli vitam habere poſſunt in ſemetipſis:* Without the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, neither can infants haue life in themſelues. And therefore it was the cuſtome of thoſe times, to giue of the Sacrament to children: *Paruulis adhuc & infirmis ſtillantur quædam de Sacramentis:* Some part of the Sacrament is inſtilled and powred into the mouthes of young and tender children.

Cont. 2. epiſt. Pelag. lib. 4. c. 4. in Pſal. 64

But our aduerſaries in no wiſe will admit that the Euchariſt is as neceſſarie as Baptiſme: wherfore they doe thus comment vpon our Sauiours wordes: That they alſo doe eate the fleſh of Chriſt and drinke his blood, which ioyne in heart and deſire to bee partakers of the Sacrament, and ſo myſtically, and ſpiritually doe receiue it, *Rhemiſt. Ioh. 6. ſect.* 8. And why, I pray you, may there not bee as well a myſticall and ſpirituall receiuing of Baptiſme without the Sacrament, as of the Euchariſt or Lordes Supper, ſeeing this place, Iohn 6. 53. doth as neceſſarilie enforce the receiuing of this Sacrament, as that place, Iohn 3. 5. doth lay a neceſſitie vpon Baptiſme?

Fourthly, If this ſaying of Chriſt, *Except a man bee borne of water, &c.* doe implie a neceſſitie of Baptiſme, then Baptiſme began to bee neceſſarie immediatlie vpon this ſpeech of our Sauiour: for he ſaith not, except a man ſhall bee, but except hee bee, *niſi renatus fuerit,* in the preter tenſe. But *Bellarmine* himſelfe ſaith, that Baptiſme began not to bee neceſſarie, till after Chriſts death, *cap.* 5. therefore it is not like, that any ſuch neceſſitie ſhould bee laid at all vpon Baptiſme. For it had been great reaſon, that Chriſts baptiſme, which was giuen while he liued in the fleſh, ſhould haue been as neceſſarie as his Apoſtles baptiſme, which was miniſtred afterward.

Laſtly, the Maſter of Sentences thus expoundeth this place: *Intelligendum eſt de illis, qui poſſunt & contemnunt baptizari:* It is to be vnderſtood of thoſe, which may, and yet contemne to be baptized: *vel ita intelligendum eſt, &c.* or it muſt be thus vnderſtood: *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water and the ſpirit, &c.* that is by that regeneration, which is done by water and the ſpirit: but that regeneration is not onely by Baptiſme, but by repentance, &c. *lib.* 4. *diſt.* 4. *e.* If either of theſe expoſitions be receiued, children dying without Baptiſme ſhall not bee condemned: for firſt, they doe not contemne Baptiſme, if they dye without it. Secondly, that regeneration, which others haue by the ſpirit and water, others by repentance, is ſupplied vnto them by the couenant of grace.

Or wee refuſe not the interpretation of this place, which *Innocentius* 3. one of your Popes hath in his decree, *Decret. Gregor. lib.* 3. *tit.* 42. *cap.* 3. where hauing recited this place of ſcripture, *Vnleſſe a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, &c.* with diuers other places, he inferreth thus: *Ex vi literæ ſatis patet prædictas authoritates, &c.* By the very letter it is apparant, that the foreſaid authorities muſt onely be vnderſtood of thoſe that are of age, which haue a multitude of ſinnes, and cannot be vnderſtood of little ones, which onely haue originall ſinne, and ſo alſo is that authoritie to bee reſolued, *he that beleeueth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaued.* If ye will bee iudged then by your holy father, this place cannot be enforced againſt infants, that dye vnbaptized.

The Proteſtants.

WE acknowledge no greater neceſſitie in Baptiſme, then in the other Sacrament: both which we graunt to be neceſſarie as helpes and props, and profitable meanes to increaſe our faith: but not ſo ſimplie neceſſarie, as that without them (there being no neglect, or contempt had of them) it were impoſſible to be ſaued.

Argum.1. The children of the faithfull are holie alreadie, euen before they bee baptized: for they are within the couenant, and to them alſo belongeth the promiſe. The Lord ſaith, I will bee thy God, and the God of thy ſeede, Geneſ.17.7. And S.*Paul* ſaith, that the children of the faithfull are holie, 1.Corinth.7.14. If the Lord then be the God alſo of children, and if they bee holie, being borne of the righteous ſeede, how can they poſſiblie periſh, although they dye vnbaptized?

Bellarmine anſwereth. Firſt, that the promiſes made to *Abraham*, were temporall, not ſpirituall.

Contra. Saint *Paul* ſheweth, they were ſpirituall: by ſeede (not ſeedes) vnderſtanding Chriſt, Galath.3. ſo that the promiſes made to *Abraham*, and his ſeede, were ſuch, as were to bee accompliſhed in Chriſt.

Bellarmine. 2. Such ſpirituall promiſes, as were made to *Abraham*, belonged not to the carnall poſteritie of *Abraham*, but to the true ſonnes of *Abraham*, that is, his faithfull ſeede, *cap*.4. *reſponſ.ad obiect*.1.

Contra. We graunt, that only ſuch as beleeued, after they came to yeeres capable of faith, were the true ſonnes of *Abraham*, though otherwiſe both carnally begotten of his ſtocke, as alſo outwardly ſigned with circumciſion: but no ſuch condition of faith was required in infants: but they were ſaued euen dying before circumciſion by the couenant of grace, which was made to *Abraham* and his ſeede, Geneſ.17.7. before circumciſion, which is the ſigne of the couenant, was giuen.

Bellarm. Thirdly, the children are ſaid to be holie: either after a ciuill kinde of holines, that is to ſay, they were legitimate: or elſe becauſe the beleeuing parent doth conſecrate the children vnto God, and ſo they are made holy by Baptiſme, and are brought vp in godlines: or elſe, the vnbeleeuing part is ſaid to be ſanctified by the beleeuing, in that he is taught the right vſe of mariage; whereas Infidels doe abuſe matrimonie, and vſe it immoderatly, and at ſuch times, as they ought to abſtaine, whereby their children are vncleane, and their mariage polluted, *Bellarmine ibid*.

Contra. Firſt, no ſuch ciuill ſanctification, that is legitimation, can bee here vnderſtood: for though both the parents were Infidels, yet are their children legitimate, they being lawfully linked together in mariage: but now the Apoſtle ſaying, *The vnbeleeuing huſband is ſanctified by the wife*, meaneth a further degree of ſanctification, then is betweene both being Infidels. Secondly, neither doth the Apoſtle meane, that the children are holie by any act of holineſſe wrought vpon them by the beleeuing parent, as by conſecrating them vnto God, or bringing them to bee baptized, or ſeeing them well brought vp; but ſuch an holines, as whereby both the vnbeleeuing parent is ſanctified, and his ſeede alſo: But firſt, by godly education the children onely are ſanctified, it is nothing to the ſanctification of the parents. Secondly, neither are all children made holie or vertuous, by their good education, as *Eſau* wanted no good bringing vp, as well as *Iacob*, yet he is called a prophane perſon, Heb.12.16. but the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of all the children of ſuch, that they are holie. Thirdly, and again the Apoſtle meaneth not only ſuch children as are brought to Baptiſme, or of age to be nurtured, but all the children and ſeede of the faithfull parent: wherefore it cannot be ſo vnderſtood. Fourthly, yet further, it is poſſible that an adulterer may haue a care for the good education of his adulterous ſeede, as *Auguſtine* had for his ſonne *Aderdatus*, and yet their vnlawfull copulation is not thereby ſanctified.

Thirdly, this ſanctification cannot be vnderſtood of the right vſe of mariage: firſt, becauſe that although the abuſe of mariage in the parents is a pollution to them, yet it extendeth not to their ſeede. Secondly, it is poſſible for Infidels to attaine to this ciuill gift, as moderatly and ſoberly to vſe their wiues, as ſome of them had the gift of perpetuall continencie, doth it therefore followe, that their ſeede ſhall be holie? Thirdly, yea this infirmitie in the immoderate vſe of mariage is incident to the mariage of the faithfull: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Naturalis vſus, licèt immoderatus, venialis eſt in vxore, &c.* The naturall vſe, though it be immoderate, is pardonable in the wife: *huius delicti, non habent hortatrices nuptias, ſed deprecatrices:* Mariage is not an exhorter thereunto, but an intreater: *de nupt. & concup.c.*11. ſhall the children therefore of the faithfull bee vnholie? So then none of theſe three expoſitions, which *Bellarmine* hath brought, can ſtand.

Wherefore the meaning of the Apoſtle is this, that the children of parents, where one of them is a beleeuer, are holie, that is within the couenant; and being within the couenant, they are alſo partakers of the promiſe: Where we ſee a difference betweene the law of Chriſt, and the lawes of men: for by the Ciuill law, *partus ſequitur ventrem*, the birth did follow the wombe, the childe did follow the condition of the mother; as *Cod.lib*.5.*tit*.5.*leg*.3.*Conſtantin*. If the father were a free man, the mother a ſeruant, ſo ſhould the childe be: So likewiſe decreeth *Gregor*.9.*decr.Greg.lib*.1.*tit*.18.*c*.8. But the rule of Chriſt is more fauourable, that if either father or mother are free in Chriſt, that is beleeuers, the child is free alſo, that is holie: ſo that the faith of the one of them is more auaileable to include the ſeede within the couenant, then the infidelitie of the other to exclude it. So then the vnbeleeuer is ſanctified by the beleeuer, that is, is made a fit inſtrument, notwithſtanding his infidelitie to conuey the holie ſeede. And the Ciuill law hath a rule not much vnlike the ſaying of the Apoſtle here, *Uxor concreſcat marito:* The wife doth increaſe and grow with her husband, *Cod lib.*5*.tit.*4*.leg.*28*.Iuſtinian.* Like as the wife, though a ſeruant, being maried to a man of honourable order, was partaker of his honor: ſo likewiſe faith in either partie, being the true honor of a Chriſtian, doth ſanctifie the other in this behalfe.

*Arg.*2. Circumciſion was as neceſſarie to the Iſraelites, as Baptiſme is to vs: but their children, which died before the eight day, when they were to be circumciſed, periſhed not: for *Dauid* doubteth not to ſay of his childe that died the ſeuenth day, *I ſhall goe to him, he cannot returne to me,* 1. Samuel. 12.18.23. He pronounceth that the childe was ſaued. And *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, that ſome of the children that *Herod* ſlew were not eight daies old, and ſo not circumciſed; yet they were all ſaued and are counted innocents, *lib.*1*.de Baptiſ.c.*6*.prop.*1. *Ergo,* neither children dying without Baptiſme now are condemned.

The Maſter of Sentences anſwereth, that either children dying before circumciſion did periſh and were damned, or elſe in caſe of neceſſitie they might circumciſe before the eight day, *lib.*4. *diſtinct.*1*.l.*

Contra. His firſt aſſertion is very cruell and vncharitable, and contrarie to the Scripture: for *Dauids* childe was ſaued dying before the eight day; and ſome of the children that *Herod* did ſlay might be vnder eight daies old, and ſo not circumciſed, and yet they are all held to bee innocents and Saints.

His ſecond aſſertion hath no ground, ſeeing that in the inſtitution of circumciſion, Geneſ. 17. it is limited to the eight day: ſo that they which circumciſed before that day, did contrarie to the inſtitution.

Bellarmine anſwereth: that it is vncertaine, whether the Iewes had any other remedie againſt ſinne for their children dying before circumciſion, becauſe the Scripture maketh no mention thereof: but now it is certaine, there is no remedie beſide Baptiſme for infants, *Bellar.cap.*4.

Anſ. Firſt, neither Circumciſion then, nor Baptiſme now, is a remedie againſt originall ſinne, but a ſigne onely and ſeale of our ſpirituall waſhing by the blood of Chriſt. Secondly, if the Iewes had another remedie for their children, ſhall we thinke that the Goſpell hath laid an harder yoke vpon infants, then the law did? Thirdly, infants then, and now dying before the Sacrament, haue one common remedie to be ſaued by, namely the couenant of grace, in that the Lord promiſed, to be their God, and the God of their ſeede: and the children by the Apoſtle are called holie, 1. Corinth. 7.14.

*Argum.*3. The holy Ghoſt may be giuen without Baptiſme, ſo it be not contemned and neglected, when it may bee had: therefore life eternall may bee had without Baptiſme: for the holie Ghoſt is able without the Sacrament, to regenerate vs, and bring vs to eternall life.

The firſt is proued, Act. 10.47. Who can forbid water, that theſe ſhould not be baptized, which haue receiued the holy Ghoſt, as well as wee? They had the holy Ghoſt before and without Baptiſme, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Adhuc loquente Petro, non dico nondum imponente manum, ſed nondum baptizante, venit ſpiritus ſanctus:* While *Peter* yet ſpake, before he laid on his hand, or baptized them, the holy Ghoſt came: *Ergo,* Baptiſme not neceſſarie.

*Argum.*4. You your ſelues make two exceptions, of Martyrs, and them that doe penance, which may bee ſaued without Baptiſme: *Ergo,* Baptiſme is not ſimplie neceſſarie. And if our Sauiour ſpeake of Baptiſme, Iohn 3. verſ. 5. as ye ſay he doth, there is no priuiledge for any, no not for Martyrs, for all muſt be borne of water and the ſpirit: that is, ſay you, baptized. Neither are your two exceptions generall enough: for the theefe vpon the croſſe was ſaued, and yet neither dyed a Martyr: for he himſelfe confeſſeth, that he was righteouſly puniſhed, Luk. 23.41. neither did he any ſuch penance, or made any ſuch ſatisfaction, as you require.

*Argum.*5. If all children dying without Baptiſme are damned; then it would follow, that an infinite number of children ſhould periſh without their fault, which were a moſt cruell and vncharitable thing to affirme.

Bellarmine anſwereth: that Gods iudgements are moſt iuſt, though they be ſecret, neither are children damned without their fault, becauſe they haue originall ſinne: but it is moſt certaine, that there is no remedie for children without Baptiſme, *cap.*4.

Contra. Firſt, it is true, that Gods iudgements and decrees are moſt iuſt, though wee perceiue them not, and ſo are they full of mercie to: but it is not apparant out of Scripture, that God hath ſet downe any ſuch decree for the children of the faithfull vnbaptized, but the contrarie; as Mark. 10.14. they brought little children vnto our Sauiour, who ſaid, *of ſuch is the kingdome of heauen:* he ſaith not of little ones baptized, but ſimply of little ones being the ſeede of the faithfull, as theſe were. Secondly, though children haue originall ſinne, yet ſeeing Baptiſme is appointed as a remedie againſt it,which they dying before,are depriued of without their fault; how then conſequently are they not condemned without their fault, ſeeing that which ſhould preſerue them from condemnation (as they ſay) is denied vnto them without their fault? Thirdly, that there is no remedie for children dying without Baptiſme, it is contrary to the decree of *Innocent.3 decret.Gregor.tit.42.c.3. Abſit vt vniuerſi paruuli pereant,&c.* God forbid, that all children ſhould periſh,whereof ſo great a multitude daily dieth; but that the merciful God,who would haue none to periſh,hath for them alſo prouided ſome remedie to ſaluation.Some alſo of your own Doctors, as *Caietanus,Gabriel,* with others, doe hold, that there is ſome remedie for children departing before Baptiſme.

Laſtly,it was the hereſie of the Hierarchites, *qui regnum cœlorum paruulos habere negant,* which denied,that children did goe to heauen, *decret.par.2.cauſ.24.q.3.c.39.* How farre now are the Papiſts from this hereſie, that exclude all children out of the kingdome of God, that are not baptized?

Bernard thus writeth of this matter: *Nequaquam poſſum omnino deſperare ſalutem, ſi aquam non non contemptus, ſed ſola prohibeat impoſſibilitas: Epiſtol.*77.I cannot altogether deſpayre of their ſaluation,that are not baptized,if it bee not done of contempt, but when as Baptiſme cannot poſſiblie be had.

Againe,in the ſame place he ſaith: *Vide etiam, ne forte ob hoc Saluator cum diceret: qui crediderit,& baptizatus fuerit,ſaluus erit,cautè & vigilanter non repetierit, qui baptizatus non fuerit,ſed tantum,qui non crediderit, condemnabitur: nimirum intuens ſolam interdum fidem ſufficere ad ſalutem, & ſine ipſa ſufficere nihil:* See alſo if our Sauiour Chriſt for this cauſe, when he had ſaid,he that beleeueth and is baptized,ſhall be ſaued,did not of purpoſe in repeating the ſentence,omit to ſay, hee that is not baptized; but onely,he that beleeueth not ſhall be damned: for he ſaw, that faith onely may ſuffice to ſaluation,but without faith nothing can ſuffice.

Clement.epiſtol.4.Bonum eſt,& puritati conueniens etiam corpus aqua diluere; bonum dico, non quaſi principale illud, in quo mens purificatur,ſed quod ſit ſequela illius boni hoc, in quo caro diluitur: It is good and conuenient to waſh the bodie in water,good I ſay,but not that principall good,whereby the minde is purified, but a ſecond or a conſequent good thing to that,&c. There is then a more principall thing in Baptiſme then the waſhing of water, which is the ſpirituall grace: without this a man cannot be ſaued,without the other he may.

Richard Woodman holy Martyr thus witneſſeth; The Scripture ſaith, he that beleeueth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaued; and he that beleeueth not ſhall be damned: but no Scripture in all the new Teſtament ſaith,that he which is not baptized,ſhall be damned: neither dare I ſay ſo for all the goods vnder heauen: *Fox* pag.1994.

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER THE WANT OF Baptiſme may be by any other meanes ſupplied.

The Papiſts.

4.Error. OVr aduerſaries make three kindes of Baptiſme, *Baptiſmum fluminis, Baptiſmum ſanguinis, Baptiſmum flaminis:* The Baptiſme of water, the Baptiſme of blood, which is Martyrdome, and the Baptiſme of the ſpirit,which is contrition and penance: By theſe two,the firſt, ſay they, may be ſupplied.

They affirme, that Martyrdome, and penance or contrition, doe by the very act or worke wrought remit ſinnes, and iuſtifie the workers, and not in reſpect of the faith onely, which is in Martyrs or penitent perſons, *Bellarm.cap.6.lib.1.de Baptiſm.*

Argum. The Innocents,which were ſlaine by *Herod,* were ſaued onely by their martyrdome, they had neither faith, nor workes. So the theefe vpon the croſſe was not onely iuſtified by his faith,but by the act and worke of contrition.

Anſ. Firſt,it is not neceſſarie to hold all thoſe children to be Martyrs,and ſo to bee ſaued: for *Macrobius* writeth,that one of *Herods* ſonnes,which was nurſed in thoſe parts, was ſlaine among the reſt: the infants which were ſaued, were within the promiſe, and belonged to the couenant, and ſo could not bee loſt: their ſaluation depended of their free election before God; it was not purchaſed by the very act of their dying.

Secondly, the theefe alſo vpon the croſſe was iuſtified by his faith and beliefe in Chriſt. And therefore *Auguſtine* doth chiefly commend his faith: *Tunc fides eius de ligno floruit, quando diſcipulorum emarcuit:* Then his faith did as it were bud and flouriſh out of the tree of the croſſe, when the faith of the diſciples withered.

Argum.2. Many Confeſſors haue greater charitie, than Martyrs, and yet they had not remiſſion of all their ſinnes,as Martyrs haue. And a man being not yet iuſt or righteous, yet chooſeth rather to dye,than denie Chriſt;this man cannot deſerue any thing,being not iuſtified,and therefore it is his martyrdome, which by the very act wrought, doth purchaſe forgiuenes of ſinne, *Bellarm. rat.* 2. & 5.

Anſ. Firſt, that Confeſſors may haue greater charitie, than Martyrs, it is contrarie to the ſaying of our Sauionr, Iohn 15. *No man hath greater loue than this, to giue his life for his friends.* Secondly, Confeſſors dying in the faith of Chriſt, doe finde forgiuenes of ſinnes as well as Martyrs: as Reuelat. 14. 13. *Bleſſed are they which dye in the Lord,* not onely they which dye for the Lord, but in the Lord, that is in the faith of Ieſus. Thirdly, they which giue their liues for Chriſt, being not iuſt before, are either in that inſtant conuerted, as the theefe vpon the croſſe, and ſo they are ſaued by their faith: or elſe if they dye rather of manlines and ſtomacke, then of faith, Saint *Paul* in this caſe ſaith, that dying without loue the fruite of faith, their death doth not profit them, 1. Corinth. 13. 3.

The Proteſtants.

NEither the outward worke of Martyrdome nor contrition doe iuſtifie, or giue remiſſion of ſinnes: but the faith onely of Martyrs and penitent perſons, whereby they apprehend Chriſt.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1. Corinth. 13. 3. *That if a man giue his bodie to be burned, and haue no loue, it profiteth not: Ergo,* it is not the outward act of martyrdome, but an effectuall and liuely faith working by loue, which pleaſeth God.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that this place proueth not, that charitie of neceſſitie muſt goe before martyrdome, but that there muſt bee charitie in martyrdome, by the force whereof there is charitie infuſed into the Martyrs heart; ſo that it is not poſſible he ſhould dye without charitie. Secondly, it may be ſaid as well of Baptiſme, as of Martyrdome, that it ſaueth not without charitie, and yet it giueth, or conferreth grace.

Anſ. Firſt, neither doe we hold it neceſſarie, that faith and charitie ſhould alwaies goe before martyrdome in time: for faith may be wrought in an inſtant, as in the theefe vpon the croſſe; but that faith and charitie doth ſanctifie the death of the Martyr, which is proued by this place. Secondly, charitie is not infuſed or effected by martyrdome, for then martyrdome ſhould alwaies bring forth this effect; and then were the Apoſtles ſpeech needleſſe, and his ſuppoſition falſe, *if a man giue his bodie to be burned and haue no loue, &c.* for by their ſaying the bodie cannot bee giuen to be burned without loue, if loue bee the effect of martyrdome: But contrariwiſe martyrdome is the effect and fruite of faith, and charitie; as Rom. 5. 8. *Chriſts loue is herein commended, that he died for vs:* his loue appeareth by the fruites and effects, namely his dying for vs. Thirdly, neither doth Baptiſme conferre grace, but is a ſeale onely of the righteouſneſſe of faith: neither is it true, that it profiteth not without faith, ſeeing infants haue neither faith nor charitie, to whom Baptiſme is profitable by the couenant of grace: Wherefore the inſtance of Baptiſme is not herein like to the other; and yet in thoſe that are of yeeres, and capable of faith, neither Baptiſme, or Martyrdome is auaileable without faith.

Argum. 2. Neither is the bare worke of ſorrow and contrition in it ſelfe acceptable to God: for there is a worldly repentance that cauſeth death; there is a godly repentance not to be repented of, which worketh in vs care, zeale, feare, deſire, which are the fruits of faith, 2. Cor. 7. 10. 11. *Ergo,* it is faith onely that maketh all our works to be accepted before God: for without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe him, Heb. 11. 6.

We want not here their owne teſtimonie: *Decret. par. 3. diſt. 4. cap. 37. Baptizandus confitetur fidem ſuam, &c.* He that is to be baptized confeſſeth his faith before the prieſt, and being asked anſwereth: the ſame doth the Martyr before the perſecutor, who alſo confeſſeth his faith, &c. Wherfore it is the confeſſion of the faith, that maketh martyrdome acceptable.

Dominicus a Soto, and *Martinus Ledeſmius* two archpapiſts doe holde, that martyrdome doth not conferre grace by the worke wrought, and therein conſent with vs, *in 4. diſt. 3. qu. vn. art. 11.*

The Papiſts.

5. Error. 2. MArtyrdome and contrition or conuerſion of the heart vnto God, though they be no Sacraments, yet may ſupplie the lacke of Baptiſme, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Argum. 1. Martyrdome in the Scriptures is rightly called a Baptiſme: as Chriſt ſpeaking of his death, ſaith, I muſt bee baptized with a Baptiſme, Luk. 12. 50. And therefore it may fitly ſtand in ſtead of Baptiſme.

Anſw. If euery thing, that hath the name of Baptiſme, may be vſed in place thereof; then adde vnto your number of ſuch deuiſed ſupplies, the Phariſaicall waſhing of cups, for they are called *Baptiſmata calicum,* the Baptiſmes, or clenſings of cups, Mark. 7. 4.

Argum. 2. Martyrdome hath the ſame effects, that Baptiſme hath, namely the conforming of vs to Chriſts paſſion, more liuely than in Baptiſme; for the conformation in Baptiſme is but ſacramentall, the other reall. Likewiſe it remitteth both ſinne and the puniſhment thereof, as Baptiſme doth: *Ergo,* it is a kinde of Baptiſme.

Anſw. Firſt, that the want of Baptiſme may by other meanes be recompenſed, as by Martyrdome, by faith in Chriſt, by the deſire and earneſt purpoſe of the heart, we denie not; yet we hold not any of theſe to be as Baptiſme. Secondly, the conforming of vs onely to Chriſts death and ſuffrings, maketh not Baptiſme; for then we ſhall haue ſo many Baptiſmes as ſuffrings, becauſe therein we alſo are made partakers of Chriſts ſuffrings, 1.Pet.4.13. not onely when we die for Chriſt, but if we be but rayled vpon. And againe, Baptiſme doth graffe vs not onely into the ſimilitude of Chriſts death, but of his reſurrection alſo, Rom.6.5. which Martyrdome doth not. And yet further, we are two wayes conformed to Chriſts death, by imitation, as in dying for Chriſt; by application, as when the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt and the merites of his death, are ſealed vnto vs in the Sacraments: the firſt conformation of vs is in Martyrdome; the ſecond is not, which is ſacramentall. Thirdly, neither Baptiſme, nor Martyrdome do actually remitte ſinne, but declare the ſame to be remitted, Baptiſme as a ſeale, Martyrdome as an effect and conſequent of faith and charitie: ſo that herein alſo they are vnlike.

The Proteſtants.

WE neede not any ſuch ſupplies to make good the want of Baptiſme, neither is it ſafe ſo to doe

1. It is great preſumption and boldnes, without warrant of Gods word, to giue the effect and bleſſing, which God hath annexed to the Sacraments, to any other externall worke: for what is this els, but to inſtitute other Sacraments, then Chriſt left? And ſhall we not thinke, that God by his ſpirit can better ſupply the loſſe and the want of the Sacraments, then we by our owne inuentions can helpe our ſelues? And whereas *Bellarmine* ſaith, that they haue the like inſtitution of Chriſt for Martyrdome, as for Baptiſme; when he can ſhew it out of the Scriptures, wee will beleeue him: Chriſt hath inſtituted Martyrdome, to ſhew our obedience, but not to be a ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of fayth, whereunto he hath appointed Baptiſme.

2. Concerning contrition of the heart, if you vnderſtand by it true repentance, and withall a vowe and true deſire to receiue the Sacrament of Baptiſme, which cannot be obtained becauſe of ſome remedileſſe neceſſitie; then in ſuch a caſe it ſtandeth as auailable, as if a man had been actually baptized: for thus the Rhemiſts expound themſelues, *annot.Iohn.*3.2. I pray you what greater neceſſitie is there now of Baptiſme, then of the other Sacraments? For this true, and we willingly grant: that euery man that ſhall bee ſaued, muſt either receiue the Sacraments, or haue a deſire vnto them: for the neglect and contempt of the Sacraments without repentance, is a ſinne damnable. And thus you ouerthrow your ſelues, making Baptiſme neceſſarie without neceſſitie.

3. *Auguſtine* admitteth none of theſe ſupplies, but only Martyrdome: *Nemo fit membrum Chriſti,* De animæ
niſi aut baptiſmate Chriſti, ant morte pro Chriſto: No man is made the member of Chriſt, but ei- Origin.lib.1.
ther by the baptiſme of Chriſt, or in dying for Chriſt. Here *Auguſtine* maketh but one ſupply of cap.9.
Baptiſme, they make two. When men follow their owne inuentions, there can bee no agreement.

Bernard ſpeaketh fully for vs: *Si martyrium vicem baptiſmi poſſit implere, quod non facit pœna, ſed ipſa fides, quod dare alteri valet, ſola non poterit obtinere? æquè enim magnam fortaſſis deus in corde cuiuſpiam in pace morientis inſpicit fidem, martyrio quidem non interrogatam, ſed martyrio idoneam:* If martyrdome may ſupply the roume of Baptiſme, which not the paine maketh, but faith, how commeth it to paſſe, that it ſelfe cannot obtaine that, which it giueth to another? for God may finde as great faith in a man that dieth in peace, who is not called to martyrdome, yet fit to be a Martyr: *Epiſt.* 77. His reaſon is this, that martyrdome of it ſelfe cannot ſtand for Baptiſme; ſeeing of it ſelfe it is nothing: but faith both without baptiſme and martyrdome is auailable.

Their owne decrees thus teſtifie, *decret.p.*3.*diſtinct.*4.*c.*34. *Quibus rebus oſtenditur,&c.* whereby it is euident, that the Sacrament of Baptiſme is one thing, the conuerſion of the heart another, &c. but they do both tend to mans ſaluation: there is not then one and the ſame effect of both.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHETHER women and Lay-men ought to baptize.

The Papiſts.

THey holde, that not onely Lay-men, but Pagans, that are not baptized themſelues; yea and 6.Error
women alſo, may be miniſters of Baptſime, in a caſe of neceſſitie, *Bellarm.cap.7.*

Argum. Exod.4. *Zipporah* circumciſed her ſonne, and the Lord was pleaſed therewith, and went away from *Moſes,* whom he came againſt to haue ſlaine him: *Ergo,* women may as well now miniſter Baptiſme.

Anſw. Firſt, there is not the like ſtrict neceſſitie of Baptiſme, as there was then of Circumciſiou: for if euery man childe were not circumciſed the eight day, the Lord threatned to cut him off from among the people, Geneſ.17.14. But Baptiſme is not tyed or limited to any ſuch time or number of dayes. Secondly, there was great neceſſitie, which enforced *Zipporah* to circumciſe her childe: for they had neglected the time, and paſſed the ſtint of dayes: wherefore the Lord ſtrooke *Moſes* with ſicknes; and being not able himſelfe to performe that dutie, his wife in great haſte taketh the childe and cutteth him, to ſaue her husbands life: but ſhe in great indignation caſt away the fore-skin from her, knowing that ſhe was conſtrayned to commit an vnwomanly act. There cannot be any ſuch neceſſitie of Baptiſme, as there was then of Circumciſion; which was to be done within a certaine compas of dayes. Thirdly, you may as well proue by this example, that a woman may baptize, the Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon ſtanding by, (which notwithſtanding you hold vtterly vnlawfull) as that it is lawfull for her to baptize: for *Zipporah* did it in the preſence of *Moſes*.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that God was well pleaſed with *Zipporahs* act, in that *Moſes* preſently thereupon recouered, and the Angell left him: *Ergo*, it was lawfully done.

Anſw. Firſt, there is great difference betweene the neceſſitie of Circumciſion then, and Baptiſme now: for then the childe muſt not paſſe eight dayes vncircumciſed: and therefore *Zipporahs* doing herein was, becauſe of the imminent daunger and preſent neceſſitie, more tolerable. Secondly, in that God tooke off his hand from *Moſes*, it appeareth that God accepted of the act done; but it followeth not, that he approued the manner of the doing: As it cannot be gathered, that becauſe the plague ceaſed among the Philiſtines, 1.Sam.6. after they had ſent home the Arke with a gift, that this their offering was perfectly acceptable before God: or that the Samaritanes who ſerued God and their Idols together, did therefore pleaſe God, becauſe they were deliuered from the Lions, 2.King.17. But God in mercie accepted this maimed ſeruice, rather then none at all: So *Zipporahs* act was rather allowed, then that it ſhould haue been altogether left vndone.

*Argum.*2. *Philip* being but a Deacon baptized, Act.8. and *Ananias* a meere Lay-man baptized *Paul*, Act.9. Therefore other beſide Miniſters may baptize, *Bellarm.cap.*7.

Anſw. Firſt, *Philip*, though at the firſt a Deacon, yet afterward was called to be an Euangeliſt, Act.21.8. and ſo admitted both to preach and baptize. Secondly, it is too boldly affirmed that *Ananias* was but a Lay-man: though the Scripture make no mention of his calling by the Apoſtles: yet was it ſufficient that he was called of God extraordinarily to baptize *Paul*, as *Paul* was ſo called to be an Apoſtle. It followeth no more that he was a lay man, becauſe he was not called by the Apoſtles, then that *Paul* was ſo for the ſame cauſe.

The Proteſtants.

NEither Lay-men, of what calling ſoeuer, nor yet Midwiues, or any other women, ought to be ſuffered in a well reformed Church to baptize infants: neither are they authorized ſo to do amongſt vs.

*Argum.*1. The commiſſion and charge to baptize, was giuen onely by our Sauiour Chriſt to his Apoſtles, and all lawfull Miniſters their ſucceſſors, Matth.28.19. *Ergo*, Lay-men and women, in baptizing, goe beyond the commiſſion of Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that when Chriſt gaue this commiſſion, there were many preſent beſide the Apoſtles.

Contra. We deny not, but that many beſide might be preſent, but he ſpake onely to his eleuen diſciples, who are immediatly named before verſ.17. vnleſſe you will ſay, that he made all the reſt (thoſe fiue hundred whom Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of) Apoſtles alſo: for he ſendeth them into all the world, Mark.16.14.

*Argum.*2. The preaching of the Word, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, are and ought alwayes to be ioyned together. And the care and charge of both is committed to Paſtors and Miniſters lawfully ordayned: Goe, ſaith our Sauiour, and teach all nations, baptizing them, Matth.28.19. But it is not lawfull for women to preach the word, 1.Cor.14.verſ.35. *Ergo*, not to baptize.

Bellarmine alſo would thus returne the argument: that as in caſe of neceſſitie it is lawfull both for lay men and women to teach, as *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* inſtructed *Apollos*, Act.18. ſo may they alſo in caſe of neceſſitie baptize.

*Contra.*1. Priuately to teach and inſtruct, is a common dutie of all Chriſtians, and not incident onely to the Miniſterie: ſo euery houſholder may teach his familie, the mother the children; this dutie lay men and women may performe: But they are not to meddle with publike teaching, nor conſequetly with the Sacraments, which though they be in priuate places miniſtred, yet are publike actions: *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* publikely taught not, but priuately expounded to *Apollos* the way of God. The like ſtorie hath *Theodoret*, *lib.*3.*c.*14. how that a heathen Prieſts ſonne vnder *Iulian* the apoſtata, was conuerted by a woman: and it was the office of the widowes of the Church priuately to prepare, and inſtruct ſuch of their owne ſexe, as were to bee baptized, to teach them how to anſwere, when they came to Baptiſme, as may appeare, *Carthag. ſynod.4.can.*12. but they were neuer admitted to any publike office in the Church. Secondly, it followeth not, though it be granted, that vpon an extraordinary occaſion, as in the conuerſion of ſome Countrie (as the people Iberi were conuerted, by the preaching of a woman) where there is no ſet Miniſterie, Lay men and women may baptize, that therefore it is lawfull for them to do it in a ſetled Church, and where there is an ordinarie calling.

Argum.3. If it be lawfull for ſuch to baptize, it is onely in the time of neceſſitie: but there is no ſuch neceſſitie, as wee haue ſhewed, of Baptiſme: *Ergo*, it is not at all lawfull for them.

Auguſtines iudgement is this: If a Lay-man doe giue Baptiſme: *Neſcio an piè quis dixerit eſſe repetendum:* I cannot tell whether any man may ſafely or godly ſay, that it is to be iterated or repeated. He doth not allow Lay-men to baptize: but is of opinion, that they are not to be baptized againe, that receiue baptiſme at their hands. Yet he ſpeaketh vncertainly, (I cannot tell ſaith he) and ſo wee will conclude with *Auguſtine: Si Laicus baptiſmum dederit, nulla cogente neceſſitate, alieni muneris vſurpatio eſt:* If a Lay-man doe baptize, where there is no neceſſitie, it is an vſurping of another mans office. But there is no ſuch neceſſitie to cauſe him ſo to do: *Ergo*. This teſtimonie of *Auguſtine* is ratified, *decret.part.2.cauſ.1.queſt.1.c.87.* Lib.2.cont. Parmen.cap. 13.

Concil. Carthag.4.can.99. Mulier quamuis ſancta & docta viros in conuentu docere non præſumat: can.100. Mulier baptizare non præſumat: Let not a woman, though neuer ſo holy or learned, preſume to teach men in an aſſembly: Let not a woman preſume to baptize: this Canon is ratified, *diſt.4.c.21.*

Cod.lib.2.tit.13.leg.4. Per mulieres aliena negotia agi non poſſunt, Buſineſſe not belonging to women, can not be done by them: but to baptize, is not appertaining to women. *Leg.18. Alienam ſuſcipere defenſionem, virile eſt officium, et vltra ſexum muliebrem eſſe conſtat*: To take the defence of an other, is a mans office, and beyond the Sexe of women: ſo may it be ſaid much more of Baptiſme, that it exceedeth their ſexe: *tit.56.leg.6. Mulier non poteſt eſſe arbiter:* A woman cannot be a Iudge, that is, in her owne perſon to ſit in iudgement, and to receiue the triall of cauſes; how much leſſe can a woman haue the office of a Miniſter to baptize: for the chiefe ciuill authoritie may reſt in a woman, though the execution thereof be put ouer to others; but women can neyther haue authoritie, nor execution to baptize.

See alſo their owne Canons, *decret.part.3.diſtinct.2.c.29. Ne Presbyteri laico vel fœminæ corpus domini tradant deferendum ægrotis:* That Prieſts deliuer not the bodie of the Lord to a lay man or woman to be carried to the ſicke: If women and lay men cannot conſecrate the one Sacrament, neither can they miniſter the other, for they are both of equall dignitie, and of the like neceſſitie.

Decret.Greg.lib.5.tit.7.c.14. Gregor.9. Interdicas laicis, cuiuſcunq; ordinis cenſeantur, vſurpare officium prædicandi: Forbid lay men, of what degree ſoeuer, to vſurpe the office of preaching: If it be not lawfull for them to preach, much leſſe to baptize.

And concerning the Baptiſme of Pagans it is decreed thus by *Gregor.2.decret.par.3.diſt.4.c.52. Quos à Paganis baptizatos aſſeruiſti, denuò baptizes:* Baptize them againe in the name of the Trinitie, whom thou affirmeſt to haue beene baptized by the Pagans: *Ergo*, the Baptiſme of Pagans is no Baptiſme, for then it ſhould not be iterated, or repeated.

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF SVCH AS are to be admitted to Baptiſme.

Of the baptiſme of Infants. *Part.*1.

THat infants are to be baptized, it is fully agreed and concluded betweene vs. Which poynt we doe ſtrongly maintayne by the Scriptures againſt the Anabaptiſts of our age. But herein we diſſent from our aduerſaries,

The Papiſts.

1. THey affirme, that the baptiſme of children and infants is grounded vpon tradition, and not vpon Scripture, *Bellarm.lib.4.de.verbo dei.cap.9.* 7. Error.

The Proteſtants.

IT were very hard, if we had no more certaine ground for the baptizing of infants, then tradition, which is but a feeble weapon to fight againſt heretickes withall: we haue manifeſt proofes out of the Scripture for it.

Firſt, they belong vnto the couenant: Geneſ.17. I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeede: *Ergo*, they haue right to the ſigne of the couenant.

Secondly, they are called holy, which are borne of faithfull parents, 1.Cor.7.14. *Ergo*, are not to be denied Baptiſme.

Thirdly, they are redeemed by the bloud of Chriſt, who dyed for all the children of God, Ioh.11.52.To them belongeth the kingdome of God, Mark.10.14.*Ergo,* alſo Baptiſme, which is a pledge of remiſſion of ſinnes and eternall life.

Fourthly, it is alſo proued by the practiſe of the Apoſtles, who baptized whole families, with all that thereunto belonged, Act.16.33. Theſe with other effectuall reaſons to the ſame purpoſe ſee more at large, *Epiſtol.Iohan.Philpot.martyr.pag.*1840.&41.

Fiftly, *Auguſtine* alſo proueth it out of Scripture, by comparing our Baptiſme with the Circumciſion of the Iewes: *Veraciter conijcere poſſumus, quid valeat in paruulis baptiſmi ſacramentum, ex circumciſione carnis, quam prior populus accepit:* How auaileable Baptiſme is in little ones, we may geſſe by the circumciſion, which the former people in the law receiued: *Ergo,* not onely by tradition, but chiefly by Scripture the lawfulnes of childrens Baptiſme is confirmed. De Baptiſ. contr.Donatiſt.lib.4.cap. 24.

So alſo *Innocentius* the 3.one of their moſt learned Popes, proueth the Baptiſme of children by Scripture, *decret.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*42.*c.*3. *Cùm ergò circumciſio tam adultis, quàm paruulis ex præcepto Domini &c.* Seeing that Circumciſion by the commandement of God, was conferred both vpon children, and the elder ſort; Baptiſme alſo, which ſucceedeth in the place thereof, and is more generall both to men and women, muſt likewiſe be conferred to both.

The Papiſts.

8.Error 2. BAptiſme, they ſay, giueth grace and faith to the infant that had none before, *Rhemiſt.Galat.*3.*ſect.*6. This then is their opinion, that infants, though actually and fully they haue not faith, as other haue, yet there is a certaine habite of faith and hope infuſed into them in Baptiſme; ſo that partly they do beleeue of themſelues, and partly by the faith of others, namely of them that bring them to Baptiſme, *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de baptiſm.cap.*11.

Argum. Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God, Heb.11.6.Rom.3.28.We hold that a man is iuſtified by faith: *Ergo,* children, if they haue no faith, are neither iuſtified, neither yet doe pleaſe God: Epheſ.3.1.Chriſt dwelleth in our harts by faith: but he dwelleth in children; *Ergo,* they haue faith. *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Firſt, theſe places doe as well proue that children haue an abſolute, perfect, and actuall faith: (for it is a perfect faith that iuſtifieth vs, and maketh vs acceptable to God) which I am ſure our aduerſaries will not yeeld vnto. Secondly, the iuſtification and ſaluation of children dependeth of the free election of God, Rom.9.11.that the purpoſe of God might remaine according to election, ſaith the Apoſtle: And that which faith worketh in thoſe that are of vnderſtanding, the ſpirit of God is able to effect in infants, by ſome ſecret way, beſt knowne to himſelfe.

Thirdly, it is manifeſt, that theſe places are to be vnderſtood of thoſe that are of yeeres, and capeable of faith, as it followeth, Epheſ.3.18. *That you may be able to comprehend with all Saints &c.* Faith then is of them, that are able to comprehend; but this comprehenſion, capacitie and vnderſtanding is not in children: Thus alſo one of your principall pillers *Innocent.*3.vnderſtandeth theſe and the like places, as that, *He that beleeueth, and is baptized, ſhal be ſaued: Hæc tota authoritas de adultis*: all theſe authorities muſt be vnderſtood of thoſe, that are of yeeres, *decret Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*42.*c.*3. Fourthly, Chriſt dwelleth in Infants by his holy ſpirite, though they haue no faith: ſo then the argument followeth not, Chriſt dwelleth in them: *Ergo,* they haue faith, for in the kingdome of heauen fayth ſhall ceaſe, yet then ſhall we be the habitation of Gods ſpirite.

Bernard alſo thus anſwereth this obiection: *Sine fide impoſſibile eſt placere Deo, & ſine fide non ſunt, qui in fidei teſtimonium baptiſmi gratiam perceperunt:* Without faith indeed it is impoſſible to pleaſe God: and they are not altogether without faith, which in teſtimonie of their faith, haue receiued the grace of Baptiſme: *in Cantic.ſerm.*66.Children then haue no otherwiſe faith, then as they haue receiued Baptiſme the ſigne and Sacrament of faith,

The Proteſtants.

THat infants neither haue faith in themſelues, nor yet are profited or furthered to their ſaluation by the faith of others, it is thus prooued.

*Argum.*1. S.*Paul* ſaith, Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, Rom.10.17. But infants can neither heare nor vnderſtand the word of God: *Ergo,* no faith is wrought in them.

*Argum.*2. There is no habituall or potentiall faith that pleaſeth God: but the iuſtifying faith is alwayes actuall, working by loue, Galath.5.6. *Ergo,* children haue either no faith, or it muſt needes be an actuall or working faith.

*Argum.*3. Infants are not iuſtified, nor relieued or helped forward towards their ſaluation by the faith of thir parents, or Godfathers, when they are baptized: for the Scripture ſaith, The iuſt ſhall liue by faith, Rom.1.17.that is, by his owne faith, not the faith of another.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that they do not affirme, that children are iuſtified, or do liue by the faith of their Parents, and of others, but that their faith is profitable to the Infants, being by this meanes brought vnto Baptiſme, and becauſe they do profeſſe their faith in Baptiſme by the mouth of others. *Bellarm.cap.*11.*propoſ.*5.

Contra. Firſt, that it is a benefite to be borne of faithfull Parents, who are carefull to bring their Infants to be baptized, and to ſee them well brought vp, we graunt: but what is this to the ſtate of Infants before God? Secondly, the confeſſion of their faith by others is profitable, to put them afterward in remembrance of their ſolemne promiſe made in Baptiſm; but before God, they are no more helped, by the confeſſion of anothers mouth, then by the beleefe of anothers heart: wherefore it is not eyther the faith of the Parents, or the confeſſion of the witneſſes, that ſupplieth the lacke of both in Infants, but the grace of God inwardly working, as *Auguſtine* well ſaith, as it is alleaged in the decrees; *decret.par.*3*.diſtinct.*4*.c.*34. *Gratia omnipotentis implere credenda eſt,&c.* The grace of the Almightie doth ſupplie that, which they, by the infirmitie of age, can neither beleeue with the heart to righteouſneſſe, nor confeſſe with the mouth to ſaluation.

Auguſtine denyeth that children are illuminate in their minds, when they are baptized: *Si illuminati eſſent, ipſum baptiſmum læti ſuſciperent, cui videmus eos cum magnis fletibus reluctari:* If they were illuminate, they would ioyfully receiue Baptiſme, which we ſee them to ſtriue againſt with great crying. And why ſhould the Apoſtle ſay, Be ye not children in vnderſtanding, 1.Cor.14.20. if ſo bee their mindes were illuminate? Wherefore that ſaying in the Goſpell, ſayth he, This is the light that lighteneth euery one that commeth into the world, Iohn 1.9. whereby they would proue, that children doe receiue light at their very firſt comming into the world, is thus to be vnderſtood, *Quia nullus hominum illuminatur, niſi lumine illo veritatis:* Becauſe no man is lightened, but only by that light. What now is become of that *lumen fidei,* the light of faith, which you ſay is infuſed into children in Baptiſme?

De peccat. merit. & remiſſ. lib. 1. cap. 25.

How children are to bee counted beleeuers, Maſter *Philpot* holy martyr doth thus teſtifie: That children are accounted of Chriſt in the Goſpell among the number of ſuch as beleeue, it appeareth by theſe words: *He that offendeth one of theſe little babes, which beleeue in mee, &c.* Matt.18. where plainly Chriſt calleth ſuch, as be not able to confeſſe their faith, beleeuers, becauſe of his meere grace he reputeth them for beleeuers: pag. 1841. Not that they haue any beleefe in themſelues, but they are ſo reputed by grace: God doth of his meere mercie as well accept of them thorough grace in Chriſt, as if actually they did beleeue.

*Decret.part.*3*.diſtinct.*4 *c.*76*. Infans licet fidei non habet affectum, reſpondetur ſidem habere ob fidei ſacramentum:* The Infant although he haue not faith in his affection, is ſaid to haue faith, becauſe hee hath the Sacrament of faith. *c.*129*. Fidem nondum habet in cogitatione,* the Infant hath not faith in his mind or cogitation: as before he ſaith, they haue not faith in affection, ſo neither in their cogitation, that is, they haue neither the act, nor habite of faith: contrary to the decree of the Tridentine Concel. *ſeſſ.*6*.c.*7*. In Baptiſmo fidem infundi, et menti inhærere*: That faith is infuſed in Baptiſme, and fixed in the mind of infants.

Neither are children helped by their Godfathers faith, for what if they bee all vnbeleeuers, by this reaſon ſuch children ſhould be Baptized in no faith: *Richard Woodman* Martyr, pag. 1995.

Theſe reaſons alſo to the ſame effect, may be gathered out of their owne decrees: as firſt, *decr. par.*2*.cauſ.*1*.qu.*4*.c.*3. *Ne parentum illos error impediat,&c.* The error of the parents being heretikes doth not hurt or hinder the children. If the error of the parents hinder not, then their faith profiteth not. Secondly, *decret.p.*3*.diſtinct.*4*.c.*114. It is decreed, that the Infant is not baptized, being in the mothers wombe, the mother being at that inſtant baptized. If the mothers faith doth not profite the child, being not yet *Anima ſeparatim viuens*: A ſoule liuing by it ſelfe, while it is in the wombe, as it is *ibid. ca.*129. much leſſe when the child is now borne, and made a liuing ſoule by it ſelfe.

AN APPENDIX OF THE POPISH vſe in baptizing of bels.

The Papiſts.

THey begin now to be aſhamed of the blind practiſes of their ſuperſtitious and ignorant forefathers: for *Bellarmine* flatlie denieth, that bels are baptized amongſt them: but they are only conſecrate and hallowed for diuine vſes, as other Church veſſels are, *lib.*4*.de Roman.pontific. cap.*12.

9.Error.

The Proteſtants

IT is a great ſhame for them, to deny ſo manifeſt a thing. For in the hallowing of bels, firſt there were Godfathers choſen: Secondly, they gaue names to the bels: Thirdly, the bels had new garments put vpon them, as is accuſtomed to be done to Chriſtians in their Baptiſme: Fourthly, the Baptizing of bels was onely permitted to the Biſhops ſuffragane, whereas their Prieſts and Deacons did vſually baptize infants: all this ſheweth, that it was not onely a Baptiſme, which they beſtowed vpon bels, but in a more principall kind, then common Baptiſme was. This was one of the greeuances which the princes of Germany complained of in the aſſembly at Noremberg, that

Fox. Martyrol. pag. 865. col. 1. edition. 4.

the ſuffraganes exacted of the people ſuch great ſummes of money for the baptizing of bels. With what face then can they deny this vngodly cuſtome of theirs, in Chriſtening and baptizing of bels.

An.973. Pope *Iohn*.14. at the coronation of *Otho* the Emperor, gaue vnto the great bel of the Church of Laterane his own name: the Chriſtening of bels in yͤ popiſh Church teſtified by B. *Ridley* holy martyr pag. 1779. col.2. Which ſupeſtitious vſe in baptizing of bels, thereby aſcribing vnto them a ſpirituall power againſt euill ſpirits, thunder, lightening, &c. hath been condemned in ſome of their Councels. *Concil. Colonienſ. part.9. cap.*14. They correct the error of former times of thoſe that thought, that diuels were frayed away with the ſound of bels: *Qui potius precibus ipſis territi abſcedant, illiſq; ſubmotis fruges, mentes & corpora fidelium ſeruentur:* Diuels rather are frayed away by prayers, vnto which men are called by the bels: and ſo the euil ſpirits being remoued, the bodies and ſoules of men are preſerued, and their corne, &c.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF THE EFfects and fruites of Baptiſme.

THe partes of this queſtion are theſe: firſt, whether our ſinnes are wholy remitted and cleane taken away in Baptiſme. Secondly, whether Baptiſme ſerueth only for the remiſſion of ſinnes that are paſt. Thirdly, of the liberties and priuiledges, which are obtained by Baptiſme: which parts are now ſeuerally to be handled.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER IN BAPtiſme our ſinnes be cleane taken away.

The Papiſts

10.Error. THe ſins which are paſt, they affirme, not onely by the grace of Chriſt receiued in Baptiſme, to be forgiuen and pardoned, and no more imputed, but euen wholy to be raſed and rooted out: *Et tolli omne illud, quod veram habet & propriam rationem peccati:* And al that wholy to be taken away, which hath the nature and qualitie of ſinne, *Concil. Tridentin. ſeſſ.*5. For the concupiſcence or originall ſinne, remaininge after Baptiſme, is now no more to be called ſinne. In Infants then newly baptized, there is neither mortall nor venial ſin, *Rhemiſt.*1. *Iohn* 1. *ſect.*5. Decret. de Original. peccat.

*Argum.*1. The Scripture ſaith, *Behold the Lambe of God, that taketh away the ſinnes of the world,* Ioh.1.29. Chriſt doth ſanctifie and cleanſe his Church by the waſhing of water, through the word, Epheſ.5.26. *Ergo,* by remiſſion, ſinnes are cleane taken away, *Rhemiſt. Roman.*4. *ſect.*7. *Bellarm. cap.*13.

Anſ. Firſt, if ſinne in Baptiſme were wholy remoued, not onely the guilt, but the very ſtaine and blot of ſinne: how commeth it to paſſe, that many which are baptized, doe fall afterward into deadly ſinnes; yea there is no man that liueth without ſinne? If ſinne once haue been vtterly expelled and baniſhed out of the fleſh, how commeth it in againe? If their iuſtification haue once cleerely rid them from ſinne, how can they be ſubiect to it againe? for the grace of iuſtification, being once obtained, can neuer be loſt: the gifts of God are without repentance, Rom.11.29.

2 The Scripture is true, that Chriſt by his blood, cleanſeth, waſheth, taketh away our ſinnes: not by actually purging vs from all corruption, but in freely acquiting and diſcharging of vs before God, both of the guilt and puniſhment of ſinne: ſo the Scripture ſaith, *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen, and to whom the Lord imputeth no ſinne,* Rom. chap.4. verſ.7.8. Our ſinnes therfore may be truly forgiuen, though ſome corruption of ſinne doe ſtill remaine in vs.

3. The Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ.5.27. *That he might make it to himſelfe a glorious Church, without ſpot or wrinkle:* ſignifying, that not here, or now, but then and there the Church ſhall bee perfectly cleane, and without ſpot, when it ſhall be made glorious: but now although ſhe bee cleanſed, by the waſhing of water in the word; yet ſhe ſaith truly of her ſelfe, in reſpect of her infirmities that remaine, *I am blacke,* Cantic.1.4.

*Argum.*2. Rom.5.19. *As by one mans diſobedience many were made ſinners, ſo by the obedience of one ſhall many be made righteous:* but in *Adam* we are verely made ſinners: *Ergo,* by Chriſt wee are truly made righteous without ſinne, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſheweth, that this compariſon betweene *Adam* and Chriſt is not to bee vrged in euery point: as verſ.16. *The gift is not ſo, as the offence:* for the guilt is of one offence to condemnation, the gift is of many offences to iuſtification: The compariſon is betweene one, and one; as in one we dye al, ſo in one we are al made aliue: It holdeth not in the manner: for our corruption from *Adam* is natural, but our iuſtification by Chriſt is ſupernatural. Secondly, we grant, that in Chriſt wee are truly made righteous by the imputation of his righteouſnes; yet it followeth not that we ſhould be void of ſinne: for Chriſts righteouſnes which is imputed by faith is one thing, our owne righteouſnes another; that is perfect, and maketh vs righteous before God, the other is imperfect. Thirdly, holding their ſenſe, the compariſon may very well ſtand: for as in *Adam* though we all are made ſinners; yet, they ſay, there doe remaine, *pura naturalia*, certaine pure naturals ſtill, notwithſtanding the corruption of our nature: ſo though we be iuſtified and made righteous by Chriſt, there may bee found in vs, ſome *impure naturals* and dregs of corruption ſtill.

*Argum.*3. 2.Cor.6.14. *What fellowſhip hath righteouſnes with vnrighteouſnes, light with darkneſſe? Ergo,* after we are once made righteous, and receiued the light, there remaineth no darkneſſe or vnrighteouſnes of ſinne, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of light and darkneſſe in the ſame, but in diuers ſubiects, as verſ.15. *What fellowſhip hath the beleeuer with the Infidell?* Secondly, though in the righteous ſome imperfections remaine, yet there is no fellowſhip, but a continuall warre and ſtrife betweene the ſpirit of God and the corruption of our nature; as Galath.5.17. *They are contrarie one to the other, ſo that ye cannot doe the things ye would.* Thirdly, though ſome relickes of ſinne remaine in the faithfull, yet they doe not raigne in them, Rom.6.12. but as darkneſſe toward the riſing of the Sunne is mixed with the light; yet ſo, that the light ouercommeth, and chaſeth away darkneſſe: ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, Rom.7.25. *In my minde I ſerue the law of God; in my fleſh* (that is the corruption and darkneſſe of my nature) *the law of ſinne.*

The Proteſtants.

THere are three things to be conſidered in ſinne: firſt, the ſtaine or blot, corruption or remnant of ſinne in vs. Secondly, the guilt, fault, and offence of ſinne. Thirdly, the puniſhment and ſtipend due vnto it. By our ſpirituall waſhing in the blood of Chriſt, whereof Baptiſme is a ſeale, both the guilt, and puniſhment of our ſinnes are not onely hid and couered in Gods ſight (as our aduerſaries doe falſely charge vs to ſay:) but they are truly forgiuen vs for Chriſts ſake, and ſhall neuer be remembred any more. But yet there is left in vs ſome remnant of ſinne ſo long as we liue in this fleſh, which in the end together with the corruption and mortalitie of the bodie, ſhall be cleane taken away.

*Argum.*1. *If we ſay we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues, and the truth is not in vs,* 1.Ioh.1.8. *Ergo,* there are none liuing at any time voide of ſinne, no not in their Baptiſme. Saint *Paul* alſo exhorteth to bee renewed in minde, and to put on the new man, and put off the old, Epheſ.4.23. *Ergo,* there remaineth ſome ſinne and corruption after Baptiſme: what neede elſe this renewing of the minde, and putting on the new man afterward?

Bellarmine anſwereth: Theſe and ſuch like places muſt be vnderſtood of ſuch ſinnes as are committed after Baptiſme, or elſe of the mortifying of the ſenſes and corrupt inclinations which may prouoke vnto ſinne, but properly are not ſinne.

Contra. The Ieſuites twofold anſwere is at once ouerthrowne by that place of the Apoſtle to the Coloſſians, chap.3.verſ.5. *Mortifie your earthly members, fornication, vncleannes,* &c. Here firſt it appeareth, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not onely of corrupt inclinations, but of the ſinnes themſelues; as fornication, couetouſnes, &c. Againe, he ſaith, *Lie not one to another, ſeeing you haue put off the old man, with his workes,* verſ.9. Here the Apoſtle ſheweth, that though in Baptiſme they had put off the old mans workes, that ſinne did no longer raigne in them: yet there remained ſome corrupt inclination ſtill, which he warneth them to take heede of. The ſeedes then of ſinne and corruption were not vtterly extinguiſhed in Baptiſme.

Thirdly, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not onely of ſinnes committed after Baptiſme, but euen of that corruption, which remaineth in Baptiſme, Saint *Auguſtine* ſheweth, as he is alleaged by *Gratian.decr.par.*3.*diſt.*4 *cap.*146. *Nam in baptiſmo, quamuis plena fiat remiſſio peccatorum,* &c. For in Baptiſme, though there bee full remiſſion of ſinnes, yet there is no perfect chaunge, becauſe there remaineth ſtill ſome corruption not only in the bodie, but the minde, which is the inner man: which if it were perfectly renewed, the Apoſtle would not ſay, that he *is renewed from day to day,* 2.Cor.4. verſ.16. Fourthly, if ſinnes were fully taken away in Baptiſme, they could not afterward returne againe: *for whom God loueth, he loueth to the end,* Ioh.13.1. ſo that they ſhould not commit ſinne after Baptiſme: as now followeth to be ſhewed.

*Argum.*2. If ſinne be vtterly extinguiſhed in Baptiſme, then they which are baptized can ſinne no more: for ſinne being once extinct, reuiueth not, neither returneth being aboliſhed, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *with one offring hath he conſecrated for euer them that are ſanctified,* Heb.10.14. Wherefore if they be perfectly conſecrated in Baptiſme by the extinction of ſinne, they are for euer conſecrated: but we ſee, that the baptized may afterward commit ſinne. *Ergo.*

Anſ. Bellarmine graunteth, that the baptized may loſe the grace of God, and ſo conſequently the remiſſion of ſinnes receiued in Baptiſme: and this grace being loſt, they may afterward ſinne notwithſtanding, *cap.*14 *propoſ.*1.

Contra. It is a great queſtion among the Papiſts themſelues, whether ſinnes remitted in Baptiſme doe returne againe,ſome holding that they may returne,ſome that they may not. The Maſter of Sentences dare giue no reſolution in ſo doubtfull a queſtion, but leaueth vs in the briers, concluding thus: *Alicui parti non præiudicans ſtudioſo lectori iudicium relinquo:* Not being preiudiciall to either part, I leaue the iudgement hereof to the reader, *lib.*4 *diſtinct.*22.*b.* But others of better account then the Maſter,doe reſolue,that ſinnes once forgiuen,returne not: as *Greg.decr. par.*2.*cauſ.*33.*diſt.*4.*c.*14. *Qui recedit à Chriſto.&c. non in id quod remiſſio eſt,cecidit,&c.* He that departeth from Chriſt,doth not fall againe into that, which is remitted, but he ſhall be condemned to death for his latter ſinnes,which was due vnto thoſe that were remitted. But yet more plainly *Gelaſius,ibid.c.*24. *Diuina clementia dimiſſa peccata in vltionem vlterius redire non patitur:* The diuine clemencie doth not ſuffer ſinnes once remitted,to returne vnto our puniſhment. And the Maſter of Sentences better remembring himſelfe,alloweth theſe ſayings of *Auguſtine: Sacramenta in ſolis electis efficiunt,quod figurant:* The Sacraments doe onely effect that, which they figure in the elect. And, *Communis eſt baptiſmus omnibus baptizatis, ſed non virtus baptiſmi:* Baptiſme is common to all that are baptized, but not the vertue of Baptiſme, that is remiſſion of ſinnes, *lib.*4.*diſtinct.*1.*a.b.* Wherefore the elect in Baptiſme finde remiſſion of ſinnes for euer,ſo that their ſinnes are no more imputed vnto them; the reſt doe not at all obtaine that grace.

*Argum.*3. Originall ſinne is not taken away in Baptiſme,therefore ſome ſinne remaineth ſtill: And that this originall corruption is properly called ſinne,and is ſinne indeede,Saint *Paul* ſheweth euidently,Rom.7.verſ.7,8.where he nameth luſt and concupiſcence ſinne.

De peccat. merit.& remiſſ.lib.1.c.25 *Auguſtine* thus writeth: *Meminiſſe debemus peccatorum omnium plenam remiſſionem fieri in baptiſmo,hominis verò qualitatem non totam continuò mutari:* Wee muſt remember, that all our ſinnes are fully remitted in Baptiſme: but the qualitie of man (that is, the corruption, and ſtaine or blot of ſinne)is not wholy changed. This ſentence of *Auguſtine* is ratified,*decret.par.*3.*diſtinct.* 3.*c.*146.

*Concil.Mileuitan.cap.*8.*Placuit, vt quicunque verba ipſa dominicæ orationis,vbi dicimus,Dimitte nobis debita noſtra,ita volunt à ſanctis dici,vt humiliter, non veraciter hoc dicatur, anathema ſit: quis enim ferat orantem, & non hominibus ſed ipſi Deo mentientem:* Wee decree, that whoſoeuer taketh thoſe words of the Lords prayer,where we ſay, *forgiue vs our debts,* ſo to bee ſaid of holie men,that they rather ſay ſo of humilitie, then truly, let him bee accurſed: for ſo he that prayeth, ſhould lie vnto God,not vnto men. But this they muſt needes ſay,which affirme ſinne vtterly to be taken away: for being taken away,it remaineth not: and ſo they haue no cauſe to pray for remiſſion of ſinnes which are cleane wiped away before.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER BAPTISME ſerue onely for remiſſion of ſinnes paſt,and not for the ſinnes alſo to come.

The Papiſts.

11.Error. CHriſts death applied to man by Baptiſme, wipeth away all ſinnes paſt, for new ſinnes other remedies be daily requiſite, *Rhemiſt.Heb.*10.*ſect.*4. The Councell of Trent holdeth them accurſed,that thinke all ſinnes to bee forgiuen, *fide Baptiſmi ſuſcepti,* by faith of Baptiſme receiued, *ſeſſ.*7.*can.*10.

Hereupon their ſaying ariſeth, that *Baptiſmus eſt prima tabula poſt naufragium:* that Baptiſme is the firſt boord of refuge after ſhipwracke: *& pœnitentia eſt ſecunda tabula poſt naufragium:* Penance is the ſecond boord of refuge: So that if a man doe fall after, he muſt vſe other helpes and meanes for the remiſſion of ſinnes: for Baptiſme is not auaileable for ſinnes afterward committed, *Bellar.cap.*18.

*Argum. It is impoſſible,*ſaith the Apoſtle, *for them that haue been once lightened, and taſted of the heauenly grace,if they fall away, to be renewed by penance,* Heb.6.6.that is,they which fall away from faith and grace,after Baptiſme,cannot be baptized againe, or be illuminated,or renouated, by ſo eaſie a cleanſing of ſinnes,as the Sacrament of Baptiſme did yeeld: for to be illuminate,to bee renewed,and to crucifie Chriſt,are proper vnto Baptiſme,wherein we are illuminate,renewed,and imitate Chriſts death: *Ergo,*Baptiſme is not auaileable for remiſſion of ſinnes, which men fall into afterward, *Bellarm.cap.*18.

Anſ. Firſt, he very vnskilfully here confoundeth Baptiſme and repentance, whereas the Apoſtle doth diſtinguiſh them,verſ.1,2.making repentance from dead workes,and the doctrine of Baptiſme two diuers things; and they themſelues ſay,that Baptiſme is the firſt table of refuge,penance the ſecond: how then can they by repentance here enforce Baptiſme? And I marueile, that *Bellarmine* hath ſo ſoone forgotten himſelfe, that whereas he ſaid before, *lib.*2.*de Sacram.c.*22.*reſp. ad* 2.*ration.ſolid.*that it is not found in Scripture,that Baptiſme ſhould not be iterated, he remembred not this place,where after his ſenſe, the Apoſtle denieth repentance the ſecond time by the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

Secondly, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of this or that kind of repentance, but generally of al, ſhewing, that there is no hope of remiſſion nor grace to repent left for thoſe which fall into the grieuous ſinne of apoſtaſie, which he here deſcribeth; for they crucifie againe the Sonne of God, and make a mocke of him, verſ.6. And that the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth the ſinne of apoſtaſie, and the ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt, it appeareth by comparing that other place, Heb.10.29. with this: for there they are ſaid, to tread vnder foote the Sonne of God, and to deſpite the ſpirit of grace. The Apoſtle then cutteth off ſuch from all hope of grace, and repentance; not only barreth them from ſome ſpeciall kinde of repentance: as he ſaith, Heb.10.26. if wee ſinne willingly, that is obſtinately and of malice, there remaineth no more ſacrifice for ſinne, that is, there is no remedie at all.

Thirdly, that children are not illuminated in Baptiſme, *Auguſtine* denieth, as we haue ſeene before, *queſt.5 part.2.* and *Bellarmine* moſt abſurdly taketh the crucifying of Chriſt in the good part, whereas the Apoſtle doth giue it as a reaſon, of their great impietie, why they cannot be renewed, becauſe they doe crucifie to themſelues the Sonne of God, and make a mocke of him. The ſecond clauſe expoundeth the former: They crucifie Chriſt, that make a mocke of him: which can in no ſenſe be taken in the good part: And ſo doth *Origen* very well expound thoſe words: *Vides, quia in peccantibus, &c.* We ſee that in ſinners Chriſt is not ſaid onely to dye, but to bee crucified; but in the holy Ghoſt is ſaid to liue, &c. *Hom.2.in Iudic.*

The Proteſtants.

THe externall act of Baptiſme neither wipeth away ſinnes going before, or comming after: but it is the inward working of the ſpirit of God, which by the vertue of Chriſts death, teſtified and ſhewed forth in Baptiſme, that waſheth away our ſinnes. And Baptiſme is a ſeale of remiſſion of ſinnes, for the confirmation of our faith, euen of thoſe which are committed after Baptiſme, as well as of ſinnes done before: and although the ceremonie of Baptiſme bee not repeated, yet the vertue of Gods ſpirit teſtified thereby, remaineth to our liues end.

*Argum.*1. Mark.16.16. *He that ſhall beleeue and be baptized, ſhall be ſaued.* Wee reaſon thus, Baptiſme is a ſeale of that faith, whereby men are ſaued, or to the which ſaluation is promiſed: but that faith beleeueth remiſſion of all ſinnes both paſt and to come: therefore Baptiſme alſo ſealeth vnto vs the remiſſion of all our ſinnes, going before or following after. And here is no other thing required, but for a man to beleeue, and to apprehend Gods couenant made in Baptiſme.

Anſ. This promiſe of Chriſt is conditionall, that ſo long as they continue beleeuing, Baptiſme is a ſufficient remedie: but if they fall away from faith, then Baptiſme ſufficeth not: for if there were not a condition, then apoſtataes ſhould be ſaued, becauſe they once beleeued: *ſic Bellar.c.19. reſponſ.ad argum.1.*

Contra. Firſt, there neede no condition of perſeuerance to bee annexed to faith, ſeeing it is a propertie of true faith, neuer finally to be loſt: otherwiſe our Sauiour would not haue ſaid, Ioh.5. verſ.24. *He that beleeueth, hath paſſed from death to life:* he pronounceth as though it were alreadie done, which is but in faith, becauſe of the aſſurance thereof: wherefore apoſtataes and backſliders though they ſeemed once to beleeue, yet had no true faith, as S. *Iohn* ſaith, 1.2.19. *they went out from vs, but were not of vs.* Secondly, to admit his condition, then if a man doe continue a beleeuer, Baptiſme is a ſufficient remedie for all ſinnes that followe after: for euen in the faithfull there are ſinnes committed after Baptiſme: and if it bee ſufficient for ſinnes, that follow in ſome, why is it not by the ſame reaſon in all?

*Argum.*2. The promiſe of Baptiſme is, *that we being iuſtified by his grace, ſhould be made heires of eternall life,* Tit.3.5,7. But this promiſe of iuſtification is generall againſt all ſinnes before Baptiſme, and after: *Ergo,* ſo is Baptiſme.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that iuſtification by Chriſt is promiſed as wel in the Euchariſt as in Baptiſme; and therefore it followeth not, that they, which after their fall are iuſtified by Chriſt, are iuſtified by Baptiſme, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. We graunt that iuſtification by Chriſt is exhibited in both the Sacraments, and that both of them, as Sacraments, are remedies againſt ſinnes committed afterward: ſo then the argument thus followeth very well; Iuſtification by Chriſt is a remedie againſt all our ſinnes whatſoeuer: Baptiſme is a ſeale of iuſtification by Chriſt: *Ergo,* it is auaileable for remiſſion of all ſinnes. We doe not inferre Baptiſme onely is a ſeale thereof, which *Bellarmine* ſuppoſeth, neither doe wee conclude, that Baptiſme onely is auaileable: it is ſufficient that Baptiſme hath this vertue and efficacie, together with other helpes and remedies, as to extend it ſelfe to the ſinnes of the whole life.

*Argum.*3. Baptiſme is a ſigne and ſeale of our myſticall waſhing in the blood of Chriſt: but all our ſinnes both before and after are waſhed away by the blood of Chriſt: *Ergo,* Baptiſme doth aſſure vs of a perfite remiſſion of all our ſinnes.

Bellarmine denieth the aſſumption, that we are iuſtified formally by the righteouſnes of Chriſt, but by our owne righteouſnes inherent in vs, *reſp. ad argum.* 4.

Contra. This is a great blaſphemie, and contrarie to the Apoſtle, who ſaith, that *I might bee found, not hauing mine owne righteouſnes, which is by the law, but the righteouſnes of God through faith*, Philip. 3. 9. The righteouſnes of God by faith, is not our owne righteouſnes: but wee are iuſtified by the righteouſnes of God. *Ergo.*

So ſaith *Auguſtine: Eodem lauacro regenerationis, & verbo ſanctificationis, omnia prorſus mala hominum regeneratorum ſanantur, etiam quæ poſterius humana ignorantia aut infirmitate committuntur:* By the ſame lauer of regeneration, and word of ſanctification, all the ſinnes in men regenerate are healed; yea euen thoſe, which by humane ignorance afterward are committed: *Non vt Baptiſma, quoties peccatur, toties repetatur, ſed quia ipſo, quod ſemel datur, fit, vt non ſolum anteà, verùm etiam poſteà quorumlibet peccatorum venia fidelibus impetretur:* Not that Baptiſme, ſo oft as a man ſinneth, is to be repeated; but by vertue of that which is once giuen, it commeth to paſſe, that the faithfull haue remiſſion of their ſinnes, not onely before, but alſo after: *Ergo*, Baptiſme hath it force not onely for the preſent, but it reacheth vnto the time following.

Bellarmine anſwereth to this authoritie by a diſtinction, that Baptiſme, though not immediatly, yet mediatly ſerueth to purge ſinnes done afterward, becauſe he that is baptized, by that grace, which he receiued in Baptiſme, obtaineth remiſſion of ſinnes.

Contra. Firſt, neither doe wee ſay, that Baptiſme worketh immediatly, for the Sacraments are inſtruments and meanes of grace, and ſo mediate workers. Secondly, as he confeſſeth the ſinnes following to be remitted in Baptiſme, no otherwiſe are the ſinnes paſt, but by the grace of Chriſt ſealed vnto him, that is baptized, in Baptiſme.

Concil. Viennenſ. ſub Clem. 5. Credimus Baptiſma, quod celebratur in aqua, &c. eſſe tam adultis, quam paruulis communiter perfectum remedium ad ſalutem: Wee beleeue that Baptiſme celebrated with water, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghoſt, is both to little ones, and men of yeeres, a perfect remedie to ſaluation: If it bee a perfect remedie, then it is auaileable againſt all ſinne.

Synod. Moguntin. cap. 11. Credimus baptiſmi virtute, omne prorſus peccatum, tam originale quam actuale, remitti: We beleeue, that by the vertue of Baptiſme, all ſinne both originall and actuall is remitted. If all ſinne, then none is excluded.

Alſo wee haue plentifull teſtimonie from their owne decrees: *Part. 1. diſtinct. 23. c. 2. In baptiſmate omnia peccata, &c.* In Baptiſme all ſinnes whatſoeuer, not onely originall, but voluntarie, are remitted. *Part. 3. diſtinct. 4. c. 136. Regenerante carne tantummodo contrahitur, &c.* By the generation of the fleſh originall ſinne onely is contracted, by the regeneration of the ſpirit, there is not onely remiſſion of originall, but of voluntarie ſinnes. *Clementin. lib. 1. tit. 1. c. 1. Nos attendentes generalem efficaciam mortis Chriſti:* We conſidering the generall efficacie of Chriſts death, which by Baptiſme is applied to all, that are baptized, doe hold their opinion to be more probable, that thinke, not onely the fault to be remitted in Baptiſme, but grace alſo infuſed. By this grace infuſed in Baptiſme, euen the ſinnes afterward are remitted; how could the generall efficacie elſe of Chriſts death be ſet forth in Baptiſme?

The Maſter of Sentences alſo confeſſeth, that in thoſe, which come fainedly to Baptiſme, *poſtea cum pœnituerint, baptiſmus incipit prodeſſe*, Baptiſme beginneth to profit them afterward, vpon their repentance, *lib. 4. diſt. 4. e.* Wherefore by their owne ſentence Baptiſme is effectuall for afterward, as well as for the time paſt.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE LIBERTIE and priuiledges obtained by Baptiſme.

The Papiſts.

12. Error. 1. THey haue defined, that a man, by Baptiſme, is not onely *debitor fidei, ſed etiam vniuerſæ legis Chriſti implendæ*, is not onely a debter of the faith, but is made a debter to performe the whole law of Chriſt, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 8. can. 7.* that is, Baptiſme is not onely a ſigne of free iuſtification by faith, neither doth he which is baptized profeſſe himſelfe onely by faith to bee iuſtified, but partly alſo by his workes, and the keeping of the commaundements of Chriſt, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de Baptiſ. cap. 15.*

Argum. Matth. 19. 17. Chriſt ſaith *to the young man, if thou wilt enter into life keepe the commandements.* 2. Cor. 5. 10. *Euery man ſhall receiue according to that, which he hath done, whether good or euil. Ergo,* we are bound to keepe the law, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, Chriſt maketh that anſwere to the young man, to the intent he ſhould know himſelfe, who thought, that by his owne workes he might attaine vnto life: for otherwiſe the doctrine of the Apoſtle is plaine, that life is not by the law, as he ſaith, Galath. 3. 21. If there *had been a law,* *which could haue giuen life, ſurely righteouſnes ſhould haue been by the law.* Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, that wee ſhall *receiue according to our workes:* but he ſaith not, for our workes ſake: for as *Bernard* ſaith, our workes are *via regni, non cauſa regnandi,* are the way to the kingdome, not the cauſe of the kingdome. Thirdly, theſe places alleaged are altogether impertinent, for they onely ſhew, that we are bound to doe good workes, which we denie not, not that wee profeſſe to be ſaued by our workes.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. IN Baptiſme wee make profeſſion of our obedience, to die vnto ſinne, and riſe vp to newnes of life, Rom.6.2. yet not thereby to be iuſtified: but in being baptized wee ſhew our faith and hope, onely to looke for remiſſion of ſinnes and ſaluation of our ſoules by the death of Chriſt.

*Argum.*1. Circumciſion, in place whereof Baptiſme is giuen to vs, is called by the Apoſtle a ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith, Rom.4.11. not of the righteouſnes of works: much more then is Baptiſme, which is a Sacrament of the Goſpell, a pledge vnto vs of the iuſtice of faith.

*Argum.*2. By Baptiſme wee are freed from the curſe of the law: for it is a Sacrament of the death of Chriſt, and of all the benefits thereof: and Chriſt by his death hath borne for vs the curſe of the law, Galath.3.13. but if by Baptiſme wee binde our ſelues to the obſeruance of the law, to be iuſtified and finde life thereby, wee muſt needes fall into the curſe, becauſe wee are not able to keepe the commaundements. Wherefore ſeeing Baptiſme deliuereth vs from the curſe, it alſo exempteth vs from the workes of the law, to finde life and iuſtification thereby.

Their owne decrees are for vs: *Part.3.diſt.4.c.3. Ab ira Dei nullus liberatur niſi per fidem mediatoris, &c.* No man is deliuered from the wrath of God but by the faith of the Mediatour. But in Baptiſme we are deliuered from the wrath of God: *Ergo,* in Baptiſme onely we profeſſe to be ſaued by the faith of the Mediatour.

*Cap.*8. *Per fidem & baptiſma iuſtificamur à peccatis:* By faith and Baptiſme we are iuſtified from our ſinnes: *Ergo,* nothing elſe in Baptiſme requiſite, but faith.

The Papiſts.

2. ALthough Chriſtians are bound by ſolemne vow in Baptiſme to walke in obedience before God, and to keepe his commaundements: yet are they not therefore freed and exempted from the obſeruance of the lawes and ordinances of men, which they are bound in conſcience to keepe, and vnder paine of damnation, *Bellarm.cap.*16. 13.Error

The Proteſtants.

BAptiſme onely bindeth vs to keepe the commaundements of God; and ſo farre forth alſo to obey men, as they commaund things lawfull: but wee muſt not bee brought in bondage to mens traditions, and obſeruations, ſeeing we are the Lords free men, and by Baptiſme conſecrate to his ſeruice.

Argum. Matth.28.19. Goe and teach, baptizing them, &c. and teaching them to obſerue all that I haue commanded you: *Ergo,* Baptiſme bindeth vs onely to the obſeruation of Gods precepts. 1.Cor.7.23. Ye are bought with a price, be not the ſeruants of men: Baptiſme is a ſigne of the death of Chriſt, the price of our redemption: *Ergo,* we are freed from all meere humane ſeruice, in receiuing of Baptiſme. For this cauſe is it called the Baptiſme of Chriſt. *Auguſtine* ſaith, Contr.Petil. lib.3.55. *Paulus dixiſſe legitur Euangelium meum: baptiſmum autem Chriſti nemo Apoſtolorum ita vnquam miniſtrauit, vt auderet dicere ſuum: Paul* is read to haue ſaid, My Goſpell: but neuer any of the Apoſtles durſt call the Baptiſme of Chriſt their Baptiſme: *Ergo,* ſeeing it is the Baptiſme of Chriſt, and we are onely baptized in his name, not in our owne name, or the name of men: we muſt onely hope to be ſaued by faith in him, and become his ſeruants wholy.

Bellarmine anſwereth, firſt Chriſt in bidding his Apoſtles to obſerue all, that he had commanded, doth alſo implie, that they ſhould teach to bee obſerued the lawes of Prelates, for that is one of his commandements alſo: Luk.10.16. *He that heareth you, heareth me.* Secondly, S. *Paul* forbiddeth not the ſeruice of men abſolutely, but as it is contrary to the ſeruice of God: *Bellarmine cap.*16.

Contra. To the firſt we replie, 1. To heare the Apoſtles and Miniſters of the Church teaching the ſame that Chriſt taught, is to heare Chriſt himſelfe, and ſo is one of his commandements: but when Prelates do clogge mens conſciences with ſuperſtitious rites, contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt, as popiſh Prelates doe, they are not to be heard, nor obeyed: no, an Angell is not to be receiued preaching otherwiſe, then Chriſt and his Apoſtles haue laid the foundation, Galat.1.8. Secondly, concerning the lawes of Prelates, it muſt be conſidered, that they are of three ſorts: for eyther they are as touching faith and doctrine, which, if they be agreeable to the doctrine of the Apoſtles, are of the ſame authoritie, and ſimply to be receiued: either they are of externall orders and politike conſtitutions, which, though obedience muſt be yeelded vnto; yet they do not ſimply bind in conſcience, as the lawes of God, but onely ſo farre, as we are bound in conſcience generally, do obey our Superiours in all lawfull things; eyther they are the meere deuiſes, and ſuperſtitious inuentions of men, ſuch as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, Coloſſ.2.21. *Touch not, taſt not, handle not, which are after the doctrines of men, &c.* The firſt kind wee profeſſe obedience to in Baptiſme abſolutely, becauſe they are no other but the precepts of Chriſt; to the ſecond not abſolutely, but as we haue ſaid; to the third not at all.

To the ſecond we replie, firſt, that to be a ſeruant of men, is no ſenſe allowed in the Scripture; as Matth.6.24. *No man can ſerue two Maſters*: and Galath.1.10. *If I ſhould pleaſe* (that is ſerue) *men, I ſhould not be the ſeruant of Chriſt*: ſo, when we ſerue men for the Lords ſake, in lawfull things; we ſerue not men, but God. Secondly, to yeeld to the ſuperſtitious iniunctions of Prelates, ſuch as moſt in Poperie are, is a meere ſeruice of men: for ſuch the Apoſtle calleth the precepts and doctrines of men, Coloſſ.2.22. and therefore obedience to ſuch is contrary to our dutie and ſeruice to God.

Laſtly, as touchiug the ceremonious rites and obſeruations of men, their owne decrees do teſtifie for vs, *par.1. diſtinct.12.c.12. Quamuis ne hoc inuenri poſſit, &c.* Although it appeare not, how they are againſt the faith, yet they do oppreſſe Religion with ſeruile burdens, which God in mercie hath left free with moſt few and manifeſt Sacraments, ſo that the condition of the Iewes is more tolerable, who were ſubiect onely to legall preſcriptions, not to humane preſumptions: if ceremonies not apparantly contrarie to the faith, muſt be reſtrained for their multitudes, how much more ſuch as do oppugne the faith.

The Papiſts.

THey hold, that notwithſtanding the vow of Chriſtianitie, and obedience made ſolemnely in Baptiſme, yet other vowes made before or after vnto God or Saints, as vowes of ſingle life, to go in pilgrimage, to offer to ſuch a Saint, and ſuch like do ſtand ſtill in force, and ought to be performed: *Bellarm.c.17.* And, whoſoeuer ſhall ſay, that ſuch vowes made after Baptiſme, do derogate to the faith profeſſed in Baptiſme, as to Baptiſme it ſelfe, let him be accurſed, *concil. Trident. de Baptiſmo can.9.*

The Proteſtants.

THat all ſuch vowes being ſome of them impoſſible, ſome of them impious, and ſuperſtitious, ſome ſuperfluous and vnneceſſary, are diſanulled by the vow of Baptiſme, neither can ſtand in force without great derogation to the ſame, thus we doe proue it.

*Argum.*1. The things which are vowed are either commaunded, or not commaunded: ſuch things, which are commaunded vs of God, wee doe profeſſe and vow to keepe in Baptiſme, as to forſake the diuell, the world, and the fleſh: but ſuch things as are not preſcribed of God, but commaunded of men, wee doe not vow in Baptiſme to keepe; nay, they are contrarie to our vow in Baptiſme, whereby we are made the ſeruants onely of God, and not of men: *Ergo,* vowes of ſuch things are contrarie to the vow of Baptiſme.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that wee are bound rather by Baptiſme to keepe our vowes, becauſe wee vow to keepe all Gods commaundements, whereof this is one, not to breake our vowes, *cap.17.*

Contra. All lawfull vowes and promiſes of obedience are indeede faithfully to bee performed vnto God: but vnlawfull vowes, ſuch as are many in Poperie tending to ſuperſtition, are neither to bee made, nor being made are to bee kept: neither doth God commaund vs to performe ſuch vowes; but they are like *Iepthahs* vow, and *Herods* oth, both which might better haue been reuoked, then performed, as they were.

*Argum.*2. If other vowes to be made after Baptiſme are requiſite, then were the vow in Baptiſme inſufficient, other vowes being added thereunto: but now it is moſt ſufficient. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the argument followeth not, for after Baptiſme receiued, it is neceſſarie to heare the word of God, and to celebrate the other Sacraments; yet theſe doe not make Baptiſme inſufficient for the proper end thereof, which is the ſaluation of man: no more then doth the acceſſion of other vowes derogate to the ſufficiencie of the vow in Baptiſme, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, there is no compariſon betweene the word of God and the Euchariſt (which are of Gods inſtitution, and therefore to bee vſed as neceſſarie helpes of our faith,) and the vnprofitable inuentions of men, which are not ordained of God: they cannot derogate to Baptiſme, hauing all one author; but the other doe, for as much as mans inuentions cannot ſtand together with Gods inſtitution. Secondly, the word preached, and the Euchariſt doe not make Baptiſme inſufficient, becauſe they haue all their ſpeciall vſes and ends; Baptiſme to ſeale vnto vs our new birth, the word to beget faith, and the Euchariſt to confirme it: but like as, if another Baptiſme ſhould bee added to the firſt, the one were a derogation to the other; ſo many vowes comming after the vow of Baptiſme, muſt needes make the firſt inſufficient.

Auguſtines iudgement is this: *De tempor. ſerm.7. Sunt multi, qui vouent, &c.* There bee many that vow, one a cloake, another oyle, another a waxe candle; another, that he will drink no wine; another, that he will faſt; another, that he will eate no fleſh: this is not the beſt, nor the perfecteſt kind of vowing; God neyther careth for thy comely apparell, nor for thy oyle, or faſting : but offer that vnto him, which he hath redeemed, that is, thy ſoule.

Likewiſe *Origen* thus writeth, *homil.13.in Exod. Non vult Moſes vt offeras aliquid quod extra te eſt,&c. Moſes* will not haue thee offer any thing without thee : Take (ſaith he) from among your ſelues, and offer vnto God, as euery man hath conceiued in his heart. What, doth ſiluer or gold grow within me? offer vnto God gold for the Tabernacle, that is, the faith of thy heart : this then is the onely vow, which we offer vnto God, which we promiſe and profeſſe in Baptiſme.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF THE DIFference betweene the Baptiſme of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the Baptiſme of *Iohn*.

The Papiſts.

THe Baptiſme of *Iohn* (they ſay) was of another kind then Chriſts Baptiſme was, neither was it ſufficient without Chriſts Baptiſme, nor had the like force or efficacie, as his Baptiſme had: and therefore ſuch as had been baptized of *Iohn*, were afterward admitted to Chriſts Baptiſme, *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ* 8.*can.*1.*Bellarm.lib.*1.*de baptiſ.cap.*20.21. 14. Error.

*Argum.*1. Matth.3.11.*Iohn* himſelfe ſaith, I baptize you with water, but he ſhall baptize you with the holy Ghoſt : *Ergo, Iohns* Baptiſme and Chriſts not all one : for *Iohns* Baptiſme gaue not the holy Ghoſt, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Iohn ſpeaketh not of diuers Baptiſmes, but of diuers operations and miniſteries, in one and the ſame Baptiſme : for *Iohn*, as all other miniſters doe, did but giue water ; and Chriſt working together with them, giueth the holy Ghoſt. But it will be anſwered, that *Iohn* ſaith not, he doth baptize, but he ſhall baptize : *Ergo,* Chriſt did not baptize together with *Iohn* by his ſpirit. *Bellarm. cap.*21.

Anſw. The ſame *Iohn* in another place ſpeaketh of Chriſt in the preſent tenſe, Ioh.1.33. *This is he which baptizeth with the holy Ghoſt : Ergo,* Chriſt did both then baptize with his ſpirit, and afterwards alſo more manifeſtly, when the gifts of the ſpirit began to be ſhed forth more plentifully vpon men. Alſo he ſaith, *Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world,* Ioh.1.29. he euen then, when *Iohn* baptized, did take away ſinnes. And againe, *Iohn* teſtifieth of him, verſ.16. *of his fulnes haue we all receiued:* euen then Chriſt baptized with the ſpirit, which was to receiue of his fulnes.

Bellarmine replieth : firſt, that Chriſt is ſaid to baptize with the ſpirit, not that then hee baptized, but to ſignifie, that when he baptized, he ſhould not onely baptize with water, but with the ſpirit. Secondly, Chriſt did not then take away ſinnes, but it is ſignified, that he afterward by his death ſhould take away the ſinnes of the world. Thirdly, they receiued of his grace and fulnes, but by other meanes, than by the baptiſme of *Iohn. Bellarm.cap.*21.

Contra. Firſt, if Chriſt then onely began to baptize with the ſpirit, when he baptized with water, it would follow, that he neuer baptized with the ſpirit : for it is certaine that he baptized not with water, Ioh.4.2. Againe, that he at that inſtant baptized with the ſpirit, it is euident by *Iohns* words, verſ.33. *Hee that ſent mee to baptize, ſaid vnto mee, vpon whom thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirite come downe,&c. this is he which baptizeth with the holy Ghoſt* : Chriſt then immediatly at the comming downe of the ſpirite, baptized with the ſpirite: vnleſſe they wil ſay he receiued the ſpirite in vaine.

Secondly, it is very groſſe and abſurd to ſay that Chriſt did not take away the ſinnes of the world before his death; for the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, Pſal.32.1. *Bleſſed are they, whoſe ſinnes are forgiuen:* euen vnder the law by faith in Chriſt to come they found remiſſion of ſinnes. Thirdly, that *Iohns* Baptiſme and miniſtrie was not an inſtrument of the grace of Chriſt, it is contrary to the Scripture, *Luc.*1.16. *He ſhall turne many of the children of Iſrael to the Lord their God.*

Laſtly, that Chriſt and *Iohn* baptized together, the one viſibly, the other inuiſibly, S. *Ambroſe* thus teſtifieth, vpon theſe words, *I baptize you with water : Cito probauit,&c.* He proueth that he is not Chriſt, becauſe he worketh viſibly, &c. The bodie is waſhed with water, the ſoule by the ſpirite : we do one thing, and call vpon another ; *Sed hac inter ſe diuiſa eſſe non poſſunt,&c.* But theſe things cannot be deuided, *in* 3.*cap.Luc.*

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* baptized tweelue men at Epheſus with Chriſts Baptiſme that had receiued *Iohns* before, Act.19.4.5. *Ergo, Iohns* Baptiſme was not the ſame that Chriſts was, *Bellarmine.*

Anſw. There can be no ſuch thing gathered out of that place, for thoſe words in the 5.verſ. *When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Ieſus,* are parte of the narration which *Paul* maketh of *Iohns* Baptiſme : ſo that the ſenſe is this, they that heard *Iohns* doctrine, were baptized in the name of the Lord Ieſus. It is not ſo to be read, as though they were baptized againe of *Paul* but he layeth onely his hands vpon them, that had before receiued the baptiſme of *Iohn*.

Bellarmine replyeth, that this place cannot be ſo expounded: for if the fourth and fift verſes containe onely a narration of *Iohns* Baptiſme, then were the people baptized twiſe: for in the fourth verſe it is ſaid, *Iohn* baptized with the Baptiſme of repentance. And againe, in the fift verſe, when they heard it they were baptized.

Contra. Firſt, it followeth not that they were twiſe baptized, becauſe the word is here twiſe vſed: for firſt the Apoſtle ſetteth downe *Iohns* office in whole together, and then proſecuteth the two parts thereof; firſt his preaching in the fourth, and then his baptiſme in the fift verſe.

Secondly, but that this is a narration, not of Saint *Luke* concerning Saint *Pauls* baptiſme, but of Saint *Paul* concerning *Iohns* baptiſme; thus it appeareth: firſt, by the Greeke particles μὲν in the fourth verſe, and δὲ in the fift, which doe one anſwere to another, and ſhew a neceſſary coherence and connexion of both verſes together. Secondly, *Iohns* preaching and his baptiſme doe beſt agree together: *Iohn* preached to the people that they ſhould beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt, verſ.4. and then it followeth, they were baptized in the name of Ieſus, verſ.5. So then Iohn baptized in his name, whom he preached: but he preached Ieſus Chriſt, therefore he baptized alſo in his name: and if he baptized in Ieſus name, then would not Saint *Paul* haue baptized them againe. Thirdly, how is it like, that theſe men being at Epheſus, ſo farre off from Iudea, where *Iohn* baptized, and ſo long time after, not leſſe then 30. yeeres from the death of *Iohn Baptiſt*, could haue been baptized of *Iohn?* wherefore they are ſaid to bee baptized to *Iohns* baptiſme, not that they were baptized by the hands of *Iohn*, but had receiued that baptiſme, whereof *Iohn* was the firſt Miniſter, for Chriſt baptized not, but *Iohn* in Chriſts name. Fourthly, if Saint *Paul* had baptized them, it is moſt like he would haue baptized them in the name of the holy Ghoſt, whereof they doubted: but they are baptized in the name of Ieſus: that is, the people that heard *Iohn*, not the twelue men, whom *Paul* found at Epheſus. Fiftly, the Apoſtles by laying on of handes without Baptiſme conferred the holy Ghoſt, as it may appeare, Act.8.17. where *Simon* would haue giuen money, that on whomſoeuer alſo he laid his hands, they might receiue the holy Ghoſt: neyther do we find, that the impoſition of hands, was vſed in Baptiſme. So then as Act.8.16. it is ſaid; *The holy Ghoſt as yet was come downe vpon none of them, but they were baptized onely in the name of the Lord Ieſus:* and it followeth, *Then layd they their hands vpon them, and they receiued the holy Ghoſt:* they are not baptized againe, but onely confirmed with laying on of hands: ſo in this place, they had receiued the Baptiſme of *Iohn*, which was nothing els, but to be baptized in the name of Ieſus, and then the Apoſtle layeth on his hands, and they receiue the gift of the holy Ghoſt: they are no more baptized, then the diſciples at Samaria, Act.8.16. Laſtly, S. *Ambroſe* iudgement vpon this place is this, *lib.1. de ſpirit.c.3. Iohannes in remiſſionem peccatorum in aduenientis Ieſu nomine non in ſuo baptizabat, &c.* *Iohn* did baptize in the name of Chriſt, not his owne name for the remiſſion of ſinnes: but they in the 19. of the Actes had not receiued Baptiſme in the name of Chriſt, as *Iohn* vſed to baptize: and therefore they were baptized in the name of Chriſt Ieſus, neither was Baptiſme iterated in them, but renewed, for there is but one Baptiſme: S. *Ambroſe*, though hee thinke, that theſe twelue were baptized by S. *Paul*; yet ſo thinketh, becauſe indeed they had not receiued *Iohns* Baptiſme, which hee holdeth to be one Baptiſme, with the Baptiſme of Chriſt.

Argum. 3. The Baptiſme of *Iohn* had not the inuocation of the Trinitie, as the Baptiſme of Chriſt hath: *Ergo*, it is not the ſame: *Bellarmine cap.* 20.

Anſw. Firſt, that there was the preſence and inuocation of the Trinitie in the Baptiſme of *Iohn*, it appeareth Matth. 3. where, when Chriſt came to *Iohn* to be baptized, God the father ſpake from heauen, God the Sonne was in the water, the holy Ghoſt deſcended in the likeneſſe of a Doue: and Iohn 1.33. *He that ſent me to baptize with water:* Here is the authoritie of God the father in *Iohns* Baptiſme: *Said vnto me, vpon whom thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirit come downe, &c. hee it is that baptizeth with the holy Ghoſt*; here is the name and authoritie of God the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. The Maſter of ſentences is of this opinion; *Tunc inuocato nomine Trinitatis, inſtitutus eſt in Iordane Baptiſmus, &c.* Then in Iordane the name of the Trinitie being inuocated, Baptiſme was inſtituted, when the myſterie of the Trinitie appeared: *lib.4.diſt.3.g.* Secondly, *Iohn* vſed the ſame forme in baptizing, which the Apoſtles did; they baptized in the name of the Lord Ieſus, Act.2.38. Act.8.16. and ſo did *Iohn*, Act.19.4. and this S. *Ambroſe* teſtifieth, that *Iohn* baptized in the name of Chriſt, *lib.1. de ſpiritu, c.3.* and therefore it is not vnlike, but that *Iohn* baptized in the name of the Trinitie, as the Apoſtles did: though the name of Ieſus onely be expreſſed, becauſe thereby is ſignified the end and ſcope of Baptiſme for remiſſion of ſinnes, rather then an exact, and preciſe forme of Baptiſme.

The Proteſtants.

That *Iohns* Baptiſme was not diuers from Chriſts Baptiſme, but was all one with it in propertie and effect, and that they which were baptized by *Iohn*, were baptized in the name of Chriſt, and therefore needed not againe to be baptized: thus it is made manifeſt out of Scripture.

*Argum.*1. *Iohns* Baptiſme differed not in the matter of the Sacrament, for he baptized with water as Chriſts Apoſtles did. There was alſo the ſame forme of both, the word of God: for *Iohn* alſo taught the people to beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt that was to come, Act.19.4. There was alſo the ſame ſcope and end of *Iohns* Baptiſme: For he preached the Baptiſme of repentance, for remiſſion of ſinnes, Mark.1.4. *Ergo*, it was the ſame with the Baptiſme of Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that *Iohn* did not baptize vnto remiſſion of ſinnes, but vnto repentance: his Baptiſme did incite and ſtirre vp to repentance, and ſo conſequently they which repented, obtayned remiſſion of ſinnes.

Contra. Firſt, *Iohn* preached the Baptiſme of repentance to remiſſion of ſinnes, Luk.3.3. which is all one with the Baptiſme which *Peter* miniſtred, Act.2.38. *Repent and be baptized in the name of the Lord Ieſus, for remiſſion of ſinnes*: repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes is the ſcope both of *Iohns* and *Peters* Baptiſme. *Bellarmine* replieth, that repentance went before *Peters* Baptiſme, as a preparation vnto it, but it followed *Iohns* as the effect. *Contra.* Firſt, it appeareth, Luk.3.12. that the Publicanes which came to be baptized, firſt confeſſed their ſinnes, ſaying, *Maſter, what ſhall we doe?* and therefore repentance alſo went before *Iohns* Baptiſme. Secondly, if *Iohns* Baptiſme wrought repentance, then conſequently alſo it aſſured them of remiſſion of ſinnes: for where there is true repentance, there is remiſſion. Thirdly, S. *Ambroſe*, as I haue ſhewed, ſaith, that *Iohn* did baptize *in remiſſionem peccatorum*: for remiſſion of ſinnes.

*Argum.*2. If the baptiſme inſtituted by Chriſt were another Baptiſme, then *Iohns* was, and yet he himſelfe was Baptized of *Iohn*: then it would follow, that we are baptized now with another Baptiſme, then Chriſt himſelfe was, for he receiued *Iohns* Baptiſme: but this were very abſurd to ſay, that there is not the ſame Baptiſme of the head and the members, of Chriſt and his Church: *Ergo*, *Iohns* Baptiſme all one with Chriſts.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that it was more conuenient for Chriſt to receiue *Iohns* Baptiſme, then his owne, leaſt he ſhould haue been thought himſelfe to ſtand in neede of regeneration.

Contra. 1. *Iohn* alſo baptized for remiſſion of ſinnes: therefore if there had been any ſuch danger, Chriſt might haue been thought to neede remiſſion of ſinnes, by receiuing *Iohns* Baptiſme. 2. Chriſt was not baptized for any cauſe in himſelfe, but to giue an example to vs: *For ſo it became him to fulfill all righteouſnes*: not to preſcribe lawes to others, whereof he had not been the firſt practizer himſelfe: ſo was he circumciſed, his mother purified: ſo did he celebrate his laſt Supper with his Apoſtles, not for his owne vſe, but for our example: In his owne perſon for our benefite to conſecrate theſe holy inſtitutions.

Againe, the Apoſtles were baptized with none other, then *Iohns* Baptiſme, for Chriſt baptized none: neither doth the Scripture make mention of any Baptiſme that they receiued, ſauing when he waſhed their feete, Iohn 15. S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh doubtfully, as hee is alleaged alſo, *decret. part.*3. *diſtinct.*4.*c.*147. *Apoſtolos intelligimus iam fuiſſe baptizatos, &c.* We vnderſtand that the Apoſtles were baptized, eyther with the Baptiſme of *Iohn* as ſome thinke, or which is more credible, with the Baptiſme of Chriſt: but it is contrarie to the Scriptures, that Chriſt baptized any, Ioh.4.1. therefore they were baptized with *Iohns* Baptiſme: ſeeing then that both Chriſt and his Apoſtles receiued *Iohns* Baptiſme, it muſt needs be the ſame with Chriſts.

So witneſſeth *Leo* 1. *Epiſtol. cap.*6. and it is rehearſed in the decrees, *part.*3. *diſt.*3.*c.*14. *Sic voluit Chriſtus baptizari, &c.* Chriſt ſo was baptized, as it pleaſed him to be circumciſed. And a little after: He did conſecrate in himſelfe the Sacrament of his owne baptiſme, ſo ſhewing himſelfe, as he is the chiefe, ſo in all things to be the firſt: Chriſt therefore was baptized with his owne Baptiſme.

S. *Ambroſe* alſo thus ſaith, *Serm.*41. *Ergo fratres tingi debemus eodem fonte, quo Chriſtus*: Wherefore brethren we muſt be dipped in the ſame fountaine with Chriſt, that we may be the ſame that he is. And the Maſter of Sentences ſaith, *Inſtitutio facta eſt baptiſmi, &c.* Baptiſme was inſtituted, when Chriſt was baptized in Iordane: *Ergo*, Chriſt was baptized with his owne baptiſme.

*Argum.*3. The Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ.4.5. *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſme*: but *Iohns* faith was the ſame with Chriſts faith, for he taught the people to beleeue in Chriſt, Act.19.4. *Ergo*, his baptiſme was one with Chriſts.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, by this reaſon wee may proue, that *Moſes* and *Dauid* had alſo the baptiſme of Chriſt, for they had the ſame faith, &c.

Contra. Firſt, he anſwereth very abſurdly, ſeeing the Apoſtle ſpeaketh manifeſtly of thoſe times then preſent: therefore he ſhould haue firſt ſhewed that *Moſes* and *Dauid* had any Baptiſme at all, and then wee would alſo haue anſwered, what kinde of Baptiſme it was. Secondly, and yet that Baptiſme wherewith *Moſes* and the Iſraelites were baptized in the red ſea, and the clowd, was ſpiritually the ſame that Chriſts Baptiſme is, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, 1.Cor.10.2.

Secondly, ſaith he, it would alſo follow by this reaſon, that heretikes haue not the Baptiſme of Chriſt, becauſe they haue not the ſame faith: and therfore the Apoſtle doth not thus reaſon, There is one faith,therefore one Baptiſme : but exhorteth them to vnitie, becauſe they had all one faith, and one Baptiſme.

Contra. Firſt, heretikes haue the Baptiſme of Chriſt, if they baptize in the faith of Chriſt; otherwiſe they haue not the ſame Baptiſme : for an heretike baptizing in the name of the Trinitie, baptizeth in the faith of the Trinitie, howſoeuer he beleeue to himſelfe : and therefore this obiection notwithſtanding, there is one faith and one Baptiſme. Secondly, how could the Apoſtle perſwade to vnitie, becauſe they had all one Baptiſme,writing to the Epheſians, amongſt whom there were ſome,that had receiued onely *Iohns* Baptiſme, Act.19.43.if *Iohns* Baptiſme and Chriſts had not beene all one? Thirdly, S. *Ambroſe* proueth that *Iohns* Baptiſme could not be iterated, by this place,*vnum Baptiſmum*,one Baptiſme,*lib.*1.*de ſpirit.c.*3.And ſo alſo *Leo* enforceth this place, that Baptiſme is not to be iterated,becauſe there is but one.

Decret.p.2. c.1.qu.7. c.51.

Bellarmine denieth,that the proper end and ſcope of *Iohns* Baptiſme was for remiſſion of ſinnes: yet *Auguſtine* granteth it, who notwithſtanding being carried away with the error of that time, doth elſewhere put ſome difference betweene the Baptiſme of *Iohn* and Chriſt: *Si quis contendat in baptiſmo Iohannis dimiſſa eſſe peccata,non ago pugnaciter:* If any man wil contend,that remiſſion of ſinnes alſo was giuen in *Iohns* Baptiſme, I will not be againſt it. There being then the ſame proper end and ſcope of both theſe Baptiſmes,how can they chooſe but be all one?

De Baptiſt. cont.Donatiſt.lib.5.c.14.

I will laſtly vrge againſt them their owne Maſter, who thinketh, that they which did not *Spem ponere in Baptiſmo Ioannis*,put their truſt in *Iohns* Baptiſme were not baptized againe, *lib.*4.*diſt.*2.*f.* but none by him baptized ſo did; for hee taught them to beleeue in Chriſt. Act.19.4. *Ergo*, his Baptiſme was not iterated, and ſo conſequently was the ſame with Chriſts Baptiſme.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE CEREmonies and rites of Baptiſme.

The Papiſts.

15.Error

THey haue brought into the Sacrament of Baptiſme a multitude of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, whereby they haue greatly polluted the holy ſacrament of Baptiſme, mixing therewith their owne inuentions.

Firſt before Baptiſme,they haue deuiſed theſe toyes to be vſed.Firſt,they doe exorciſe,coniure, and exufflate the euill ſpirit from the partie to be baptized. Secondly, they touch the eares and noſtrels with ſpittle, that his eares may be opened to heare the word, and his noſtrels, to diſcerne betweene the ſmell of good and euill. Thirdly, the Prieſt ſigneth his eyes, eares, mouth, breaſt, forehead,noſtrels,with the ſigne of the croſſe,that all his ſenſes thereby may be defended.Fourthly, then hallowed ſalt is put into his mouth, that he may be ſeaſoned with wiſedome, and be kept from putrifying in ſin. Fiftly, the partie is annoynted then with oyle in his breaſt,that he may be ſafe from euill ſuggeſtions,and betweene the ſhoulders,which ſignifieth the receiuing of ſpirituall ſtrength.

Secondly,theſe ceremonies doe accompany Baptiſme it ſelfe. 1. The font and water therein is conſecrated and hallowed,in the name of the Father,the Sonne,and holy Ghoſt. 2. He is thrice dipped in the water, to ſignifie the being of Chriſt 3. dayes in the graue.

Thirdly,after Baptiſme,they haue this vſe, 1. He is annointed with holy Chriſme in the top of the head, and thereby is become a Chriſtian. 2. A white garment is put vpon him, to betoken his regeneration. 3. A vaile is put vpon his head, in token that he is now crowned with a royall Diademe. 4. A burning taper is put into his hand, to fulfill that ſaying in the Goſpell, *Let your light ſo ſhine before men.&c. Bellarm.lib.*1.*de Baptiſm.*25.26.27.*Catechiſm. Rom.p.*310.*Gabr.Biel.lib.*4.*diſtinct.*6.*quaſt.*3.

The Proteſtants.

AGainſt theſe popiſh ceremonies,which they vſe in Baptiſme,we doe reaſon thus.

1. It is contrary to the rule of the Goſpell,that there ſhould be ſuch types,ſhadowes,ſignifications,brought into the ſeruice of God,as they make in Baptiſme : for ſeeing we haue the bodie which is Chriſt,all ſuch ſhadowes ought to be aboliſhed.Coloſſ.2.17.

2 In one Sacrament they haue forged and found out many, as their chriſme, oyle,ſalt,ſpittle: which they make not onely ſeales of holy things,but giuers and conferrers of grace,which is more then any Sacrament can haue : and it is contrary to the Scripture : for the ſpirit of God is as the winde that bloweth,where it liſteth,Ioh.3. It is not tied to creatures, elements, externall ſignes, as they include the ſpirit (as it were) in theſe outward things, which haue power (as they affirme) to giue wiſdome, ſtrength, power againſt the diuell, and ſuch like. But S.*Paul* ſaith, that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, 2.Cor.10.4. The meanes whereby Chriſtians both obtaine ſpirituall graces and ſhend them from euil, are ſpiritual : For if in Chriſt Circumciſion auaile not any thing, which was notwithſtanding inſtituted of God; but faith is all in all, Galath.

lath.*5.6.* much more vaine and vnauailable are the deuiſes and inuentions of men.

3 This beggerly company of ceremonies doth alſo deface and impugne the ſincere and pure inſtitution of Chriſt: None of thoſe ceremonies were vſed when Chriſt himſelfe was baptized, Matth.3.which notwithſtanding had been moſt fitte,conſidering the worthines of his perſon that was baptized: Neither did Chriſt giue any ſuch thing in charge to his apoſtles,but biddeth them onely preach, and baptize in the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt, Matth.28.19. nor yet were any ſuch ceremonies in vſe in the Apoſtles time, S.*Peter* ſaith, Act.10.47. Can any man forbid water,that theſe ſhould not be baptized? He calleth not for oyle, ſalt, ſpittle, or any ſuch thing,but onely for water.

Auguſtine vtterly miſliketh this comberſome rabble of needles ceremonies, ***Ipſam religionem, quam Deus pauciſſimis ſacramentis liberam eſſe voluit, oneribus premunt, &c.*** They doe cumber religion with their burdenſome inuentions, which Chriſt made free with a very fewe Sacraments: ſo that the Iewes caſe was more tolerable, who though they knew not the libertie of the Goſpell,yet were ſubiect to the legall ceremonies,not to the inuentions of men.

Epiſtol.119. cap.1.alleaged decret.part.1. diſt.12.cap.12.

And is it not euen thus (I pray you) in the popiſh Church? for neuer was Iewiſh Circumciſion ſtuffed with the third part of ceremonies,which their Baptiſme is defiled withall.

Againſt the ſuperſtitious vſe of ſome of theſe ceremonies, as againſt the thrice dipping of the child in the water,we haue the manifeſt decree,*Concil.Toletan.4.cap.5.* and it is ratified *decret part.3.diſt.4.cap.85.* ***Propter vitandum ſchiſmatis ſcandalum, vel hæretici dogmatis vſum, ſimplam teneamus baptiſmi merſionem,&c.*** To auoide the ſcandale of ſchiſme,and the vſe or faſhion of heretikes; let vs in Baptiſme dippe but once, leſt they, which vſe to dippe thrice, ſeeme to approue in ſo doing the heretikes aſſertion, following their cuſtome, who deuide the deitie, as they doe number their dippings. The Tritheiſtes that made 3. Goddes, vſed to dippe thrice: and therefore the Councel thought good,that Catholikes ſhould dippe but once.

Decret.Greg.lib.3.tit.42.c.5.Innocentius 3.determineth that they were not baptized,***Quos ſaliuæ conſperſione,&c.*** Whom certaine did annoint with ſpittle,&c.their owne Maſter ſaith,***Non in alio liquore conſecrari poteſt Baptiſmus, niſi in aqua:*** Baptiſme cannot be conſecrated in any other liquor, but water: *lib.4.diſtinct.3.h.* what neede then, oyle,creame, ſpittle, and ſuch like,&c?

See the teſtimonie alſo of the Martyrs: ***Thomas Haukes:*** I deny in Baptiſme all things inuented, and deuiſed by man: as your oyle, creame, ſalt, ſpittle, candle, coniuring of water, ***Fox.*** pag.1583.

Iohn Denley holy Martyr. The Eunuch ſaid to ***Phillip: See here is water:*** we doe not reade,that he asked for any creame,oyle,ſpittle,coniured water: for it ſeemeth that ***Phillip*** had preached no ſuch thing vnto him,&c.p.1685.

THE THIRTEENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE, OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORDS SVPPER, OR EVCHARIST.

THis Controuerſie hath two partes: Firſt, of the Sacrament it ſelfe. Secondly, of the ſacrifice, which they ſay, is offered vp in the Sacrament: which they call the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE SACRAment of the Euchariſt.

THis part of the controuerſie ſtandeth vpon diuers queſtions:Firſt,whether the body of Chriſt be really and ſubſtantially in the Sacrament. Secondly, whether the elements of bread and wine be changed,conuerted,and tranſubſtantiate into the very body and fleſh of Chriſt.Thirdly, whether the Euchariſt remaine a Sacrament after the vſe and celebration. Fourthly, of the outward elements in this Sacrament. Fiftly,of the words of conſecration. Sixtly, of the proper effect of the Lords Supper. Seuenthly, of the manner of celebrating it. Eightly, whether it ought to be miniſtred in one kind.Ninthly,whether it is to be adored.

THE FIRST QVESTION, CONCERNING the reall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

16.Error. Fox.1135. articul.1.6. articul. IN the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, vnder the formes of bread and wine, by the efficacie of the word of Chriſt ſpoken by the Prieſt, is really, verily, and ſubſtantially preſent, the natural body and bloud of Chriſt, which was conceiued of the virgine *Marie*; the ſame body, that is now in heauen, *Rhemiſt. Matth.26.ſect.4.* yet after another manner: For he is in heauen according to the naturall exiſtence of his bodie: in the Sacrament, he is really preſent in his fleſh, yet ſacramentally by his omuipotent power, *Concil.Trid.ſeſſ.13.can.1.*

*Argum.*1. The figures muſt be inferiour to the things that are figured and repreſented: the Sacraments of the lawe were figures of the Sacraments in the Goſpell: therefore they ought to be inferior. But vnleſſe the bread and wine ſhould be the verie blood and fleſh of Chriſt in the Sacrament: their Sacraments in the law ſhould not onely not be inferior, but farre ſuperior to ours. As for example, the Paſchall Lambe is in nature to be preferred before bread, and the ſlaying of the Lambe did more liuely repreſent the death of Chriſt, then the breaking of bread; the eating of fleſh doth alſo better ſet forth the ſpirituall nouriſhing, then the eating of bread. Wherefore, vnleſſe we beleeue a reall preſence in the Sacrament, their ſacrifices, in dignitie and excellencie, ſhould farre exceede and excell ours, *Bellarm.lib.1.de ſacram.Euchariſt.cap.3.*

*Anſw.*1. It is not true, that their Sacraments were figures of ours: But S.*Paul* ſheweth, that both their Sacraments and ours doe figure out and repreſent the ſame thing, as the ſpirituall eating and drinking of Chriſt, 1.Cor.10.2.3. Our Sacraments are indeed figures correſpondent and anſwerable to theirs, and theirs alſo had a certaine reference and relation to ours: but they were not types of ours: for then our Sacraments ſhould be the body of theirs, whereas Chriſt is the bodie both of their Sacraments and ours. S.*Peter* ſaith, that Baptiſme is an antitypon, a figure anſwerable to the ſauing of the eight perſons in the flood, 1.Pet.3.21. They are correſpondent one to the other, and had mutuall relation and reſpect one to the other. But that was not properly a type of Baptiſme, but both baptiſme and that are figures and ſignes and liuely repreſentations of our ſaluation in Chriſt.

2. If the reall preſence of Chriſt onely commendeth the Sacrament, and aduanceth it before the rites of the Law, which in all other reſpects are better: by this argument Baptiſme ſtill remaineth inferior to the Sacraments of the Law: for you affirme no reall preſence in Baptiſme, as you doe in the Euchariſt: and in all other reſpects it muſt needes giue place to Circumciſion; for the cutting off of the fleſh is a more liuely repreſentation of regeneration, then is the waſhing by water: and the fleſh of man is in nature more precious then water. So by this reaſon, though you haue wonne credite for the Euchariſt, yet you haue loſt it for Baptiſme.

3. We anſwere therefore, that although the reall preſence be ſet apart, yet our Sacraments are more excellent then theirs. Firſt, the price and worth of things in their nature are not to bee weighed in a Sacrament, but they muſt be conſidered in reſpect of the vſe, to the which they are ordayned by the inſtitution. Fleſh, you ſay, is better then bread: ſo is wine and milke better then water in their nature: but in Baptiſme water is better then they, becauſe Chriſt hath now ſet it apart for a more holy vſe. Secondly, the ſlaying of the Lambe doth more liuely repreſent, ſay you, the death of Chriſt, then the breaking of bread.

Anſ. Wee graunt, that if breaking of bread had been vſed in the Law, it had not been then ſo ſignificant as the ſlaying of beaſts: but the breaking of bread now in the light of the Goſpell, in this abundance of knowledge and inſtruction, being a ſigne of a thing alreadie done and finiſhed, muſt needes be more pregnant and liuely in repreſentation, then the killing of ſacrifices in the law, which were types of things to come, the myſterie of the Goſpell being not yet opened to the world. And againe, the words of inſtitution, and conſecration vſed and pronounced in the Sacraments of the new Teſtament, are cleerer and more ſignificant, then any preſcribed in the ſhadowes of the Law, and therefore doe make a more liuely and effectuall repreſentation in the elements. Wherefore our Sacraments are more excellent then theirs, in reſpect of the more cleere light and fuller ſignification, which they haue by the word of God, and the preaching of the Goſpell ioyned vnto them: as the Apoſtle ſaith, *his Goſpell was not hid,* 2.Cor.4.3. *and Ieſus Chriſt, was by his preaching deſcribed in their ſight,* Galath.3.1. We neede not deuiſe any other way of excellencie for our Sacraments, then this, which we haue ſaid, agreeable to the Scriptures.

Bellarmine anſwereth: Firſt, that it is but an accidentall thing in our Sacraments, that they betoken a thing done and paſt, and therefore for all this eſſentially the elements of the Sacraments of the Law are better.

Contra. Firſt, as though the excellencie of the accident doth not make the thing, being in ſubſtance leſſe worthie,more excellent: as wine in the nature and ſubſtance thereof is more worthie then water, yet water in Baptiſme in reſpect of the accidentall vſe is more excellent then wine. Secondly,it is not now a thing accidentall in our Sacraments to repreſent a thing alreadie done;but it is of,and belonging to the nature of them,which otherwiſe were no Sacraments.

Secondly,ſaith he,the Euchariſt ordained by Chriſt, at his laſt Supper, did repreſent his death to come; and therefore in this reſpect, was no more worthie then the Sacraments of the old law, which did ſhew alſo things to come,*Bellar.cap.*4.

Contra. Firſt,as *Iohn Baptiſt* was greater by the teſtimonie of our Sauiour, than a Prophet, becauſe they did long before prophecie of him;but he did point him out with the finger,being alreadie come: ſo the laſt Supper of Chriſt repreſenting his death,then inſtant,is more excellent than the Sacraments of the law,foreſhewing it long after to bee fulfilled. Secondly,he hath gained nothing by this reaſon,but a derogation to Chriſts laſt Supper,ſeeing that our Sacraments now doe demonſtrate Chriſts death alreadie paſt. But as the Paſſe-ouer at the firſt inſtitution thereof being eaten the eeuen before their deliuerance,was no leſſe excellent then the feaſts of the Paſſe-ouer,afterward celebrated in remembrance of their deliuerance paſt: no more is Chriſts laſt Supper going before his death, herein inferiour to the celebration of the Lords Supper now ſince his death.

Thirdly,the words of inſtitution are not of the eſſence of the Sacrament, which they ſay make the elements more excellent;the words of conſecration are of the eſſence,which are by them denied,and refuſed,as words of enchauntment,*Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt,an accidentall excellencie may make the ſubiect more excellent, as I haue ſhewed; as the acceſſion of honour,being but an accident,yet maketh one man more worthie than an other. Secondly,the words of inſtitution doe make a Sacrament, and therefore are of the eſſence thereof,giuing the forme,as the elements yeeld the matter. Thirdly,words of conſecration we refuſe not ſimplie,but your words of conſecration, therein miſliking theſe three things: Firſt, that you make not all the words of inſtitution,conſecratorie;but ſome few of them. Secondly,that by the very ſillables of thoſe words pronounced without relation to the prayers of the Church, the elements ſhould be conuerted. Thirdly, that onely by the words of conſecration the Sacrament is made; whereas the whole action, of giuing, receiuing, diſtributing, giuing of thankes, doth helpe toward the conſecration. Fourthly, you doe then graunt, that the words of conſecration doe make the Sacraments of the Goſpell more excellent: wherefore not the reall preſence only.

Argum. 2.Ioh.6.55.Chriſt ſaith,*My fleſh is meate in deede,and my blood is drinke in deede: he that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood,dwelleth in me,and I in him.*

Firſt,this place muſt be vnderſtood not of any ſpirituall eating or drinking of Chriſt without the Sacrament, but is properly meant of the manducation and eating of him in the Sacrament. Firſt,verſ.51.*The bread* (ſaith Chriſt) *that I will giue:*he ſpeaketh of a thing to come,for the Sacrament was afterward inſtituted: but if this bread were to be taken for his word, and the eating thereof for beleeuing in him; in this ſenſe the bread was giuen alreadie.

Anſ. Chriſt alſo ſpeaketh in the preſent tenſe,verſ.32.*My father giueth you the true bread from heauen:* And,*I am the liuing bread that came downe from heauen: if any man eate of this bread he ſhall liue for euer*,verſ.51. He ſaith not,he that ſhall eate,but he that euen now eateth. And afterward he ſpeaketh of the time to come; *The bread that I ſhall giue*,becauſe his death and paſſion was not yet finiſhed: therefore he ſaith,*The bread that I ſhall giue, is my fleſh, which I will giue for the life of the world:* But he ſpeaketh euery where of the eating of his fleſh in the preſent tenſe,verſ.35.50.51.53.which cannot be vnderſtood of the ſacramentall eating,the Sacrament being not yet inſtituted,but of a ſpirituall manducation.

Secondly,ſay they,thoſe words being applied to the Sacrament, muſt needes alſo bee vnderſtood properly and literally,for the very eating of the fleſh of Chriſt,and drinking his blood,not tropically,or figuratiuely.

The fleſh of Chriſt,which Chriſt promiſeth to giue them to bee eaten,he preferreth before the Manna, which their fathers did eate in the wilderneſſe: the true bread which he giueth them, is more excellent then the bread of Manna. But if the bread in the Sacrament doe but ſignifie the fleſh of Chriſt,and be not it in very deede,it ſhould be no better then Manna,which alſo did ſignifie and ſhew forth Chriſt,*Bellarm.cap.6.*

Anſ. Firſt, Chriſt compareth not the materiall Manna,and the ſacramentall bread together, but he ſpeaketh of the true bread, which is himſelfe, as verſ.33. *The bread of God is he, which commeth downe from heauen:* The Sacrament, neither ſacramentall bread was yet giuen or inſtituted, neither yet could be eaten: but this bread, whereof Chriſt ſpeaketh,was euen at that time giuen; as verſ.32.*My father giueth you the true bread from heauen:* and it was euen then to be eaten:ver.58. *He that eateth of this bread,ſhall liue for euer:* So then the true bread,that is, Chriſt is preferred before Manna. Secondly, the ſacramentall bread, without any carnall preſence, is more excellent then *Moſes* Manna,being a more liuely and full repreſentation of the ſpirituall manducation of Chriſt.

Thirdly,that Chriſt ſpeaketh of a ſacramentall eating and drinking of Chriſt, *Bellarmine* thus further proueth : becauſe that the Iewes vnderſtood Chriſt to ſpeake of the very eating of his fleſh,and were offended at it : neither doth Chriſt correct their opinion,as he doth inſtruct *Nicodemus* ignorance,Ioh.3.further expounding himſelfe : and if Chriſt had meant onely, that hee ſhould bee ſpiritually eaten, they needed not to haue taken any offence,*Bellar.cap.*5.*argum.*3.

Contra. Firſt,it is falſe,that our Sauiour correcteth not the error of the Capernaites, ſeeing hee further thus expoundeth himſelfe,verſ.63.*The fleſh profiteth nothing,the words that I ſpeake are ſpirit and life :* ſhewing,that he muſt be ſpiritually vnderſtood. Secondly,it is true,that they needed not to haue taken offence at Chriſts ſpeech, being altogether of a ſpirituall eating, if they had rightly conceiued him : but becauſe they vnderſtoode him groſly of a carnall eating, as the Papiſts doe, thereof proceeded the offence. This argument he might very well haue concealed, for it maketh moſt againſt himſelfe.

Fourthly,this diſtinction of ſpeech vſed by our Sauiour Chriſt,and ſo often repeated,*to eate his fleſh,and drinke his blood*, verſ.54.56. ſheweth, that hee ſpeaketh of the ſacramentall eating and drinking vnder the ſignes of bread and wine:for otherwiſe in the ſpirituall receiuing of Chriſt by faith,it is all one to eate him and drinke him,*Bellarm.arg*.4.

Contra. Firſt, you your ſelues alſo make no difference betweene the ſacramentall eating and drinking of Chriſt,miniſtring onely vnder one kinde:wherefore you are anſwered by your owne practiſe. Secondly,the Scripture ſpeaking of the ſpirituall participation of Chriſt by faith, doth often vſe this diſtinction of eating and drinking,to ſhew, that Chriſt is the abſolute foode of our ſoule ; as Ioh.6.verſ.35.*He that commeth vnto me ſhall neuer hunger, and he that beleeueth in me ſhall neuer thirſt*. And Ioh.4.14.*Whoſoeuer drinketh of this water,ſhall neuer be more a thirſt :* which places are onely vnderſtood, of the receiuing of Chriſt ſpiritually by faith.

Now on the contrarie ſide we will proue,that this place contained in the 6.chapter of *Iohn*,cannot be ſo vnderſtood as they expound it.

Firſt,Chriſt ſpeaketh not only of the ſacramental eating of his fleſh,and drinking of his bloud, but generally of the ſpirituall participation by faith, whether in the Sacrament or without,which is wrought in vs by the holy Ghoſt.

*Argum.*1. If it be vnderſtood of the Sacrament, then it will follow that no man can be ſaued, vnleſſe he doe receiue the Sacrament : for Chriſt ſaith,verſ.53.*Except you eate my fleſh and drinke my bloud,you cannot haue life in you.* This,I am ſure,they wil hardly graunt,that the Euchariſt alſo ſhould be neceſſarie,as they make Baptiſme,to ſaluation.

Bellarmine anſwereth : firſt, by this reaſon not the ſacramentall eating onely of Chriſt, but the ſpirituall alſo,which is by faith,is excluded: for infants haue no faith,whereby they ſhould eate or drinke Chriſt. Secondly,this place then of neceſſitie muſt bee vnderſtood of men of yeeres,who either in act, or at the leaſt in vow and deſire muſt bee partakers of the Sacrament : and this appeareth,becauſe Chriſt ſaith,verſ.53.*Except ye eate,&c.*ſpeaking to thoſe that heard him: but treating of the neceſſitie of Baptiſme,he ſaith not,*except ye be borne of water,&c.*but in generall words, *except a man be borne of water,&c.* And beſide Chriſt ſpeaketh of eating of bread, whereas children are fed with milke,and not bread,*cap.7.reſp.ad argum.*3.

Contra. Firſt, though infants haue no faith, yet the life of Chriſt is applied vnto ſo many of them as are ſaued by the ſecret operation of Gods ſpirit : for ſeeing Chriſt giueth life vnto the world,and he no otherwiſe giueth life,then as he is the true bread of God,ver.33.for it is the propertie of bread to giue life : then infants alſo,if they haue life and ſaluation in him, muſt alſo ſome waies be made partakers of this bread. Secondly,be it graunted,that this place is properly vnderſtood, of thoſe that are, *adulti*,of yeeres (which we will not much ſtand vpon) yet it will followe vpon their expoſition, that many, which are preuented by death, before they receiue the Communion,ſhould be damned : for although they doe much in heart and vow deſire it, this is not ſacramentally, but ſpiritually by faith to eate Chriſt : which wee ſay is the true meaning of this place. Thirdly,why may not alſo that place of Baptiſme,Ioh.3.*Vnleſſe a man bee borne of water,&c.* be expounded of thoſe of perfect age, as well as this? They haue therefore put an anſwere in our mouthes for that place ſo much vrged for the neceſſitie of Baptiſme. The difference,which *Bellarmine* pretendeth, is nothing : for in this place alſo,verſ.54. Chriſt ſpeaketh in the third perſon, *whoſoeuer eateth my fleſh,&c.hath eternall life :* ſo that the contrarie, though pronounced in the ſecond perſon,*except ye eate,&c.*verſ.53.appeareth to haue the ſame meaning. Fourthly, his obiection,that children eate milke, not bread, is nothing : ſeeing our Sauiour ſpeaketh not of materiall,but ſpirituall bread : and therefore, as men of yeeres may be fed with ſpirituall milke, 1.Corinth.3.2.ſo children in yeeres may be nouriſhed with ſpirituall bread.

*Argum.*2. That Chriſt ſpeaketh of that bread, which is ſpiritually eaten by faith,it is euident out of the text, verſ.47. *He that beleeueth in me hath euerlaſting life.* Verſ.48.*I am the bread of life.* And verſ.50.*This is the bread, that commeth downe from heauen, that he that eateth of it, ſhould not dye.* By this it appeareth, that to beleeue in Chriſt, is to eate Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt indeede ſpeaketh of the true bread, which is himſelfe, communicated vnto vs by faith: as alſo he maketh mention of the ſacramentall bread, verſ.51.*The bread that I will giue is my fleſh.*

Contra. It is euident that Chriſt ſpeaketh in this place of one and the ſame bread, which is himſelfe: firſt, he ſaith, *I am the liuing bread*, verſ.51. And againe, *the bread that I will giue is my fleſh:* but Chriſt and his fleſh are all one; and therefore Chriſt and his fleſh are one and the ſame bread. Secondly, verſ.58. Chriſt ſpeaketh of the bread which came down frõ heauen; but the ſacramentall bread commeth not from heauen: *Ergo*, Chriſt ſpeaketh not of that bread. Thirdly, the effects of the bread are the ſame, *he that eateth Chriſts fleſh, hath eternall life*, verſ.54. And, *he that eateth the bread, that came from heauen, ſhall liue for euer*, verſ.58. Wherefore the bread Chriſt, and the fleſh of Chriſt, are taken for the ſame.

*Argum.*3. Chriſt ſaith, *He that eateth my fleſh ſhall liue for euer*, verſ.54. but euery one that eateth Chriſt ſacramentally, is not ſaued: wherefore Chriſt ſpeaketh not of a ſacramentall eating.

Bellarmine anſwereth, the words of Chriſt muſt bee vnderſtood conditionally, if they doe eate Chriſt aright: as in like manner the Scripture ſaith, Ioel.2. *Whoſoeuer calleth vpon the name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaued:* and yet it is ſaid Prou.1. *They ſhall call vpon me, but I will not heare*: becauſe they call not aright.

Contra. This condition is ſomtime requiſite to be vnderſtood in ſuch things, as may be without it: as in prayer, becauſe all prayer is not in truth: and therefore S. Iames ſaith, *The prayer of faith* (not euery prayer) *ſhall ſaue the ſicke*, Iam.5. But in this caſe of eating and drinking Chriſt this condition is ſuperfluous, becauſe it is impoſſible to eate and drinke Chriſt, if it bee not done aright: a man may eate the bread, and drinke the cuppe of the Lord vnworthily, as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1.Cor.11.27. but he cannot eate or drinke Chriſt vnworthily: for he either eateth him not at all; or if he doe, it muſt bee effectuall: for Chriſt himſelfe ſaith, verſ.55. *My fleſh is meate indeede:* wherefore he that eateth Chriſt, if he doe eate him at all, muſt needes haue meate indeede, and ſo conſequently be nouriſhed to eternall life.

*Argum.*4. Theſe words, verſ.51. *The bread that I will giue is my fleſh*, cannot in their owne ſenſe be vnderſtood of the Sacrament, ſeeing they themſelues hold, that the bread, after tranſubſtantiation, is annihilate, and is bread no more.

Bellarmine is here driuen to this ſhift, to ſay, that bread is not here taken properly, but generally for meate.

Contra. Firſt, he himſelfe in his anſwere to our firſt argument obiected, that infants were not comprehended in this generall ſpeech of Chriſt, *except ye eate, &c.* becauſe they eate not bread, but milke: where he taketh bread properly, and not for any meate; for milke alſo is meate: and yet forgetting himſelfe, he taketh it here improperly. Secondly, if Chriſt ſpeake not of bread properly, then neither of drink properly: then not of the Sacrament, which is celebrated not with a-ry meate, but onely with bread.

*Argum.*5. If Chriſt hath relation to the Sacrament, then muſt it of neceſſitie be miniſtred in both kindes; for in euery place he ioyneth both theſe together, the eating of his fleſh, and drinking of his bloud: but this is contrarie to their practiſe.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the fleſh and blood of Chriſt is as fully receiued vnder one kinde as both, as he himſelfe ſaith, verſ.57. *He that eateth me, ſhall liue by me:* ſo that he which eateth Chriſt doth both eate and drinke him, *reſponſ. ad argum.*10.

Contra. Firſt, to eate and drinke Chriſt ſpiritually by faith is all one: but ſacramentally to eate him, and drinke him, are two diuers things; for otherwiſe the one element were ſuperfluous. Secondly, *Bellarmine* himſelfe, *cap.*5.*argum.*4. enforceth this diſtinction of eating and drinking, to be vnderſtood of the Sacrament, where Chriſt is both eaten and drunk vnder the formes of bread and wine, whereas ſpiritually, ſaith he, it is all one, to eate and drinke Chriſt; but now forgetting himſelfe, he would take away this diſtinction: wherefore all this while he hath ſaid nothing.

Auguſtine alſo thus writeth vpon theſe words, *Hoc eſt manducare illam eſcam, & illum bibere potum, in Chriſto manere, & illum manentem in ſe habere:* This it is to eate that fleſh, and to drinke that drinke, to abide in Chriſt, and to haue him abiding in vs: But this may be done without the Sacrament: *Ergo*, it is not neceſſarie to vnderſtand it of the Sacrament. Tract. in Iohann.26.

Secondly, though we ſhould graunt, that this whole treatiſe Ioh:6. may fitly be referred to the Sacrament, yet the words muſt be taken figuratiuely, for the ſpirituall eating and drinking of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and not otherwiſe.

*Argum.*1. Verſ.35. Chriſt ſo expoundeth his owne words: *I am the bread of life, he that commeth* *to me ſhall not hunger,and he that beleeueth in me ſhall not thirſt.* To eate then, and to drinke Chriſt,is to beleeue in him.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt,if the bread in the Sacrament be but figuratiuely the fleſh of Chriſt, and not the very fleſh it ſelfe, then Chriſt ſhould giue no better thing than *Moſes* did, who alſo gaue them Manna,which was a type and figure of Chriſt,*cap.6.reſp.ad argum.*1.

Contra. Firſt,though Manna to the faithfull amongſt the Iſraelites were not onely a materiall, but a ſpirituall food,as the Apoſtle ſheweth,1.Cor.10.3.yet in this place mention is made thereof,as it was a materiall foode:as verſ.35.*Moſes gaue you not bread from heauen*; but as Manna repreſented Chriſt it was a heauenly bread: wherefore the ſacramentall bread compared with the materiall Manna,is much more excellent. Secondly, Manna ſignified Chriſt, yet darkly and obſcurely:but in the Euchariſt he is after a more liuely and ſenſible manner exhibited and repreſented vnto vs;and therefore in reſpect of the ſpirituall vſe alſo it excelleth.

Secondly, ſaith he,they asked a ſigne,and miracle of Chriſt, verſ.30. but in the repreſentation of Chriſts fleſh onely there is no miracle, neither in apprehending him by faith,*Bellar.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt,the comming of the true bread from heauen, which Chriſt giueth here as a ſigne, verſ.32. and the incarnating of the Sonne of God, is the greateſt miracle in the world, which the Angels doe wonder at,and deſire yet to behold,1.Pet.1.12. Secondly, to beleeue in Chriſt and to apprehend him by faith, is called by the Apoſtle a great myſterie, 1.Timoth.3.16. And *Auguſtine* ſaith,*Prorſus maius hoc dixerim,quàm cœlum & terra:* I ſay it is a greater worke, than the heauen and the earth, *Tract.*71.*in Iohan.*

*Argum.*2. Chriſt vnderſtandeth another manner of eating of his fleſh, then the Capernaites did. But they imagined that Chriſt would giue his very fleſh and bloud to be eaten: and therefore they went away offended,and ſaid, This is an hard ſaying, verſ.60. Therefore Chriſt to correct their erronious conceit,ſaith vnto them,that His words were ſpirit and life,that is, ſpiritually to be vnderſtood,verſ.63.

So *Auguſtine* interpreteth thoſe words of Chriſt,as if he had ſaid, *Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus ſum:* You muſt vnderſtand ſpiritually, that which I haue ſaid. You ſhall not eate this body which you ſee,nor drinke that bloud,which ſhall be ſhed for you: *Sacramentum vobis aliquod commendaui, ſpiritualiter intellectum viuificabit vos:* I haue commended a certaine myſterie and Sacrament vnto you,which being ſpiritually vnderſtood,ſhall quicken you.

Origen thus interpreteth this place,*Hom.7.in Leuit.Propterea caro eius verus cibus,& ſanguis eius verus potus.&c.* Therefore his fleſh is very meate, and his blood very drinke:for by the fleſh,and blood of his word,he nouriſheth mankinde.

Bernard alſo thus expoundeth theſe words: *Quid eſt manducare eius carnem, & bibere eius ſanguinem, niſi communicare paſſionibus eius, & eam conuerſationem imitari, quam geſſit in carne? Serm.*3 *in Pſalm.* What is it to eate his fleſh and drinke his bloud, but to communicate with his paſſions, and to imitate his conuerſation in the fleſh?

Againe,in another place: *Qui manducat carnem & bibit ſanguinem meum, &c. hoc eſt, qui recolit mortem meam,& exemplo meo mortificat membra ſua, quæ ſunt ſuper terram, habet vitam æternam: lib. de diligendo deo:* He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud: that is, he which remembreth my death in his minde,and by my example doth mortifie his earthly members, hath eternall life. This father applieth not theſe words,as we ſee,to the ſacramentall eating.

Laſtly, concerning this place enforced out of the ſixt of *Iohn,* diuers of the Papiſts and of the more learned ſort amongſt them doe hold, that it is not to be expounded of the Euchariſt: as *Gabriel. lection.*84.*ſuper canon. Miſſæ. Nicolaus Cuſanus epiſt.* 7.*ad Bohemos. Thomas Caietanus* 3.*par. qu.*8.*artic.vltim.Ruardus.Tapper.in explicat.artic.*15.*Louanienſ.* So that we want not their owne teſtimonie againſt them.

The Papiſts.

*Argum.*3. Chriſt in the inſtitution of this Sacrament,ſaid vnto his Apoſtles,after he had giuen thankes and bleſſed: *Hoc eſt corpus meum:* This is my body: that is, that which is contayned in this bread,or vnder the formes of this bread,is my very body,*Bellar.cap.9.* So that theſe words muſt needes be taken properly,not to be a trope or figure.

1. It is not the manner of the Scriptures to ſet downe flat precepts and commandements, and directorie rules in obſcure termes, or figuratiue ſpeeches, but plainely and euidently: therefore it is not like,that Chriſt,being now to preſcribe vnto his Apoſtles the perpetuall Lawe and forme of this Sacrament,would ſpeake obſcurely.

2. Though he ſpake by parables and ſignes to the Phariſies, yet there was no cauſe why he ſhould ſo doe,none being preſent but his Apoſtles,*Bellarm.ibid.*

*Anſw.*1. It is very well,that you will now (though I thinke vnawares)grant vnto vs,that the precepts and rules in Scripture are ſet downe ſimply and plainly: wherefore the Scriptures cannot

not be ſo hard and obſcure, as you would beare vs in hand they are: for if the precepts and rules of faith be euidently in Scripture expreſſed, as you ſeeme to confeſſe, what reaſon haue you to keepe backe the people from the reading of Scripture?

2 It is falſe that the Scriptures vſe no figures nor tropes, in the declaration of the lawes and Sacraments of the Church: for ſaith not S. *Paul*, ſpeaking of the Sacraments of the Iewes, *Petra erat Chriſtus*, the rocke was Chriſt, 1. Cor. 10.4. that is, ſignified Chriſt? Likewiſe in the 17. verſe, We that are many are one bread: that is, our ſpirituall vnitie and coniunction is repreſented, in that we are partakers of one bread.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that where the Apoſtle ſaith, *the rocke was Chriſt*, he ſpeaketh not of the materiall or viſible rocke, but of the ſpirituall, and inuiſible: *they dranke of the ſpirituall rocke that followed them*, ſaith the Apoſtle, verſ. 4. and then it followeth, *the rocke was Chriſt*. This proueth no trope in the Sacrament, which was the materiall, not the ſpirituall rocke, *Bellarm. cap.* 9.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle calleth the materiall rocke ſpirituall, as verſ. 3. he called the viſible Manna, ſpirituall meate, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Spirituale aliquid ſignificantem, in Pſal.* 77. Becauſe it had a ſpirituall ſignification. Secondly, it may appeare to be ſo, both becauſe this ſpirituall rock, that is, the water out of the rocke, is ſaid to followe them; that is, the water did runne along by them for their continuall vſe: but Chriſt went before them in a pillar of fire, he ſhould improperly be ſaid to follow them. Againe, they all dranke of this ſpirituall rocke; but of the true ſpirituall water none but the faithfull drinke.

3. Sometimes our Sauiour would ſpeake darkly, being alone with his Apoſtles, thereby to ſtirre them vp more diligently to attend vnto his words, as when he biddeth them beware of the leauen of the Phariſies, Mark. 8.15. Yet this ſpeech of our Sauiour Chriſt vttered in the hearing of his Apoſtles, *This is my bodie*; was neither ſo darke nor obſcure, that the apoſtles neede much be troubled about the vnderſtanding. Nay, many things being ſpoken in borrowed and metaphoricall words, are vttered with greater grace, and carrie a fuller ſenſe: When Chriſt ſaid, *I am the doore*, Ioh. 10.9. *I am the vine*, Ioh. 15.1. he ſpake by a figure as he doth here, for neither was he a vine, or a doore, as the bread was not his body: yet which of the Apoſtles was there, that vnderſtood him not, when he called himſelfe a vine, and a doore? Neither could they doubt of our Sauiour Chriſts meaning here.

Thirdly, theſe words, ſaith *Bellarmine*, *This is my bodie*, neither any other ſpeech of Scripture is to be taken figuratiuely, vnleſſe ſome other Scripture doe ſhew it ſo to bee taken, or it bee repugnant to ſome article of the faith, as this ſpeech of Chriſt is not: for whereas they alleage, that it is contrarie to the article of Chriſts aſcenſion, we Catholikes doe beleeue the aſcenſion of Chriſt, and yet hold the reall preſence of Chriſt notwithſtanding, *Bellarm. cap. 9. argum.* 3.

Anſ. Firſt, other places of ſcripture, which muſt bee vnderſtood in a figure, as where Chriſt ſaith, *I am the doore, the vine, &c.* doe alſo inſinuate how Chriſt is to be vnderſtood here. Secondly, if they did beleeue the aſcenſion of Chriſt aright, as S. *Peter* doth, Act. 3.21. ſaying, *whom the heauens muſt containe vntill &c.* they would not containe him in earth vnder the formes of bread and wine, who muſt yet bee contained in heauen: for if Chriſt could bee contained in diuers places at once, the Angell had not reaſoned ſoundly, Matth. 28.6. *he is not here, for he is riſen.*

Bellarmine againe thus reaſoneth from the words themſelues: firſt, this article (*hoc*, this) cannot ſignifie bread, which both in Latine, and in Greeke, is of the maſculine gender; but the article is of the neuter: therefore by (this) Chriſt vnderſtandeth his bodie contained vnder thoſe formes.

Contra. 1. This article (*hoc*) is vſed ſubſtantiuely, not adiectiuely, and ſignifieth as much as this thing, and therefore is put in the neuter gender: neither is it ſo ſtrange or vnuſuall a thing (as the Ieſuite taketh it) to demonſtrate ſome thing in ſight in ſuch generall termes, not naming the thing: As Ioh. 6.9. *There is a boy which hath fiue barly loaues and a few fiſhes*, (both in the maſculine gender) *ſed quid hæc ſunt, &c.* but what are theſe things, which is put in the neuter? 2. If Chriſt by (*this*) did meane his bodie, there ſhould be a tautologie or idle repetition of the ſame thing, as if he had ſaid, this body is my bodie.

Secondly, he vrgeth theſe words, *my body which is giuen for you*: but his true body, not the figure of his body, was giuen for vs: *Ergo*, he meaneth his true and naturall body.

Contra. As *Luke* readeth, *This cup is the new teſtament in my bloud, ſhed for you:* where the participle ἐκχυνόμενον, *ſhed*, agreeth with ποτήριον, *the cup*, not with (αἵματι) *in my bloud*; as the Euangeliſt ſaith the cup was ſhed, by a double figure, firſt taking the cup for the wine, and ſecondly wine for Chriſts bloud: ſo this ſenſe may very well hold, this bread is my body, that is, a ſigne of my body, which is giuen for you.

Thirdly, if, *this is my bodie*, be nothing elſe, but this is a ſigne of my bodie, why may we not pronounce in like manner of the ſacrifices and Sacraments of the Law, which were alſo ſignes and ſymboles of Chriſt; and likewiſe of Baptiſme, and of the word of Chriſt, that they are his very bodie, and fleſh, becauſe they are ſignes thereof: but the Scripture ſo ſpeaketh not, but onely of the Euchariſt: *Ergo*, it is not a figuratiue ſpeech.

Contra. Firſt, although a reaſon might eaſily be rendred, why the Sacraments of the law ſhould not haue their denomination of the body & blood of Chriſt, as the Euchariſt hath, becauſe Chriſts death was not then ſo plainly deſcribed, as at the inſtitution of the Lords Supper; yet we ſee that this phraſe of ſpeech is alſo vſed of thoſe legall Sacraments: as the rocke is ſaid to be Chriſt, 1. Corinth. 10.4. being but a type of him: and Chriſt is called the Paſſe-ouer, or Paſchall Lambe, 1. Corith. *6.7.* Secondly, though in Baptiſme the water in Scripture bee not ſo euidently called Chriſts blood, as the cup in the Euchariſt (the reaſon whereof is plaine, becauſe in Baptiſme the blood of Chriſt is ſet forth as the worker of our regeneration, and new birth; but in the Euchariſt it is propounded as our ſpirituall drinke, and nouriſhment) yet wee ſee, that the Scripture is not ſilent in this behalfe, as Ioh. *7.38.* the water is called the ſpirit: and Tit. *3.5.* the waſhing the new birth: and Reuel. *7.14.* *They haue made their long robes white in the blood of the Lambe:* the waſhing of water in Baptiſme, whereby they are ſanctified in the worde, Epheſ. *5.26.* is called the blood of Chriſt. Thirdly, as touching the word of God, it may alſo in ſome ſenſe be called the very fleſh of Chriſt: for by hearing of the word Chriſt commeth in vnto vs, and ſuppeth with vs, Reuelat. 3.20. but he dwelleth in vs onely by eating his fleſh, and drinking his blood, Ioh. *6.56.* wherefore the hearing of his word, is the very eating of his fleſh. And ſo *Origen* expoundeth, *Carnibus & ſanguine verbi, &c.* He doth feede vs with the fleſh and blood of his word, *Hom. 7. Leuitic.*

Contra. Now on the other ſide, we will make it plaine, that theſe words of Chriſt are ſpoken tropically.

Argum. 1. Where Chriſt ſaith according to S. *Luke, This cup is the new Teſtament in my bloud,* Luk. 22.23. wee muſt needes admit a double trope or figure: for firſt, the cup is taken for that which is contayned in the cup. Secondly, the wine in the cup was not the new teſtament, but a ſigne of the new teſtament. If then in one part of the Sacrament he ſpake by a figure, why not alſo in the other, when he ſaith, *This is my body*, that is, a liuely ſigne and ſeale thereof?

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that in theſe words, *this cup is the new teſtament, &c.* a trope muſt needes be admitted; but ſuch a trope, as doth explicate it ſelfe: for, whereas Chriſt ſaith, *Drinke ye all of this*, and, *which is ſhed for you*, euery man may vnderſtand of himſelfe, that not the cup it ſelfe is drunken, or ſhed, but the liquor in the cup. And againe, *Matthew* and *Marke* doe thus write, *this is my blood*, who doe ſhew vs how Saint *Luke* is to be expounded, ſaying, *this cup, &c.* that is, the blood in the cup, *cap. 11. reſp. ad argum.* 8. but all the Euangeliſts ſay, *this is my bodie:* therefore the like figure cannot be admitted in theſe words.

Contra. Firſt, as men vſe not to drinke or ſhed cups, ſo neither to eate humane fleſh, or mens bodies: and therfore common vſe will find out a trope in the one ſpeech as well as in the other: as well, when Chriſt ſaith, *take, eate, this is my bodie*; as when he ſaith, drinke of this cup. Secondly, euery figuratiue ſpeech in Scripture, though it bee not expounded by another place, yet may bee vnderſtood to be figuratiue by the nature and propertie of the thing ſpoken of: as S. *Paul* ſaying, *the rocke is Chriſt*, though he expound not himſelfe, yet euery man knoweth that a ſtone cannot be Chriſt, no more can bread be his bodie, but in ſignification. Thirdly, yet our Sauiour himſelfe expoundeth theſe words: *this is my bodie*, in another place, where he had ſaid, *the bread is my fleſh*, Ioh. *6.51.* and then ſhewing his meaning he ſaith, verſ. 63. *the fleſh profiteth nothing, my words are ſpirit and life:* ſo then he muſt bee vnderſtood ſpiritually. Fourthly, neither doth *Matthew*, ſaying, *this is my blood of the new teſtament*, expound S. *Luke, this cup is the new teſtament in my blood:* for if by the cup, be vnderſtood blood; then the meaning ſhould be this, *this blood is the new teſtament in my blood*, which were abſurd. But *Bellarmine* would take away this abſurditie by a diſtinction, ſaying, that blood is taken here diuerſly; in the firſt place for the blood in the Sacrament; in the ſecond, for his blood ſhed vpon the croſſe, and he maketh this to bee the meaning: this blood here contained vnder the ſhew of wine, is my new teſtament conſecrated in my blood vpon the croſſe.

Contra. Firſt, thus he will make Chriſt to haue two diuers bloods, one in the Sacrament, which is the teſtament; the other ſhed vpon the croſſe, whereof it is a teſtament. Secondly, he ſaith, *Matthew* expoundeth *Luke:* but S. *Matthew* ſpeaketh of the blood ſhed vpon the croſſe: *which is ſhed for many*, verſ. 26. then *Luke* alſo ſaying, this cup, that is my blood in the cup, ſpeaketh of the blood ſhed vpon the croſſe: ſo that blood in the firſt and ſecond place, is to be taken for the blood ſhed vpon the croſſe.

Secondly, as he graunteth a figure, in theſe words (*this cup*) ſo he denieth any figure at all in the words following (*is the new teſtament*) for the blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament is the teſtament it ſelfe: and a teſtament (ſaith hee) is taken two waies, either it ſignifieth the will of the teſtator it ſelfe, or elſe the authenticall inſtrument, wherein the will of the teſtator is contained; and ſo Circumciſion was both a ſigne of Gods couenant, and the couenant it ſelfe, that is the inſtrument, whereby the couenant was applied: and ſo is the Euchariſt both a ſigne of the teſtament made in Chriſt, and ſo S. *Matthew* ſaith the blood of the teſtament; and it is the teſtament it ſelfe, that is, the authenticall inſtrument; and ſo Saint *Luke* ſaith, It is the Teſtament in my blood. *Bellarmine ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, the authenticall inſtrument of a Teſtament being vnder witneſſe and ſeale, is not the Teſtament it ſelfe, but onely a ratification of it; and ſo are the Sacraments ſeales and ratifications vnto vs of Chriſts Teſtament. Secondly, there is no Teſtament without death, Hebrues 9.16. wherefore the Euchariſt is not the Teſtament, vnleſſe they will haue Chriſt dayly to die in the Sacrament. Thirdly, circumciſion is called the couenant, becauſe it was the ſigne onely thereof; and ſo S. *Paul* the beſt expounder of *Moſes*, calleth it the ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of faith, Rom. 4.11. Fourthly, the Euangeliſts ſpeake all of the ſame Teſtament, and S. *Luke* ſpeaking figuratiuely is to be expounded by *Matthew*, who ſayth, *The blood of the Teſtament*; which anſwereth to the figure of the Law, for *Moſes* ſprinkling the blood ſaid, *This is the blood of the Teſtament*, Heb. 9.20. So then the blood is not the Teſtament, but of the Teſtament, that is, a ſigne thereof.

Argum. 2. It is no vnuſuall phraſe in the Scripture to ſay, (this is) that is, ſignifieth, as Geneſ. 17.10. Circumciſion is called the couenant it ſelfe, where it was a ſigne onely of it, and ſo is it called, verſ. 11. and Exod. 12.11. the Lambe is called the Lords Paſſeouer, which it betokened onely: and S. *Paul* calleth the rocke Chriſt, being onely a figure of him, 1. Cor. 10.4. In the ſame ſenſe Chriſt ſaith, *This is my bodie*: that is, exhibiteth and repreſenteth vnto you my bodie.

Bellarmine his beſt anſwere here is, that in all theſe examples alleaged, in the ſame place the trope or figure is expounded; as, where circumciſion is called the couenant, it is alſo ſaid to be the ſigne of the couenant: and Exod. 12.11. the Lambe is ſaid to be the Lords Paſſeouer, that is, the ſacrifice of the Lords Paſſeouer, verſ. 27. and 1. Cor. 10. where the rocke is ſaid to be Chriſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the ſpirituall not materiall rocke, which followed them, which ſpirituall rocke indeed is Chriſt. *Bellarmine reſp. ad argum. 6. cap.* 11.

Contra. Firſt, it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to ſhew in Scripture, that (*this is*) is taken for (*this ſignifieth*) though the explication of the Trope be not inſerted ſtraightway in the ſame place; neither is this maner of figuratiue ſpeech alwayes expounded, as Galat. 4.25. *Agar is the mountaine Sina in Arabia*; that is, ſignifieth, or figureth that place, where the Law was giuen: which explication, though it be not directly mentioned, yet is neceſſarily implied. Secondly, this figuratiue ſpeech of Chriſt notwithſtanding (*this is my bodie*) is as I ſhewed by himſelfe expounded Iohn 6.51. where hauing ſaid, *the bread is my fleſh*, as here (*this is my body*) he further openeth his meaning verſe 63. *My words are ſpirite and life*, that is, ſpiritually to be vnderſtood. Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſaying the rocke was Chriſt, ſpeaketh of the material rocke, which was a figure of Chriſt, not of the inuiſible rocke. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, *the rocke was*, not, *is*; but Chriſt is alwayes the inuiſible rocke. Secondly, they did all drinke of this rocke, but they all did not ſpiritually receiue or drinke Chriſt: for verſe 5. With many of them God was not pleaſed: but with all the faithfull he was pleaſed: wherefore they did drinke all of the materiall, not of the ſpirituall rock. Thirdly, it is called ſpirituall, as *Manna* is called ſpirituall meate, for the ſpirituall ſignification: So then, here we haue the very like trope vſed by the Apoſtle, and yet not expounded. Fourthly, all figuratiue ſpeeches of Scripture, though their interpretation be not expreſſed, yet is implied by ſome conſequence: and ſo where Chriſt ſaith, *This is my body*, we are forced to vnderſtand a figure by implication, it being an vnwonted and inhumane thing to eate mans fleſh.

Argum. 3. Chriſt in ſaying, *this is my bodie*, did demonſtrate or ſhew ſomething in ſight: for a thing abſent or inuiſible cannot be demonſtrated: but Chriſts body, which they imagine was hid vnder the formes, was not ſeene: *Ergo*, it could not be ſhewen.

Bellarmine here runneth, as it were in a maze; one while he ſaith, (*Hoc*) *non demonſtrare accidentia*: That the word (*this*) doth not demonſtrate the accidents of the bread: and againe he affirmeth, *Formalitèr in hac propoſitione demonſtrari ſpecies*: That formally in this propoſition (*this is my body*) the ſhewes or outward ſhapes are demonſtrated: and he refuſeth to ſay with *Scotus*, that (*this*,) is as much to ſay, as this ſubſtance: but with *Aquinas*, this ſubſtance contained vnder the forme of bread. *c.* 11. *reſponſ. ad argum.* 1.

Contra. Firſt, it is pretie ſport to ſee how they buſie themſelues about the meaning of this word (*Hoc*) ſome ſay it ſignifieth Chriſts bodie, but this *Bellarmine* himſelfe miſliketh: ſome, as *Scotus*, expound it, (*hoc ens*) this thing: neither doth *Bellarmine* agree vnto this, but ſaith with *Thomas*, that (*hoc*) is this thing, or ſubſtance contained vnder the forme of bread: thus are they at their wits end, neither vnderſtanding what they ſpeake, nor whereof they affirme, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, 1. Tim. 1.7. Secondly, this Pronoune (*hoc*) neither betokeneth Chriſts bodie, for that were to ſay, *this*, that is, *my body, is my body*, which were abſurd to affirme the ſame thing of it ſelfe: nor yet the forme onely of bread, for they will not ſay, that the ſhape of the bread is Chriſts bodie:

neither yet doth it demonſtrate any other ſubſtance vnder the ſhew of bread, becauſe it is inuiſible, and cannot be demonſtrated, neither in their owne learning can there be any new ſubſtance before the words of conſecration be all vttered: wherefore it remaineth, that this demonſtratiue (*hoc*) muſt be referred to the bread, which Chriſt conſecrated to be a figure of his body.

*Argum.*4. That which Chriſt did take, he bleſſed, that which he bleſſed, he brake, that which he brake, he gaue to his diſciples: but he tooke bread, bleſſed bread, brake bread: therefore alſo he gaue bread, and ſo conſequently, the demonſtratiue, *hoc*, this, ſheweth the bread.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that betweene Chriſts taking and giuing, there commeth bleſſing; ſo that he bleſſed that he tooke, and by bleſſing changed it, and ſo gaue it: And they themſelues alſo confeſſe, that he gaue not the ſame bread, which he tooke; for he tooke common bread, but gaue ſacramentall bread: ſo as we ſay, he ſtroke *Peter*, ſlew him, and buried him, and yet *Peter* was not buried aliue, though he were ſtriken aliue; ſo it followeth not that Chriſt gaue the ſame bread he tooke. *Bellarm.c.*11.*reſp.ad argum.*1.

Contra. Firſt, S. *Matthew* ſaith, *He bleſſed*, S.Luk.22.19. *He gaue thankes*; ſo that bleſſing and giuing thanks is al one, which was an action directed vnto God, not vnto that which was bleſſed: neyther was the bread by this bleſſing changed into Chriſts bodie; becauſe the words of conſecration were not yet vttered: And againe after he had bleſſed, he brake it, but hee brake not his bodie, but the bread. Againe, the words are plaine, Matth.26.26. *Ieſus tooke bread, and when hee had giuen thankes, he brake and gaue to his diſciples*: what elſe now did Chriſt breake and giue, but bread, that he tooke? for otherwiſe no conſtruction can be made of the words. Secondly, wee ſay there was a ſacramental change of the bread, after Chriſt had bleſſed it, but it was a change in the qualitie, not in the ſubſtance; ſo that notwithſtanding this change, Chriſt gaue the ſame thing he took, though otherwiſe qualified. And the example brought in, is not to the purpoſe: for the ſame *Peter* in ſubſtance is buried, that was ſtricken, though altered in condition, before aliue, now dead: but they ſay there is no bread at all remaining, ſo that in their meaning Chriſt deliuereth another thing, then he tooke, contrarie to the words of the text. Thus then it appeareth by theſe reaſons alleaged, whatſoeuer is obiected to the contrary, that theſe words of our Sauiour, *this is my bodie*, cannot be otherwiſe then figuratiuely taken, and ſo S. *Auguſtine* expoundeth: *Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, hoc eſt corpus meum, cum daret ſignum corporis ſui*: The Lord doubted not to ſay, *this is my bodie*, when he gaue a ſigne of his bodie: *cont. Adimantum.cap.*12.

The Papiſts.

Other arguments out of the Scriptures are alleaged by them for proofe of the carnall and reall preſence, which muſt not here be omitted.

*Argum.*4. *Bellarmine* vrgeth that place 1.Cor.10.16. *The cuppe of bleſſing which we bleſſe, is it not the communion of the blood of Chriſt? the bread which wee breake, is it not the communion of the bodie of Chriſt?* From this place he draweth three arguments: firſt, the Apoſtle maketh mention of benediction and conſecration, whereby the wine is conuerted into Chriſts blood, which conſecration needed not, if there were but a figuratiue conſecration, but the firſt inſtitution would ſuffice: as therefore we ſee in Baptiſme no ſuch kinde of conſecration vſed, *cap.*12.

Contra. Firſt, we graunt a conſecration neceſſarie, whereby the elements are ſanctified and ſeparated from the common vſe to a ſpeciall holy vſe in the Sacraments; neither are the bread and wine otherwiſe conſecrated in the Euchariſt, then the water in Baptiſme, which is ſanctified by the word of God. Secondly, wee graunt alſo that to this conſecration the inſtitution of Chriſt in his word ſufficeth: for the word being applied to the element, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, maketh a Sacrament: if they require to their conſecration any thing more then Chriſts inſtitution, it is a meere humane and ſuperſtitious inuention. Thirdly, the argument then followeth not, the elements are bleſſed and conſecrated, and therefore conuerted into another ſubſtance: it is ſufficient that they are turned to another vſe: as the Paſchall Lambe was ſeparated from the flocke, and ſet apart for an holy vſe, Exod.12.3. yet remained a Lambe ſtill: the vſe was altered, the ſame nature was reſerued.

Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *the bread which we breake*: by breaking he vnderſtandeth, the oblation and immolation of the bodie of Chriſt; as 1.Cor.11.25. Saint *Paul* thus rehearſeth the words of Chriſt, *this is my bodie, which is broken for you*, that is, offered vp in ſacrifice: but bread is not broken, or offered in ſacrifice: *Ergo*, it is the body of Chriſt, *Bellar.ibid.* And againe, this clauſe, *the bread which we breake*, muſt anſwere to the former, *the cup which we bleſſe*: that ſeeing the Apoſtle ſpeaketh there of conſecration, ſo he doth here of oblation, which is done by the words of conſecration.

Contra. Firſt, there is great difference betweene that ſaying of Chriſt rehearſed by Saint *Paul*, *this is my bodie, which is broken for you*, and this of the Apoſtle, *the bread which we breake*: for there he ſpeaketh of his bodie, here of bread, but bread is not his bodie: there his bodie is broken by the tormentors vpon the croſſe, here the bread is broken by beleeuers in the Sacrament. Againe, as in the firſt inſtitution Chriſt firſt brake the bread, and then ſaid, *this is my bodie giuen for you*: ſo breaking was one thing, the giuing, or offering his bodie, another: ſo is it here. Secondly, as the cup is conſecrated by bleſſing and prayer in part, ſo is the bread conſecrated in part by breaking and diſtributing: for not by the words of benediction onely, but by the whole action of giuing, receiuing, thankſgiuing, are the elements conſecrated: ſo that in this ſenſe, one part of the ſentence fitly anſwereth to the other.

Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *the bread is the communion of the bodie of Chriſt*, that is, wee are reallie and corporallie made partakers of the bodie of Chriſt in the Sacrament: for if there were but a repreſentation of Chriſts fleſh onely, and not his very fleſh indeede, the Apoſtle ſhould haue reaſoned but weakly, perſwading them from the ſacrifices of the Gentiles, and eating of things ſacrificed to idols, if he had not alſo inuited them to a more excellent ſacrifice and a better table, where the very fleſh of Chriſt is preſent, and not the figure onely: for this were to offer a ſilke garment painted onely, in ſtead of a true ſilken one.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle meaneth a ſpirituall communion of the bodie of Chriſt, as it followeth, verſ.17. *We that are many, are one bread, and one bodie, becauſe we are partakers of one bread:* as wee are one body amongſt our ſelues, ſo are we one bodie with Chriſt: but we are myſtically one body amongſt our ſelues: *Ergo.* Likewiſe the Apoſtle ſaith, *the bread is the communion, and wee are partakers of one bread:* if it remaine bread ſtill, then is it not the bodie of Chriſt. And the Apoſtle further ſheweth how we are ioyned vnto Chriſt, Epheſ.2.22. *in whom ye are built together, to be the habitation of God by the ſpirit:* So then by the ſpirit wee are vnited vnto our head: and *following the truth in loue wee grow vp vnto him*, Epheſ.4.15. Secondly, the Apoſtle reaſoneth not, as *Bellarmine* pretendeth, promiſing one fleſhie ſacrifice for another: but his reaſon ſtandeth thus, That as they which communicate in the Sacrament, are partakers of Chriſt; ſo they that communicate with the ſacrifices of idols, haue fellowſhip and communion with diuels, to whom they are offered: and therefore ſaith the Apoſtle, I would not that ye ſhould haue fellowſhip with diuels, verſ.20. Thirdly, the Sacrament of Chriſt being celebrated with bread, is a better banket, then the ſacrifices of diuels furniſhed with fleſh: like as the Wiſeman ſaith, *Better is a drie morſell, if peace be with it, than a houſe full of ſacrifices with ſtrife*, Prou.17.1. ſo to eate bread in the remembrance of Chriſt with peace of conſcience, according to his owne inſtitution, is much better, then to be fatted with the ſacrifices of idols, which maketh ſtrife betweene vs and God: and who will not preferre the linnen garment of a chaſt matrone, before the ſilken ornaments of a ſtrumpet?

*Argum.*5. Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1.Corin.11.29. *He that eateth and drinketh vnworthily, doth eate and drinke his owne iudgement, not diſcerning the Lords bodie.* And verſ.27. *he is guiltie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt:* they cannot be guiltie of that which they receiue not: neither in the vnworthie receiuing of any other Sacrament are they made guiltie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt, but onely in this: *Ergo*, the bodie and blood of Chriſt are really preſent: *Rhemiſt annot. in hunc locum*, and *Bellarm.cap.*13.

Anſ. Firſt, it is falſe that none els but they which prophane the Euchariſt are guiltie of the blood of Chriſt: for as in Baptiſme alſo the faithful are made partakers of the body and blood of Chriſt, as it is confeſſed out of *Auguſtine* in your owne decrees, *par.*3.*diſtinct.*4.*c.*131. *Nulli eſt aliquatenus ambigendum, &c.* No man muſt doubt, that then euery faithfull one is made partaker of the bodie and blood of our Lord, when in Baptiſme he is made a member of Chriſt: So they which prophane Baptiſme, are guiltie of Chriſts blood, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch, *that they doe tread vnder foote the Sonne of God, and doe count the blood of the teſtament an vnholy thing, wherewith they were ſanctified*, Heb.10.29. Secondly, as theſe doe tread vnder foote the Sonne of God, and prophane the blood of the teſtament, not really or perſonally, but in the malice and prophanenes of their hearts; ſo are the wicked guiltie of Chriſts blood, in as much as they prophane the holy ſignes thereof: for the defacing of the Kings image or ſeale redoundeth to the diſhonour of the King himſelfe; ſo they are guiltie of the blood of Chriſt, not which they receiued in ſubſtance, but in abuſing the ſignes and ſeales thereof exhibited vnto them.

Bellarmine replieth: firſt, if the diſhonour of the image be the diſhonour of the King, how then dare you deface the images of Saints, which tend to their diſhonour? Secondly, an iniurie is not done to an image, if it be by chaunce rather than purpoſed violence defaced: but many may receiue the Euchariſt vnworthily, that maliciouſly doe not contemne it. Thirdly, if it bee ſuch a ſinne to abuſe the image of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, then for ſuch to heare the word alſo, which is alſo the image of Chriſt.

Contra. Firſt, if you can ſhew, that God hath commaunded Images to be erected for the honor of Saints, as the Kings ſeale and image is for his honor; then we will graunt alſo that it is a diſhonor to deface them. Secondly, though euery vnworthie receiuer be not malicious againſt Chriſt, yet he is a contemner and deſpiſer, ſeeing that he cannot be ignorant, but that it is the ſeale and image of Chriſt, as not the violator onely, but the contemner of the Kings image is an offender. Thirdly, an vnworthie hearer of the word is alſo a tranſgreſſor, as the vnworthie receiuer:

and the Apoſtle ſaith of ſuch, as fall away hauing had a taſte of the word, they do crucifie the ſonne of God, Hebr.6.6. in the which ſenſe the vnworthie receiuer is here ſaid to be guiltie of Chriſts blood, and ſo alſo doth crucifie Chriſt to himſelfe.

The Proteſtants.

THat Chriſt is preſent with all his benefites in the Sacrament, we doe willingly graunt: neither doe we thinke that the elements of bread and wine are bare and naked ſignes of the body and blood of Chriſt, but Chriſt is verily by them exhibited vnto vs, and ſpiritually by faith, we are truly made partakers of his precious body and blood; not that Chriſt deſcendeth from heauen to vs, but we aſcend by faith and in ſpirit vnto him: yea, we confeſſe as much as *Bernard* ſaith, whoſe ſpeech they themſelues allow, *In ſacramento exhiberi veram carnis Chriſti ſubſtantiam, ſed ſpiritualiter non carnaliter:* That the very ſubſtance of Chriſts fleſh is exhibited vnto vs, in the Sacrament, but ſpiritually, not carnally. This *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth to be true, though he would not haue the word (ſpiritually) to be vſed, leaſt it might be, as he ſaith, by vs miſconſtrued. This then is our faith and iudgement, that we are verily in this Sacrament engrafted into the body of Chriſt, and doe truly eate his fleſh and drinke his blood: but all this is done ſpiritually only and by faith: As for their carnall eating and deuouring of Chriſt, we vtterly reiect, and condemne it.

Cap.2.lib.1.

*Argum.*1. In the receiuing of the Sacrament there is a double coniunction, we are ioyned to Chriſt, and make one body alſo amongſt our ſelues: ſo ſaith S.*Paul*, 1.Cor.10.16.17. We are made partakers of the body of Chriſt, and we that are many are one bread, and one body: but our participation with the myſticall body of Chriſt is ſpirituall: *Ergo*, alſo our communication with his naturall body, *Fulk.in hunc locum.*

*Argum.*2. If the body of Chriſt be in the Sacrament, then is it eaten, and torne with the teeth: And what is eaten goeth into the belly, and is caſt out into the draught, Mark.7.19. I pray you, what is now become of the body of Chriſt? doth it paſſe the ſame way that other meates doe?

Bellarmine anſwereth, *lib.*1.*cap.*11.*ad argum.*5. that they are the accidents of the bread and wine which are eaten, and chawen, or rent by the teeth, and not the body of Chriſt: and yet the body of Chriſt goeth downe into the ſtomacke, but no further: but when the formes of bread and wine begin to be corrupted there, the body of Chriſt goeth away, *Bellarm.cap.*14.

*Anſw.*1. This is new learning, that the accidents of meate are chawen in the mouth, and not the meate it ſelfe: and that the formes onely, not the ſubſtance is altered, and corrupted in the ſtomacke. Say alſo that men are nouriſhed with accidents and not with the ſubſtance: If the Prieſt chaunce to drinke too deepe of the chalice, and ſo become drunke, I pray you what is it that maketh him ſo light headed? Is it, thinke you, the accidents onely of wine? Surely a drunken man would not ſay it. If a Mouſe chance to creepe into your pixe, and fill her hungry belly with your god-amight, what is it that the Mouſe feedeth vpon? trow you they be accidents onely? for you ſay that the conſecrated hoſt goeth no further then the ſtomacke: and yet it is too much that the houſell of Chriſtians ſhould be houſed in a mouſes belly. Theſe are but ridiculous and light queſtions, yet ſuch as haue troubled your graueſt and ſageſt heads, and remaine vnanſwered.

2 *Bellarmine* denieth, that the body of Chriſt being eaten, goeth any further then the ſtomacke: But our *Rhemiſts* goe further; they ſay, that we are made a peece of his body and blood: they ſhould rather haue ſaid that his body and blood is made a peece of vs, being conuerted into our ſubſtance. But ſilly men, wee pittie them: If wee ſhould preſſe them ſtill with theſe queſtions, they would ſooner runne mad, then finde out any reaſonable and ſober anſwere for vs.

Rhemiſt 1. Corinth.10. ſect.5.

It ſhall not be amiſſe to ſee the iudgement of other Popiſh doctors of this matter, that it may appeare to the world, how well they agree together.

Lib4.diſt.12. b.c.d.

The Maſter of ſentences rehearſeth foure opinions: firſt, ſome thinke, that in the Sacrament there is ſaid to be a fraction, breaking, or diuiſion of Chriſts bodie, becauſe it ſeemeth ſo to be, but is not. Secondly, others thinke, that as there is the outward forme of bread, and yet no bread; ſo there is a fraction, and yet nothing broken. Thirdly, ſome are of opinion, that the very body of Chriſt is ſenſiblie handled by the Prieſt, and verily broken, and rent with the teeth. A fourth opinion there is, that not the bodie of Chriſt, but the accidents onely are chawne and diuided by the teeth. The firſt opinion of theſe is ridiculous, that Chriſts bodie ſeemeth to be broken, and is not, and maketh the *Euchariſt* but a kind of iuggling tricke: the ſecond is impoſſible, that there may be a fraction without breaking: the third is groſſe and abſurd, to thinke that Chriſts bodie may be deuoured: the fourth is vnreaſonable, as I haue ſhewed, that accidents may be deuided without a ſubſtance: To this opinion ſubſcribeth the Maſter, as likewiſe *Bellarmine*; yet is it contrary to the decree of *Nicolaus*, who receiued the confeſſion of *Berengarius* vnder this forme, *Corpus & ſanguinem Domini ſenſualiter non ſolum Sacramento, ſed in veritate manibus ſacerdotum tractari, frangi, & fidelium dentibus atteri*: That the bodie and blood of Chriſt is ſenſible not onely in Sacrament, but verily handled by the Prieſt, broken and rent with the teeth of the faithfull: *par.*3.*diſtinct.*2.*c.*42. How then dare they preſume to goe againſt the determination of a Pope, to ſay the accidents of bread onely are eaten, and not the bodie of Chriſt it ſelfe?

A ſecond doubt there is, what becommeth of the bodie of Chriſt, when it is eaten: *Bellarmine* thinketh, it goeth but downe to the ſtomacke: the *Rhemiſts* thinke, as we haue ſeene, that we are made a piece of his bodie and blood: ſo alſo *Leo* in his decree, *p.*3.*diſt.*2.*c.*38. *In carnem ipſius tranſeamus, &c.* Taking the heauenly food, let vs be changed or paſſe into his fleſh. *Clemens* 5. determineth the contrary, *lib.*3.*Clementin.tit.*16. *Hic panis ſumitur, ſed verè non conſumitur; manducatur, ſed non tranſmutatur, quia in edentem minimè transformatur*: This bread is aſſumed, not conſumed; it is eaten, but not changed nor transformed into the eater: But another decree granteth, that the bodie of Chriſt may be conſumed, and mingled with other meates; to ſay no more: and therefore they which haue eaten the Lords bodie in the morning, are enioyned to faſt till the ſixt houre, which is noone, *Ne putent ſancta portioni miſcere cibum, &c.* Leaſt they ſhould mixe with the holy portion the meate, that goeth into the draught, *decret.par.*3.*diſt.*2.*c.*23. And another decree puniſheth thoſe with 40. dayes penance, that chaunce to vomite vp the *Euchariſt*. *ibid.decret.*28. So then by their learning, Chriſts bodie may be vomited vp: thus are they deuided in their fooliſh imaginations.

A third doubt there is moued: that if a mouſe, dogge, or cat chance to eate the *Euchariſt*, what it is that they eate? their iudgement in time paſt, hath beene, that it is the very Sacrifice it ſelfe, which the mouſe eateth: as *decret.p.*3.*diſt.*2.*c.*94. *Qui bene non cuſtodierit ſacrificium, &c.* He that keepeth the ſacrifice negligently, ſo that a mouſe or other beaſt chance to eate it, muſt do penance 40. dayes: but hee that looſeth it, that it cannot be found, 30 dayes. Thus they thought, that Chriſts bodie might both be eaten of beaſts, and be in danger to be loſt. But the Maſter of ſentences being aſhamed of this, asking the queſtion, what it is, that beaſtes do eate, when they meete with the hoaſt, maketh this clarkelie anſwere, *Deus nouit*, God knoweth: *lib.*4.*diſt.*13. Thus they wearie themſelues with their reſtleſſe brainſicke fantaſies.

*Argum.*3. Chriſt in his fleſh is aſcended vp to heauen, and there muſt remaine till his comming againe, Act. 3.21. Againe he ſaith, *The poore you ſhall haue alwayes, but me alwayes you cannot haue*, Mar. 14. *Ergo*, Chriſt being now in his humanity in heauen, cannot be preſent in yͤ Sacrament vpō earth.

Bellarmine anſwereth to the firſt place, that the carnall preſence of Chriſt dooth not draw him out of heauen: his naturall body remayneth there ſtill: yet by his omnipotent power he can make his body to be in many places at once, *cap.*14.

Anſw. If Chriſts body be in heauen and in earth, and in many places at once, it muſt either be his owne naturall body which was borne of the Virgin *Marie*, or he muſt euery day creat himſelfe a new body: but this were to too abſurd to be granted, that euery day there ſhould be a new Chriſt. Neither can the firſt be admitted: for a naturall body hath a naturall preſence; but ſo hath not Chriſts body in the Sacrament: for it is not there naturally, being without ſhape or forme, neither viſible nor ſenſible. And how can it ſtand with the propertie of a true naturall body, to be in 1000. places at once? for ſo muſt Chriſts bodie needes be, and in more too, ſeeing he is kept and hanged vp in euery popiſh Church. And further, if *totus Chriſtus*, whole Chriſt, be in the Sacrament, both with his bodie & ſoule; you muſt either graunt, that there are many whole Chriſts, ſeeing he is in many places at once: or elſe if there be but one whole Chriſt, his humanitie muſt be diſperſed euery where as his Godhead is: & ſo are you againſt your wils become *Vbiquitaries*.

Againe, if this be not a good argument, Chriſts bodie is in heauen, and therefore not in the Sacrament; then the Angels reaſon is not good, Matth. 28.6. *Hee is not here, for hee is riſen*: but if this be a good conſequence in the Angels argument, becauſe Chriſts bodie was not in more places then one, at once, it doth alſo neceſſarilie follow in the other.

Bellarmine to the ſecond place anſwereth, that as we alwaies haue the poore, ſo haue we not Chriſt, that is viſiblie, to annoynt his bodie, or to doe other ſuch ſeruices of loue and dutie vnto him: yet this letteth not, but that we may haue his preſence inuiſible in the Sacrament: ſo alſo anſwere the Rhemiſts, Matth. 26. ſect. 3.

Contra. Firſt, we reade in Scripture but of two ſorts of Chriſts preſence, one as he is God preſent in his power and diuinitie, and ſo he is with his Church alwaies, Mat. 28.20. the other, as he is man, by which preſence he ſaith, *me you cannot haue alwaies with you*, Mat. 26.11. If they can ſhew vs a third kinde of preſence out of Scripture, ſuch as they imagine, we will heare them: Secondly, our Sauiour commendeth the woman, that ſhe had wrought a good worke vpon him, verſ. 10. and ſaith, they ſhall not haue him any more in ſuch ſort, that is, to worke a good worke vpon: but if Chriſts bodie were preſent in the Sacrament, it were a good worke, to adore it, to adorne it with cloth of golde, and to giue all outward reuerence to it: but Chriſt is not bodily preſent now, to haue any good workes miniſtred vnto him: *Ergo*, he is no waies either viſiblie, or inuiſiblie preſent in his bodie.

Argum.4. Matth.15.17. All that entreth into the mouth, goeth into the bellie and is caſt out into the draught; the bodie of Chriſt is not caſt into the draught, but bread onely: *Ergo*, the bodie of Chriſt doth not enter in at the mouth.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt ſpeaketh onely of ſuch meate, as is receiued to nouriſh the bodie: for after the reſurrection Chriſt did verilie eate, and yet it was not caſt into the draught, that he did eate, becauſe he eate not for nouriſhment. And whereas we anſwere, that this example is vnfitly alleaged, becauſe Chriſt ſpeaketh of mortall men, that eate, but he was then immortall: he replieth, that in like manner Chriſt ſpeaketh of mortall and corruptible meate, not of immortall and incorruptible, ſuch as his bodie is: *Bellarm.c.*14 *reſp. ad argum*.2.

Contra. Firſt the words of our Sauiour are generall, *Whatſoeuer entreth in at the mouth*; and therefore nothing, that goeth that way, can be excepted: Secondly, the way for immortall and incorruptible foode is not to goe in by the mouth into the bellie; for that which is corruptible is not capable of that, which is incorruptible, and immortall, as S. *Peter* ſheweth; *You are borne anew not of mortall ſeede but immortall, by the word of God, &c*. Then it followeth, verſ.24. *All fleſh is graſſe, &c. but the word of the Lord endureth for euer*: fleſh which is graſſe and corruptible is not capable of the immortall ſeede of the word, no more is it of the immortall foode of Chriſts bodie: wherefore they may as well ſay that mortall foode may goe into the ſoule, as immortall into the bellie. Thirdly, the ſame thing that is caſt into the draught, firſt commeth in by the mouth: then I aske of them, what it is that goeth out into the draught? not the accidents of bread, (that were abſurd) nor yet Chriſts bodie, (it were impious once to thinke it) *Ergo*, the ſubſtance of bread goeth forth, and came in by the mouth before. *Bellarmine* ſaith he will not meddle with this queſtion now, what is become of the accidents of bread, being corrupted in the ſtomacke: yet I would his leyſure had ſerued him to haue reſolued this doubt now: but I thinke we muſt giue him a longer day to conſult with the Popes chayre, and then tell vs his mind. The Papiſts are all here in ſuch a ſtreite, that they know not how honeſtlie to winde themſelues out: for ſeeing they affirme, that Chriſts bodie entreth in at the mouth, and ſomewhat muſt goe forth againe, they muſt graunt, that it is either the accidents of bread, or bread it ſelfe, or ſome new ſubſtance ſupplied in that inſtant, or the verie bodie of Chriſt, which commeth out of the bodie: but not the firſt, for it is a ſubſtance that is caſt forth into the draught, and the accidents of bread are corrupted and gone; and where there is corruption, there of neceſſitie is a ſubiect and a ſubſtance: It is not bread, for that they ſay was chaſed away before, and annihilated: it is no new ſubſtance; for the ſame thing, that commeth in by the mouth, goeth forth againe: therefore it followeth, that it is the ſubſtance of Chriſts bodie: for how can they ſhift it, ſeeing Chriſts bodie being once eaten muſt remaine? for our Sauiour ſaith, *He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud remaineth in me, and I in him*; Iohn 6:56. and if Chriſts fleſh remaine, no other ſubſtance commeth vnto it, neither of bread, nor any other, (for this is the Lutherans conſubſtantiation, which the Papiſts abhorre.) They haue therefore but two euaſions, one is to ſay, that Chriſts fleſh goeth from the bodie, as it came into it, as a Popiſh Prieſt reaſoning with *Robert Smith* martyr, was not aſhamed to graunt, ſaying further, that it was no greater derogation to Chriſt, then to be ſpit vpon: *Fox*. pag. 1691. But this ſo great blaſphemie our aduerſaries ſeeme in words to miſlike: yet holding the carnall preſence, they are driuen ſo to ſay, or elſe to ſay nothing. The other way to ſatisfie all doubts, is to leaue theſe filthie dregs of error, and with *Origene* to confeſſe the truth: *Quod ſi quicquid ingreditur per os, &c*. If that whatſoeuer entreth in by the mouth, goeth into the bellie, &c. euen that meate, which is ſanctified by the word and praier, in reſpect of the materiall part thereof, goeth into the bellie, and ſo out into the draught. Wherefore it is bread, and not the Lords fleſh, that is eaten in the Sacrament, and ſo deliuered againe, as all other meates are.

In cap.15. Matth.

Ad Dardan. epiſt.57.

Hearken what *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Cauendum eſt ne ita diuinitatem adſtruamus hominis, vt veritatem corporis auferamus*: We muſt take heede we doe not ſo maintaine the diuine nature of the man Chriſt, that we take away the nature of his bodie.

Argum.5. The fathers in the law did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate, and drinke the ſame ſpirituall drinke in their Sacraments that we doe, 1.Corin.10.2.3. but they did not eate the fleſh of Chriſt, nor drinke his blood, but onely ſpiritually by faith: *Ergo*, no more doe we.

Bellarmine here anſwereth no otherwiſe then he did before, that the Apoſtle meaneth not, that the Iſraelites did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate that we doe, but the ſame meate among themſelues, both good and bad, *Bellarm.lib*.1.*de Euchar.cap*.14.*reſponſ.ad loc*.12.

Contra. We haue likewiſe ſhewed before, that they did ſpiritually eate and drinke the ſame meate and drinke, that wee doe, namely Chriſt: as the Apoſtle ſaith the rocke, whereof they dranke, was Chriſt, 1.Corin.10.4. See alſo *Auguſtines* iudgement before of this place, and likewiſe *Bernards*, Controuerſie 11.queſtion 2.part 2.

Here *Bellarmine* firſt refuſeth *Auguſtines* expoſition, ſaying that the Apoſtle doth euidently ſhew, that they did eate the ſame meate onely amongſt themſelues, becauſe that all both good and bad did eate the ſame meate; but the good onely amongſt them, did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate with vs,in our aduerſaries iudgement: ſecondly, he ſaith,that *Auguſtine* did meane, that they did eate the ſame meate in ſignification onely, not in vertue and efficacie: *Bellarm. cap.* 14. *reſp.ad loc.*12.

Contra. Firſt,it is euident by the Apoſtles words,that he meaneth the ſame ſpiritual meate and drinke both among themſelues,and together with vs: *for the rocke* (ſaith he) *was Chriſt:* but Chriſt is our ſpirituall foode,as well as theirs. Secondly, his reaſon, that all both good and bad did eate the ſame meate, doth make againſt his expoſition, as well as ours: for it was the ſame ſpirituall meate whether amongſt themſelues, or the ſame with ours: but the wicked did not eate it, as it was ſpirituall meate. We ſay then,that it was the ſame ſpirituall meate ſacramentally to all both good and bad,though effectuallie onely to the beleeuers: as Chriſt ſaid to all his Apoſtles, *Drinke ye all of this, for this is my blood,&c.* Matth.26.26. It was ſacramentallie Chriſts blood to them all, amongſt whome *Origene* thinketh that *Iudas* was one, and that he receiued the Sacrament with the reſt, *Tract.*35. *in Matth.* yet it was ſo effectuallie onely to his faithfull Apoſtles. Thirdly, that *Auguſtine* meaneth,it was the ſame ſpirituall meate with ours,not in ſignification onely, but in vertue alſo and efficacie, it is euident by his owne words,rehearſed in the decrees, *part.*3.*diſt.*2. *c.*81. *Aliud illi, aliud nos, ſed ſpecie viſibili, quod tamen idem eſt virtute ſpirituali:* They did eate one thing,we another, but in outward ſhew,which is the ſame in ſpirituall vertue.

*Argum.*6. There remained wine ſtill after the conſecration and diſtribution amongſt the Apoſtles: for Chriſt ſaith, *He will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine,* Matth.26.29. So S. *Paul* calleth the other element bread after the conſecration, 1.Cor.10.17. We that are many are one bread,becauſe we are partakers of one bread. Likewiſe, cap.11.26. *Ergo,* there remaineth ſtill bread and wine in the Sacrament. And therefore no bodie of Chriſt: for they cannot be there both together,as they teach.

Bellarmine anſwereth, firſt, that Chriſt ſaying, *I will drinke no more, &c.* meaneth that wine which was vſed in his legall ſupper,at the eating of the paſchall Lambe, before he inſtituted his laſt ſupper: as *Luke* maketh manifeſt mention of two cups, which our Sauiour gaue to his diſciples,one before the conſecration,the other after: *cap.*11.*reſp. ad argum.*10.

*Contra.*1. That Chriſt ſpake theſe words after the inſtitution of his laſt ſupper, it appeareth both by S. *Matthew* and *Marke,* who both agreeing together report theſe words as ſpoken after. 2. S.*Luke* indeed chap.22.verſ.17. firſt ſpeaketh of the cup,and afterwards of the diſtribution of the bread,and againe of the cup, verſ.20. But as *Auguſtine* ſaith, he ſpeaketh in the firſt place by way of anticipation,meaning the ſame cuppe, which was giuen after Supper. *Bellarmines* anſwere here is,that Auguſtine was deceiued, *cap.*11.*reſp. ad argum.*10. But it further may be ſhewed thus: The Euangeliſtes ſet downe three things concerning the cup: Firſt, that Chriſt gaue thankes. Secondly,that he gaue it to his diſciples. Thirdly,he ſaid, *This is my blood of the new Teſtament:* Now *Matthew* and *Marke* ioyne all theſe three together: *Luke* doth report them ſunderly: In the firſt place,he ſaith,Chriſt gaue thankes,and ſaid, *Take this and deuide it amongſt you;* that is,as the other Euangeliſtes ſay, *drinke ye all of this:* and then in the ſecond rehearſall of the cup,he ſupplieth that which is wanting,namely this clauſe: *This cup is the new teſtament in my blood, or my blood of the new teſtament.* So then before he ſpake of the Sacrament, both becauſe of the Euchariſticall act,the giuing of thankes,and the words of inſtitution,take,drinke,or deuide.

Bellarmine to the ſecond place anſwereth: firſt, S. *Paul* calleth it bread after conſecration, becauſe it hath the ſhew,and ſhape of bread: as the braſen ſerpent,was called a ſerpent,and Angels in Scripture are called men,becauſe they ſo appeared: *reſp.ad argum.*13.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch bread as is eaten and broken, 1.Corinth.11.26. *As often as ye ſhall eate this bread:* and 1.Corinth.10.16. *The bread, which we breake:* but not the ſhape,but the ſubſtance of bread is eaten and broken. Secondly,the Angels did not appeare onely in the ſhape of men, but had mens bodies indeed, their feete were waſht, they did eate and drinke with *Abraham* and *Lot:* the braſen ſerpent was not onely in ſhew, but in ſubſtance and throughout of braſſe: theſe examples helpe you not. Thirdly, the Apoſtle calling it bread after conſecration ſo many times: thrice in the 10. chapter verſe 16.17. and thrice chapter 11. verſe 26,27,28. muſt be taken to ſpeake properlie,and to call the thing as it is.

Secondly,it is called bread,becauſe it was bread before: as Exod.7.12. *Aarons* rod is ſaid to deuoure the Sorcerers rods, whereas it was then a Serpent, and not a rod; but ſo called, becauſe it was a rod before, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt,there is mention made in the text, how *Aarons* rod was turned into a Serpent; if you can ſhew the like Scripture for the turning of the bread into Chriſts body,you ſhal ſay ſomewhat. Secondly, *Aarons* rod was turned into a Serpent, and then returned to bee a rod againe:

you likewiſe muſt ſhew that the ſubſtance of bread returneth againe, or elſe this example is not like. Thirdly, *Aarons* rod was(being turned)a Serpent in ſhew,and not a rod: but in the Euchariſt the ſhew of bread remaineth ſtill by your own confeſſion : herein alſo this example is vnlike.

Thirdly, ſaith he, it is called bread, either after the Hebrue phraſe, which taketh generally bread for meate ; or elſe becauſe it is the true ſubſtantiall bread indeed, as our aduerſaries doe expound it, in the ſixt of *Iohn*, where Chriſt is called the true bread, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, that the Apoſtle meaneth bread properly, not generally any meate, it thus appeareth, 1.Cor.10.16. *the bread which we breake,&c.* it is proper to bread to bee broken, and not ſo proper for other meate, which is rather cut and diuided then broken. Againe, there is no other meate vſed in the Communion to betoken Chriſts bodie, but the breaking of bread. Secondly, neither doth the Apoſtle ſpeake here of ſpirituall bread, as Ioh.6. but of materiall bread, as ver.17. *we are one bread,&c. becauſe we are partakers of one bread:* this bread is not the fleſh of Chriſt, for the congregatiõ, though they make one myſticall bodie, cannot be ſaid to be Chriſts fleſh, as they are ſaid to be one bread, and one bodie : they are Chriſts bodie myſticall, but not his reall and fleſhie bodie. Again, the eating of bread, and drinking of the cup, are both taken alike, 1.Cor.11.26. but the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of a materiall cup, yet by a figure comprehending the wine in the cup: therefore he alſo inſinuateth materiall bread.

*Argum.*7. Luk.24.39. Chriſt ſaith, *handle me, and ſee me, a ſpirit hath not fleſh and bones, as yee ſee me haue:* but Chriſts bodie in the Sacrament, can neither bee handled nor ſeene : *Ergo,* it is not there.

Bellarmine anſwereth : The argument followeth very well affirmatiuely, This is ſeene and felt: *Ergo,* it is a bodie, and ſo our Sauiour reaſoneth : but negatiuely it followeth not, It is not ſeene, nor felt: *Ergo,* no bodie : for a bodie may be couered with another bodie, and God may blinde the eyes, that they ſhall not ſee, as when Chriſt paſſed in the middeſt amongſt them, that would haue throwne him downe headlong, Luk.4. *Bellarm.reſp.ad argum.6.*

Contra. Firſt, the argument followeth as well negatiuely, as affirmatiuely, where there is no other impediment: It cannot bee felt or ſeene: *Ergo,* no bodie ; as in the Sacrament there is no ſuch impediment : neither in the obiect, for there is the ſame thing ſeene and felt, which was before; neither is Chriſts bodie hid vnder another bodie : nor yet is our ſight hindred, or a miſt caſt before our eyes, as he pretendeth there was, when Chriſt eſcaped from the Nazarites (and yet the text ſaith not he paſſed inuiſible, but eſcaped miraculouſly, as at other times:) wherefore there being no impediment, the argument followeth ſtrongly. Secondly, our Sauiour reaſoneth thus: *See my hands and feete, for it is I:* I am here: *Ergo,* you may ſee my hands and feete: which were no good reaſon, if Chriſts bodie could bee preſent, and neither hands, nor feete ſeene. Wherefore as the Apoſtles were perſwaded by ſeeing and handling of Chriſt, that his bodie was preſent; ſo vnleſſe we may be ſo perſwaded, we are not bound to beleeue Chriſts bodily preſence.

*Argum.*8. Ioh.6.63. *It is the ſpirit that quickeneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing: Ergo,* the fleſh of Chriſt is not eaten otherwiſe then ſpiritually in the Sacrament.

Bellarmine and the Rhemiſts likewiſe anſwere, that by fleſh here is not vnderſtood the fleſh of Chriſt, but their fleſhly vnderſtanding of Chriſts words : for the Capernaites thought groſſely, that Chriſt would diuide his fleſh, and giue it amongſt them to bee eaten : and they alſo erred, in taking Chriſts fleſh, for the fleſh of a meere man : wherefore he onely reproueth their carnall vnderſtanding of Chriſt, whereas he ſaith, his words were ſpirit and life, that is ſpiritually to bee vnderſtood ; *Bellarm.reſp.ad argum.7.Rhemiſt.in hunc locum.*

Secondly, be it graunted, that Chriſt ſpeaketh of his fleſh, that it profiteth not; yet it followeth not, that it is not in the Sacrament : for by the ſame reaſon, there ſhould bee no bread there neither, becauſe of it ſelfe it alſo profiteth not, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, we doe not ſo conclude, the fleſh of Chriſt profiteth not of it ſelfe: *Ergo,* it is not in the Sacrament : but by warrant of theſe words, wee ſay that Chriſts fleſh is not otherwiſe, but ſpiritually to be eaten, and therefore his carnal preſence is not requiſite at all: for Chriſt ſaith not, that the ſpirit and the fleſh quicken, but that *the ſpirit onely quickeneth,* which is the ſpirituall eating of his fleſh: for to all other purpoſes the fleſh of Chriſt is profitable, as that it was borne, died, and roſe againe for vs : but as touching any fleſhly eating it profiteth not at all. Secondly, that Chriſt ſpeaketh of his fleſh, it is euident : for Chriſt remoueth the offence, which they tooke at his words, ſaying, verſ.52. *How can this man giue vs his fleſh to eate?* and therefore he telleth them that his fleſh would not profit them to bee eaten, otherwiſe then ſpiritually. And thus *Auguſtine* expoundeth it, as he is alleaged in their owne decrees, *par.3.diſt.2.c.44. Caro non prodeſt quicquam, ſed quomodo illi intellexerũt,&c.* The fleſh profiteth nothing, but as they vnderſtood it : for they ſo vnderſtood fleſh, as it is ſold, and cut out in the ſhambles, &c. Here S. *Auguſtine* expoundeth this place of the fleſh of Chriſt. But becauſe *Bellarmine* ſeemeth to take aduantage of theſe words of *Auguſtine,* as though he ſhould not condemne all carnall eating of Chriſt, but onely in ſuch groſſe manner,as the Capernaites imagined : It followeth in the ſame place, *Gratia eius non conſumitur morſibus:* His gracious fleſh is not conſumed with biting : that is, is not eaten at all. And againe, *Donec ſeculum finiatur, ſurſum eſt Dominus:*As long as the world endureth,the Lord is aboue: *Corpus Domini, in quo reſurrexit vno loco eſſe oportet:* The bodie of the Lord, wherein he roſe againe, muſt be but in one place;but the veritie of his bodie is diffuſed euery where. Here S.*Auguſtine* affirming,that Chriſts bodie is no where now, but in heauen, ſheweth, that it cannot any kinde of way,either viſibly or inuiſibly be eaten in the earth. Thirdly, the Papiſts are the Capernaites of theſe times : for they imagined,that Chriſts fleſh ſhould be eaten with the mouth,whether after a viſible or inuiſible manner,it is not expreſſed;and ſo doe the Papiſts hold. Againe, the Capernaites dreamed of a dead mans fleſh without life : and ſo the Papiſts doe ſeparate Chriſts fleſh from the ſpirituall vertue thereof, affirming that wicked men may eate Chriſts fleſh,and yet receiue no grace or vertue by it. And this impious diſtinction betweene the veritie and vertue of Chriſts fleſh,*Innocentius* 3.ſeemeth to be the author of: *Decr.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*41.*c.*6. *Diſtinguendum eſt ſubtiliter inter tria,&c.* We muſt ſubtilly diſtinguiſh betweene three things in the Sacrament; the viſible forme of the bread and wine ; the veritie which is of the fleſh of Chriſt; the vertue in vnitie and charitie : What doe they now elſe, in diuiding the veritie of Chriſts fleſh from the vertue thereof, but together with the Capernaites, make it a meere humane and dead fleſh without life or vertue ? Fourthly,that this place is to be vnderſtood only of the ſpirituall eating of Chriſt, I haue ſhewed before at large, in the anſwere to the ſecond argument of the Papiſts for the reall preſence,whither I referre the reader.

*Argum.*9.Ioh.12.26.Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith,*Where I am,there ſhall my miniſters be,*that is,they ſhall be with him in his glorie. But now Chriſt is in glorie: *Ergo,* his Miniſters and Saints are with him:but they are not in the Euchariſt : *Ergo,* neither is Chriſt preſent bodily there. Wherefore, they muſt confeſſe that it is either glorious to Chriſt to be in the Sacrament,or inglorious : if it be glorie to him,the Saints muſt be there preſent to ſee and be partakers of his glorie : if it be inglorious,it is the greateſt ſacrilege in the world to depriue Chriſt of his glorie.

Bellarmine at the firſt ſight maketh light of this argument,(which indeede wee our ſelues doe not vrge,as any of our beſt reaſons)yet it doth ſo trouble him, that he knoweth not which way to turne himſelfe ; anſwering by a diſtinction, ſuch as it is:for as Chriſts holy ſoule, while it is in the Euchariſt,doth behold God,ſo is it in glorie : but to be in the Euchariſt vnder the formes of bread and wine,is no glorie to him,and therefore the preſence of his Saints is not neceſſarie there. Secondly,he granteth notwithſtanding,that the Angels are there preſent with Chriſts bodie,attending vpon him : *reſponſ.ad argum.*8.

Contra. Firſt,he hath giuen vs an anſwerleſſe anſwere : for ſtill wee vrge as before, either it is glorious for Chriſt to be in the Euchariſt,or inglorious : he granteth both,that is partly glorious, partly inglorious,that Chriſt being there is in his fathers glorie,and is not : if hee bee any way in glorie, then muſt his Saints bee with him, according to his promiſe,*for they are euer with him,* 1.Theſſ.4.17.and *they follow the Lambe whither ſoeuer he goeth,*Reuel.14.4. If it be in part not glorious for Chriſt to bee there, they doe more then in part commit blaſphemous ſacrilege againſt Chriſt,to pull him from his glorie in heauen. Secondly,you giue the Angels a good office to attend vpon Chriſt to ſee him diſhonored: If the Sun withdrew his light in the paſſion of Chriſt, & could not endure to ſee the Son of God ſacrificed in his own ſhape;how much leſſe can the angels endure to ſee him offered vp vnder the baſe formes of bread and wine ? The Angels *doe ſtill deſire to behold Chriſt in his glorie,* 1.Pet.1.12. but to ſee him diſhonoured, and vnclothed of his glorie, they haue no will or deſire at all. This ſillie argument of ours (as he counteth it) doth make this great Rabbin ſpeechleſſe,that he is conſtrained to lay his hand on his mouth.

*Argum.*10. Ioh.16.28.*I leaue the world,and goe to the father : Ergo,* Chriſt is no more in his humanitie in the world;and ſo conſequently not in the Euchariſt. But here it will be,and is anſwered,that Chriſt hath left the world,in his viſible preſence,but yet inuiſiblie his body may be in the world ſtill.We then further ſay,that therefore Chriſt ſent the holy Ghoſt to comfort the diſciples, and to ſupplie his abſence,and to be in his ſtead : but if Chriſt were bodily preſent ſtill,there needed no ſuch ſupplie.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt,that the comming of the holy Ghoſt did not ſupplie euery preſence of Chriſt, for he ſaith,Ioh.14.18.*I will not leaue you comfortleſſe, but I will come vnto you* ; but onely the viſible preſence of Chriſt,whom they ſhould no longer ſee, nor heare,as they did : ſo that the comming of the ſpirit doth not take away the inuiſible preſence of his fleſh. Secondly,as the holie Ghoſt did verely deſcend, yet remained in heauen ſtill : ſo Chriſt verely aſcended as hee is man,and yet remaineth ſtill in the Euchariſt, *reſp.ad argum.*9.

Contra. Firſt,the holy Ghoſt ſupplieth not the preſence of Chriſts diuine nature,for ſo Chriſt and his ſpirit are one,and the one cannot be preſent without the other: but it ſupplieth his whole bodilie preſence, as may thus appeare : Firſt, there is mention made, Iohn.14.of two kindes of

Chriſts comming againe to the world : the one is by his ſpirit, and ſo he ſaith, Ioh. 14. verſ. 13. *I will not leaue you comfortleſſe, but will come againe vnto you.* And verſ. 23. *If any man loue me, &c. my father and I will come vnto him, &c.* Thus Chriſt in ſpirit and power is alwaies preſent, as his father is, and this preſence the ſpirit ſupplieth not. The other comming is in his body, and ſo he ſaith, ver. 3. *I will come againe, and receiue you to my ſelfe, that where I am, there may ye be alſo.* This is his comming in the end of the world : but in the Euchariſt Chriſt doth not receiue vs to glorie to himſelfe: *Ergo,* he commeth not there in bodie.

Secondly, Ioh. 16. 7. *If I goe not away, the comforter will not come:* but the comforter is come: *Ergo,* Chriſt in bodie is gone, not onely after his viſible but inuiſible manner : for Chriſts bodilie preſence, as it was comfortable, is taken away; and therefore he ſaith he will ſend another comforter, Ioh. 14. 16. but the inuiſible preſence of Chriſts bodie is comfortable: now as he was our comforter in his fleſh, he is abſent : for what neede a ſecond comforter, if the firſt be ſtill preſent? *Ergo,* in reſpect of his inuiſible bodily preſence he is abſent.

Thirdly, Ioh. 16. 15. *He ſhall take of mine and ſhew it vnto you :* But if Chriſt himſelfe be preſent, might he not rather take of his owne himſelfe and ſhew vnto vs?

Secondly, *Bellarmine* in comparing the holy Ghoſt and Chriſts humanitie together, that Chriſts bodie may be in heauen and earth at once, as the holy Ghoſt is, is become an vbiquitarie, bringing in an omnipreſence of Chriſts bodie, and ſo is not farre from the Eutychian hereſie, in confounding Chriſts humane and diuine nature together.

Argum. 11. Our bodies in the reſurrection ſhall be like to Chriſts bodie, Philip. 3. 21. *who ſhall chaunge our vile bodie, that it may bee faſhioned or conformed to his glorious bodie :* but our bodies in the reſurrection ſhall haue no ſuch propertie or qualitie, to be in many places at once: *Ergo,* neither now is Chriſts bodie at once in many places.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſts bodie is in many places, it doth not ariſe from any propertie of a glorious bodie, but from Gods infinit power, *reſponſ. ad argum.* 14. *c.* 14.

Contra. Firſt, ſo doth the conforming of our bodies to Chriſts glorious bodie ariſe from the power of God : as it followeth in the ſame place, *according to his mightie power, whereby he is able to ſubdue all things to himſelfe :* wherefore euen the properties of our transfigured bodies ſhall bee wrought by the mightie power of God : and therefore herein is no difference betweene Chriſts glorified bodie and ours. Secondly, our Sauiour prayeth, Iohn. 17. 21. *that as he and his father are one, ſo we may be one with him :* Like as then Chriſt as he is God, is one with his father; ſo wee in our glorified bodies ſhall be one with Chriſt as he is man. And further he ſaith, verſ. 22. *the glorie that thou gaueſt me, I haue giuen them :* It followeth then, that all the properties of Chriſts glorified bodie ſhall by his diuine power be communicated to ours : but our bodies ſhall haue no ſuch omnipreſence then, no more hath Chriſts bodie now.

Argum. 12. Chriſt is there onely in bodie, where he is to be ſought: but he is to be ſought only aboue in heauen, Coloſſ. 3. 1. *Seeke thoſe things that are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God: Ergo,* Chriſt is bodily onely in heauen, and not in earth.

Bellarmine anſwereth, to ſeeke Chriſt aboue is not vnderſtood of the place, but of the eleuating and lifting vp of the affection : for otherwiſe Aſtronomers and ſtarre-gazers ſhould be the deuouteſt men, that are alwaies looking vpward : ſo they that ſeeke Chriſt in the Sacrament, may haue their heart aboue, *cap.* 14. *reſponſ. ad argum* 15.

Contra. Firſt, neither doe we ſpeake of a ſeeking of Chriſt aboue onely in place without eleuating of affection, as the Apoſtles were rebuked, Act. 1. for gazing after Chriſt into heauen; but of ſuch a ſeeking of Chriſt in the heauenly place, as hath our heart and affection alſo : as it followeth verſ. 2. *Set your affection on heauenly things.* Secondly, howſoeuer this word, *aboue,* may otherwhere be referred to the affection, and not to the place; yet it is euident, that the Apoſtle here meaneth, the heauenly place aboue, where *Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God:* but Chriſts bodie in the Euchariſt ſitteth not at the right hand of God (for then you muſt ſay alſo that the formes of bread and wine, vnder the which you ſay Chriſts bodie is, doe ſit there together with Chriſt:) *Ergo,* Chriſt is not to be ſought aboue in the Euchariſt. Thirdly, verſ. 2. the Apoſtle to *things aboue* oppoſeth *things on the earth,* or earthly things : but bread and wine are earthly things : *Ergo,* for Chriſt to be vnder earthly things, is not to be aboue.

Argum. 13. Chriſt ſaith, *Doe this in remembrance of me :* but we remember onely things abſent; Chriſt is in the Euchariſt remembred : *Ergo,* he is abſent.

Bellarmine anſwereth, the Apoſtle ſheweth what it is, *to doe it in remembrance of Chriſt,* that is, *to ſhew the Lords death, till he come,* 1. Cor. 11. 26. ſo then the death of Chriſt is remembred, which is in deede abſent and paſt, and not preſent, *Bellarm. cap.* 11. *reſp. ad argum.* 9.

Contra. Firſt, if the Euchariſt bee a remembrance of Chriſts death, and ſo conſequently of his ſacrifice, then is it not a ſacrifice ; for it cannot be both the thing it ſelfe, and a memorie of it to : ſo though you ſhould gaine here by the reall preſence, you haue loſt in your ſacrifice. Secondly, Chriſts death cannot be remembred without a memorie alſo of his bodie,for it was his bodie that died: neyther is Chriſts death, himſelfe; but his bodie, that dyed, is himſelfe:wherefore *in remembrance of me*, muſt be vnderſtood of his bodie, that died, which is therefore abſent, becauſe it is remembred. Thirdly, if the Euchariſt be *a ſhewing of the Lords death till he come,* and you ſay, hee commeth ſtraight vpon the words of conſecration : then is the Euchariſt eyther not at all , or a very ſhort while, a ſhewing of his death : And thus you confound your ſelues.

Laſtly, we muſt vnderſtand, that this their deuiſed and forged opinion of the reall preſence of Chriſt, is of no antiquitie in the Church : neither was there any queſtion about it for 1000. yeeres after Chriſt, till the time of *Berengarius,* who liued about *Anno* 1060. who was ſore troubled, for maintaining the trueth againſt the carnall preſence, and vnder Pope *Leo* the 9.and *Nicholas* the 2.was conſtrained twiſe to recant:yet there was no publique law or decree made in the Church concerning tranſubſtantiation , till the Councell of Laterane , which was held vnder Pope *Innocent* the 3. *Anno* 1215.

Fox.p.1152.

And that this groſſe opinion ſauoureth not a whit of antiquitie , it may appeare by the reſolute iudgement of *Auguſtine*: *Sacramenta ex ſimilitudine ipſarum rerum nomina habent , ſecundum quendam modum ſacramentum corporis Chriſti, corpus Chriſti eſt,&c.* The Sacraments, becauſe of ſome likeneſſe, do beare the names of the things themſelues : as the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt is after a certaine manner called his bodie.

Epiſtol.23.

Chriſtus corporis ſui figuram diſcipulis commendauit : Chriſt did commend to his diſciples a figure of his bodie. *Quid paras dentem & ventrem? Crede, & manducaſti.* Why doeſt thou make ready thy teeth and thy belly ? Beleeue in Chriſt, and thou haſt eaten him.

Comment. in Pſal.3.

Secundum præſentiam maieſtatis ſemper habemus Chriſtum : ſecundum præſentiam carnis rectè dictum eſt diſcipulis, Me ſemper non habebitis: According to the preſence of his Maieſtie we haue Chriſt alwaies : according to his carnall preſence, it was truely ſaid to his diſciples, You cannot haue me alwayes. By theſe and many ſuch places in this ancient father, it is manifeſt , that in thoſe dayes there was no ſuch opinion held of the carnall preſence.

Bernard alſo teſtifieth euidently for this point. *Vſquè hodiè eadem caro nobis , ſed ſpiritualiter non carnaliter exhibetur,&c.* The ſame fleſh of Chriſt euen to this day is exhibited, but ſpiritually not carnally : we haue the true ſubſtance of his fleſh, but in ſpirit and power : we haue Chriſt, not as the Angels in the preſence of his Maieſtie, as the Apoſtles in the ſight of his humanitie, but as the Church hath Chriſt in faith in the Sacraments.

Againe, *Cibus iſte non eſt ventris, ſed mentis : iſte eſt panis Angelorum qui neſcit putreſcere, non vadit in ſeceſſum, ſed tendit in excelſum* : This foode is of the minde, not of the bellie , this is the bread of Angels, that putrieth not, it goeth not into the draught, but aſcendeth aloft:*Sermon.in cœna Domini.*

We haue the teſtimonie alſo of the 7.generall Councel, *Conſtantinop.*as it is alleaged. *Nicen.*2. *action.6.Tom.*3. vpon theſe words of our Sauiour , *Hoc eſt corpus meum* : This is my bodie ; they thus inferre : *Ecce igitur viuificantis illius corporis imaginem totam , panis ſcilicet ſubſtantiam, quam mandauit apponi, ne ſcilicet humana effigie figurata , Idololatreia induceretur* : Behold therefore the whole or onely image of that quickening body,the ſubſtance of bread,which he commanded to be ſet before them,leaſt if it had had an humane ſhape,they might haue committed idolatrie to it. They ſay, the ſubſtance of bread, not the forme onely was deliuered the Apoſtles , and , that it was the image and figure onely of Chriſts bodie.

Let vs ſee, what their owne decrees ſay for this matter, *decret.par.*3.*diſt.*2.*c.*44. *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis,&c.* You ſhall not eate this bodie, which you ſee , nor drinke that blood, which they ſhall ſhedde vpon the Croſſe,&c. *ibid.c.*49.*Dupliciter intelligitur caro Chriſti & ſanguis,vel ſpiritualis illa & diuina,&c.* The fleſh and blood of Chriſt is vnderſtood two wayes, eyther his diuine and ſpirituall fleſh, whereof he ſaith, *my fleſh is meate indeed,&c.* or his fleſh, which was crucified vpon the Croſſe. But Chriſts fleſh ſuppoſed to be in the Euchariſt,is neyther ſpirituall (for a ſpirituall preſence we denie not) and they hold a carnall preſence, which is not ſpirituall : neither is it his fleſh or blood vpon the Croſſe, for that the former Decree denieth to be eaten, or drunke : *Ergo,* there is no fleſh of Chriſt preſent at all.

Againe, *diſtinct.*4.*c.*131. *Nulli eſt ambigendum,&c.* It is not to be doubted,but that they which are baptized, are made partakers of the bodie and blood of Chriſt,&c. Againe , *Origen* ſaith, *tract.*35.*in Matth. Potus iſte, quem Deus ſanguinem ſuum fatetur,&c.* This drinke, which God calleth his blood, is the word ; ſo then Chriſts blood is in Baptiſme, it is in the word, but yet there is no carnall preſence : *Ergo,* his bodie and blood may be and are in the Euchariſt , and yet no carnall preſence. And S. *Ambroſe* ſpeaking of Baptiſme, ſaith, *lib.*1.*de Sacram.c.*2. *Si hoc eſt corpus Chriſti, hic et Angeli conſtituti ſunt,&c.* If the bodie of Chriſt be here, then the Angels alſo are preſent, for where the body is, there will the Eagles be gathered together: The body of Chriſt is then as well in Baptiſme, as in the Euchariſt, and yet there is no reall preſence.

Ibid.cap.87. Chriſtus ipſe conuiua,et conuiuium;ipſe comedens, et qui comeditur,&c. Chriſt is both a gueſt, and the feaſt; he himſelfe eateth, and is eaten: but Chriſt did not eate his owne fleſh; and yet he did eate, that which his Apoſtles eate: *Ergo,* his fleſh was not in the Euchariſt. Wherefore we ſay with *Origen, tract.35.in Matth. Ipſe eſt panis,et manducat nobiſcum panem*: He is the bread, and eateth bread with vs: He did eate bread therefore with his diſciples,and not his owne fleſh, *cap.47. Quid paras dentes & ventrem,&c.* What doeſt thou prepare thy teeth and thy bellie? beleeue, and thou haſt eaten Chriſt: *Ergo,*Chriſts fleſh is not preſent in the Euchariſt to be eaten with the mouth, and ſo to goe downe into the bellie. Likewiſe *cap.76. De hac hoſtia,&c.* Of this hoaſt,which is done in remembrance of Chriſt,it is lawful to eate; but of that hoaſt,which Chriſt offered vpon the Croſſe, it is lawfull for none to eate of it ſelfe: but Chriſts fleſh which they ſay is in the Euchariſt, is the ſame, that was offered vpon the Croſſe: *Ergo,* it is not to be eaten of any. This euidence and witneſſe againſt the reall preſence we haue from their owne decrees: whereunto I will adioyne one other euident place, *decret.par.3.diſt.2.c.55. Dicit ſacerdos,&c.* The Prieſt or Miniſter ſaith, Make this a reaſonable and acceptable oblation, *Quod eſt figura corporis et ſanguinis Domini,&c.* which is a figure of the bodie and blood of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. If the oblation then be a figure of Chriſts bodie and blood, it is not the bodie and blood it ſelfe.

We will adioyne the glorious teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs,with ſome of their reaſons.

Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr: That which Chriſt did take, on the which he gaue thankes, the which he brake,he gaue to his diſciples,he called his body: but he tooke bread,gaue thankes ouer the bread,brake bread: *Ergo,*it was very bread which he called his body.

Againe, the carnall preſence of Chriſt deſtroyeth the inſtitution of the Lords Supper, which was commanded to be continued vntill the Lord himſelfe ſhould come: if therefore he be now really preſent in his fleſh, then muſt the Supper ceaſe: for a remembrance is not of a thing preſent,but of a thing paſt and abſent. See more arguments of this worthie Martyr, *Fox*.pag.1443. and 1387.

Maſter *Bradford:*The Sacrament is no otherwiſe Chriſts body,then Circumciſion was the couenant of God, and as Baptiſme and the water of Baptiſme is regeneration. Here when it was denyed,that no where in the Scriptures it could be ſhewed,that Baptiſme & the Lords Supper were coupled together: The Martyr bringeth forth that place, 1.Cor.12. *As we are baptized into one body,* ſo are we, *potati in vno ſpiritu,* we haue drunke of one ſpirit: then was it anſwered, that *Paul* had no ſuch words: *vid.plur.p.1619.col.1.*

M.*Bland,*diſputing with one M.*Milles* a popiſh Prieſt, about the carnall preſence, driueth him to confeſſe, that men were made drunke with the qualities and accidence, not the ſubſtance of wine,and that mice might liue with the accidence of bread,pag.1672

R.Smith, compelleth a popiſh doctor to confeſſe, that the body of Chriſt being eaten in the Sacrament,goeth downe into the belly,and ſo is caſt into the draught: ſaying further,that it was no more a derogation to Chriſt, then to be ſpit vpon: to whom the Martyr anſwereth: if the Iewes being his enemies, did but ſpit in his face, and wee being his friends throw him into the draught, which of vs haue deſerued the greater damnation, *Fox*.p.1691. Thus it may appeare how groſſe this popiſh opinion is, the patrones whereof are conſtrained to fall into ſo many vnreaſonable abſurdities: for this truth againſt this carnall and groſſe manner of Chriſts preſence, theſe holy Martyrs, with thouſands, yea 10. thouſands more, haue not doubted to giue their liues

Theſe and many other arguments of the Martyrs, both againſt the reall preſence and tranſubſtantiation I had collected together, and digeſted them into ſome order: but committing the copie to a deceitfull meſſengers hand, to cary it to the preſſe, by his negligence it was loſt: and ſo I was put to a ſecond trouble, and others depriued of my ſimple collections: which I had no leaſure to frame anew,the preſſe ſtaying for worke: let this therefore ſerue for a iuſt excuſe (Chriſtian Reader) if thy minde be not fully ſatisfied here in this behalfe. And I pray God forgiue him his fault, that hath put me to this trouble, and hindred the profit of many, and deliuer me heereafter from the hands of ſuch.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS QVESTION, WHETHER it ſtand with the power and will of God, that Chriſts bodie ſhould be carnally preſent in the Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

27.Error. THere are two difficulties or impoſſibilities,which do hinder the real preſence of Chriſts body in the Sacrament: Firſt, it would follow, that a naturall body, ſuch as Chriſts is, might be in two places at once: for they ſay, that it is in heauen, and in the Euchariſt all at once. Secondly, that a naturall body may be in a place, and yet not occupie or fill a place: for if Chriſts body be in the Sacrament, it occupieth no place: the compaſſe of a thinne and round cake is not anſwerable to the proportion of Chriſts body.

Notwithſtanding both theſe difficulties, it is agreeable both to the power and good pleaſure of God, that the body of Chriſt ſhould be included in the Sacrament, *Bellarm.*

Argum. 1. It is poſſible for the body of Chriſt to be in many places at once; and it alſo ſtandeth with his will: as Act.9.4. Chriſt appeared to *Saul*, either vpon the earth, or in the ayre next to the earth: for how could he either heare the voyce of Chriſt ſitting in heauen, or ſee the light ſo far off? *Ergo*, Chriſt was in two places: he appeared to *Paul* vpon earth, and he was at the ſame time in heauen, from whence he ſhall not moue till the day of iudgement, *Bellarm. de ſacram. Euchariſt. lib.3. cap.3. Rhem. Act.9 ſect.1.*

Anſw. 1. The text is plaine, that Chriſt ſpake from heauen, from whence the light ſhined, verſ.3. he was neither in the ayre nor vpon the earth. 2. Doe you make queſtion, whether *Paul* could ſee a light, or heare a voyce from ſo farre; ſeeing that the Sunne, whoſe body is ſo farre diſtant from vs, doth diſperſe his beames ouer the face of the earth, and the voyce of the thunder is heard very farre? Will ye deny Chriſt to haue that power, which we ſee to be in his creatures? 3. And why was it not as poſſible, that Chriſt from heauen ſhould be heard and ſeen of *Paul*, as he was ſeene of *Stephen* ſitting on the right hand of God? Act.7.56.

Bellarmine replieth: firſt, that it is certaine, that *Paul* did ſee Chriſt in the way to Damaſcus, for the text ſaith, that the other which were with him, ſaw no man, Act.9.7. Whereby is inſinuated, that *Paul* did ſee: and againe Act.22.14. *Ananias* ſaith to *Saule*, *God hath appointed thee, &c. that thou ſhouldeſt ſee that iuſt one, and heare the voyce of his mouth:* and Act.26.16. Chriſt ſaid to *Paul*, *I haue appeared vnto thee for this purpoſe, &c.* 1.Cor.9.1. *Haue I not ſeene the Lord?* and 1.Cor.15.8. Laſt of all, *He was ſeene alſo of me:* out of theſe places he inferreth, that *Paul* did ſee Chriſt.

Contra. Firſt, we denie not, but that *Paul* did ſee Chriſt in his humanitie, which might be as well at other times as now, as Act.22.18. At Ieruſalem he ſaw Chriſt ſpeaking vnto him: and 2.Cor.12. He was taken vp into the third heauen, &c. where no doubt he ſaw Chriſt. Secondly, neither doe wee ſtand vpon it, but that Chriſt alſo was ſeene of *Paul*, as hee went to Damaſcus, though it doe not appeare out of the text, but the contrarie rather: for *Saul* at the very firſt ſhining of the light, before he heard any voyce, fell downe to the ground, and was ſtricken blinde, Act.9.4. and verſ.8. the words of the text are, *That he ſaw no man:* wherefore it may be doubted whether at this time he ſaw Chriſt with the eyes of his fleſh. Thirdly, the authorities alleaged may be eaſilie anſwered: the firſt, Act.9.7. as the men are ſaid to haue ſeene no man, ſo verſ.8. it is ſaid of *Saul:* the ſecond 22.14. *That Paul ſhould ſee that iuſt one, and heare his voyce*, may be vnderſtoode of the viſion that followeth, verſ.18. where Chriſt was both ſeene, and heard of *Paul:* the third Act.26.16. That Chriſt appeared, doth not enforce any ſight of his perſon, as that place doth not, Act.7.2. where in the ſame word God is ſaid to haue appeared to *Moſes:* the fourth, and fift places proue, that *Paul* ſaw Chriſt, but not at this time: yet we denie not, but that *Paul* did and might ſee Chriſt in his iourney, though neither this place, nor the other Scriptures alleaged, doe neceſſarilie conclude it.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that Chriſt was ſeene of *Paul* in the earth, or in the ayre neere to the earth: firſt, becauſe the light of Chriſts bodie was ſo great, that it blinded *Paul*, which it could not haue done, if Chriſts bodie had been ſo farre off. Secondly, the other men ſaw the light, and heard the voyce, but their eyes and eares could not reach vp to heauen: Thirdly, they heard the voyce, but could not diſtinctly vnderſtand it, as *Paul* did, therefore Chriſt was neerer to *Paul:* but if the voyce had been from heauen, they ſhould all haue heard it alike. Fourthly, if *Paul* had ſeene Chriſt in heauen as *Stephen* did, he would not haue doubted, who it was, as now ſuddenly ſeeing a man ſtand before him, he asketh, *who art thou Lord?*

Contra. Firſt it was a light paſſing the brightnes of the ſunne, Act.26.13. If then the ſunne be able to dazle the eyes, how much more this exceeding light that came from Chriſt, though it ſhined from heauen, as the ſunne doth likewiſe? and if ſuch a brightnes came from a cloude, that it gaue light to all the hoſt of Iſrael, how much more this light that came from Chriſt. Secondly, though their eyes and eares could not reach to heauen, yet Chriſt by his power could cauſe the brightnes and ſound to deſcend to them. Thirdly, it was not the neerenes of the place that cauſed *Paul* to vnderſtand the voyce, and not the reſt, but becauſe it pleaſed Chriſt ſo to diſpoſe their hearing, as Iohn 12.28. There came a voyce, not out of the ayre, but from heauen, which Chriſt heard and vnderſtood, but they that ſtood by perceiued it not, ſome of them ſaying *it was a thunder:* ſo was it in this place. Fourthly, *Stephen* confeſſed Chriſt as ſoone as he ſaw him, becauſe hee knew him, and beleeued in him before: but *Paul* being before a perſecutor of Chriſt, and a ſtranger from the faith, might very well aske this queſtion *(who art thou Lord?)* though he ſaw him not vpon the earth: and how could he ſee Chriſt before him now, whom he confeſſeth before to haue been blinded with the ſudden ſhining of the light?

Argum.2. The bodie of Chriſt may be where it pleaſeth him, and yet ſhall not neede any naturall place, or occupie any roome: hee is able to bring a Camell through the eye of a needle, Math. 19.26. He alſo came through the doores in to his Apoſtles; roſe out of the ſepulchre thorow the ſtone; was borne, his mothers wombe being ſhut: therefore he may as well, and is no doubt preſent vnder the ſhapes of bread and wine in the Sacrament, *Rhem. Matth.26.ſect.11. Bellarm. lib.3. de ſacram. cap.6.*

Anſw.1. Chriſt ſheweth in that place, that it is as impoſſible for a rich man, that is high minded, and truſteth in his riches, to enter into heauen, as for a Camell to paſſe through the eye of a needle: but it is poſſible with God to giue rich men humble and lowly mindes, and ſo make them fit for his kingdome, as to make the Camell leſſe, and ſo draw him thorow a needle. It is not proued out of this place, that God can or will draw the huge bodie of a Camell through a needle, remaining ſtill of that bignes: no more then that it is poſſible for God, to bring a proud, rich, arrogant man to heauen, his affections not altered: both theſe are impoſſible to God, not becauſe he cannot in his abſolute power doe them, but becauſe they are contrarie to his will and ordinance: The one is againſt the law of iuſtice, to bring a wicked man to heauen; the other againſt the law of nature.

Bellarmine replieth, that it is not impoſſible with men, for a Camell to goe thorough a needle, if he ceaſe to be a Camell, and be turned into a ſmall threed: *ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, yet it is impoſſible to men, for they haue no power to extenuate the bignes of a Camels bodie, and ſo to make it paſſe thorough a needle, as God hath: it is poſſible with man to draw a threed thorough a needle, but not to turne a Camell into a threed. Secondly, a rich man truſting in his riches cannot without chaunge of his affections goe to heauen, no more can a Camell goe thorough a needle, his bodie not altered. Therefore as it cannot be ſhewed, that euer a proud rich man entred into heauen; ſo neither, that a Camell at any time went thorough a needle: ſo that this place maketh not for the poſſibilitie of the reall preſence at all.

2. For the other three examples: it is not proued out of Scripture, that the bodie of Chriſt pearced the doores, the graue, ſtone, or his mothers wombe: although the doores were found ſhut after Chriſts entrance, the graue couered, and his mother remained a Virgine ſtill: for all theſe paſſages might giue place for a while to the bodie of Chriſt, and returne againe to their place: as the red Sea was deuided till the Iſraelites paſſed, and afterward the waters came together againe. And concerning the laſt inſtance of the birth of Chriſt, it is certaine out of the Scriptures, that Chriſt opened the wombe of his mother in his birth, Luk.2.23. Hitherto therefore they haue proued nothing.

Bellarmine replieth to the firſt example, that if Chriſts bodie pierced not the doores, but they gaue way vnto him, it had beene no miracle: and againe, Chriſt came vnto the Apoſtles without any noyſe, or mouing of the houſe, or creaking of the doores, and therefore it is like, that they opened not to him, but he went thorough them.

Contra. Firſt, he may ſay as well that it was no miracle, that the iron gate opened of it owne accord to *Peter*, Act.12.10. how then is he not aſhamed to denie a miracle here? or was it not a miracle, for the redde Sea to deuide it ſelfe, though it came togither againe? Secondly, though the doore gaue place, yet it might be, and was done, without any noyſe, as the priſon doores were opened to ***Peter***, and yet the keeper not awaked, that kept the watch, Act.5.23. Thirdly, S.***Hierome*** thinketh, that the doore gaue place to Chriſts bodie: ***Quid maius? &c.*** What is greater? to hang the huge earth vpon nothing, or for the Lord to paſſe by the doores being ſhut, ***Et creaturam cedere Creatori?*** And the creature to giue place to the Creator? ***aduerſ. error. Iohan. Hieroſ.*** So then it is not neceſſary that Chriſts body ſhould pierce the doore, but that it gaue place vnto his body, eyther by opening, or giuing way.

Secondly, to the ſecond example, if Chriſt in his birth opened the wombe of the Virgine, and made himſelfe a way by the dilatation of the ſame, then it would follow, that ***Marie*** brought forth with payne, neither could ſhe afterward be a Virgin; for this is Virginitie, not to haue the wombe opened. ***Bellarm. ibid.***

Contra. Though ***Bellarmine*** here very vnſeemely take vpon him to play the midwife, and to diſcouer the ſecrets of birth, which may better be concealed: yet, ſo farre as modeſtie will ſuffer, we will ſend him away with his full anſwere. Firſt, hee that procured to be borne of a Virgine, could alſo open himſelfe a way out of the wombe, without payne to his mother: that as in his conception, there was no touch of carnall pleaſure; ſo neither in his birth, ſenſe of any payne: neither is the payne in the opening of the wombe, but in the place of birth: which he will not denie vnto Chriſt; as it is ſaid, 2.Reg.19.3. ***The children are come to the birth, and there is no ſtrength to bring forth.*** Secondly, Virginitie no more conſiſteth in the opening of the wombe, then in the place and pitch of the birth, through the which the holy Child paſſed, which (I thinke) hee will not denie: and virginitie may be loſt, where the wombe is not opened, as in the barren, that are polluted, and ſo bring not forth. And againe, the Scripture thus deſcribeth Virginitie, and Virgins; *which haue not knowne man,* Gen. 19. 8. and ſo ſaith *Marie* of her ſelfe, Luk. 1. 34. *I know not man:* ſo herein conſiſted her virginitie, that ſhe conceiued without the companie of man. Thirdly, yet he hath not anſwered the Scripture, which teſtifieth, *that Chriſt opened the wombe*, Luk. 2. 23. according to the law, *Euery man child, that firſt openeth the wombe, ſhall be called holy to the Lord: Quod ad ſpecialem natiuitatem ſaluatoris, &c.* Which *Hierome* thinketh is more properly applied to the ſpeciall natiuitie of Chriſt, then of any other: *dialog. 2. aduerſ. Pelag.* and he doubteth not to ſay, *Deum per genitalia virginis natum:* That Chriſt was borne by the ordinarie places of birth. I will adde alſo out of the Synod, *Telenſ. Quid incredibile, &c.* Why ſhould it be incredible, that againſt the naturall vſe *Marie* brought forth, and yet remained a virgine, when againſt the vſe of nature, the Sea ſaw that and fled? Like then as the Sea parted and cloſed againe, ſo was it in the birth of Chriſt. Laſtly, *Durandus* a Papiſt thinketh alſo, that the wombe of the virgine was dilated for the paſſage of Chriſt. *in 4. diſtinct. 44. qu. 6.*

Thirdly, concerning the third example, whereas we anſwere, that the graue-ſtone might giue place to the bodie of Chriſt riſing againe, and returne to his place againe: *Bellarmine* replieth, that this is our owne coniecture without any authoritie.

Contra. Firſt, it is rather their bare coniecture, that Chriſts body went through the ſtone, contrarie to the propertie of a naturall body: We thinke, that Chriſt had as great power to cauſe the ſtone to giue way, and come againe to his place, as the Angell had to make the priſon doores open to *Peter*, and to ſhut againe, Act. 5. 19. 23. Secondly, wee haue a warrant from your owne decrees; *Iacuit in ſepulchro, et reuoluto lapide monumenti, &c.* He lay in the graue, and the ſtone being remoued, his fleſh roſe againe the third day, *decret Gay.* This decree ſaith, that the ſtone remoued at the riſing of Chriſt.

Argum. 3. *Bellarmine* produceth a fourth example of the aſcenſion of Chriſt, who in his body pierced the heauens, Heb. 4. 14. *But the heauens are a ſolide ſubſtance, euen as molten glaſſe*: Iob. 37. 18. Therefore it followeth hereupon, that many bodies may be in one place at once: And whereas it is anſwered, (ſaith he) that the heauens might open and giue way to Chriſts bodie, as at the Baptiſme of Chriſt the heauens are ſaid to open, this is to be vnderſtood, becauſe the heauens appeared to open: for the holy Ghoſt could come downe without the opening of the heauens at the baptizing of Chriſt. And whereas *Stephen* ſaith, he ſaw the heauens open, Act. 7. 56. the heauens themſelues were not deuided, for they being a cleere and tranſparent ſubſtance, S. *Stephen* might haue ſeene Chriſt, without their opening, but *Stephens* eyes were opened to ſee that, which appeared not before: *cap. 6. loc. 5.*

Contra. Firſt, whereas your Latine text readeth, Heb. 4. 14. *Penetrauit*, he pierced the heauens, the originall is διεληλυθότα, he deuided or diſſolued the heauens; and the *Rhemiſts* tranſlate, hee entred the heauens: ſo that this place proueth, not a going thorough the heauens, without a way made, or giuing of place. Secondly, the heauens are indeed a ſolide ſubſtance; ſo is the water, and the bodie of the ayre, which are apt to giue place to groſſer bodies, and to come together againe: and ſo do the heauens: for how els could the Planets haue their diuers and contrary courſes, diuers among themſelues, and contrary to the fixed ſtarres, if the heauens were not a pliable, and yeelding bodie: And let him tell vs, how *Eliah* was taken vp into heauen in his bodie (as they thinke, affirming that hee liueth ſtill in his body in Paradiſe) whether hee alſo pierced the ſubſtance of the heauens? Thirdly, the heauens are likened to glaſſe, not in ſubſtance, but for their brightneſſe and cleereneſſe, as Reuelat. 4. 6. we read of a Sea of glaſſe. Fourthly, the holy Ghoſt being a ſpirit, can deſcend without any way made, but ſeeing at that time the ſpirit deſcended in the viſible and true ſhape of a doue, the heauens alſo viſibly and truely were opened: And we are rather to credite *Stephens* words, then his vaine conceits, who ſaith, *That not his eyes,* (though wee denie not, but his ſight alſo was quickened) *but the heauens were opened*: and if Chriſt might bee ſeene through the cleereneſſe of the heauens, how is it, that he hath been ſo ſeldome ſeene, and of ſo few, ſince his aſcenſion, the heauens being alike cleare vnto all? Laſtly, that the heauens opened at Chriſts aſcenſion, it is euident by that propheſie, Pſalm. 24. 7. *Lift vp your heads, ye gates, and be ye lift vp yee euerlaſting doores, and the King of glorie ſhall come in,* which the Fathers applie vnto Chriſts aſcenſion, and when as the Saints ſhal meete Chriſt in the cloudes, and be taken vp in the ayre, as S. *Paul* ſaith, 1. Theſſ. 4. 17. it cannot be otherwiſe deemed, but that the cloudes and the ayre ſhall make way for their bodies; and after the ſame manner the heauens alſo, like as they did at the aſcenſion of Chriſt: Thus *Bellarmine* hath ſaid much but proued nothing.

The Proteſtants.

OVr aduerſaries doe falſely charge vs to ſay, that God can doe more then hee hath done, or will doe, *Rhemiſt. Matth. 26. ſect.* 11. This we ſay, that Chriſt is almightie, and yet can doe nothing againſt his owne will, his word, or glorie: as to diſhonour his glorious bodie, and to bring it within the compaſſe of a piece of bread, that it may bee deuoured of cats, dogs, rats, myce, or which is worſe,to be eaten of wicked men,the members of the diuell: although the queſtion bee not ſo much betweene vs,what Chriſt is able to doe of his abſolute power, but what he will doe according to his word.

*Argum.*1. It ſtandeth neither with the power or will of God, to doe contrarie to his word: For it is impoſſible that God ſhould lie,Hebr.6.verſ.18.And this thing,not to lie,is not a want of power,but a ſigne of greater power in God. But it is plainly declared in Scripture, that Chriſt hath a true naturall bodie,and is in all things like vnto vs,Hebr.2.17. Therefore neither can his bodie,being a true humane bodie,as ours are,be in many places at once: neither can it chuſe but occupie that roome and place where it is. The Angell ſaid, *He is riſen,he is not here,*Matth.28.6. but it had been no good argument, to ſay, he is riſen and gone to another place, and therefore he is not here,if ſo be the bodie of Chriſt might be in many places at once. The Scripture then hath defined it,that Chriſts bodie is in one certaine place : wherefore to ſay,that Chriſt hath a true naturall bodie,and yet retaineth not the naturall properties of a body,is to ſpeake contradictories, that he hath,and hath not a true naturall bodie : and this were to make God a lier.

Bellarmine to the place of Scripture,Matth.28.thus anſwereth : The Angell reaſoneth according to the minde of the women, that ſought Chriſt in the graue, as dead : and ſo the argument followeth well, he is not dead in the graue, for hee is riſen. Secondly, morally the argument is good,becauſe he that riſeth from the dead,doth not remaine in the graue;for the graue is the place of the dead,not of the liuing : but ſimply and abſolutely it doth not follow; for Chriſt might bee there,though he were riſen,*Bellarm.cap.4.reſp.ad argum.*1.

Contra. Firſt,the Angels reaſon muſt indeede bee referred to the purpoſe and diſpoſition of the women who came to ſeeke Chriſt : they enquired not,in what ſtate Chriſt was,whether liuing,or dead ; but where Chriſt was,as the Angell ſaith,verſ.5.*I know that ye ſeeke Ieſus :* and therefore the Angell ſatisfieth them,according to their doubt, *that he was not there, becauſe he was riſen:* he ſaith not,*he is not dead, becauſe he is riſen,*though that be a good conſequent alſo,but,*he is not here.* And that this was *Maries* thought, to know what was become of Chriſts bodie, it appeareth by this, that after the Angell had ſaid thus vnto her,as *Matthew* reporteth, ſhe asked Chriſt againe (ſuppoſing he had been the gardener) where he had laid him,Ioh.20.15. Secondly, the Angell vſeth two arguments : the one, when he ſaith, *Why ſeeke ye the liuing among the dead?* as S. *Luke* remembreth,chap.24.5.This argument concludeth morally,as *Bellarmine* pretendeth, *he is liuing,*therefore not among the dead. The other argument in theſe words, *he is not here, for he is riſen,* concludeth ſimply and abſolutely : and the reaſon ſtandeth thus,He that is riſen,and ſo gone to another place, is no longer here, where hee was:but Chriſt is ſo riſen : *Ergo. Bellarmine* moſt impudently denieth the propoſition, ſaying, that Chriſt might bee elſewhere,and there to,and ſo maketh the Angell a lier.

*Argum.*2. It is proper onely to the diuine nature to be euery where, as Ierem.23.24. *I fill heauen and earth,*ſaith the Lord : but Chriſts bodie is not of the diuine nature:*Ergo,*it cannot be euery where.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that there is great difference betweene the Godhead and the bodie of Chriſt: firſt, the Godhead is euery where in fact, but Chriſts bodie is not euery where, neither euer ſhall;it is in many places at once,not in all. Secondly,the Deitie cannot be reſtrained to one place,but the bodie of Chriſt may bee, as after the end of the world he ſhall be but in one place, *lib.*3.*c.*4.*ad argum.*2.

Contra. Firſt,that Chriſts bodie is neither actually euery where,neither ſhall euer be,it is nothing to the queſtion in hand : it is ſufficient to our purpoſe, that Chriſts bodie may bee euery where : for it may as well be in all places,as in many places,and this I thinke they will not denie: Then it will follow, that Chriſts bodie may be God : for to be euery where is proper onely to the Deitie,and if Chriſts bodie may be euery where,it may be the Deitie: for no propertie of God the creator,either is in act,or can be communicated to a creature. Secondly, Chriſts bodie now in their iudgement,as long as the world ſtandeth,cannot be tied or reſtrained to one place,no more then the Godhead ; therefore now (whatſoeuer ſhall bee afterward) there is no difference betweene the bodie of Chriſt and the Godhead: and it is very abſurd,to limit Chriſts bodie after the reſurrection to one place,more then now,ſeeing his bodie ſhall not then be of leſſe power or glorie, then it is. Thirdly, that *Bellarmine* maketh no difference betweene the omnipreſence of the Godhead,and Chriſts bodie,his owne words elſewhere doe teſtifie : *Sicut ſpiritus ſanctus verè deſcendit,& tamen in cœlo manſit,ita Chriſtus &c.* As the holie ſpirit did truly deſcend, and yet remained in heauen ; ſo Chriſt did truly aſcend, and yet remaineth with vs, not onely as God, but as
Clement.lib.3 tit.16.c.4. man,*lib.*1.*de Sacram.Euch.c.*14.*reſp.ad loc.*9. So *Clemens* 5. moſt groſly expoundeth thoſe words of our Sauiour,*I am with you alwaies to the end of the world,*of his corporall preſence : whereas it is as well peculiar to the Godhead to be alwaies preſent,and neere,not a farre off, Ierem.23.23. as in all places.

Auguſtine ſaith of Chriſt: *Secundum corporalem præſentiam, ſimul in ſole, luna, cruce, eſſe non poteſt:* Chriſt according to his corporall preſence, cannot bee in the Sunne, the Moone, and vpon the Croſſe, all at one time. Contra Fauſt. lib.20.cap.11.

And concerning the other point hee writeth thus: *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nuſquam erunt, & quia nuſquam erunt, nec erunt:* Take away ſpace of place from bodies, and they ſhall be no where, and if they be in no place, then are they not at all. Epiſtol.57

*Argum.*3. The reall and carnall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, is a thing ſuperfluous, needles, and vnprofitable: Firſt, Chriſt ſaith to his Apoſtles, Ioh.16.7. *It is expedient for you, that I goe away:* therefore Chriſts corporall preſence is not profitable: and if his viſible preſence were not profitable to his Apoſtles, whom they both heard and ſaw, much leſſe his inuiſible preſence in the Sacrament. Secondly, the fauour of God in the remiſſion of ſinnes through Chriſt, is as well ſealed vnto vs in Baptiſme, as in the Lords Supper; what neede then the carnall preſence in the one more, then in the other? Thirdly, that Chriſt is in bodie preſent in the Sacrament, it is not perceiued by any ſenſe: for they neither taſte him, ſee him, nor feele him; it muſt be then a worke of faith: but by faith Chriſt is as well apprehended being abſent, as being ſuppoſed in this manner to be preſent: *Ergo*, this kinde of preſence is needles.

Bellarmine anſwereth to the firſt reaſon: that therefore it was expedient, that Chriſt ſhould go away, becauſe his viſible preſence did worke in his Apoſtles an humane loue: but the inuiſible preſence of his fleſh in the Euchariſt worketh not an humane, but a ſpirituall loue, and therefore is euery way profitable, *cap.*9.

Contra. Firſt, the viſible preſence of Chriſt after the reſurrection, did not worke an humane or carnall loue in the Apoſtles, but thereby their faith and beliefe was ſtrengthened: as *Thomas* by ſeeing and feeling him beleeued, and ſaid, *my Lord and my God*, Ioh.20.28. Secondly, though the Apoſtles were ſomewhat addicted vnto Chriſts bodily preſence, it was not for any carnall affection vnto him, but for that loue they had to his doctrine, and becauſe of the comfort they receiued by him: but his bodily preſence in the Euchariſt, is neither profitable for doctrine nor comfort; and therefore leſſe fruitfull, than his viſible preſence was. Thirdly, the reaſon then of Chriſts bodily departure, was to ſend another comforter, who needed not to come, as long as he was preſent perſonally to comfort them: and if the firſt comforter bee preſent ſtill in bodie, the ſecond is ſuperfluous: if the ſecond be not ſuperfluous, the firſt is, and therefore the bodily preſence is not neceſſarie. Fourthly, Chriſt promiſeth, that after his departure hee would come againe, and wee ſhould ſee him, Ioh.16.16. *After a little while, and yee ſhall ſee me*, and he would ſee vs, verſ.22. *I will ſee you againe.* Chriſt then as he ſeeth vs, ſo is he ſeene: if he be in the Euchariſt, he ſeeth vs with his bodily eyes, then ſhould he be ſo ſeene of vs: but wee ſee him not, therefore he is not there to bee ſeene: for if he were preſent, he would both ſee vs, and bee ſeene of vs, according to his promiſe. Wherefore he doth no otherwiſe ſee vs and viſite vs, then by his ſpirit, in the Euchariſt; and ſo doe we ſee him.

To the ſecond he anſwereth: that there is not the ſame reaſon of Baptiſme, and the Euchariſt: Firſt, the Euchariſt is not onely a Sacrament of our ſpirituall refection and nouriſhing, as Baptiſme is of our regeneration, but it is alſo a memorial and a compendium of Chriſts life, death, and reſurrection. Secondly, it is a teſtimonie and pledge of Chriſts loue toward vs. Thirdly, it is as it were the ſeede of the reſurrection of our bodies, by the coniunction of Chriſts glorious bodie with our mortall bodies. Fourthly, it is the ſacrifice of Chriſtians, which cannot be offered in bread alone, for then it ſhould not exceede the ſacrifices of the Law: for bread of it ſelfe is inferiour to the fleſh of calues and rammes, &c. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, Baptiſme alſo is a memoriall, and as the Apoſtle calleth it, *a ſimilitude*, and repreſentation of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, Rom.6.5. Secondly, it is alſo as well as the Euchariſt a pledge of Chriſts loue, repreſenting vnto vs the ſhedding of his blood, and his dying for vs, wherein Chriſts loue appeared, Rom.5.8. Wherefore in neither of theſe reſpects is the reall preſence more neceſſarie in the Euchariſt, than in Baptiſme. Thirdly, it is more proper to Baptiſme to ſeale vnto vs the hope of our reſurrection, as S. *Paul* ſaith, *that by Baptiſme wee are graft into the ſimilitude of Chriſts reſurrection*, Rom.6.5. Neither is there any ſuch coniunction of Chriſts bodie to our bodies in the Euchariſt, ſeeing they themſelues affirme, that Chriſts bodie remaineth no longer, then the outward ſhape of bread is vncorrupted: but if it were the ſeede of our reſurrection, it ſhould remaine, as S. *Iohn* ſaith, 1. Epiſt. chap.3.9. *their ſeede remaineth in them.* And againe, the wicked alſo doe eate Chriſts bodie in the Sacrament, ſo that by this reaſon, they alſo are partakers of Chriſts reſurrection. Fourthly, the Euchariſt is no other ſacrifice, than of praiſe and thankſgiuing, Hebr.13.15. whereof it is named the Euchariſt: and yet the ſacramentall bread, in reſpect of the liuely repreſentation is more excellent, than the fleſhie ſacrifices of the Law: and this being graunted, ſheweth no difference betweene Baptiſme and the Euchariſt, but onely betweene the ſacrifices of the Law, and the Sacraments of the Goſpell.

To the third reaſon hee anſwereth, that although Chriſts bodie in the Euchariſt bee not immediatly perceiued by any ſenſe,but onely by faith;yet mediatly,*& in aliena ſpecie*,and in another ſhape,is touched by the hands,tongue,eyes,&c.as Phiſitions miniſter medicines in ſuch ſort qualified,as they are not perceiued,and yet are very profitable.

Contra. Firſt,if the carnall preſence in the Euchariſt bee an apprehenſion of faith, then it can not any way be diſcerned by the ſight,or any other ſenſe : for *faith is the euidence of things which are not ſeene,* as it is defined by the Apoſtle,Heb.11.1. And, *we walke by faith,and not by ſight*,2.Corinth.5.7.which were no good diſiunction, if the ſame thing at the ſame inſtant could be comprehended both by faith,and ſight. Secondly,he ſaith, that Chriſt is both touched and ſeene,*in another ſhape*,that is,vnder the formes of bread and wine: this is to ſpeake contraries: for if it be another ſhape,that is ſeene to the eyes,another taſte,that is in the mouth ; then is it not Chriſts bodie that is ſeene or taſted : but that thing muſt bee both ſeene and taſted,whoſe qualities are offered to the ſenſes. Thirdly,the example brought in is nothing like : firſt, medicines are ſomewhat allaied by other mixtures,yet ſome taſte remaineth;but of Chriſts bodie there is no ſenſe at al.Secondly,Potions,though by arte tempered and compounded,yet appeare to the ſenſe in their own colour and ſhape ; but ſo doth not (as they ſay) Chriſts bodie. Thirdly, the medicine remaineth in the ſtomacke,till by the heate thereof it be diſperſed,and ſo worketh in the bodie ; but if it be immediatly caſt vp againe it worketh not : but Chriſts bodie in the firſt alteration in the ſtomacke departeth (as they ſay) and therefore it corporally profiteth not, as a medicinall Potion doth.

Argum.4. It is an inglorious, vnworthie and vnſeemely thing, that the glorious and impaſſible bodie of Chriſt ſhould be incloſed in the formes of bread and wine, deuoured and chawed, eaten and gnawen of myce,ſubiect to mould and rottennes,to be ſpilt vpon the ground,burnt in the fire : for all theſe inconueniences muſt needes follow vpon the carnall preſence.

Bellarm. It is no more inglorious or impoſſible for theſe things now to happen to the bodie of Chriſt,then it was for him to be caried in his mothers wombe,to bee ſwathed in ſwadling bands, and to be ſubiect to iniuries which were done to his bodie vpon earth,*lib*.3.*cap*.10.

Anſ. Firſt,as though there bee the like reaſon of the paſſible bodie of Chriſt,while hee liued in the world,which was buffeted, whipped, pierced with nayles, crucified ; and of his glorious and impaſſible bodie now,that it may in like manner bee rent and diuided. Secondly,neither was it poſſible that Chriſts paſſible bodie ſhould bee ſubiect to the like infirmities,as to rottennes,corruption,conſumption in the fire, as his bodie is now in the Sacrament. If it were then verified in Chriſt,*Thou ſhalt not ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption:* for his bodie did not putrifie or corrupt in the graue : much more is it true in the glorious bodie of Chriſt,that it cannot ſuffer any ſuch things: How then are you not aſhamed to affirme, that the bread and wine are made in the Sacrament,the very bodie and blood of Chriſt ; ſeeing thoſe elements, if they bee kept long, will waxe ſower and mouldie,and fall to corruption ? which things once to thinke of the glorious bodie of Chriſt, were great impietie. Leaue off for ſhame then theſe your groſſe opinions, ſo much derogatorie to the glorie and honour of Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth againe : firſt, that they are the accidents of bread and wine, that are corrupted,and doe putrifie, and are eaten and chawed, &c. and not the bodie of Chriſt. Secondly, as the diuinitie is preſent euery where, and yet is not burned in the flame, nor yet putrifieth in things that doe putrifie : ſo likewiſe the bodie of Chriſt,*lib*.3.*c*.10,*reſponſ*.1.

Contra. Firſt,it is moſt abſurd to ſay,that accidents of wine make men drunke, that accidents of bread doe feede myce, that the accidents waxe ſower, and mouldie : for one accident cannot be the ſubiect of another. Secondly, in comparing Chriſts Deitie and bodie together, what doth he elſe but with the Eutychians confound them,or with the Vbiquitaries deſtroy Chriſts humanitie ?

We haue the glorious teſtimonie of the Martyrs : Maſter *Philpot* holy Martyr ; The Scripture ſaith,that Chriſt is like to vs in all things, ſinne onely excepted : but our humane nature cannot receiue any thing that is contrarie to it ſelfe,as to bee bodily preſent,and abſent,to bee in heauen and earth at the ſame time : *Ergo*,neither can the bodie of Chriſt without deſtruction of his humane nature.

Fox.p.1416.

Maſter *Denly* Martyr alleageth theſe places of Scripture : Hebr.9.*Chriſt is not entred into holie places made with hands,but is entred into heauen,&c*. Ioh.17. *Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world,&c*. Ioh.16.*I went out from the father and came into the world.* Againe, *I leaue the world, and goe to the father : Ergo*, Chriſt is not according to his bodily preſence now in the worlde: *Fox*.pag.1685.

I will hereunto adioyne ſome teſtimonie from themſelues : *Decr.par*.3.*diſt*.2.*cap*.44.*Donec ſeculum finiatur, ſurſum eſt Dominus,&c*.Till the world be ended, the Lord is aboue,&c.for the body of our Lord, wherein he roſe againe, muſt bee in one place. Againe, their Maſter ſaith,*Diuinam* *naturam ſolam illocalem:* That the diuine nature onely is illocable. But now they make Chriſts humanitie illocable: for if it be in the Euchariſt, it is not there as in a ſpacious place: for what is the compaſſe of a thin wafer-cake to receiue the proportion of a mans bodie? Againe, he ſaith, *Quod circumſcriptibile erat,&c.* That which was in Chriſt circumſcriptible, ſo remaineth: but if Chriſts bodie be in the bread, it is incircumſcriptible, whereas it was circumſcriptible before. For that we call circumſcriptible, when the place and the thing placed, doe anſwere, and are correſpondent each to other in ſpace and proportion: which is not ſeene in the placing of Chriſts bodie in the compaſſe of a thin cake. Lib.1.diſtinct. 37.o. Lib.4.diſtinct. 10.a.

THE SECOND QVESTION, CONCERNING Tranſubſtantiation.

The Papiſts.

IF any man ſhall ſay, that there remaineth the ſubſtance of bread and wine in the Sacrament, after the words of conſecration; or ſhall denie that the whole ſubſtance of bread is chaunged and conuerted into the bodie of Chriſt, and the whole ſubſtance of wine into the blood of Chriſt, the formes and ſhewes onely of bread and wine remaining, which ſingular and miraculous conuerſion the Church calleth Tranſubſtantiation; let him be accurſed, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.*13.*can.*2. *Bellarm.lib.*3.*de Sacram.Euchar.cap.*19. *Rhemiſt. Matth.*17.*ſect.*1. 18. Error.

*Argum.*1. Chriſt transfigured his bodie marueilouſly in the Mount, as wee reade, *Matth.*17. *ſect.*1. *Ergo,* he is able to exhibite his bodie vnder the formes of bread and wine, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſ. Firſt, your argument followeth not, Chriſt could giue a glorious forme to his paſſible bodie: *Ergo,* he can take away the eſſentiall properties of his naturall bodie, and yet keepe a true bodie ſtill. Or thus, Chriſt could glorifie his bodie not yet glorified: *Ergo,* he can or will diſhonor his glorious impaſſible bodie, by encloſing it vnder the formes of baſe creatures to bee deuoured of dogs and myce: which is honoured and worſhipped of the Angels and Saints in heauen. Secondly, the queſtion is not ſo much of Chriſts power, as of his will: therefore you conclude not aright, Chriſt is able to doe it: *Ergo,* he will.

*Argum.*2. He that ſeeth water turned into wine by the power of Chriſt, neede not to doubt how he changeth bread into his bodie, *Rhem. Ioh.*2.*ſect.*2.

Anſw. Firſt, when you can bring any warrant out of Scripture for your imagined conuerſion, as we haue for this myracle, we will giue eare vnto you. Secondly, and when it ſhall appeare to the ſenſes, that the bread is changed into fleſh, as the water was knowne to bee turned into wine, by the colour and taſte: wee ſhall then no more doubt of this conuerſion of the bread, than they did of the other of water. Thirdly, if Chriſt could alter and chaunge the ſubſtances of creatures; what reaſon haue you to giue ſuch an omnipotent power to euery Prieſt, with a few words to doe as much as Chriſt himſelfe could when he was preſent? Fourthly, all this proooeth but an abilitie and power in Chriſt, not a will or purpoſe to worke any ſuch change or conuerſion.

*Argum.*3. *Bellarmine* vrgeth theſe words of our Sauiour, which ſerue them for all purpoſes, *this is my bodie:* which words (ſaith he) doe ſignifie a ſubſtantiall, not a figuratiue change onely of the bread into Chriſts bodie: for otherwiſe the bread, and the fleſh of Chriſt being things of diuers natures, cannot bee one pronounced, or affirmed of another: for bread is not fleſh, remaining in it owne nature, *Bellarm.lib.*3.*cap.*19.

Anſw. Firſt, as one thing being of a diuers nature, cannot be pronounced of another, vnleſſe there be ſome chaunge: ſo neither can the ſame thing bee affirmed or predicated of it ſelfe, as to ſay, this ſubſtance is my bodie, which is all one in their ſenſe to ſay, this bodie is my bodie.

Secondly, a figuratiue chaunge is ſufficient according to the phraſe of Scripture, though there be no materiall or ſubſtantiall mutation in this propoſition, *this is my bodie,* that is, this bread ſignifieth my bodie: like as, when Chriſt breathed vpon his Apoſtles, hee ſaid, *Receiue yee the holie Ghoſt,* calling the very breath the ſpirit, which it ſignified and exhibited onely; ſo the holy Ghoſt deſcending vpon Chriſt in his Baptiſme is called the Doue: ſo then, as the breath of Chriſt is the ſpirit, and the Doue the holie Ghoſt; ſo is the bread Chriſts bodie, that is in figure and ſignification.

Contra. Bellarmine replieth, that the breathing of Chriſt is not called the holie ſpirit, nor yet the Doue is ſaid to bee the holie Ghoſt; but they were onely ſignes and inſtrumentall meanes to conuey the ſpirit.

Anſw. Firſt, that the breathing of Chriſt, and the likenes of the Doue, were not the ſpirit it ſelfe, but onely ſignes thereof, we graunt; and ſo wee ſay the bread is a ſigne and figure of Chriſts bodie in the Euchariſt. Secondly, it is euident by the text, that the Doue, and the breath of Chriſt, are called the holie Ghoſt: as Ioh.1.33. *Vpon whom thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirit come downe,&c. that is he, which baptizeth with the holy Ghoſt:* but *Iohn* ſaw onely the Doue to light vpon Chriſt; therefore the doue is called the ſpirit: ſo Iohn 20.22. *Chriſt breathed vpon them, and ſayd, receiue yee the holy Ghoſt:* that which the Apoſtles receiued, is called the holy Ghoſt; but they receiued ſenſiblie nothing but his breathing; *Ergo,* his blaſt or breathing is ſaid to be the ſpirit, being a ſigne and repreſentation thereof, as the bread in the Euchariſt is of Chriſts fleſh.

*Argum.*4. Though the ſubſtance of bread and wine be changed; yet the formes remaine ſtill for theſe cauſes. Firſt, becauſe if the formes alſo ſhould be changed, there ſhould be no ſenſible ſigne left, and ſo no Sacrament. Secondly, the faith of the receiuer is the better tried this way: who beleeueth the fleſh of Chriſt to bee preſent, though hee ſee it not. Thirdly, Chriſt would not haue the formes altered, becauſe man abhorred to eate humane fleſh in the proper ſhape, *Bellarm. cap.22.*

Anſw. Firſt, your firſt reaſon is inſufficient: for neither doe the bare and naked ſignes or accidents of the elements make a Sacrament, but the ſubſtance of them: for betweene the Sacrament and the thing thereby repreſented, there ought to be ſome conueniencie and agreement: namely, as the bodie is nouriſhed by bread and wine, ſo doth the ſoule feede vpon the bodie and blood of Chriſt. But they are not the accidents of bread and wine that nouriſh vs, but the ſubſtance: *Ergo,* not the accidents, but the ſubſtance is the viſible ſigne. Likewiſe in Baptiſme, it is not the forme or outward accident of water, that is the ſigne, but the ſubſtance of water that waſheth.

2 It is a more liuelie operation of faith, to beleeue in Chriſt abſent in heauen, then preſent in the earth, although hee appeare not to the ſenſes. And Chriſt is indeede properly the obiect of faith, as he is now in heauen: *Hope* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *entreth into that which is within the vaile, whither our forerunner Ieſus is entred for vs,* Hebr.6.19. Fayth and hope therefore doe leade vs to things within the vaile, that is, things in heauen, and not vpon the earth.

3 What a ſtrange ſaying is this, that Chriſt giueth his fleſh to be eaten in the Sacrament, yet hideth it vnder the formes of bread and wine, leaſt men ſhould abhorre to eate it? for is it to be thought that Chriſt would commaund any vnſeemely thing, or contrarie to humanitie? How could the Apoſtles commaund the Gentiles to abſtaine from ſtrangled and blood, Act.15. when as, by your doctrine, they did eate dayly in their aſſemblies the raw fleſh and blood of Chriſt? And how is it that Chriſt now forgetteth his owne rule, *He that doth the trueth* (ſaith he) *commeth to the light, that his deedes may be made manifeſt?* Iohn 3.21. But Chriſt now flieth the light, and ſhroudeth himſelfe vnder the ſhape of bread and wine, and will not ſhew his fleſh. Theſe therefore are but ſillie cauſes which you haue rendred, why Chriſt would haue the ſubſtance of bread onely changed, and not the accidents.

The Proteſtants.

AS the name of tranſubſtantiation is ſtrange, and newly deuiſed; ſo is the meaning thereof moſt vnreaſonable: that in the Sacrament, the ſubſtance of bread ſhould be conuerted into the bodie of Chriſt, the formes onely remaining: An opinion contrarie to Scripture, reaſon and common ſenſe.

*Argum.*1. As Chriſt ſaid, Matth.26. (poynting to the bread) *This is my bodie:* ſo he ſaith, Iohn 6.35. *I am the bread:* but in this place he was not changed into bread: why then in the other place ſhould the bread be turned into his bodie? for the ſpeech is all one.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that there is great difference betweene theſe two ſpeeches, *This bread is my bodie,* and *I am the true bread:* for there Chriſt ſpeaketh of materiall bread, in the iudgement of our aduerſaries, but in the other ſentence he vnderſtandeth celeſtiall bread: and therefore Chriſt ſaith not ſimplie, *I am bread,* but I am the *bread of life, or the bread of God,* or ſuch like: and this ſpirituall bread Chriſt was in deede; there needed no conuerſion or chaunge for the matter. *Bellarm.cap.24.reſp.ad arg.1.*

Contra. Firſt, if Chriſt, in ſaying, *I am the bread,* doe vnderſtand bread ſpirituallie, which we denie not, what reaſon hath he, where Chriſt ſaith, verſ.51. *The bread, that I will giue, is my fleſh,* to inferre Sacramentall bread? if Chriſt, in ſaying, I, that is, my fleſh is the bread, doe meane ſpirituall bread, when he ſaith, *The bread is my fleſh,* why is he not alſo ſpirituallie to be taken? Secondly, as Chriſt ſaith ſpirituallie, he is the bread; ſo we alſo ſay, that the bread ſpirituallie is his bodie: therefore as in that ſpeech, there needeth no chaunge, as hee confeſſeth; ſo neither in the other are we forced to admit any alteration or chaunge of ſubſtance. Thirdly, Chriſt ſaith not, *I am the bread,* ſimplie, but with ſome addition, ſaith *Bellarmine:* but he ſaith, *I am the doore of the ſheepe,* Ioh.10.7. without any other adiection, yet was he not conuerted into the doore: no more is the bread chaunged into his bodie.

*Argum.*2. The ſenſe is not deceiued in his proper obiect: but the eye in the Euchariſt ſeeth nothing but bread, the taſt diſcerneth nothing but bread, *Ergo* there is bread: for if the ſight and feeling might be deceiued; then by the ſame reaſon, the Manichees and Marcionites, who affirmed Chriſt to haue a phantaſticall bodie, might anſwere vs, that though his bodie were both ſeene and felt, yet the ſenſes might be deceiued: And by the ſame reaſon *Thomas* might haue doubted ſtill, notwithſtanding his ſeeing and feeling of Chriſt: And further, if there be no bread or wine remaining, and yet the accidents of both, as the colour, taſt; then ſhould they be lying ſignes, and ſo they will charge the Sacrament of truth with falſhoode.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that the ſenſe cannot be deceiued in the accidents which are the true obiect, but in the ſubſtance it may, which is the obiect *per accidens*; as he telleth vs a tale of a peece of wood conuerted into a ſtone, that had the colour and ſhape of wood ſtill: *reſp. ad argum.*5.

Contra. 1. Though the accidents, not the ſubſtance are obiect to the ſenſe, yet by the accidents the ſubſtance is certainely diſcerned by a neceſſarie conſequence of nature; for otherwiſe there ſhould be no certaintie at all in the ſenſe: but ſeeing euery ſubſtance hath his proper accidents, by the diſcerning of the accidents, the ſubſtance alſo is perceiued.. 2. It is poſſible for the eye ſometime to be deceiued, as in taking things artificiallie carued and painted for the very things themſelues, and as in the example of the wood turned into a ſtone: but for all the ſenſes to be deceiued together, the eye, the feeling, the taſte, it is not poſſible, as it muſt be in the Euchariſt, where all the ſenſes diſcerne bread, and yet (they ſay) there is no bread.

Secondly, ſaith he, the argument from the ſight and feeling to proue Chriſts true bodie, was good, becauſe the ſoliditie of a bodie is the proper obiect of the feeling; but the ſubſtance of the bread and wine is not the proper obiect. Secondly, the Scripture maketh mention, that Chriſt had a true naturall bodie, and therefore the ſight and feeling thereof grounded vpon the teſtimonie of Scripture, were good and ſufficient proofes: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtles by their handling and ſeeing did not onely diſcerne Chriſt to haue a ſolide bodie, but a bodie of bones and fleſh: for that he ſaith, *Handle me and ſee, for a ſpirit hath not fleſh and bones, as you ſee me to haue,* Luk.24.39. So then not the ſoliditie onely, but the ſubſtance of Chriſts bodie, as his bones and fleſh, was by their ſenſe diſcerned: but in the Euchariſt we diſcerne neither fleſh nor bones. Secondly, Chriſt would not haue them to beleeue his word onely, that he had a true bodie, but to truſt their owne ſenſe alſo: ſo that the euidence of ſenſe, where there is no diuine teſtimonie, is a ſufficient proofe of things ſenſible. And againe, as the Scripture teſtifieth that Chriſt had a true naturall bodie; ſo alſo it witneſſeth, that after conſecration in the Euchariſt, there remaineth true bread, as S. *Paul* calleth it bread being now conſecrated thrice together: 1.Cor.11.verſ.26,27,28.

Thirdly, ſaith he, the accidents of bread and wine, though the ſubſtance be gone, are no lying ſignes: for naturallie they doe ſhew bread and wine; but that in the Euchariſt there is a worke aboue nature, that there ſhould be the accidents of bread and wine without their ſubſtance.

*Contra.*1. Yet for all this they are deceiueable ſignes, containing one thing, and ſhewing another; and the matter is not helped, but made the worſe, in laying the blame not vpon nature, but vpon a worke beyond nature, which they make a cloake for deceite. Secondly, thus we ſee they cannot vpholde their fooliſh fanſies, but by deſtroying nature. Thirdly, for this their ſupernaturall worke, ſeeing they haue no Scripture, their words are but winde, and perſwade not: nay the Scripture is againſt them, for Chriſt is ſo farre from deſtroying nature, that he vpholdeth the nature of things *by his word:* Heb.1.3.

*Argum.*3. The bread in the Euchariſt after the conſecration, is ſubiect to diuers changes and alterations, and ſo likewiſe the wine: for they may be boyled and made hote, they may be infected with poyſon: for it is certaine that *Victor* the 3. Pope, and *Henrie* the 7. Emperour, were poyſoned with the Sacrament: the wine may waxe ſowre and turne to vineger: the bread may putrifie and breede wormes: *Ergo,* the ſubſtance of bread and wine remaine ſtill: for the accidents cannot be ſubiect to ſuch alterations: and to ſay that Chriſts bodie may be thus handled, it were great impietie, *Argum. Pet. Martyris.*

Bellarmine anſwereth: *Materia ſubſtituitur à Deo in ipſo inſtanti, in quo deſinunt eſſe illæ ſpecies:* God ſupplieth ſome other matter in the very inſtant, when the formes begin to be changed, *cap.* 24. *argum.*6.

Anſ. Is not here good geare, thinke you, that if a man ſhould come to poyſon the Sacrament, that is, the bread and wine which are alreadie conſecrate, and made the bodie of Chriſt, God ſhould ſupplie by a myracle ſome other matter for him to worke vpon, and ſo God himſelfe ſhould be acceſſarie vnto that wicked acte? Or if a ſillie mouſe ſhould be ſo bolde as gnaw vpon a conſecrate Hoaſt, that then likewiſe ſome other matter and ſubſtance ſhould for that inſtant be appoynted: and ſo God ſhould make miracles for mice? And why, I pray you, may not the ſubſtance of bread ſtill remaine, as well as another ſubſtance to be put in the ſtead thereof?

Bellarmine anſwereth againe, that there is ſome matter for that inſtant ſupplied, and without a miracle, *exigente ordine rerum:* the order or courſe of things ſo requiring, like as the ſoule is ſent into the bodie of ordinarie courſe. And concerning the poyſoning of the Hoaſt, he ſaith there may be ſome poyſoned matter mingled with the bread or wine, but that is not conuerted into Chriſts bodie and blood: for nothing can be turned into Chriſts bodie or blood, but the bread and wine onely.

Contra. Firſt, that the bread ſhould be changed into Chriſts bodie, and againe another ſubſtance come inſtead of Chriſts bodie, and yet without a miracle, is very ſtrange: for he may as well ſay, that the turning of water into wine, Iohn 2. was no mircale: neither becauſe it is vſuall in the Euchariſt, it is therefore no miracle; as the rayning of Manna was no leſſe miraculous, falling euerie day, then if it had come but once: And the example of the comming of the ſoule is nothing like, for we haue Gods warrant for that, *creſcite, & multiplicamini*, increaſe and multiplie, which they haue not for the Euchariſt. Let it alſo be remembred how contrarie he is to himſelfe, for before, *reſp. ad argum*. 5. he ſaid that tranſubſtantiation was *ſupra ordinem natura*, aboue the order of nature: here he ſaith it commeth to paſſe, *exigente ordine rerum*, according to the order of nature.

Secondly, if nothing be tranſubſtantiate into the bodie and blood of Chriſt, but onely bread and wine; what then is become of the water which in the chalice you do vſe to mingle with wine? which *Innocent* 3. determineth together with the wine to be tranſubſtantiate into Chriſts blood, *decr. Greg. lib*. 3. *tit*. 41. *c*. 6. Againe you ſay, the poyſoned ſubſtance is not turned into Chriſtes bodie, but mixed together with it: Be it ſo, but what a diſhonour is this to Chriſts bodie, that poyſon may be receiued with it, and that it ſhould not haue ſo much vertue, as many medicinall confections and receits, which are taken againſt poyſon: if *Paul* could ſhake the Viper from his hand without hurt, is there leſſe vertue in Chriſts bodie? or if Vnicornes horne allayeth the malice of poyſon, is Chriſts fleſh leſſe precious or vigorous? Wherefore lay your hand vpon your mouth, and confeſſe your erronious ignorance, if you can finde no better anſwere.

Argum. 4. When Chriſt ſpake theſe words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, the bread was tranſubſtantiate, before, or after, or while the words were ſpoken. Before, they will not ſay, for the elements were not then conſecrate: nor after, for then Chriſts words, *This is my bodie*, had not been true in that inſtant when they were ſpoken. Neither was the tranſubſtantiation wrought in the while of ſpeaking: for then ſhould it not haue been done all at once, but ſucceſſiuely, and one part after another, as the words were ſpoken one after another. But this is alſo contrarie to the opinion of the Papiſts, that would haue it done altogether.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the conuerſion of the bread is not made till all the words be pronounced: and though there be no change, till the whole ſentence (*this is my bodie*) be finiſhed, yet it is done by vertue of all the words pronounced before.

Contra. If the tranſubſtantiation be wrought by all the words, then, *non fit ſimul*, it is not done all at once, as he confeſſeth: for the words are not ſpoken all at once, but one after another. Then I aske, if all the words of conſecration be not of like operation: if they be, why ſhould not the firſt words at the very ſpeaking, be working, as the laſt is? but ſo are they not, for he ſuſpendeth the force of the firſt words, till the laſt ſyllable be pronounced: if all the words then be of like working, then is not the conuerſion wrought at one inſtant, as they generally holde, but in the leyſure of ſpeaking.

Argum. 5. It is againſt the nature and propertie of accidents and externall formes to be without a ſubiect, or ſubſtance, wherein they ſhould reſt: ſuch are the whitenes and roundnes of the bread, the rednes and ſweetnes of wine: if bread be gone, what is become of the roundnes and whitenes, and ſo of the wine? If a man aske what round or white thing is this, or what red and ſweete thing is this, ſhewing the cup: what ſhall be anſwered? we cannot ſay, it is bread or wine: for there is none left. And I am ſure they will not ſay, that the bodie of Chriſt is either round or white, or ſuch like.: and yet ſomewhat there muſt needs be, that muſt take denomination of theſe accidents.

Bellarmine anſwereth, firſt, that although we cannot ſeparate accidents from their ſubiects, yet God can: and in the beginning of the creation, there was an accident without a ſubiect, namely the light, which was made the firſt day, that moued without a ſubiect, vntill the Sunne was made, wherein the light reſted.

Contra. Firſt, we do not diſpute of Gods power, neither how things are in Gods ſight, but how they appeare vnto vs, whether accidents may be offered vnto our ſight, without their ſubiect. Secondly, it is a fond opinion, which he would father vpon *Baſile*, that the light was without a ſubiect: Firſt, God is ſaid to haue made or created the light; but creation is of ſubſtances, not of accidents. Secondly, God ſaw, that it was good: the light pleaſed God, which he had made: but God delighteth in no imperfect worke, as an accident without a ſubiect is imperfect. Thirdly, S. *Ambroſe* thinketh, that this light was not afterward incorporated to the Sunne, but remained ſtill a diſtinct light: *Aliud eſt lumen diei, aliud lumen Solis, &c*. The light of the Sunne is one, the light of the day another: for there is a light, before the Sunne riſe, and likewiſe after he is ſet: *Hexamer. lib*. 4. *c*. 3. Fourthly, notwithſtanding, if in the beginning of the creation it had been ſo, yet now all things being diſpoſed and ſetled in a perfect order, it is not to be expected: if accidents then might be without a ſubiect, before things were brought to a perfect ſtate, it followeth not, that it is or can be ſo now.

Secondly, ſaith he, the accidents of the bread and wine, though they haue no ſubſiſtence of themſelues, after the ſubſtance of bread and wine are gone; yet they are in, and do depend of an other ſubſtance, *Vt in conſeruante, non vt in ſubiecto*: As in and of a preſeruer of them, not as in a ſubiect, *argum.7.reſp.ad* 4.

Contra. Firſt, if the accidents, as the redneſſe, whiteneſſe, roundneſſe do not conſiſt of themſelues, then they muſt haue their being in another ſubſtance, which is the body of Chriſt, that commeth in the ſtead of bread and wine: if they then haue their being in Chriſts bodie, what are they els but accidents to his bodie, which were a very inglorious thing to Chriſts bodie, which in brightneſſe exceedeth the Sunne, to be ouer-ſhadowed with the accidentes of bread and wine? Secondly, I demaund, whether Chriſtes bodie ſuppoſed to be preſent, haue not the proper accidents of his bodie: if it haue (for otherwiſe a bodie without the proper adiuncts ſhould be vnperfect) then the accidents of bread and wine cannot be there to; for this were to make accidents the ſubiect of accidents, which were improper and vnnaturall: And againe, they beſtow a goodly office vpon Chriſt, who vpholdeth all things, euen the heauens and earth, to be now a preſeruer onely of accidents.

Thirdly, though the ſubſtance of bread and wine remaine not, yet the quantitie remaineth, which taketh denomination of the accidents: as the hoaſt is ſaid to be white, round, little in reſpect of the quantitie, *reſponſ.ad argum*.6.

Contra. Firſt, the quantitie of a thing is the length, breadth, thickneſſe, which are adiuncts to the ſubſtance, as well as other qualities of whiteneſſe, redneſſe, &c. So then he defendeth one abſurditie by another, to maintaine the being of qualities without their ſubiect, he doth inculcate a quantitie without a ſubſtance, a thing as impoſſible as the other. Secondly, if the quantitie receiue the denomination, you muſt not ſay, the hoaſt is white, round, &c. but the quantitie, as the breadth, length, thickeneſſe, is white, round, &c. So that, when wee aske, what round, or what white? in his opinion the anſwere muſt be this: a round, or white thickneſſe or breadth, &c. which were very abſurd: the fooliſh toyes of this trifling Ieſuite are not worth the while, that is ſpent about them.

Argum.6. You ſay, The very fleſh of Chriſt that did hang vpon the croſſe, is in the Sacrament: but that cannot bee: for that fleſh Chriſt tooke of the Virgin *Marie*: this ſacramentall fleſh is made of bread: *Ergo*, it is not the ſame fleſh which was crucified vpon the Croſſe.

Bellarm. The body of Chriſt is made of bread, but not as any matter or materiall cauſe thereof, but as the wine was made of water by our Sauiour Chriſt.

Anſw. And I pray you, how was the wine made of the water? was not the water the very matter which was turned into wine? for one of theſe three changes and mutations it muſt needs haue: firſt, either the water was annihilate and turned to nothing, and ſo the wine was created of nothing, which I am ſure you will not grant. Secondly, or els there was a mixture of wine and water, the one being mingled with the other; which is likewiſe falſe, for it was very good and perfect wine: neither, I thinke, will you eaſily admit, that the body of Chriſt and the bread are mingled together in the Sacrament. Thirdly, there remaineth but the third kind of change, that is, the conuerſion of one ſubſtance into another, as the water was changed into wine: and ſo is the ſubſtance of bread conuerted into the ſubſtance of Chriſts body, if you will haue any change at all: and thus Chriſt hath gotten by your helpe a breaden bodie; another from that, which he tooke of the fleſh of the Virgin.

And thus may our argument be framed: The body, which Chriſt tooke of the Virgine, and which was nayled to the Croſſe, was not made of bread: but this bodie, which is ſuppoſed to be in the Euchariſt, is made of bread: *Ergo*, it is not that bodie.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that euen the bodie of Chriſt, which was crucified, was made of bread: and the bread was changed and conuerted into it at his laſt Supper, when he ſaid, *This is my body:* and though there be a conuerſion of the bread, yet there is no production of Chriſts bodie out of the bread, but as the wine was made of water, Iohn 2. ſo is Chriſts bodie of bread. *Bellarmin. reſponſ.ad argum*.9.

Contra. Firſt, the bodie of Chriſt which was crucified, was made of the fleſh of the Virgin: the bodie in the Euchariſt is made of bread; and therefore they cannot be all one bodie: for it is one thing to be made of fleſh; another thing, of bread. Secondly, where he maketh a difference betweene production, and conuerſion, he vnderſtandeth not himſelfe: for the wine was produced out of the water, and the water was conuerted into the wine; ſo it was both a production and a conuerſion: the difference is this, that conuerſion is of the thing, which is conuerted; production, of that, whereinto it is conuerted: wherefore if Chriſts bodie be made of bread, as

Chriſt made wine of water; the bread ſhall be the matter of Chriſts fleſh, as the water was of the wine: for it is ſaid, verſ.9. that the Gouernour of the feaſt *taſted the water which was made wine: Ergo*, the ſubſtance of the water remained, though changed and conuerted. Thirdly, they muſt grant, that the bread is eyther annihilated, that is, turned to nothing; or elſe conuerted into the ſubſtance of Chriſts fleſh: but the firſt is inſtantly denied by *Bellarm.reſponſ.ad argum.*3. The bread, he ſaith, doth not vaniſh to nothing, and ſo vtterly periſh: therefore it cannot be auoided, but that it paſſeth and is incorporate to the fleſh of Chriſt; and ſo, for all his ſophiſticall pratling, Chriſt is become to haue a breaden bodie.

Let vs now further examine their owne decrees, *decret.par.*3.*diſt.*2.*c.*36. *Veniſtis ad aquam, et panis dominicus facti eſtis*: Ye came to the water, and were made the Lords bread: The Lords bread is then receiued ſpiritually in Baptiſme, and yet there is no tranſubſtantiation in Baptiſme: and *c.*62. *Commendauit nobis, &c.* He commended to vs in this Sacrament his bodie and blood, *Quod fecit nos ipſos*; which bodie he maketh vs, for we are his bodie: we are that bodie of Chriſt, which is commended in the Euchariſt, but we are not tranſubſtantiate into Chriſts bodie: *Ergo*, there is no tranſubſtantiation: Againe, *cap.*63. *Hunc cibum & potum ſocietatem intelligi vult corporis, &c.* This bread and drinke is the ſocietie of his bodie which is the Church: the bread then ſignifieth as the naturall bodie of Chriſt, ſo alſo his myſticall bodie; but it is not tranſubſtantiate into his myſticall bodie: *Ergo*.

Some alſo of the Papiſts themſelues haue denied tranſubſtantiation, as the Maſter of ſentences maketh mention of ſome in his dayes, that affirmed the ſubſtance of bread and wine to remaine, *lib.*4.*diſt.*11.*d.* and *Innocentius* 3. reporteth the opinion of ſome, That the water in the chalice tempered with the wine, was not tranſubſtantiate, *decret.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*41.*c.*6. and *Durandus* thinketh the matter of the bread and wine to remaine ſtill, *in* 4.*diſt.*11.*qu.*3.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie: *Concil.Conſtantin.*7.*ex Nicen.*2.*action.*6.*tom.*3. *Vt caro Domini per ſpiritum ſanctum diuinitati eſt vnita, ita panem Euchariſtia imaginem carnis per ſpiritus ſancti aggreſſionem ſanctificatam diuinum ſuum corpus eſſe voluit*: As the fleſh of our Lord was vnited by the ſpirit to his diuine nature, ſo the bread of the Euchariſt, the image of his fleſh being ſanctified by the comming of the holy Ghoſt, is become his diuine body. Hence we reaſon thus, as Chriſt is God and man, ſo the Euchariſt is his body, and bread: but his manhood is not conuerted into his diuine nature: *Ergo*, the bread is not turned into his body.

This was the aſſertion of *Iohn Huſſe*, for the which he was martyred: *Concil.Conſtant.ſeſſ.*15. *Sicut Chriſtus eſt ſimul Deus & homo, ſic hoſtia conſecrata eſt corpus Chriſti in figura & verus panis in natura*: As Chriſt is both God and man, ſo the conſecrate hoaſt is the body of Chriſt in figure, and true bread in nature.

B. *Ridley* holy martyr thus reaſoned againſt tranſubſtantiation: As the bread of the Lords table is Chriſts naturall body, ſo is it his myſticall body: but it is not Chriſts myſtical body by tranſubſtantiation: *Ergo*.

Againe, the words of Chriſt ſpoken vpon the cup, and vpon the bread, haue like effect and working: but the words ſpoken vpon the cup haue no vertue to tranſubſtantiate, for then they ſhould tranſubſtantiate the cup, or that which is within the cup, into the new Teſtament: for Chriſt ſaid as well, *This cup is the new Teſtament in my blood*, as he did, *This is my body*: But this is not done: *Ergo*, not the other, *vid.plur.p.*1444.

Laſtly, the diuerſitie of opinions, which this groſſe conceit of the carnall preſence of Chriſt hath hatched, do eaſily ſhew and demonſtrate vnto vs, what we are to thinke of this popiſh doctrine.

Some doe hold, that the elements doe ſtill remaine in their owne nature in the Sacrament, and that together with them the body of Chriſt is carnally preſent. Others doe teach, that there remayneth no more bread and wine, but onely the very naturall bodie of Chriſt: of each opinion there are three ſortes: Firſt of them that holde the elements not to be changed.

1 Some are of opinion, that the body of Chriſt and the elements are locally ioyned together, either for that inſtant onely, or els becauſe of the vbiquitie and omnipreſence of Chriſts humanitie: of which opinion are the Lutheranes.

2 Some there were, that thought onely ſo much of the bread to be changed into the body of Chriſt, as was receiued of the faithfull: and that parte which the wicked receiued to be bread ſtill.

3 Others taught, that the bread was aſſumed in the Sacrament to the perſon of Chriſt, euen as his humanity: ſo that Chriſt was bread by conſecration, as he was man by his incarnation: an horrible and monſtrous opinion, which is fathered vpon *Rupertus* the Abbot.

Iohannes Pariſienſis alſo came neere this opinion, who likewiſe affirmed, that the bread was aſſumed to the perſon of Chriſt, and vnited vnto him, yet not immediately as the other taught, but by the mediation and meanes of the humanity of Chriſt.

Secondly, of thoſe that maintaine the conuerſion of the elements. Firſt,ſome would haue the forme onely of bread chaunged, not the matter,as *Durandus*. Secondly,ſome contrariwiſe would haue the matter altered,and the forme to remaine. Thirdly, the Ieſuites affirme the bread wholy in ſubſtance, both in matter and forme to be changed, the outward formes and accidents onely remayning, *ex Bellarm.lib.*3.*de ſacram.Euchariſt.cap.*11.

Thus men,when they begin once to leaue the truth,the Lord leaueth them to themſelues, and they run mad in their owne inuentions,not finding any end : and ſo it is iuſtly come vpon them, as S.*Paul* ſaith of the heathen : *Becauſe when they knew God,they did not glorifie him as God,neither were thankefull: they became vaine in their owne imaginations, and their fooliſh heart was full of darkeneſſe : when they profeſſed themſelues to be wiſe,they became fooles,*Rom.1.21.22.We therefore leauing theſe ſhallowe pittes of humane inuentions, which will hold no water, will betake vs to the fountaine of truth. This then,to conclude, is our definitiue ſentence, and full determination, according to the Scriptures,that Chriſt indeed is verily preſent in the Sacrament, neither by conuerſion of the bread into his body, either wholy, or in part; nor by aſſumption of the bread to the vnity of his perſon; nor yet by the coniunction of his body and bread together : but he doth verily exhibite himſelfe,with all his benefits, ſpiritually by faith, to be eaten and drunke of the worthy receiuer, as we haue ſufficiently proued before out of the Scriptures.

THE THIRD QVESTION, WHETHER THE EVCHARIST being once conſecrated, be a Sacrament, though it be neither eaten nor drunke.

The Papiſts.

19.Error. THe elements in the Sacrament, that is,the bread and wine,being once conſecrate,which they ſay, is done by the prolation of thoſe words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum,* This is my body, whether they be receiued or not at that inſtant, but be reſerued and kept in boxes, and pixes, and other veſſels of the Church, for dayes, weekes, moneths, to be caried ſolemnly to thoſe that are ſicke, and to be applyed to other vſes, are ſtill the very body and blood of Chriſt, *Trident.Concil.ſeſſ.*13. *can.*4.7.*Bellarm.lib.*4.*cap.*2.

*Argum.*1. Chriſts words which were ſpoken ouer the bread,*This is my bodie,*were true as ſoone as he brought them forth,before he ſaid, *Take,eate,* and ſo likewiſe of the cup : therefore it was a Sacrament before they did receiue and eate it,and had been a Sacrament ſtill, if it had not been receiued at all at that time, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, theſe words of Chriſt,*this is my bodie,* were not ſpoken before he brake the bread and diſtributed it : but firſt,as Saint *Matthew* ſetteth it downe,he brake the bread and gaue it to his diſciples,ſaying, *Take, eate,* and then follow thoſe words, *this is my bodie,* Matth.26.26.which ſeeme to haue beene vttered euen in that inſtant, when they tooke the bread, and began to eate it.

Bellarmine replieth : firſt, ſaith hee, it ſeemeth, that the Euangeliſts did tranſpoſe the wordes of Chriſt,ſetting that firſt,which was ſpoken laſt : and contrariwiſe, as Mark.14.23.*he tooke the cup, and when he had giuen thanks,he gaue it to them,and they all dranke of it,and he ſaid vnto them,This is my blood of the new teſtament:* Here the words of conſecration (*this is my blood*) are rehearſed after they dranke,which notwithſtanding were ſpoken before : and ſo theſe words, *this is my bodie,*are placed after,*take,eate,&c.* and yet were vttered before : for theſe words, *this is my bodie,* doe containe a reaſon,why he would haue them eate that meate : but the reaſon of the eating muſt firſt bee expreſſed,before the bread be deliuered to be eaten.

Contra. Firſt,where the Euangeliſts doe diſſent in the order and placing of words,it is like that the words are tranſpoſed, as in that place of *Marke,* who onely of the Euangeliſts placeth theſe words,*this is my blood,*after their drinking : but where all the Euangeliſts keepe the ſame order,as in ſetting theſe words,*this is my bodie,*after,*take ye,eate ye* ; it is euident,that the words were ſpoken in ſuch order, as is ſet downe; ſeeing that the Apoſtle alſo rehearſing the inſtitution, 1.Cor.11. doth ſo place the words : wherefore it is great boldnes in him to controule the order agreed vpon by all the Euangeliſts,and the Apoſtle. Secondly,whereas S.*Marke* ſaith,*they all dranke of it,* and then Chriſt ſaid,*this is my blood,*it maketh altogether for vs,that euen at the ſame inſtant of drinking Chriſt pronounced thoſe words,ſignifying that it was his blood vnto thoſe, that did receiue, and drinke it in faith. Thirdly,the reaſon or the cauſe in order of nature goeth alwaies before the ſigne or the effect,but not in order of time : as the end of a thing precedeth in intention, but not in action : as Exod.12.11.*Ye ſhall eate it in haſte,for it is the Lords Paſſe-ouer.* Here the Paſſeouer is the reaſon or cauſe, or end of their eating; yet their eating went before : ſo in the Euchariſt, the participation of the Lords bodie is the cauſe,and end of their eating; yet by the ſame reaſon of the Paſſe-ouer,by eating in faith it is made the Lords bodie.

Secondly, the inſtitution of the Sacrament conſiſteth partly of a promiſe,partly of a precept: the promiſe is this,*Hoc eſt corpus meum,* This is my bodie: The precept, *Accipite, manducate,*Take, eate. Chriſt doth no otherwiſe make good his promiſe,then wee performe the condition: vnleſſe therefore accordingly we doe take and eate it,it is not the bodie of Chriſt.

To this *Bellarmine* anſwereth: firſt, that if theſe wordes, *this is my bodie,*contained a promiſe, it ſhould be pronounced in the future tenſe;as when Chriſt ſaith,Mark.16.*he that beleeueth,&c.ſhall be ſaued:* ſo Chriſt would haue ſaid,*it ſhall be my bodie.* Secondly,it would follow hereof,that they ſhould not in their eating receiue Chriſts bodie; for the condition preſcribed goeth before, and then the thing promiſed afterward followeth,*Bellar.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt,in the Scriptures we finde,that the promiſe is often deliuered in the preſent tenſe, becauſe that which God promiſeth is as certaine, as if it were alreadie performed: as Iohn 5.24. *He that beleeueth,hath euerlaſting life:* and Exod.12.11.*This is the Lords Paſſe-ouer,* he ſaith not, *it ſhall be,*but *is:* wherefore *Bellarmines* collection is falſe. Secondly,Gods promiſe is oftentimes fulfilled in the very act of our obedience, as whereas God ſaith, *Call vpon me, and I will heare thee,* he doth heare vs not after we haue prayed,but while we are in prayer; as Iſay.65.24.*Before they call, I will anſwere,and while they ſpeake,I will heare:* ſo in the very action of eating and receiuing in faith, Chriſts bodie is communicated to vs.

*Argum.*2. S.*Luke* ſaith, chap.22. *This cup is the new teſtament in my blood:* the blood of Chriſt was in the cup, before it was in their mouth: *Ergo,* it is a Sacrament,though it bee not receiued. Saint *Paul* alſo ſaith, 1.Cor.10.*The bread which we breake,is it not the communion of the body of Chriſt? Ergo,*it is the bodie of Chriſt before it be broken or diſtributed,*Bellarm.cap.*2.

Anſw. Firſt,there is a figure in Chriſts words, for the cup is taken for that, which was contained in the cup: and the other Euangeliſts rehearſe them thus,*this is my blood of the new teſtament:* wherefore his collection drawne from a figuratiue ſpeech concludeth not. And againe, Chriſt ſaid before,*drinke ye all of it,* ſo that in the drinking his blood was exhibited. Secondly,the place of Saint *Paul* is for vs,for he ſpeaketh of a communion, which cannot bee where there is no diſtribution: ſo that the communion of Chriſts bodie is in breaking of the bread, and diſtribution thereof.

The Proteſtants.

THe Euchariſt is no Sacrament beſide or without the vſe thereof; ſo that, though ſome forme of words be pronounced ouer it, if it bee not receiued and eaten and drunke, it is no Sacrament: neither is that which remaineth after the diſtribution,the Euchariſt being ended,either of the bread or wine,any part of the Sacrament,but ſo much onely as is taken and vſed.

*Argum.*1. It is no Sacrament, vnleſſe it bee vſed according to the inſtitution as Chriſt hath commaunded it:but to the inſtitution it belongeth on the behalfe of the Miniſter,to bleſſe,break, 1.Cor.11.24. 26. and diſtribute it: on the behalfe of the Communicants, to take, eate, and drinke it: in them all, thereby to ſhew the Lords death, and to doe it in remembrance of Chriſt. But this cannot bee performed by vſing the words of benediction onely, but by the whole action: for how can they ſhew the Lords death, or doe it in remembrance of Chriſt, vnleſſe they take, and eate? *Ergo,*if it be not ſo vſed,it is no Sacrament.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that to reſerue the Euchariſt is not contrarie to the inſtitution of Chriſt: for it is reſerued to be eaten,though not preſently: ſo that the deferring of the eating, as to keepe it to be carried vnto the ſicke,may very well agree with the firſt inſtitution,where Chriſt commaundeth it indeede to be eaten,but not preſently.

Contra. Firſt,at the inſtitution of the Lords Supper,they did preſently take and eate,and Saint *Marke* ſaith,*that they all dranke of it,*Mark.14.23.ſo that,if the preſent eating and drinking be agreeable to the inſtitution,the deferring of it is contrarie.Secondly,your reſerued hoaſt is not alwaies eaten;for ſometime it putrifieth and mouldeth,in which caſe,by their owne Canons it muſt bee committed to the fire: ſo that herein there muſt bee an apparant breach of the inſtitution. Thirdly,the Sacrament neede not to bee kept for the ſicke, for it may much better bee miniſtred vnto the ſicke at home,if there be a ſufficient number well prepared,and the ſicke perſon deſiring it onely to his comfort, not of any ſuperſtitious conceit, in being addicted to the outward element.

Laſtly, S.*Origen* thus writing, *Hom.*5.*in* 7.*cap.Leuitic. Dominus panem, quem diſcipulis dabat,&c.* The Lord did not commaund that bread, which hee gaue to his diſciples, to bee deferred till the morrow,ſheweth, that the preſent eating is moſt agreeable to the inſtitution; as the paſchall Lambe was commanded preſently to be eaten,Exod.12.8.

Bellarmine anſwereth againe,that the Sacrament may be a Sacrament, though it be not vſed to that end, for the which it was inſtituted: for to the inſtitution belongeth both the eſſence of the Sacrament, which is the conſecration, and the vſe, which is the manducation or eating: now if there be the eſſence,though not the vſe,it is a Sacrament:as a chaire made to ſit in,is a chaire ſtill, though no man ſit therein.

Contra. Firſt,it is a moſt impious aſſertion,that the Sacrament may bee a Sacrament, though not vſed to the end it was inſtituted for: doth he thinke then,that the Euchariſt if it bee caſt vnto dogs,or ſwine,remaineth a Sacrament? or ẏ if bels be baptized,it is baptiſme? Secondly,in ſome things,which conſiſt in action, the very vſe is of the eſſence, as in ſpeaking, and ſinging, the very vſe and action is the eſſence of the voyce and ſong: ſo in the Euchariſt, which partly conſiſteth in action,the very vſe is of the eſſence: That like as the paſchall Lambe was not the Paſſe-ouer,vnles it were eaten,Exod.12.11.ſo is not the bread a Sacrament being not receiued.Thirdly,conſecration he granteth to bee the eſſence of the Sacrament; but eating and receiuing belongeth to the conſecration: for the elements are not conſecrated onely by rehearſing of the words of inſtitution,but by the whole action of receiuing,thankſgiuing,&c.as S.*Paul* ſheweth,1.Cor.10.16.whē hee had ſaid, *the cup,which we bleſſe,is the communion,&c.* addeth further,*the bread,which we breake:* the breaking of the bread anſwereth to the bleſſing of the cup: whereupon it followeth, that the bread is in part bleſſed and ſanctified by the breaking and diſtribution thereof. Laſtly,a chaire is a chaire,though it be not ſit in; ſo is the bread,bread ſtill,though it be not eaten in the Sacrament: but it followeth not by this example,that the Sacrament is a Sacrament ſtill, though not vſed; for the Sacrament conſiſteth in action,and is not a permanent thing,as a chaire is.So then, notwithſtanding any thing yet obiected,it appeareth to be contrarie to the inſtitution of Chriſt, to celebrate the Euchariſt without eating and communicating,and indeede it is no Sacrament at all,if this be wanting: as out of S.*Paul* we reaſon thus;

In the Euchariſt there is alwaies a remembrance of Chriſt, and a ſhewing forth of his death, 1.Corinth.11.24.but in eating and drinking in the Sacrament the Lords death is ſhewed foorth, verſ.26.*Ergo*,in the ſacramentall eating and drinking conſiſteth the Euchariſt.

*Argum.*2. The Sacraments of the new Teſtament are alike,and of one and the ſelfeſame kind, there is one way of inſtituting and conſecrating both: but the water in Baptiſme is no part of the Sacrament, but during the ſolemne action of baptizing, afterward it returneth to the common vſe,ſo much as is not vſed: *Ergo*,it is ſo alſo in the Euchariſt: for as Chriſt ſaith to his Apoſtles,*Ite baptizate:* Goe and baptize: ſo that it was no Sacrament, vnleſſe ſome bodie were baptized: euen ſo hee ſaith, *Accipite, manducate:* Take, eate. No Sacrament then, vnleſſe it bee receiued and eaten.

And here,I pray you,let it be noted,how well the Ieſuites agree amongſt themſelues: our Rhemiſts doe commend the reſeruing alſo of the water in Baptiſme,and carrying of it home to giue it the diſeaſed to drinke,*annot.Iam.5.ſect.5.* *Bellarmine* ſaith,that *Res permanens in baptiſmo:*That the thing permanent in Baptiſme,that is,water which remaineth,is not the Sacrament, but *ipſa actio*, the action of baptizing it ſelfe, and alloweth onely the Euchariſt to bee reſerued, and remaine a Sacrament,*etiam extra vſum*,without the vſe thereof,*Bellarm.lib.4.de Euchariſt.cap.*3. But we haue ſhewed alreadie,that both the Sacraments are hallowed and ſanctified alike,and that both in the one and the other,the vſe onely and preſent action according to Chriſts inſtitution, maketh the Sacrament.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that there is great difference betweene Baptiſme and the Euchariſt: for Baptiſme conſiſteth in the action, as of baptizing; but ſo doth not the Euchariſt; for it ſtandeth not in the action of eating,for that is an act onely of the receiuer; but Sacraments are not the acts onely of the receiuers, but of the miniſters alſo: neither in the action of breaking is the Sacrament,for it is no ſigne of any inuiſible grace: nor yet in the act of conſecration, for that helpeth to make the Sacrament: *Ergo*,it is not the Sacrament,*Bellarm.cap.*3.

Contra. We doe not affirme, that the Euchariſt conſiſteth ſeuerally in any one of theſe actions of eating,breaking,conſecrating,but that all theſe ioyntly together are required to make the Sacramēt: firſt then,as Sacraments are not only the acts of the receiuers,ſo neither are they without them: but as in Baptiſme,there is the act of the Miniſter to baptize,and the act of the receiuer to be baptized; ſo in the Euchariſt,there is the act of the Miniſter to breake and diſtribute, and of the receiuer to take and eate. Secondly, the breaking alſo of the bread hath a ſpirituall ſignification: for thereby is ſignified the breaking and communication of Chriſts bodie ſpiritually vnto vs,1.Cor.10.16. as likewiſe the manner of Chriſts death, whoſe bodie was in a manner broken vpon the croſſe for vs,1.Cor.11.24. Thirdly,we ſay not that conſecration is the very Sacrament, but that it concurreth with other actions to make the Sacrament: and the ſame reaſon which he vrgeth againſt conſecration in the Euchariſt,might be enforced againſt Baptiſme,that the action of baptizing is not the Sacrament it ſelfe,becauſe it helpeth to make the Sacrament. So then as we ſay not,that the very action of waſhing in Baptiſme is the whole Sacrament; for there is beſide the inuiſible grace repreſented by that waſhing, and the words of inſtitution; but yet without that action it is no Baptiſme: ſo though the verie act of eating and drinking be not the Euchariſt;

yet it is neceſſarily required, without the which, and other actions it is no Sacrament. There is then betweene Baptiſme and the Euchariſt herein no difference at all.

In *Auguſtines* time ſome vſed to receiue the Communion daily: but vpon the Sabboth or Lords day, it was commonly receiued of all: *Quotidie Euchariſtiæ communionem percipere, nec laudo, nec reprehendo; omnibus tamen dominicis diebus communicandum ſuadeo & hortor:* Euery day to receiue the Euchariſt, I neither commend, nor diſpraiſe it; but euery Lords day I doe perſwade men and exhort all to communicate. It ſhould ſeeme then, that in thoſe daies there was no ſuch ſuperſtitious reſeruation of the Sacrament, ſeeing euery day, or at the leaſt euery Sabboth it was adminiſtred.

Let vs heare antiquitie ſpeake: *Epiſtol.2.Clement.* and it is rehearſed, *Decr.par.3.diſtinct.2.c.23. Si remanſerint, in craſtinum non reſeruentur, ſed cum timore & tremore clericorum diligentia conſumantur.i.comedantur:* If any part remaine, let it not bee kept till the morrow, but let the Clerkes with feare and trembling eate them. By this we ſee that it was not lawfull to reſerue the Sacrament, no not a day.

Bellarmines euaſion here is this, that *Clement* is ſo to be vnderſtood, that no part of the Euchariſt ſhould be reſerued, vnleſſe ſome portion for the ſicke: ſo his meaning is, that not much of the Euchariſt ſhould remaine, *Bellarm.cap.5.*

Contra. It is euident by the words of the decree, that whatſoeuer remained, the Miniſters ſhuld eate, and nothing at all be left till the morrow: *Tanta in altaria holocauſta, &c.* Let ſo much bee offered vpon the Altar, as may ſuffice the people, &c. but if there remaine, let the Clerks eate them, &c. Firſt, the prouiſion muſt bee made for the people onely, that communicate: but if any part ſhould be reſerued for the ſicke, the prouiſion and offering ought to be made thereafter. Againe, he calleth it *holocauſtum*, a whole burnt offering, alluding to the rite of that ſacrifice, which was conſumed wholy vpon the Altar. Thirdly, the words are general, *the Miniſters muſt eate that which remained*; and ſo, if any thing were intended for the ſicke, they muſt eate it likewiſe, if it were a remainder. Laſtly, this decree hath relation to the like rite of the Paſchall Lambe: *Non derelinquetur de eo, &c.* There ſhall not remaine of it till the morning, Exod.12. that as not one iot of the Paſſe-ouer was to remaine till the next day; ſo neither ſhould any part of the Euchariſt bee reſerued.

The holy Martyrs alſo haue ſealed this truth: *Iohn Philpot* holy Martyr; I doe not ſay that the receiuing maketh it a Sacrament onely: but I ſay, that a common receiuing muſt needes be concurrent with the true Sacrament, as a neceſſarie member; without the which it cannot be a Sacrament: becauſe Chriſt hath made this a principall part of the Sacrament: *Take yee, eate yee: Fox* pag.1815.

Richard Woodman: As if the words of Baptiſme be ſayd ouer the water, and there bee no childe there to be baptized, it is no Baptiſme; ſo without eating and receiuing, it is no Sacrament, &c. pag.1992.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERNING the elements or materiall part of the Sacrament, namely bread and wine.

The Papiſts.

20.Error. 1. THe bread which is vſed in the Sacrament, ought to bee vnleauened: becauſe it is moſt agreeable to Chriſts inſtitution, who made the Sacrament of vnleauened bread, for he inſtituted his laſt Supper, after he had eaten the Paſſe-ouer: which was to be eaten with ſweete and vnleauened bread, according to the Law; neither was there any leauen to be found in Iſraell for ſeuen daies together: and not onely Chriſt, but all the Iewes at that time did keepe the Paſſe-ouer: and the next day after, in the which Chriſt ſuffered, was the firſt ſolemne feſtiuall day of the ſeuen, being the fifteenth day of the moneth, as it was commaunded, Leuit.23.5. *Rhem.1.Cor.11. ſect.10.Bellarm.lib.4.de Euchariſt.cap.7.*

Argum.1. That the Iewes kept the Paſſe-ouer at the ſame time, that Chriſt and his Apoſtles did, *Bellarmine* pretendeth to proue by theſe places of Scripture, Mark.14.12. *The firſt day of vnleauened bread, when they ſacrificed the Paſſeouer:* Luk.22.7. *Then came the day of vnleauened bread, when the Paſſe-ouer muſt be ſacrificed: Ergo,* at the ſame time, when Chriſt eate the Paſſe-ouer, it was commonly obſerued of all, *Bellarm.cap.8.*

Contra. The Euangeliſts thus writing doe reſpect the right time of the Paſſe-ouer, as it was appointed by the Law, and obſerued by Chriſt, not regarding the contrarie corrupt vſe and cuſtome of the Iewes, who to auoide the keeping of two feſtiuals together, did deferre the eating of the Paſſe-ouer till the 15.day at night: but Chriſt, according to the law, did eate it with his diſciples the 14.day at eeuen.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that this tradition of the Iewes, that the Paſch ſhould not bee kept vpon the 6. day of the weeke, which was now the 15. day of the moneth, becauſe of the concurrence of two feſtiuals, might very well agree with *Moſes* law: for the account of the daies muſt not be according to the Aſtronomicall computation, but according to the account of the Hebrue Calendar, wherein they might ſo calculate the time of the Paſch, as that it ſhould not fall vpon the 6. day: and ſo they might ſet their Calendar in the beginning of euery yeere, as that the feaſt ſhould miſſe that day; as the Chriſtians now haue a ſpeciall rule for the obſeruation of Eaſter: and this tradition our Sauiour Chriſt was bound alſo to keepe. Secondly, this tradition of the Hebrues was brought in long ſince Chriſts time, *Bellarm.cap.7.8.reſp.ad Burgenſ.*

Anſ. Firſt, it is blaſphemie to ſay, that Chriſt was bound to keep yͤ traditions, *whereby they made the word of God of no authoritie*, Mark. 7. 13. as this tradition in altering the Paſch from the 15. day of the moneth is contrarie to the law: which reckoneth the daies according to the Aſtronomicall account of the moneths, not after the deuiſe of any ſuch Calendar. So then *Moſes* ſaith, they ſhould eate the Paſſe-ouer the 14. day (of the moneth, not of the Calendar) at eeuen, Exod. 12. 6. and the next day, which is the 15. ſhould be the firſt ſolemne day of the feaſt: But the Iewes Calendar ſaith, this yeere you ſhall eate the Paſſe-ouer the 15. day at eeuen, and keepe the ſolemne feaſt the 16. day: this was therefore a manifeſt tranſgreſſion of the law. Secondly, it is vntrue alſo, that this tradition of the Iewes began after the time of our Sauiour, that is not to keepe the Paſſe-ouer vpon the Sabboth eeue, but to put it off to the Sabboth: for we force not vpon the authoritie of ſome of the Iewiſh Rabbins alleaged by *Bellarmine*, who in this cauſe are not to bee heard, being enemies to Chriſt: although we want not alſo the graue teſtimonie of ſome learned in the Hebrue rites, as of *Rupertus in cap.23. Leuitic.* and of *Paulus Burgenſ. in addition. ad Lyran. commentar. cap. 26. Matth.* who are of this iudgement, that this tradition was receiued long before Chriſts time. And this appeareth to be ſo by the Scripture, Iohn 19. 14. *It was the preparation of the Paſſe-ouer*, when Chriſt was condemned of *Pilate* and crucified: but that was the 15. day of the moneth, which by the law ſhould haue been the firſt ſolemne day of the Paſſe-ouer: ſo that this being but the day of preparation, the Paſſe-ouer was put off till the next day, which was the Sabboth.

Argum. 2. The day wherein Chriſt ſuffered was the feſtiuall day of the Paſſe-ouer; and therefore the eeuen before, the Paſſe-ouer generally was eaten of the Iewes. *Bellarm.c.*8. The firſt he would thus proue: Firſt, Ioh. 13. 1. *Before the feaſt of the Paſſe-ouer, when Ieſus knew that the houre was come, &c.* Chriſt therefore did eate the Paſſe-ouer before, and the feaſt followed the next day. Likewiſe, Ioh. 18. 39. *Pilate* ſaith, *You haue a cuſtome, that I ſhould deliuer one at the Paſſe-ouer: Ergo*, at that inſtant the Paſſe-ouer was begun: and therefore the Iewes ſay, *it was not lawfull for them to put any to death*, namely at that inſtant, becauſe it was at the feaſt: for otherwiſe they did, and might put to death.

Contra. To the two firſt places we anſwere: firſt, that Chriſt did and might eate the paſchall Lambe before the Paſſe-ouer, though it followed not immediatly the next day, but the day after. And the diſciples ſuppoſition may very well ſtand, that when Chriſt had ſaid to *Iudas, That thou doeſt, doe quickly*, they thought he had bid him buy ſomewhat needfull againſt the feaſt, Ioh. 13. 29. for this might bee againſt the feaſt following after one day: or both Chriſt and his diſciples may bee taken to ſpeake of the right time of the Paſſe-ouer, which by the law ſhould haue been kept the next day. Secondly, *Pilate* might deliuer one at or againſt the Paſſe-ouer, though not vpon the very feſtiuall day it ſelfe.

Thirdly, it is a fond conceit, that the Iewes ſhould anſwere, they could put none to death, only in reſpect of the feaſt then inſtant: firſt, it had been as vnlawfull for them to ſend him bound to *Pilate* vpon that day, which they did, Matth. 27. 2. and in their owne perſons to lay in accuſations againſt him, verſ. 12. and to crie out, *Crucifie him*, Luk. 23. 23. and to ſee Chriſt crucified, Luk. 19. verſ. 21. Secondly, it is euident, that they indeede were depriued of the Ciuill power in putting to death by the Romanes, and that ſome 40. yeeres before the deſtruction of the Temple, as ſome of their Rabbins confeſſe. And the words of the Iewes implie ſo much in plaine meaning: *It is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death*: not this man, or at this time, but not any man. And therefore *Pilate* doth arrogate this authoritie, as peculiar to his place: *I haue power to crucifie thee, and power to looſe thee*, Iohn 19. 11. as if he ſhould haue ſaid, I onely haue this power, not the high Prieſts or Elders. Thirdly, if the Iewes put any to death, it was either tumultuouſly without any forme of iudgement, as *Stephen* was caſt out and ſtoned, Act. 7. 58. or they onely came together to enquire and examine, Act. 23. 15. and their councell was ſtill at commaundement of the chiefe Captaine, who was preſent to moderate their doings, as Act. 22. 30. *the chiefe Captaine commaunded the high Prieſts, and all their councell to come together*. Act. 23. 10. The chiefe Captaine taketh *Paul* away from the Councell: So that it is euident, that they had no authoritie to put to death of themſelues: for they acknowledge no King, but *Cæſar*, Ioh. 19. 15. Now it is cleere that the power of life and death is onely in the King, and therefore it belonged onely to *Cæſar.* *Bellarmine* then bewrayeth great ignorance, to ſay that the Iewes had power in themſelues, being then vnder the gouernment of the Romanes, to put any to death. So then *Bellarmine* hath not yet proued, that he pretended, that either the Iewes generally did eate the Paſſe-ouer, when Chriſt did, or that hee was crucified vpon their feaſt day.

The Proteſtants.

1. WE denie not, but that Chriſt might vſe vnleauened bread, at the inſtitution of his laſt Supper, hauing immediatly before eaten the Paſchall Lambe, which we doubt not but he kept, according to the Law, with ſweete bread: yet in the time they are greatly deceiued, affirming, that all the Iewes eate the Paſſe-ouer likewiſe ouer eeuen, and crucified Chriſt on the morrow, which ſhould haue been, and was vnto them (as they ſay) a chiefe feſtiuall day.

The truth is, that Chriſt eate the Paſſe-ouer the 14. day at eeuen, as it is appointed in the Law: but the Iewes had a contrary tradition: they would in no wiſe keepe two feſtiuall daies together: and therefore becauſe the ſixteenth day was their Sabboth, they would not haue the feaſt of vnleauened bread vpon the fifteenth day (though it were ſo appointed by the law) to auoide the concurrence of two holy daies together, but deferred it till the next day, which was their Sabboth, and eate the Paſſe-ouer the eeue before, which was the fifteenth day at night; whereas Chriſt reforming that abuſe, kept the Paſſe-ouer the eeue before, according to the law, that is, the 14. at night. It appeareth then, that the next day following, which wee call Friday, wherein Chriſt was put to death, was not kept of the Iewes as a holy day.

Firſt, the text ſaith, they would not put Chriſt to death vpon the feaſt day, *fearing the tumult of the people,* Mark. 14. 2.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this was but the ſentence of ſome in the Councell, which preuailed not; but their ſentence rather ſtood, that thought it good to take any occaſion at what time ſoeuer, to put Chriſt to death, *cap. 9.*

Contra. Firſt, there is no mention made of any diuiſion in the Councel, but that they al agreed vpon it, not to apprehend Chriſt vpon the feaſt day: the words are, *but they ſaid,* Matth. 26. 5. that is, the high Prieſts, Scribes and Elders of the people which were aſſembled, verſ. 4. they all accorded in one. Secondly, who would thinke, that *Bellarmine* had ſo ſoone forgotten himſelfe: for before, where the Iewes ſaid, *it is not lawfull for vs to put any to death,* hee expoundeth it, in reſpect of the feaſt, that it was not lawfull for them therein to kill any: and yet now they are reſolued vpon any day whatſoeuer to kill Chriſt: how can theſe things hang together?

Argum. 2. Secondly, if they had kept it holie, as the Law commaunded, they ſhould haue done no ſeruile labour therein, that is, no worke of the bodie, Leuitic. 23. 7. But what could bee a more ſeruile worke, then to crucifie Chriſt, to carry the Croſſe, and pitch it in the ground, and ſuch like; which the Iewes would not haue done vpon that day, which they were as ſtraightly to keepe as the Sabboth? It is alſo called the preparation of the Sabboth, Mark. 15. 43. Wherein they were wont to prepare againſt the Sabboth, what was needfull: but ſuch workes of preparation could not haue been done in that great feſtiuall day.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Iewes were not of ſuch a daintie conſcience, to thinke that theſe things were not lawfull vpon the feaſt day: they thought it ſufficient, if with their owne hands they did not ſtone Chriſt: *reſp. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. Firſt, yea the Iewes did many things againſt Chriſt with their own hands, they came againſt him to take him, with ſwords and ſtaues, Mat. 26. 55. they did buffet him, & ſmite him with rods, verſ. 67. they did carrie him bound to *Pilate,* chap. 27. 2. *they tooke Ieſus and led him to be crucified,* Ioh. 19. 16. therefore it is like alſo, that with their owne hands they crucified him: wherefore they ſhould apparantly in thus doing haue broken the feaſt. Secondly, ſeeing that the Iewes were ſo ſuperſtitious in keeping of the reſt of the Sabboth, that they reproued the Apoſtles for pulling the eares of corne, and would not ſuffer Chriſt to heale vpon the Sabboth, it is not like they tooke ſuch libertie vpon the chiefe feſtiuall of the Paſſe-ouer, wherein all worke was as ſtrictly forbidden, as vpon the Sabboth, ſauing about their meate, Exod. 12. 16.

Argum. 3. Ioh. 18. 28. *The high Prieſts went not into the common hall, leſt they ſhould be defiled, but that they might eate the Paſſe-ouer:* Ergo, they did not eate the Paſſe-ouer till that night, which was the eeuen after Chriſt was crucified.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that by the Paſſe-ouer here is not vnderſtood the paſchall Lambe, which was eaten at eeuen, but other ſacrifices beſide, whereof the Prieſts did eate, wherewith they celebrated the Paſſe-ouer, as Deut. 16. 2. *Thou ſhalt ſacrifice the Paſſe-ouer of ſheepe, and of bullockes, &c. reſp. ad argum.* 4.

Contra. Firſt, though the feaſt of the Paſſe-ouer were celebrated with other ſacrifices; yet to eate the Paſſe-ouer is not found in Scripture, but properly to betoken the eating of the Paſchall Lambe, as Mark. 14. 12. 14. *I will eate the Paſſe-ouer with my diſciples, &c.* Likewiſe, Matth. 26. 17. In all theſe places, the ſacrificing of the Paſſeouer, the keeping of it, the preparing and eating of it (for all theſe phraſes are vſed) are vnderſtood onely of the Paſchal Lambe: wherefore this is but a ſillie ſhift, to obſcure ſo euident a text. Secondly, that the Prieſtes could not eate the Paſſeouer the eeue before Chriſts ſuffring, it appeareth by this, that they were ſo full of buſineſſe, in ſending for Chriſt with ſwords and ſtaues, firſt bringing him to *Annas* houſe, then to *Caiphas,* Iohn 18.24. in gathering the aſſemblie of the Elders to *Caiphas* houſe, Matth.26.57. in producing witneſſes againſt Chriſt, verſ.59. in ſifting and examining him with many queſtions, verſ.63. in buffeting and beating him, verſ.67. all this was done the fourteenth day at night: it is very apparant, that they being thus buſied had no leiſure to eate the Paſſeouer.

Argum.4. Iohn 19.14. It was the day of the preparation of the Paſſeouer: *Ergo*, it was not the feaſt day of the Paſſeouer: and verſ.31. the Sabboth following is called a great day, becauſe of the feaſt of the Paſſeouer: for the firſt day of the Paſſeouer, and the laſt, were ſolemne dayes, Exo.12.16. Ioh.7.37. *The laſt and great day of the feaſt*: If the Sabboth following then were the firſt day of the paſſeouer, then did they not begin their feaſt the ſame day, wherein Chriſt was crucified.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that it is called the preparation of the Paſche, being indeed the preparation to the Sabboth: becauſe it fell within the Paſche: and ſo likewiſe is the Sabboth called a great, or high day, becauſe it was within the feaſt of the Paſſeouer.

Contra. Firſt, we graunt indeed, that it was the preparation day to the Sabboth, and to the Paſſeouer likewiſe, becauſe the Euangeliſt ſaith ſo: for it were an improper ſpeech to ſay, the preparation of the Paſſeouer, that is within the Paſſeouer: but as the preparation of the Sabboth, ſerueth to the Sabboth; ſo the preparation of the Paſſeouer ſerueth to the Paſſeouer. Secondly, ſeeing that they were not to do any worke vpon the feaſt day, Exod.12.16. but in the preparation of the Sabboth, many workes muſt be done, that all might be diſpatched before the Sabboth; it is not like, that the preparation could fall vpon the feaſt of the Paſſeouer. Thirdly, the Sabboth day was not the greater, falling vpon the ordinarie weeke dayes of the Paſſeouer: for they were not counted great dayes, but onely the firſt and the laſt: and therefore being not great dayes themſelues, they could not make the Sabboth a great day: So then the greatneſſe of this Sabboth was by reaſon of the firſt and great day of the Paſſeouer. Fourthly, *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, that the day of Chriſts ſuffering was not *Paſcha, ſed præparatio Paſchæ*, it was not the Paſch, but the preparation to it. It is not therefore true, that it was kept holy of the Iewes, the day of Chriſts Paſſion; neither that they did eate the Paſchal Lambe the ſame eeue that Chriſt did, but the night following.

De conſenſu Euangel.lib.3. cap.13.

We conclude then, firſt, that Chriſt might eat vnleauened bread at the inſtitution of his laſt Supper: and yet neither did the Iewes generally eate their Paſſeouer then, neither was the next day of Chriſts Paſſion, kept by them as a ſolemne feaſt.

Secondly, it was not of the ſubſtance of the inſtitution to eate vnleauened bread, no more then to eate it at night, and to receiue it ſitting, we are not more bound to the one, then to the other. Againe, Chriſt vſed vnleauened bread, becauſe it was the vſuall bread at that time: ſo wee do vſe that, which is the vſuall bread in our time. And Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of ſuch bread, as was vſuall among the Gentiles, when he ſaith, *The bread which we breake*, 1.Corin.10.17. *Ergo*, ordinarie bread and leauened to be vſed, not vnleauened.

The teſtimonie of antiquitie is this: *Concil.Laodicen.can*.38. *Non oportet à Iudæis azyma accipere:* It is not lawfull to receiue vnleauened bread from the Iewes. *Trullan.can*.11. *Nemo Iudæorum azyma comedat:* Let no man eat the vnleauened bread according to the cuſtome of the Iewes. We ſee then that the vſe of leauened bread pleaſed better, then of vnleauened. And the Greeke Church is herein more indifferent then the Latine: *De pane, ſiue azymus, ſiue fermentatus fuerit, Græci non curent, dum ex tritico conſtet:* The Greekes, whether it be leauened, or vnleauened bread, care not, ſo it be of wheate: *Florentin.ſeſſ*.25.

Laſtly, in this caſe we want not ſome teſtimonie of their owne: that whereas *Bellarmine* alleageth out of *Abenezra in cap.Leuitic*.23. that this tradition of the Iewes, not to keepe the Paſſeouer vpon the Sabboth eeue, to auoid the concurrence of two feſtiuals, began many yeeres after Chriſt, *cap*.8. yet *Iohan.Heutenius præfat.in Euthymium*, and *Cornelius Ianſenius in cap.26.Matth.* alleage out of *Seder-olam*, that this tradition began ſtraight after their returne from the captiuitie of Babylon.

The Papiſts.

2. Concerning the other element of wine, which is vſed in the Sacrament, they ſay it is to be mixed with water, and they impudently condemne all thoſe Churches, that do not mixe water with wine, in the Sacrament: ſaying, it cannot be omitted, *ſine graui peccato*, without great ſinne. *Bellarm.lib*.4.*c*.10. And therefore *Honorius* 3. cauſed a Prieſt to be depoſed both from his office and benefice, becauſe hee did ſacrifice *Sine aqua & igni:* Without water and fire, *decret. Greg.lib.3.tit.41.c.14.*

21. Error.

*Argum.*1. Water guſhed out together with blood, out of the ſide of Chriſt: *Ergo,* wine and water is to be vſed together in the Euchariſt, *Rhemiſt.*1.*Cor.*11.*ſect.*10.*Bellarmin.lib.*4. *de Eucha-riſt.cap.*10.

Anſw. Firſt, the blood and water, that iſſued out of Chriſts ſide, were not mingled together, but came forth apart: *Ergo,* if they wil ground their mixture in the Sacrament vpon this example, they muſt vſe them ſeuerally and apart in the Euchariſt: And *Bellarmine* anſwereth nothing, when he ſaith, that notwithſtanding they were not mixed comming forth of Chriſts ſide; yet if they had fallen into one veſſell or cup, they would haue runne together: for we ſay againe, if they had fallen into two ſeuerall veſſels, they would not haue runne together: therefore if they will follow this preſident, they ſhould put the wine and water into two ſeuerall cuppes, and ſo vſe them apart.

Secondly, they cannot proue, that the water which came from Chriſt, was like to the water, which we commonly vſe, but ſuch, as is in the bodie of man: and it hath been an old receiued opinion, that it came neere vnto that humour in mans bodie, which is called *Phlegma,* as it is mentioned in their decrees, *decret.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*41.*c.*8. which opinion is there confuted, neither do we altogether approue it: yet it is probable, that it was not pure water, comming forth of Chriſts bodie; and therefore this can be no warrant vnto them, to vſe common water.

Thirdly, blood and water came forth, not wine and water: wherefore this example, if it proue any thing, maketh for the mixture of blood and water, not of wine and water.

Fourthly, by the blood and water the fathers do much better vnderſtand the two Sacraments of the Church, Baptiſme and the Euchariſt, as afterward it followeth to be ſhewed out of *Auguſtine*: if the water then ſignifie Baptiſme, it cannot be applied to the Euchariſt. *Bellarmines* anſwere here, that it is one thing to repreſent, another to be repreſented, is not worthie to be repeated, much leſſe to be refuted.

*Argum.*2. In the old Teſtament the cup in the Euchariſt was not onely prefigured in wine, which *Melchiſedech* brought forth to *Abraham,* but in the water, which came forth of the rocke: *Ergo,* water is to be vſed as well as wine: *ca.*10.*argum.*3.

Contra. Firſt, by this argument they may inferre, that water onely may be vſed; for water onely without wine flowed out of the rocke. Secondly, the figures of the law are no paternes of the Sacraments of the Goſpell: they had the ſame ſubſtance, that ours haue, but not the ſame ceremonie: for by the ſame reaſon, becauſe the cloud and the redde Sea were figures of our Baptiſme, they may conclude, that now alſo we muſt baptize with a miſt or cloud, and with ſalt-ſea water: theſe are very ſillie arguments.

*Argum.*3. Wine mixed with water doth fitly expreſſe the vnion of Chriſt and his people, who are ſignified by water.

Anſw. Firſt, it is too great boldneſſe for men to make myſteries of their owne deuiſing, as to bring in water to ſignifie the people. Secondly, this vnion and knitting together of Gods people is repreſented in the bread, made of many graines of corne, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, 1.Corinth.10.17. *We that are many, are one bread,&c.* and therefore the ſignification of water is ſuperfluous.

The Proteſtants.

1. WE deny not, but that of ancient time, in hot Countries, eſpecially where their wine was ſtrong, they vſed to mixe water with wine, in their common drinke, and thereupon they ſo vſed it in the Sacrament: but it was neuer generally the practiſe of the Eaſt countries ſo to doe: for the Armenians and Iberians vſed not of ancient time to put water in the cup in the miniſtration, *Fulk.annot.*1.*Cor.*11.*ſect.*10.

Secondly, Be it that this mixture of wine were conuenient to be vſed: you cannot make ſuch a matter of neceſſitie of it, as to charge them with hereſie, and denounce damnation againſt them that keepe not that cuſtome, eſpecially ſeeing your Canoniſts and ſchoolemen doe graunt that it is *de honeſtate tantum,* of decencie onely, not of neceſſitie. And yet we are fayne to drinke mingled wine many times againſt our willes: for the Miniſter need put in no water, it is mixed to his hands many times. The Vintners craft ſtandeth very well with popiſh profeſſion.

De conſecrat. diſtinct. 2. in gloſſ. 1.

*Argum.*1. We holde it rather to be a ſuperſtitious cuſtome and contrarie to Chriſts inſtitution: for he in his laſt Supper gaue wine, not water to be drunke; for he calleth it the fruite of the Vine, which is wine and not water, Matth.26.29.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that theſe words of our Sauiour, *I will not drinke henceforth of the fruite of the vine,* are vnderſtoode of the wine which Chriſt gaue vnto his Apoſtles before conſecration in the end of the legall ſupper: and he thus goeth about to proue it; firſt, becauſe S. *Luke* maketh mention of two cups, the one before the inſtitution of the laſt Supper, chap.22.verſ.17. the other after, verſ.20. the firſt was giuen in the end of the Paſſeouer, and therefore Chriſt doth not call it the new teſtament in his blood, as he doth the other. *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de Euchar. cap.*11.*argum.*10.

Contra. S. *Luke* maketh not mention of two cups, but twice of the ſame cup; and in the firſt place he ſpeaketh by way of anticipation, as S. *Auguſtine* thinketh, *lib.* 3. *de conſenſu Euangeliſtar.c.*1. whom *Bellarmine* vnmannerly reiecteth: ſaying, *Non diligenter expendiſſe hunc locum:* That he did not well waigh the place: Therefore S. *Luke* once for all rehearſeth the words of inſtitution, part of them in the firſt place, as, *Take this and deuide it amongſt you*, which is all one, as to ſay, *Drinke ye all of it*; part in the latter place, as, *This cuppe is the new teſtament, &c.* And that which S. *Luke* omitteth in the firſt place, the other two Euangeliſts, *Matthew* and *Marke*, ſupplie: for firſt they make mention of the words of inſtitution, *this is my blood, &c.* and then it followeth, *I will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine:* ſo that Chriſt calleth this cuppe, the new teſtament in his blood.

Secondly, ſaith *Bellarmine*, as theſe words of Chriſt, Luke 22.16. *Henceforth I will no more eate of it, &c.* are neceſſarilie vnderſtoode of eating the Paſſeouer; ſo the other words that follow, verſ.18. *I will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine, &c.* muſt bee referred to his drinking in the Paſſeouer, *Bellarm.lib.*1. *de Euchar. c.*11.*argum.*10.

Contra. Firſt, it is not neceſſarie to referre the firſt words to Chriſts eating of the Paſſeouer in his firſt ſupper, but to the whole action of his eating, at that time in the firſt and latter ſupper: ſo that the meaning is this: This is the laſt time, that I will eate with you: for he thus ſpake in the beginning of the Paſſeouer before he had yet taſted thereof, as may appeare by the 15. verſe, *I haue earneſtlie deſired to eate this Paſſeouer:* So it was but yet in his deſire, and not in acte. Secondly, though the firſt words be vnderſtoode of eating in the Paſſeouer, the ſecond are not therefore to be referred to the wine which they did drinke in the Paſſeouer. Firſt, becauſe both *Matthew* and *Marke* doe rehearſe theſe words as ſpoken after the words of conſecration. Secondly, becauſe Chriſt did no more eate of the Paſſeouer, but he did afterward drinke of the cuppe in his laſt ſupper; and therefore to make Chriſts words true, he ſpeaketh of the cuppe miniſtred in the Sacrament.

Now on the contrarie ſide, that Chriſt ſpake theſe words, *I will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine*, after the inſtitution of his laſt ſupper, it may appeare by theſe reaſons.

Firſt, becauſe two Euangeliſts, *Matthew* and *Marke*, doe both conſent in placing theſe words after the inſtitution: and there is greater reaſon to thinke that S. *Luke* ſhould tranſpoſe the words, then the other two according together.

Secondly, S. *Luke* ſpeaking twice of the cuppe, in both places rehearſeth ſome of the words of the inſtitution as in the firſt, *Take this and diuide it among you*, in the latter; *This cuppe is the new teſtament in my blood:* Wherefore ſeeing theſe words, *Take this, and diuid it*, or as *Matthew* ſayth, *Drinke ye all of this*, were ſpoken at the time of the inſtitution: it muſt needs follow, that our Sauiour meaneth the conſecrated cuppe and wine.

Thirdly, otherwiſe they will make the words of Chriſt vntrue, if he ſaid before his laſt ſupper, *I will drinke no more of the fruite of the vine*, and yet did afterward drinke it in his laſt ſupper. They will anſwere: that Chriſt did drinke no wine in his laſt ſupper, for it was conuerted into his blood.

Contra. Beſide that any man may ſee how groſſe and abſurd a thing it is, that Chriſt ſhould drinke his owne blood, and eate his owne fleſh; S. *Matthew* ſaith, that after Chriſt had ſaid, *This is my blood, &c.* hee calleth it *the fruite of the vine*, verſ.26.29. wherefore it was wine, which hee dranke in the chalice.

*Argum.*2. The water and blood which iſſued out of Chriſts ſide, ſignifie no ſuch thing, but rather as S. *Iohn* expoundeth them: by water, is betokened our waſhing from our ſinnes, whereof Baptiſme is a pledge: by blood, the full ſatisfaction that Chriſt hath made for our ſinnes, whereof the other Sacrament is a ſeale, 1.Iohn 5.6. *This is that Ieſus Chriſt, that came by water and blood, not by water onely, but by water and blood.* By the which words the Apoſtles meaning is not, that by the water and blood, which were ſhed vpon the Croſſe, we ſhould vnderſtand the Sacraments of the Church: but thoſe ſpirituall graces, whereof the Sacraments are liuely ſignes, namely, the ſatisfaction and ranſome of our ſinnes by Chriſts blood, and our ablution and waſhing from the ſame.

Auguſtine picketh out no ſuch fancie out of this myſterie as you doe, for the mixture of wine and water: but he doth more fitly apply it to the Sacraments of the Church: *E Chriſti latere dormientis in cruce promanarunt ſacramenta eccleſiæ: in Pſalm.*138. Out of Chriſts ſide dying vpon the Croſſe, iſſued the Sacraments of the Church: namely, Baptiſme, and the Euchariſt. He draweth not both water and wine to ſignifie one Sacrament, but applieth them to both.

*Argum.*3. The mixture of wine with water is in the Scripture taken in the euill part, as Iſay 1.22. *Your wine is mixt with water*, and 2.Cor.2.17. *We are not as thoſe, which doe adulterate the word of God:* The Apoſtle borroweth the word from the corruptors and minglers of wine: and therefore vſeth the word ειλικρινεια, which is the diſcerning of mixed and adulterate things by the

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light of the ſunne, the mixing then of wine and water in the Euchariſt can haue no good ſignification.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the ſame thing in Scripture in diuers ſenſes may haue both a good and an euill ſignification: and ſo the mixing of wine with water, to make marchandize of, is taken in the worſe part; but with intent to drinke it, it is vſed in Scripture in the better ſenſe, as Prou.9.5. Wiſdome ſaith, *Come and drinke the wine which I haue mixed for you, lib.4. de Euchar.c.*11. *reſp.ad argum.*1.

Contra. Firſt, that place in the Prouerbs is not neceſſarilie vnderſtoode of the mixture of wine with water, but of ſome pleaſant temperature beſide, whereby the wine is fined and reliſhed, and not allayed, as by water: as Cantic.5.1. *I haue drunke my wine with my milke.* Secondly, though in the ordinarie drinke, the mixture of wine with water may haue a good vſe and ſignification; yet in offrings and oblations to God, ſuch as the prophet *Iſay* ſpeaketh of, ſuch mixture neither in vſe or ſignification is commendable: For like as the Prophet *Malachie* reprouing the Iſraelites for offring vnto God the worſt things, as the halt and the blinde, ſaith, *Offer it now vnto the Prince, will he be content*, Malach.1.8? ſo if a man offer waterie or adulterate wine to the Prince, he will not be pleaſed; much leſſe is it to be preſented to God: And as it is not meete to vſe courſe or browne bread in the Communion for the one element; ſo neither is it fit to preſent baſe and courſe wine for the other. And if Chriſt turning water into wine, did exhibite pure and perfect wine at the mariage feaſt: is it like he would bring forth adulterate and counterfeite wine at his heauenly feaſt? Hereof S. *Ambroſe* thus writeth, *Dominus inuitatus ad nuptias, &c.* The Lord being inuited to the mariage feaſt, did not mingle the water pots full of water with wine, but changed them into wine: *Maluit naturam vertere, quàm adulterare ſubſtantiam:* He had rather change the nature, then adulterate the ſubſtance, *Serm.*78. Wherefore it is an adulterating of the ſubſtance, to mingle wine and water together.

*Argum.*4. As *Bellarmine*, to proue that Chriſt vſed vnleauened bread, alleageth that he immediatly before did eate the Paſſeouer, which was kept, with vnleauened bread; ſo by the ſame reaſon, ſeeing he confeſſeth that Chriſt did drinke the fruite of the vine, that is, naturall and perfect wine in the Paſſeouer, it is more then probable that he vſed the ſame at his laſt ſupper: that as he changed not the bread, ſo neither did he alter the wine.

And laſtly, they may be thus preſſed with their owne deuiſes: for whereas they hold that the elements after the words of conſecration are tranſubſtantiate; I aske whether the water, which is incorporate to the wine, be alſo conuerted into Chriſts blood? if they ſay it is not, then doe they deny tranſubſtantiation of all that is in the cup; if they ſay it is, then will they make Chriſt a watrie and elementall bodie: If the firſt, I obiect the decree of *Innocent* 3. who determineth, that the water together with the wine is chaunged into Chriſts blood, *decr. Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*41.*c.*6. If the ſecond, I doe oppoſe *Bellarmine*, who before affirmed, that nothing but the bread and wine are tranſubſtantiate: *queſt.*2. *reſp. ad* 3. *argum. proteſtant.*

Bernard writing of this matter, ſheweth his opinion according to thoſe corrupt times, that water in the Sacrament ought to be mixed with the wine: but he condemneth not all thoſe which retaine not this vſe: *Aliud eſt* (ſaith he) *culpare negligentiam, aliud negare efficaciam: epiſtol.*69. It is one thing to blame their negligence, another thing to deny efficacie to the Sacrament without any ſuch mixture adminiſtred.

*Concil. Aurelianenſ. can.*4. *Vt nullus in oblationibus ſacri calicis, niſi quod ex fructu vineæ ſperatur, & hoc ſine aqua mixtum offerre præſumat, quia ſacrilegium iudicatur aliud offerri, quam quod in mandatis ſacratiſſimis Saluator inſtituit:* That no man in the oblation of the ſacred cup, but that which commeth of the vine, and that without mixture of water, preſume to offer: becauſe it is iudged ſacrilege to offer any other thing, then what our Sauiour did inſtitute. This Canon maketh ſo euidently againſt the popiſh mixture of water and wine, that *Caranza* in his Epitome hath cunningly left it out.

Laſtly, in their owne decrees, there are certaine heretikes condemned, called *Aquarij*: becauſe they did offer water onely: *decr.par.*2.*cauſ.*24.*qu.*3.*c.*39. By the ſame rule the Papiſts are *Semiaquarij*, in part *Aquarie*-heretikes, becauſe they offer halfe water.

But we haue a more euident teſtimonie from their owne Canons, *decr.part.*3. *diſt.*2.*c.*7. *Iulius* confuteth thoſe which preſumed to offer milke, and dipped bread, by this argument, *It is euident by the Goſpell, Quod præter panem & vinum aliud offerri non licet:* That it is not lawfull to offer any thing beſide bread and wine: If nothing but bread and wine muſt be vſed, then water alſo is excluded as well as milke.

THE

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF THE words of conſecration.

The Papiſts.

THeſe words (ſay they) *This is my bodie*, to bee ſpoken ouer the bread, and the like ouer the wine, *This is the new Teſtament in my blood*, are the very formes of the Sacrament and words of conſecretion: which being vttered, immediatly the elements are chaunged into the bodie and blood of Chriſt: Wherefore theſe words are not to be read hiſtorically for the inſtruction of the people, but they are onely conſecratorie words, to be pronounced ouer the elements: *Rhemiſt. 1.Cor.11. ſect.11. Bellarm. lib.4. de Sacram. cap.13.* 22. Error.

Argum.1. The Rhemiſts obiect that place of S. *Paul*, 1.Cor.10.16. *The cuppe of bleſſing, which we bleſſe, &c.* Here the benediction is referred to the cup, not vnto God: *Ergo*, not by prayer or thankeſgiuing to God, but by certaine conſecratory words ſpoken ouer the cup, it is conſecrated, *Rhemiſt. in hunc locum.*

Anſw. Firſt, the word which the Apoſtle here vſeth εὐλογεῖν, *to bleſſe*, is expounded by Saint *Matthew*, to be all one with εὐχαριστεῖν, *to giue thanks:* for hee ſaith, Chriſt after he had bleſſed (vſing the firſt word) tooke the bread, and after hee had *(giuen thankes)* which is the other word; hee tooke the cuppe: and S. *Marke*, chap.8.6,7. vſeth both theſe words; how Chriſt firſt gaue thankes and brake the bread, and he bleſſed the fiſhes, and cauſed them to be ſet before the multitude: wherefore the cuppe is bleſſed, that is, by giuing thankes vnto God and praier is ſanctified: So that here is both relation vnto God, to whom wee offer our thankeſgiuing, and to the cuppe, which is ſanctified by our praiers. Secondly, though we graunt, that the cuppe is bleſſed by words of conſecration, it followeth not out of this place, that it is done by theſe foure words, *this is my bodie*, or *this is my blood:* for Chriſt beſide theſe words, vſed a benediction, bleſſing, or thankeſgiuing beſide, as the Euangeliſts make mention. Thirdly, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *The cuppe which wee bleſſe*; ſo hee ſaith, *The bread which wee breake*, which member of the ſentence aunſwereth to the other, *breaking of the bread*, to the *bleſſing of the cuppe:* the bread then is bleſſed, not onely by the pronouncing of words, but by the whole action of breaking, diſtributing, thankeſgiuing, &c.

Argum.2. If theſe were not the onely words of conſecration, *This is my bodie*, and if preſently vpon the vttering of theſe words the bodie of Chriſt were not preſent; then ſhould not the words of Chriſt be true, *Bellarm. ibid.* The anſwere to this argument followeth here in the aſſertion of the Proteſtants.

The Proteſtants.

1. WE acknowledge no ſuch conſecration at all, by vertue whereof the elements are conuerted and tranſubſtantiate into the bodie of Chriſt, as wee haue before ſhewed. A conſecration wee graunt, which is a ſetting apart of the elements, which before were common, to holy vſes, and by the vertue of Chriſts inſtitution, to bee made vnto vs ſignes of holy things.

Secondly, theſe are not the onely words of conſecration, *This is my bodie*, and, *This is the cuppe of my blood*, and yet Chriſts words ſhall be true: for we muſt not diſmember the ſentence: Chriſt ſaith, *Take, eate yee, this is my bodie:* it is then made his bodie to bee taken and eaten; by taking then and eating, the elements alſo are conſecrated, not onely by ſaying of the words: yee muſt not then diuide the words of the inſtitution, for then they ſhall no more conſecrate, then if you ſhould pronounce but two of your conſecratorie words, as, *This is*, or, *My bodie*, and leaue out the reſt.

Argum.1. That theſe are not the onely words of conſecration, it appeareth, becauſe both the bread was broken and diſtributed, and the cup alſo, before Chriſt ſpake thoſe words, as Math.26. verſ.26. For firſt Chriſt ſaith, *Take, eate*, and, *Take and drinke*, before he ſaid, either, *This is my bodie*, or, *This is my blood:* Neither can ye well tell your ſelues, which are your conſecratorie words for the cup, whether thoſe that *Matthew* ſetteth downe, *This is my blood of the new Teſtament:* or as *Luke* hath, *This cup is the new Teſtament in my blood.* Nay, *Bellarmine* vſeth another forme beſide theſe: *Hic eſt calix ſanguinis*, This is the cup of my blood, *Bellarm. cap.13.*

Againe, Saint *Luke* addeth, *This is my bodie, which is giuen for you:* Saint *Paul*, *which is broken for you*, 1.Cor.11.24. And S. *Luke* alſo and S. *Paul* haue theſe words, *Doe this in remembrance of me*, which are omitted both by S. *Matthew*, and S. *Marke*. Wherefore ſeeing all theſe are the words of Chriſt, it followeth, that they all are effectuall and forcible to conſtitute the Sacrament (vnleſſe they will ſay, that ſome of Chriſts words are ſuperfluous:) *Ergo*, theſe onely-words, *this is my bodie, this is my blood*, are not all the words of conſecration.

Bellarmine here anſwereth moſt abſurdly, that their Leiturgie, which onely vſeth thoſe words, being made by Saint *Peter* is more ancient, then either *Lukes* Goſpell, or *Pauls* Epiſtle, *Bellar.c.*14. *reſp.ad argum.*9.

Contra. Firſt, thus without all ſhame they doe make their vncertaine traditions equall with the Canonicall Scripture, and their ſuperſtitious and erronious Leiturgie, to counteruaile the authoritie of S. *Pauls* writings. Secondly, if their Leiturgie were grounded vpon Canonicall Scripture, yet one part of the Scripture is not of more credit then another: *Matthew* and *Markes* Goſpell are equall to S. *Lukes*; and S. *Lukes* Goſpell, and S. *Pauls* Epiſtle not inferiour to the other: ſo that all thoſe words which are reported by them all to haue been pronounced by Chriſt, muſt bee receiued as of like authoritie.

Innocentius 3. is herein more equall, than *Bellarmine: Decr.Greg.lib.*3.*tit.*41.*c.*6. *Ipſi Euangeliſtæ mutuò inter ſe ſuppleuiſſe leguntur,&c.* The Euangeliſts do make a mutual ſupplie, when as any thing is omitted by any of them: as where the other Euangeliſts ſay, *this is my body*, only *Luke* hath, *which is giuen for you:* and whereas *Marke* and *Matthew* ſay, *for many*, *Luke, for you:* and *Matthew* addeth, *for the remiſſion of ſinnes.* Thus hee preferreth not one Euangeliſt before another: but maketh vp the wordes of Chriſt out of them all. But whereas *Bellarmine* affirmeth with *Lindanus*, that the words of Chriſt, recited out of S. *Pauls* epiſtle to the Corinthians, are not ſufficient to conſecrate, *c.*15.*mendac.*3. what is this elſe but to charge the whole Church of the Corinthians, that they had no conſecration at all, who obſerued the ſame forme there preſcribed by the Apoſtle, 1. Corinth. 11.

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *euery creature is ſanctified by the word of God and prayer*, 1. Timot. 4. 5. but in the Euchariſt the bread and wine are creatures and elements ſanctified to holy vſes: *Ergo*, they are ſanctified by the word, and by prayer alſo. *Origen* hereof thus writeth *in* 15.*Math. Quid i. quicquid, ingreditur,&c.* If whatſoeuer enters in at the mouth, go into the bellie, &c. euen that meat which is ſanctified by the word and prayer, in reſpect of the materiall part, goeth into the bellie; but in reſpect of the prayer added to it, it profiteth according to the meaſure of faith. So our Sauiour vſed thankſgiuing, when he gaue the cup, beſide the words of inſtitution, Matth. 26. 27. By which example wee are taught, that by prayer and thankſgiuing the bread and wine are conſecrated.

We conclude then, that not onely theſe words, but all the reſt belonging to the inſtitution, are to be rehearſed in the Sacrament, both to inſtruct the people, that they may know the right vſe of the Sacrament; and they helpe alſo with the reſt of the whole action, of taking, eating, drinking, praying, thankſgiuing, to conſecrate and make the Sacrament, as wee haue ſhewed more at large before, *Controu.*11.*queſt.*1.*part.*2. to that place we referre the reader.

Bernards teſtimonie in this place is very full on our ſide: *Non ſolus ſacerdos ſacrificat, non ſolus conſecrat; ſed totus fidelium cœtus, qui aſtat, cum illo conſecrat, cum illo ſacrificat: Nec ſolus lignifaber facit domum, ſed alius ligna, alius trabes comportat: debent itaque aſtantes habere de ſuo, ſicut ſacerdos, fidem firmam, orationem puram, deuotionem piam:* The prieſt onely doth not ſacrifice, hee onely conſecrateth not, but the whole companie of the faithfull ſtanding by, doth conſecrate together with him: As the maſter carpenter doth not onely build the houſe, but other labourers, that carrie the timber, helpe to build: therefore the ſtanders by, as well as the prieſt, muſt haue a ſure faith, pure prayer, godly deuotion, &c. *doctrin.Bernard.* So then the Sacrament is conſecrate by the whole action of the Miniſter and Communicants together.

*Concil.Toletan.*7.*cap.*2. *Si ægritudinis acciderit quilibet euentus, quo cœptum nequeat expleri conſecrationis myſterium, ſit liberum preſbytero alteri conſecrationem exequi officij cœpti:* If the Miniſter chance to fall ſicke, that he cannot finiſh the conſecration, it ſhall bee lawfull for another to goe thorough with it. It ſhould ſeeme, that the conſecration was not finiſhed with fiue words ſpeaking: for then the Councell needed not to haue been ſo carefull to prouide for a ſupplie. This Canon is ratified, *decret.par.*2.*cauſ.*7.*qu.*1.*c.*16.

And further, *Decr.par.*3.*diſtinct.*2.*c.*55. *Vis ſcire, quia verbis cæleſtibus conſecratur,&c.* Will you know, that it is conſecrated with heauenly wordes? then it followeth, *Accipe quæ ſunt verba,&c.* Heare what the words are, the prieſt ſaith; Make this oblation, reaſonable, acceptable, which is the figure of the bodie and blood of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. But theſe are not the words of conſecration, but the prayer of the Miniſter: *Ergo*, prayer helpeth to conſecrate, and not the pronouncing onely of Chriſts words.

The Maſter of Sentences, *lib.*4.*diſt.*8.*c.* thus rehearſeth out of Saint *Ambroſe: Conſecratio quibus verbis fit,&c.* By what words is the conſecration made? attend, what the words are, *Take and eate ye all of this, this is my bodie:* and againe, *Take and drinke ye all of this, this is my blood:* therefore *take ye, eate ye*, and *take ye, drinke ye*, are part alſo of the words of conſecration. This ſentence of S. *Ambroſe* is rehearſed alſo in the decree before alleaged.

This truth laſtly is ſealed: *Iohn Philpot* holy Martyr; Saint *Peter* ſaith, *If any man ſpeake, let him ſpeake as the words of God:* wherefore whoſoeuer ſaith, that theſe wordes onely, *this is my bodie*, doe make a preſence of Chriſt,without *bleſſe ye,take,eate*, which be three as ſubſtantiall points of the Sacrament,as *this is my bodie*,he is highly deceiued : *Fox* pag.1809.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF THE PROPER effect and vſe of the Lords Supper.

The Papiſts.

23. Error. They doe generally holde, that this Sacrament was not properly ordained for remiſſion of ſinnes,neither that the Sacrament hath any ſuch vſe : but it ſerueth onely as a preſeruatiue againſt ſinne,*Trident.Concil.ſeſſ.*13*.can.*5*.Bellarm.lib.*4*.de Sacram.cap.*17.

Secondly, they teach, that faith is not ſufficient to prepare vs for the Communion : and although a man be neuer ſo contrite,*quantumcunq; ſe contritos exiſtiment*,yet they muſt be throughly purged and abſolued from their mortall ſinnes, before they come to communicate, *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.*13*.can.*11*.Bellarm.ibid.*

*Argum.*1. They that receiue the Communion, are one bodie as they are partakers of one bread, 1.Cor.10.17. but they which are in any grieuous and deadly ſinne, are not liuely members of Chriſt, and of his myſticall bodie : therefore the Sacrament doth not profit them at all, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, neither doe wee affirme, that men ought raſhly and preſumptuouſly to come to the Lords table, but to repent them throughly of their ſinnes, and to haue a ſtedfaſt and liuely faith in Chriſt,who cannot be ſaid,thus preparing themſelues,to remaine in their ſinnes : neither yet are they ſo fully acquited of them,that they neede not to receiue the Sacrament to their comfort,and to ſtrengthen their faith in the hope and aſſurance of the remiſſion of ſinnes. Secondly, wherefore all this hindreth not,but that they ſhould be true members of Chriſts bodie, euen hauing a troubled conſcience, and labouring vnder the burthen of their ſinnes : for the weake and ſicke parts of the bodie, are they therefore no parts at all, becauſe of their infirmities? *Auguſtine* ſaith very well,*Non filios diaboli faciunt quacunque peccata, peccant enim & filij Dei : in quibus non eſt fides, filij ſunt diaboli:* Contra.2.Epiſt.Pelag.3.3. Euery ſinne maketh not a man the childe of the diuell, for the children of God alſo ſinne : but they which haue no faith,are the ſonnes of the diuell: *Ergo*,all ſinnes cut not men off from the bodie of Chriſt, but onely the want of faith : They then that haue ſinned, and doe repent them and come with faith, are ſtill the ſonnes of God, and members of Chriſts bodie.

*Argum.*2. None were ſuffered to eate the Paſſeouer, if they were vncleane, Numb.9.10. and our Sauiour waſhed his Apoſtles feete, before he inſtituted his Supper, Iohn 13. and Matth.22. he is puniſhed,that came to the marriage feaſt without a wedding garment: *Ergo*,they that come to the Euchariſt muſt be purged firſt and cleanſed from their ſinnes, ſo that they haue no pricke of conſcience at all: *Bellarm.c.*18*.argum.*3.

Anſw. Firſt, theſe places alleaged do proue, that a man being vncleane by the committing of any ſinne, ſhould firſt by repentance and contrition of heart purge himſelfe, which wee grant is neceſſarie, and ſo receiue the Communion, to his further comfort:but they proue not that a man ſhould bee ſo purged, as that hee needed not by the Sacrament to bee further aſſured of remiſſion of ſinnes. Secondly, the type of the Paſſeouer is thus expounded by S.*Paul*, 1.Cor.5.8. *Let vs keepe the Paſſeouer, not with the old leauen of maliciouſneſſe and wickedneſſe, but with the vnleauened bread of ſynceritie and truth* : ſo that if a man do forſake his former wickedneſſe, not maliciouſly continuing in it, and commeth with a ſyncere and vnfaigned purpoſe of heart, deſirous to be fully aſſured of the remiſſion of his ſinnes, it is a ſufficient preparation. Thirdly, the waſhing of the feete, was to teach the Apoſtles an example of humilitie, Iohn.13.15.*I haue giuen you an example:* and it ſignifieth our ſpirituall waſhing by Chriſt, verſ.8. *If I waſh thee not*,(ſaith Chriſt to *Peter*) *thou haſt no part in me :* which is by faith,*whereby our hearts are purified*,Act.15.verſ.9.not that waſhing or cleanſing,which is wrought by our ſelues : and faith alſo is the wedding garment, as it is expounded Apocal.3.18.*Buy of me white raiment,that thou maiſt be clothed.*

*Argum.*3. 1.Cor.11.39.*He that eateth and drinketh vnworthily,eateth and drinketh his owne damnation,&c.*but they that communicate,hauing any pricke of conſcience for any mortall ſinne, doe eate and drinke vnworthily *: Ergo*, it cannot bee anſwered, that this worthie or vnworthie receiuing is in reſpect of hauing or not hauing faith : for the Apoſtle reproueth them for a certaine abuſe and corruption of manners, in diſorderly comming to the Sacrament : *Bellarm.ibid.argum.*5.

Anſw. Firſt, the vnworthie receiuing, which the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh of chiefly, is in comming without the due examination of faith : for the Apoſtle had ſaid, *Let a man examine himſelfe, and ſo let him eate :* but this examination is,*whether we are in the faith*,2.Cor.13.5. And againe the Apoſtle ſaith,they eate and drinke their owne damnation, *not diſcerning the Lords bodie :* and this diſcerning of the Lordes bodie belongeth to faith and knowledge, in making a difference betweene thoſe holie myſteries, and all other common meates. Secondly, they alſo are vnworthie receiuers, that come without knowledge and amendment of their fault; as here the Corinthians retained an abuſe in the Lords Supper, and as yet corrected it not. This place then prooueth, that continuing in ſinne without correction of it, is an vnworthie receiuing: it concludeth not againſt thoſe that haue repented them, and yet there remaineth ſome griefe or touch of conſcience ſtill, whereof they deſire to be releaſed.

Argum.4. They that come to the Communion either haue faith or not: if they haue not faith, they are vnworthie receiuers, and can reape no benefit by it; if they haue, they are alreadie iuſtified from their ſinnes: therefore vnto them the Euchariſt is not profitable towards the remiſſion of their ſinnes, which they haue alreadie by faith, *Bellarm.ration*.4.

Anſ. *Bellarmine* very vnskilfully maketh no difference betweene the beginning and the encreaſe of faith: the Apoſtles had faith; for to them Chriſt ſaid, *they were cleane, but not all*, Ioh.13.10. yet they pray, *Lord encreaſe our faith*, Luk.17.5. So the careful father ſaith to Chriſt, *Lord I beleeue, helpe my vnbeliefe*, Mark.9.24. So then a man hath faith, and by the ſame remiſſion of ſinnes: yet for the further ſtrengthening of his faith, and full aſſurance of remiſſion of ſinnes, he deſireth to receiue the Sacrament. Our faith is not perfect, but many times interrupted, and aſſailed with doubts, and had neede continually to be ſtrengthened, and renewed by the often hearing of the word, and receiuing of the Sacraments.

Argum.5. There is not one and the ſame proper vſe and end of diuers Sacraments: but Baptiſme is receiued for remiſſion of ſinnes: *Ergo*, the Euchariſt is not for that end, *Bellarm.ibid*.

Anſ. 1. The death of Chriſt, and ſo remiſſion of ſinnes purchaſed by the ſame, is properly repreſented vnto vs in both Sacraments, yet in a diuers reſpect: for as to be borne is one thing, and to be fed and nouriſhed is another; yet both worke the ſame thing in the bodie, though diuerſly: for the birth giueth life, meate and drink preſerueth it: the ſame difference is betweene Baptiſme and the Lords Supper, they both are ſeales vnto vs of our iuſtification, in the remiſſion of ſins by Chriſt: but by Baptiſme we are initiated, regenerate and borne anew, and engrafted into the bodie of Chriſt. The other Sacrament doth confirme, increaſe, and nouriſh our faith, alreadie begun and planted in vs, for the remiſſion of ſinnes, and all other benefits of Chriſts paſſion.

The Proteſtants.

First, wee doe truly affirme and teach, that an eſpeciall and principall vſe of the Euchariſt or Communion, is to ſtrengthen and aſſure our faith of the remiſſion of our ſinnes: and yet wee denie not, but that it hath other vſes beſide: for as in Baptiſme not onely the waſhing away of our ſinnes is ſhewed forth, but it alſo betokeneth our dying to ſinne, and riſing to newnes of life, Rom.6.3,4. ſo in the Lords Supper whole Chriſt with all his benefits are exhibited vnto vs, as it is a pledge vnto vs, not onely of remiſſion of ſinnes, but that Chriſt is become our *righteouſneſſe and ſanctification*, 1.Cor.1.30. that he wil aſſiſt vs with his ſpirit, and repleniſh our harts with grace: *The water that I ſhall giue him, ſhall be in him a well of water, ſpringing vp to euerlaſting life*, Iohn 4.14. Yea, the ſpirituall eating and drinking of the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, is a pledge vnto vs of the reſurrection, and of life eternall, Ioh.6.54. But that amongſt the reſt, it alſo aſſureth vs of remiſſion of ſinnes, thus it is proued.

Argum.1. Chriſt after Saint *Matthew* ſaith, *This is the blood of the new teſtament, that is ſhed for many for remiſſion of ſinnes*, Matth.26.28. But the new teſtament includeth a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes, Iere.31.34. Yea our Sauiour ſetteth it downe in plaine termes: for why elſe ſhould our Sauiour make expreſſe mention of forgiuenes of ſinnes, if this Sacrament did not ſerue for that vſe?

Bellarmine anſwereth, that theſe words of our Sauiour doe not ſignifie, that his blood is drunke in the Sacrament for remiſſion of ſinnes, but that it was ſhed for remiſſion of ſinnes, and ſo is repreſented in the Euchariſt, *cap*.19.*reſp.ad argum*.3.

Contra. Firſt, in the Euchariſt the death of Chriſt with the fruite thereof, which is the remiſſion of ſinnes, is not onely repreſented, but exhibited alſo and applied: for otherwiſe they will make it but a bare and naked ſigne, if it ſhould onely repreſent and ſignifie: and who would thinke, that they which ſtand vpon the reall preſence, would content themſelues with repreſentation and ſignification onely. Wherefore I thus vrge them, as Chriſts blood is preſent, ſo is the fruites of his blood: but his blood is not preſent onely in ſignification, but verely and indeede to the worthie receiuer: *Ergo*, ſo is remiſſion of ſins, which is the fruite of his blood. Secondly, S. *Paul* ſaith, that the vnworthie receiuer is guiltie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt, 1.Cor.11.27. If vnworthie receiuing doth verely adde ſinne vnto them, then the worthie receiuing, which is a ſhewing forth of Chriſts death, doth verely obtaine remiſſion of ſinnes.

Argum.2. Chriſt ſaith, *I came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance*: but Chriſt in the Euchariſt calleth vs vnto him: *Ergo*, he calleth ſinners to come to the Euchariſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt ſpeaketh of his firſt calling vnto faith, and repentance, not of inuiting to the Euchariſt, *reſp.ad argum.*1.

Contra. Firſt, where Chriſt ſaith, *I came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance,* he calleth all, but onely ſuch, as are ſo righteous that they neede no repentance: but ſuch there are none in this life: *Ergo,* he calleth all. Secondly, he calleth all that thirſt, Ioh.7. *If any man thirſt, let him come vnto me and drinke:* but who thirſteth more, then he that deſireth to be releaſed of his ſinne? Neither doth Chriſt ſpeake here of the firſt call vnto faith, but euen of ſuch as did beleeue alreadie; as it followeth in the next verſe, *he that beleeueth in me, out of his bellie ſhall flow riuers of waters of life.* Thirdly, our Sauiour ſaith, *Come vnto me all ye that are wearie and laden, and I will eaſe you,* Mat.11.28. but theſe are they which labour vnder the burthen and griefe of their ſinnes: *Ergo,* ſuch are admitted to come to the Sacrament to finde eaſe thereby.

*Argum.*3. Beſide theſe places of Scripture, we reaſon thus: If a man muſt be purged from the very conſcience and griefe of ſinne before he come to the Communion, then no man liuing can be a fit receiuer, ſeeing no man in this life can be ſure he is without ſinne. This *Bellarmine* graunteth, but ſaith further, that though a man be not ſure, yet if hee doe endeuour, as much as in him lieth, to be purged from ſinne, he commeth worthilie, *reſp.ad argum.*2.

Contra. All this wee graunt, and this may a man doe, that findeth yet ſome griefe in his conſcience for his ſinne: but ſeeing he confeſſeth, that a man cannot bee ſure he is without ſinne, there muſt then remaine ſome conſcience, feare and griefe of ſin, euen in the worthie receiuer. Againe, ſeeing he granteth, that the Euchariſt is auailable to take away veniall ſinne, *ibid.argum.*4. he offereth great indignitie to the Sacrament of Chriſts bodie and blood, that it ſhould not be of ſufficient efficacie to remit alſo mortall and capitall ſinne. And further he graunteth out of *Thomas reſp.ad arg.*2. that a man being in deadly ſin, and hauing no feeling of it, yet ſorrowing for the reſt, which he feeleth and knoweth, may bee a worthie receiuer: whereby it followeth, that hee which hath committed a ſinne, and hath remorſe thereof in conſcience, may much more be a worthie receiuer. And thus their doctrine is contrarie to it ſelfe.

Secondly, we doe hold, that to haue a liuely faith in the promiſes of God, with repentance for our ſinnes, and a full purpoſe to amend our liues, is a ſufficient preparation for the Communion: and that this Sacrament is a ſoueraigne remedie for a troubled conſcience. Neither ought men to refraine from the Communion, till they haue fully ſatisfied for their ſins, as the Papiſts teach, and are cleered in their conſcience of all their ſins: for ſo, few or none at all, ſhould be admitted to the Lords table: but in whom faith hath alreadie wrought repentance, in ſome meaſure, he may ſafely receiue the Sacrament for his further comfort, and aſſurance of remiſſion of ſinnes.

*Argum.*4. Ioh.6.35. *He that beleeueth in me* (ſaith Chriſt) *ſhall neuer thirſt:* Saint *Paul* alſo exhorteth men to examine themſelues, 1.Cor.11.28. which is nothing elſe, as himſelfe expoundeth it, then to proue whether they be in the faith, 2.Cor.13.5. *Ergo,* the examination or triall of faith, is a ſufficient preparation for the Lords table.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Ad Deum acceditur, fide ſectando, corde inhiando, charitate currendo:* We come or haue acceſſe vnto God in following him by faith, ſeeking him in our heart, and running to him with loue, *In Pſalm.*33.*concion.*2. *Ergo,* by faith wee haue acceſſe vnto God, Rom.5.2. but a liuely faith, which worketh by loue, Galath.5.6.

Bernards teſtimonie is euident alſo in this caſe: who ſpeaking of the manner of preparation for the Sacrament, writeth thus: *Ante omnia fides quærenda eſt, de qua legitur, fide mundans corda eorum, &c.* Before all things we muſt ſeeke for faith, of the which we reade, by faith purifying their harts, *ſerm.*5.*in Vigil.Natal.*

Againe, *Apparatus menſæ iſtius non hominis eſt, ſed fidei, non temporalis elementi, ſed æterni:* The preparation or furniture of this table is not of man, but of faith; not of temporall nouriſhment, but eternall, *ſerm.in cœna Domin.*

*Concil. Florentin. ſeſſ.*25. The Greeke Church confeſſeth thus: *Sanctiſſimum Chriſti corpus & ſanguinem peccatorum noſtrorum remiſſioni & animarum ſaluti fieri:* That the moſt holie bodie and blood of Chriſt, is made for the remiſſion of our ſinnes, and the health of our owne ſoules.

Iohn Philpot holie Martyr: When Doctor *Moreman* had denied that the Sacrament had a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes annexed to it: the Martyr vrged theſe words of the inſtitution, *Which is giuen for you, which is ſhed for you for the remiſſion of ſinnes:* whereby that popiſh aſſertion was directly ouerthrowne.

Concerning our preparation alſo by faith, thus teſtifieth a Councell: *Colonienſ.part.*7.*cap.*2. *Excitanda eſt fidelium fides & deuotio in Deum, vt credentes & myſterium intelligentes accedant ad ſaluatoris noſtri gratiam participandam:* The faith and deuotion of the faithfull muſt bee ſtirred vp, that with beleefe and vnderſtanding they may approach to bee partakers of grace, &c.

Let vs ſee what their owne decrees teſtifie of this matter: firſt, that the Euchariſt is auaileable to the remiſſion of all manner of ſinnes: *Nicholaus* witneſſeth *decret.par.2.cauſ.*15.*qu.*8.*c.*5. *Sacramenta omnium contagionum purgatoria exiſtunt:* The Sacraments are the purgation of all contagions whatſoeuer.*part.*3.*diſtinct.*2.*c.*6. *In remiſſionem peccatorum oblationem diſtribuat:* Let the Prieſt diſtribute the oblation to the people, for the remiſſion of their ſinnes. *ibid.c.*40. *Qui manducauerit hoc corpus, &c.* He that eateth this body, it ſhall be to him the remiſſion of his ſinnes: Theſe words are generall of all ſinnes whatſoeuer.

Secondly, that the communion is not to be denied vnto them, that haue griefe of conſcience euen of the greater ſinnes, their own Canons are euident, *decr.par.2.cauſ.*33.*diſt.*1.*c.*50. *Negant his oportere reddi communionem, &c.* They ſay the Communion is not to be giuen to thoſe that haue willingly fallen: *Deus autem nullum crimen excepit, &c.* But God hath excepted no ſinne, hauing forgiuen all ſinnes. *Ibid.c.*52. *Grauiſſimi criminis reis, &c.* The Lord hath commaunded, that the Sacrament ſhould be miniſtred to thoſe which are guiltie of the greateſt ſinnes, if with all their heart they repent and confeſſe their ſinne. *cap.* 56. *Sunt qui arbitrantur, &c.* There be, that thinke this to be repentance, to abſtaine from the heauenly Sacraments: but theſe are too ſeuere iudges againſt themſelues, *Qui ſibi præſcribunt pœnam, declinant remedium:* Which preſcribe a puniſhment to themſelues, and decline the remedie. Here they are reproued that refraine the Sacrament, for ſome conſcience of ſinne, which is a remedie againſt ſinne. *decr.p.*3.*diſt.*2.*c.*13. *Quamuis quis peccato mordeatur, &c.* Though a man haue remorſe of conſcience for ſinne, let him not haue a will to ſinne, &c. and ſo let him come *intrepidus,* ſecurely to the Communion. Wherefore *Bellarmines* poſition, *Qui cum conſcientia peccati accedit:* He that commeth with conſcience of ſinne, doth eate and drinke his owne iudgement. *c.* 18.*argum.* 1. is flat oppoſite to their owne Canons. Theſe words that follow in the Canon: *Hoc de illo dico quem capitalia peccata non grauant:* I ſay this of him that is not troubled with mortall and capitall ſinnes, doe not make againſt vs: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch a perplexitie of conſcience, as hath no hope: but this Canon plainely affirmeth, that a man though hee haue remorſe of conſcience for ſinne, may ſafely come to the Communion, which is the thing by *Bellarmine* denied.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF THE MANER to be obſerued in receiuing the Communion.

The Papiſts.

24.Error. 1. THey holde it in no wiſe lawfull for Chriſtians, otherwiſe then faſting, to receiue the Communion: and that they ought to eate nothing before they doe communicate, vnleſſe it be in a caſe of great neceſſitie, *Concil. Conſtantienſ.ſeſſ.* 13. *Bellarmin. lib.*3. *de Euchariſt. cap.*22. *ratione* 4.

The Proteſtants.

1. WHat they here vnderſtand by neceſſitie, it may be doubted, ſeeing they themſelues will not graunt the like neceſſitie to be in the Euchariſt, as they ſay there is of Baptiſme: All ſacraments, we graunt, are neceſſarie, that is, profitable, expedient, requiſite, ſo often as they may be had: But none ſo neceſſarie, that the want thereof vnto a faithfull man, that in hart doth wiſh and deſire them, can be any hinderance to his ſaluation.

Secondly, that it is lawfull for any man to eate before hee come to the Communion, if his ſtomacke be weake, and not able to faſt ſo long (for otherwiſe, if a man can abſtaine, we wiſh him ſo to doe rather) S. *Paul* ſheweth, writing to the Corinthians, 1. chap.11.34. *If any man be hungrie, let him eate at home.* Some of them, he ſaith, came hungrie, ſome drunken, verſ.21. the Apoſtle commendeth neither, but telleth them, if they be hungrie, they haue houſes to eate in. Againe, in that our Sauiour Chriſt after ſupper inſtituted the Sacrament, it doth euidently declare vnto vs, that it is no ſinne to eate or drinke before we receiue the Sacrament.

Bellarmine anſwereth, firſt Chriſt did inſtitute the Sacrament onely after the legall ſupper, to ſhew that it was the ſhadow and figure of the other: but this doth no more warrant vs to receiue after ſupper, then that we ſhould firſt be circumciſed, and then baptized, becauſe Chriſt was ſo. *lib.*2. *de miſſ.c.*14.

Contra. Firſt, we doe not vrge Chriſts example, to warrant the receiuing either after dinner, or after ſupper, but to ſhew that it is no ſinne to eate before, if neceſſitie require: for if it were ſimplie a ſinne, Chriſt, vpon what occaſion ſoeuer, would not haue giuen example therein. Secondly, the example of circumciſion is not like: for there is no neceſſitie of being circumciſed before Baptiſme, as there may bee of eating before the Sacrament: and Chriſts example ſheweth, that hee, which before was circumciſed, may, being conuerted to the faith, bee alſo Baptized.

Secondly, ſaith he, the Apoſtles meaning is, that they which are hungrie, ſhould eate; but then they muſt not for that time receiue the Communion, ſo he ſpeaketh it to ſhame them, not as allowing any ſuch vſe.

Contra. The words of the Apoſtle are euident, verſ.33. *When ye come together to eate, tarrie one for another, and if any man be hungrie, let him eate at home, that ye come not together to condemnation.* Here the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of comming together, and tarrying one for another, that they which thorough their weakenes are hungrie and doe eate ſhould be ſtayed for.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Neminem cogimus dominica illa cœna prandere, ſed nulli etiam contradicere audemus:* Wee compell none to take the Lords Supper in dinner while, or after dinner; neither dare we forbid any ſo to doe. So he maketh it a thing indifferent, to communicate faſting or otherwiſe. Epiſt.118.c.7.

See their owne Canons of this matter: *decr.par.3.diſt.1.c.49. A ieiunis hominibus,&c.* The Sacraments muſt be celebrate by them, that are faſting, *excepto vno die,&c.* except one day in the yeare, when the ſupper of the Lord is celebrated. Here we ſee that the ſupper of the Lord may be taken not faſting: but by faſting this Canon vnderſtandeth not an abſtinence ſimplie, but that they ſhould communicate before dinner, as it may appeare by the wordes following: *Pomeridiano tempore,&c.* They forbid the Sacrament to be miniſtred after dinner. Likewiſe *diſtinct.2.c.54. Liquidò apparet,&c.* It appeareth euidently, that the Apoſtles when they firſt receiued the Supper of the Lord, did not take it faſting. Though the ſame Canon alloweth the receiuing of the Euchariſt faſting, which we alſo confeſſe to be moſt meete and conuenient; yet it graunteth, that at the firſt inſtitution it was not ſo.

This truth alſo is ſealed: *Alice Holting* perſecuted, for ſaying to her neighbour, that ſhe might dine before ſhe receiued the Sacrament.

Alice Harding likewiſe: for ſaying ſhee might as well drinke on Sunday before Maſſe, as vpon any other day, p.826. that is, if ſhe could not in reſpect of her infirmitie continue ſo long faſting.

The Papiſts.

2. THey binde the people onely once in the yeare to receiue the Communion at Eaſter time, and take it to be fully ſufficient for them ſo to doe: *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.13.can.9.* 25.Error.

The Proteſtants.

2. THis decree of theirs is contrarie to the practiſe of the Apoſtles, whom the Rhemiſts confeſſe to haue miniſtred the Sacrament to the Chriſtians daily, *Annotat. Act.2.ſect.6.* So expounding the words of the text, They continued daily in breaking of bread.

2 It ſeemeth alſo to be contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule, who ſpeaketh of often communicating: *Doe this,* ſaith he, *as oft as you drinke it,* 1.Corinth.11.25. For ſeeing the eating of that bread, and drinking of that cuppe, is nothing elſe, but a ſhewing forth of the Lords death till he come; who ſeeth not, that it ought oftener then once or twice in the yeare to be receiued, ſeeing the death of Chriſt ought continually to be remembred, and ſhewed forth?

3 Therefore *Auguſtine* doth boldly reprehend their cuſtome, that content themſelues with once receining in the yeare: *Si panis quotidianus eſt, cur poſt annum illum ſumas? accipe quotidie, quod quotidie tibi proſit:* If it bee thy dayly bread, why doeſt thou take it but yearely? take that dayly and continually, which may profit thee dayly, *In Luk. ſerm.*28.

Can. Apoſtolor.9. Quoties ingrediuntur Eccleſiam, & audiunt ſcripturas, communicare debent: People as often as they enter into the Church, and heare Scripture, ought to communicate.

Eliberin.can.1. Nec inter fideles connumerabitur, qui in iſtis temporibus Paſcha, Pentecoſte, Natali Domini, non communicauerit: He is not to be counted amongſt the faithfull, which doth not communicate, at Eaſter, Pentecoſt, and the Natiuitie. This is more, then once in the yeare.

Laſtly, we haue the witnes of their owne Canons: *decr.p.3.diſt.2.c.3. Quotidie Euchariſtæ communionem percipere,&c.* To receiue the Communion euery day, I neither praiſe nor diſpraiſe it: *Singulis diebus dominicis,&c.* But euery Lords day, to communicate I perſwade and exhort: This very ſentence is rehearſed and approued by the Maſter, *lib.4.diſt.12.h. Ibid.c.14. Quia ſemper pecco, ſemper habere debeo medecinam:* Becauſe I alwaies ſinne, I had neede alwaies of the remedie: he ſpeaketh of the Communion. And Canon 16. *Fabianus* thus decreeth, *Si non frequentius,&c.* If not oftener, yet at the leaſt thrice in the yeare let euery laye man communicate. Can. 18. *Si quis intrat in Eccleſiam Dei,&c.* If a man enter into the Church, and heare the Scriptures, and of wantonnes turneth himſelfe from the Sacrament, let him be caſt out of the Church. This Canon enioyneth receiuing of the Sacrament, ſo often as they come to the Church: *Ibid. c.19. Seculares,&c.* Secular men, that doe not receiue thrice in the yeare, let them not bee counted amongſt Catholikes.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF RECEIVING the Sacrament in one kinde.

The Papiſts.

26. Error. CHriſtians (ſay they) are not bound by any commaundement of God, to receiue the Sacrament in both kindes, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 21. can. 1.* And whoſoeuer ſaith, that the Church hath erred or done amiſſe, in decreeing that lay men and the Clergie not ſaying Maſſe, ſhould receiue in the one kinde, that is bread onely; or that it is lawfull for them to communicate in both, contrarie to the determination of the Church: let him be accurſed, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 21. can. 2. Rhemiſt. Iohn 6. ſect. 11. Bellarmin. lib. 4. de Euchariſt. cap. 20.*

Argum. 1. Chriſt is all and whole in euery part of the Sacrament, his blood by a certaine concomitance is in the bread, and his fleſh by the like concomitance is in the cup, and his ſoule and diuinitie by the ſame concomitance in them both, for otherwiſe Chriſt ſhould be deuided: but euery ſpirit, ſaith the Apoſtle, that diſſolueth Ieſus is not of God, 1. Iohn 4.3. Wherefore he that receiueth in one kinde, is as well partaker of whole Chriſt, and of the full grace and effect of the Sacrament, as if he receiued in both, *Bellarm. cap. 21.*

Againe, Chriſt ſaith, Iohn 6.57. *He that eateth me, ſhall liue by me*; but Chriſt is eaten onely vnder the forme of bread, *Ergo*, vnder the forme of bread, whole Chriſt, not his bodie onely is preſent, *Bellarmin. ibid.*

And further, he obiecteth that place, Rom. 6.9. *Chriſt being raiſed from the dead dyeth no more*: but if his fleſh were in the Sacrament without his blood, then ſhould it be a dead bodie without life, and ſo Chriſt ſhould die ſtill. *ibid.*

Anſw. 1. We deny any ſuch concomitance of the blood and fleſh of Chriſt in the Sacrament: for he is not in his carnall preſence with his very fleſh and blood there included, as we haue ſhewed before: the bread and wine are ſignes onely of his body and blood, and therefore Chriſt is not diuided, they being the ſignes onely, and not the thing ſignified.

2 The place alleaged out of S. *Iohn* is greatly abuſed and corrupted by them, while they chuſe rather to follow their olde blinde latine tranſlation, then the authenticall Greeke text: the words in the originall are, *Euery ſpirite that confeſſeth not Ieſus Chriſt:* not, euery ſpirite that diſſolueth: And this may appeare to be the true reading, by the oppoſition in the former verſe, *Euery ſpirite that confeſſeth Ieſus, is of God:* therefore this is the beſt reading, *Euery ſpirite that confeſſeth not Ieſus:* as being ſet oppoſite and contrarie to the other verſe. Againe, the Rhemiſts vnderſtand this place after their owne reading of the diſſoluing of the humanitie and diuinitie of Chriſt: not of any ſuch ſeparation of the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, as *Bellarmine* ſuppoſeth.

3 Our Sauiour in the ſixt of *Iohn* ſpeaketh not of the ſacramentall, but of the ſpirituall eating; and ſo indeede ſpirituallie it is all one to eate and drinke Chriſt: for euery one that eateth ſacramentallie doth not liue by him, ſeeing that the wicked may be partakers of the Sacrement. And againe, if they will haue this chapter vnderſtoode of the Sacrament, then where Chriſt ſaith, verſ. 53. *Except ye eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye haue no life in you,* there is an abſolute neceſſitie impoſed, to receiue in both kinds, both ſacramentally to eate Chriſt, and to drinke Chriſt. We cannot deſire a more direct place againſt them.

4 To the place, Rom. 6. we anſwere: firſt, that Chriſt fleſh is not reallie and corporally preſent, and therefore the argument followeth not that Chriſt ſhould haue a dead bodie without blood: the blood and fleſh of Chriſt remaine vndeuided in his glorious bodie in heauen, yet may be repreſented apart in the Sacrament. Secondly, they themſelues offering vp Chriſt in the ſacrifice of the Maſſe for remiſſion of ſinnes, as they blaſphemouſlie ſay, doe conſequently affirme that Chriſt dyeth againe, ſeeing the Apoſtle ſaith: *That without ſhedding of blood there is no remiſſion,* Hebr. 9.22. contrarie to the place alleaged out of the Apoſtle, *That henceforth Chriſt dyeth no more.* Rom. 6.9.

5 This their deuice therefore of concomitance ouerthwarteth the inſtitution of Chriſt: Firſt, he ſaith, *The bread is his bodie, the wine his blood:* but by their rule, the bread is his blood, and the wine his bodie.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that they ſay not, *The bread is is blood, and the wine his bodie,* but that vnder the forme of bread, there is his bodie with the blood, and vnder the forme of wine, the blood in the bodie.

Contra. Firſt, bee it graunted, that the blood of Chriſt is in the bread, yet how can any man bee ſaid to drinke it in bread? We vſe to eate bread, not to drinke bread: his blood therefore cannot bee there, becauſe it cannot bee drunke there. Secondly, we vrge his owne words: that *Sub ſpecie panis repræſentatur corpus à ſanguine ſeparatum, &c.* That vnder the forme of bread, there is repreſented the bodie ſeparated from the blood, *cap. 21.* But there is no other preſence

ſence of Chriſts bodie, but by way of repreſentation, *Ergo,* the bodie is preſent without the blood, and the blood without the bodie Sacramentally.

Arguments againſt the popiſh deuice of concomitance.

Secondly, whereas Chriſt ſeuerally conſecrated the Bread, ſaying, *This is my body,* and the Cup, ſaying, *This is my blood;* if then both Chriſts bodie and blood were receiued ſacramentally in one kind, Chriſt had ſuperfluouſly and in vaine diſtinguiſhed them.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt diſtinguiſhed the ſignes, to repreſent his death and paſſion thereby; but therefore it followeth not, that his body and blood ſhould be ſeparated or diſtinguiſhed: as one may picture a mans head in one table, his bodie in another; and yet both ſhall be together ſtill. *Bellarm.ibid.c.*21.

Contra. Firſt, if Chriſts death is repreſented both by eating the bread and drinking the cup; as the Apoſtle ſayth, 1.Cor.11.26. then where eyther of them is omitted, Chriſts death is not repreſented; and ſo conſequently, there is no Sacrament. Secondly, we make no reall diſtinction of Chriſts bodie and blood, as we graunt no ſuch reall preſence; and therefore it is a beggerly ſhift, ſo often to inculcate the thing moſt in queſtion betweene vs: the head and feete ſunderly pictured, are ſpiritually and figuratiuely diſcerned, though in act not deuided; and ſo are Chriſts bodie and blood ſacramentally diſtinguiſhed.

Thirdly, Chriſt ſaith, *This is my bodie,* he ſaith not, *This is my ſelfe;* neither is the body and blood of Chriſt called Chriſt, God, and man: but if the bodie of Chriſt were there preſent with his ſoule and diuinitie, it might be ſaid, This is Chriſts ſoule and deitie, as well as This is Chriſts body and blood.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt ſaith not, This is I, but, *This is my bodie,* becauſe he would onely expreſſe that, which is repreſented by that ſigne: and though we ſay not, that the bodie of the Lord is God and man; yet that, which lyeth hid vnder the forme of bread, is God and man, *ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, if the bread onely repreſent Chriſts body, then his body onely is there, for there is none other preſence but ſacramentally, and by way of repreſentation: and againe, who ſeeth not how he deſtroyeth the chiefe foundation of the reall preſence, by expounding theſe wordes, *This is my body,* that is, repreſenteth or ſignifieth *my body.* Secondly, hee confeſſeth, that Chriſts body is not God and man; but, this is his bodie: *Ergo,* (*This*) contained vnder the forme of bread, is not God and man: and thus he hath well concluded againſt himſelfe, and confeſſed the greateſt idolatrie in the world, in worſhipping that which is not God.

*Argum.*2. The whole eſſence and reaſon of the Sacrament, is found in one kind onely: *Ergo,* the Sacrament may be receiued in one kind. The propoſition he thus proueth; the eſſence of the Sacrament is to ſignifie, firſt, our ſpirituall nouriſhment: ſecondly, our vnion with Chriſt, and of the faithfull among themſelues: but both theſe are ſignified in eyther kind; as of the firſt Chriſt ſaith, Iohn 6. *My fleſh is meate indeed:* of the ſecond the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *We are one bodie, becauſe we are partakers of one bread,* 1.Corinth.10.17. the partaking onely of the bread ſignifieth our myſticall vnion. *Bellarm.c.*22.

Contra. Firſt, our ſpirituall foode cannot fully be expreſſed, but in both kindes, becauſe our bodily refreſhing conſiſteth both of eating and drinking, and therefore our Sauiour ſayth, Iohn 6.55. *My fleſh is meate indeed, and my blood is drinke indeed.* Yea, *Bellarmine* might haue remembred himſelfe what he ſaith elſe where in theſe wordes, *Quia Euchariſtia eſt cibus & potus ſpiritualis, &c.* Becauſe the Euchariſt is ſpiritual meat and drinke, therefore it muſt be giuen vnder the forme of meate and drinke. *cap.*10.*ration.*5. And if in Scripture ſometime bread onely be named; yet thereby, as by the more principall part, is ſignified the whole ſuſtenance of man, both of meate and drinke: as in the Lords Prayer, *Giue vs our daylie bread,* wee pray not for bread onely, but for drinke alſo, and what els needfull for our bodily ſuſtenance. Secondly, the vnion alſo of Chriſt and his members is not fully and ſufficiently expreſſed but in both kindes: for the cup is the communion of the blood of Chriſt; the bread the communion of the bodie of Chriſt, 1.Corinth.10.16. Wherefore as our perfite vnion with Chriſt conſiſteth not in the communion of his bodie onely, but both of his bodie and blood; ſo this vnion is expreſſed and repreſented, in both the ſignes of the cup and the bread: And the Scripture alſo euidently deſcribeth this vnion, to be in partaking both of the ſame fleſh and blood, as Hebr.2.14. *Foraſmuch as the children were partakers of fleſh and blood, he himſelfe likewiſe tooke part with them.* Thirdly, the vnion of the faithfull themſelues, though it be not the eſſentiall and principall ſignification of the Euchariſt, which is to be done in the remembrance of Chriſt, and to ſhew forth his death, 1.Cor.11.25.25. but is inferred by way of conſequence and application; yet neither is this vnion amongſt our ſelues ſo ſignificantly expreſſed in one of the elements, as in both: firſt, becauſe as our communion with Chriſt is fully expreſſed, in the bread and cup together, as I haue ſhewed; ſo our communion amongſt our ſelues, which is an effect, and conſequent of the other, cannot otherwiſe be fully ſignified. Secondly, as the Scripture deſcribeth our naturall vnion, by the partaking of the ſame blood, Act.17.26. he hath made of one blood all mankind: ſo our ſpirituall coniunction is aſcribed both to the blood and fleſh of Chriſt, Epheſ.2.13. *Now in Chriſt Ieſus, yee which were once a farre off, are made neere by the blood of Chriſt*, verſ.14. *which hath made of both one, &c.* verſ.15. *in abrogating through his fleſh the hatred, &c.* Thirdly, though the Apoſtle giueth inſtance onely of the bread, in ſaying, *We are one body and one bread, becauſe we are partakers of one bread*; 1.Cor.10.17. yet hereof it followeth not, that the bread and wine together do not more fully expreſſe the vnion of the faithfull, then eyther of them apart, ſeeing that the Apoſtle in ſetting forth our communion with Chriſt, made mention of them both, verſ.16.

*Argum.*3. There is no ſpirituall fruit receiued by both kindes, that is not receiued by one: for it ſhould be eyther in reſpect of the ſignes, or of the thing ſignified and conteined in the ſignes: but in neither reſpect is there more fruite: Firſt, to receiue both the ſignes profiteth not more, then to receiue one; as in Baptiſme, to be thrice dipped, is no more, then to be waſhed but once. Secondly, the thing conteined being Chriſt, he being twice in the ſame inſtant receiued, profiteth no more, then once; for then three ſuppes of the chalice ſhould be better then one. *Bellarmin.cap.*23.

Contra. Firſt, the more ſpirituall fruite which ariſeth by communicating in both kinds, rather then in one, is both in reſpect of the ſignes and the thing ſignified taken together: And his inſtance of thrice dipping in Baptiſme is nothing like, becauſe that it is not warranted by the inſtitution, and commandement of Chriſt concerning Baptiſme, as the vſing of bread and wine is preſcribed in the Euchariſt: And againe the thrice dipping, is a repeating and iterating of the ſame thing: but to eate the bread, and drinke the cuppe, are two diuers things. Secondly, the things ſignified (for things contained, in the popiſh ſenſe vnder the formes of bread and wine, we acknowledge none other but the ſubſtances of them) are not one, but diuers, the bodie and blood of Chriſt: and therefore the inſtance of the three ſuppes of the chalice is ridiculous and not to the purpoſe, which is but a ſuperfluous and ſuperſtitious repetition of the ſame action; but he which receiueth bread and wine, as he doth two ſeuerall actions, ſo ſpiritually he is made partaker of two diuers things, namely, of Chriſts bodie and blood: wherefore let him keepe his three ſups of the chalice to himſelfe, and aske his ignorant Italian maſſe-prieſts the reaſon, why three ſups rather then one or two ſhould be good for the chin-cough.

Thirdly, that there ariſeth no more ſpirituall fruite by one element then by both, is contrary to the Scripture. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, that by eating and drinking both, *Wee do ſhew the Lordes death*, 1.Cor.11.26. not by ſeeing onely and beholding, as *Bellarmine* is not aſhamed herein to contradict the Apoſtle: the Lords death then is ſhewed, and our faith thereby confirmed by vſing both. Secondly, Iohn 6.55. our Sauiour ſaith, *My fleſh is meate indeed, and my blood is drinke indeede:* So then, as meate is not ſo profitable to the bodie without drinke, as both together; ſo neither is the ſpirituall meate without the ſpirituall drinke. Thirdly, if the bread alone be as effectuall, as the bread and cup together, then Chriſt commanded a ſuperfluous thing, in giuing it in charge vnto vs to vſe them both.

*Argum.*4. Moſt of the figures and types of the Euchariſt do ſignifie the receiuing in one kind: as the Tree of life in Paradiſe, whereunto no water was ioyned; the Paſchall Lambe which was eaten; Manna, Exod.16. the Shewbread, Leuitic.24.5. the ſacrifices whereof the Prieſts did eate, but the drinke offeringes were not taſted of, but powred out before the Lord. *Bellarmin. cap.24.argum.*1.

Anſw. Firſt, arguments drawne from types and figures conclude not, vnleſſe they be, *Typi deſtinati*, Types ordayned of God to ſuch vſe: neyther are the Sacraments of the Goſpell to be ſquared out according to the patterne of the ceremonies of the law: We alſo denie that the ceremonies and rites of the Law, as the Paſchal Lambe, Manna, and the reſt, are figures and types of our Sacraments; but both their Sacraments and ours are figures and repreſentations of Chriſt, as S. *Peter* calleth Baptiſme, ἀντίτυπον, a figure correſpondent, or anſwering vnto *Noah* his Arke, 1.Pet.3.21.

Secondly, the figures propounded doe rather make for the Communion in both kindes: In Paradiſe, as there was a Tree of life, ſo there was a riuer to water the garden, Geneſ.2.10. And therefore Apocal.22.1,2. the celeſtiall Paradiſe is deſcribed according to the paterne of the terreſtriall, to haue both a Tree of life and a riuer of cleare water: In the Paſſeouer as the Lambe was eaten, ſo the blood was ſprinckled vpon the doore poſts: And at the ſame time, that the Iſraelites dranke water out of the rocke, Exod.17. they did alſo eate Manna, which was giuen them euery day from heauen: The Shewbread maketh not for them, for it was lawfull onely for the Prieſts to eate thereof; but they will not ſay, that the Prieſts onely are to eate the hoaſt, for they giue it to the people: the Sacrifices likewiſe with the drinke offerings ſerue not their turne, for neither did the Prieſts taſte of the drinke offerings; and by this reaſon the cuppe ſhould be denied as well to their Prieſts, as to their lay people.

Thirdly, we haue Types of both kinds to be receiued together, as *Melchiſedech* brought forth bread and wine together, Geneſ.14. And whereas hee aunſwereth, that this type for both kindes maketh not againſt them, as the other types for one kinde make againſt vs, becauſe they doe not vrge the neceſſitie of one kinde, as we doe of both: wee replie firſt, that the types alleaged make not at all againſt receiuing in both kinds, as I haue ſhewed. Secondly, the types are not contrarie one to another, if ſome of them ſhew both kindes, how can the other ſerue for one kinde? Thirdly, if it be not neceſſarie to receiue in one kind, it is not to be done at all: for either it is agreeable to the inſtitution of Chriſt to receiue in one kinde, or diſagreeable: if it be agreeable and preſcribed, it is of neceſſitie to be obſerued: if it be not preſcribed, it is of neceſſitie not to be vſed at all.

Fourthly, what though the types ſome of them ſhew the Sacramentall bread onely, ſome the Sacramentall cuppe; yet theſe may be ioyned in the ſubſtance and bodie, which are ſeparated in the figure and ſhadow: as the Propheſies of Chriſts paſſion and the manner thereof, are not found in one place: as, *Ye ſhall not breake a bone of him*, is found Exod.12. *They pearced my hands and my feete*, Pſalm.22. *They ſhall looke vpon him, whom they pearced*, Zachar.12.10. Doth it therefore follow, that theſe things ſhould not be fulfilled at one inſtant? ſo though ſome types onely ſhould ſignifie the eating of bread, as Manna; ſome the cuppe, as the water out of the rocke: yet theſe things ſeuered in the figure, may be ioyned together in the thing figured.

Argum.5. Luk.24.30. Chriſt brake bread to his diſciples: Act.2.42. The Apoſtles brake bread: *Ergo*, to communicate in one kinde is grounded vpon the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, *Bellarmin.lib.4.de Euchariſt.c.*24. *Rhemiſt.* Iohn.6.11. And Chriſt ſaith, Whoſoeuer ſhall eate this bread, ſhall liue for euer, Iohn.6.58. *Ergo*, it is ſufficient to receiue in one kinde.

Anſw. Firſt, to the two firſt places, we ſay, that it is not neceſſarie to vnderſtand the breaking of bread in the Sacrament: but the vſuall bread rather, which was accuſtomed in their daylie repaſts and feaſtes after thankeſgiuing to be broken. Or, if we take it for the Sacrament, the breaking of bread is by a *Synecdoche* taken for the whole myſterie, as it is an vſuall phraſe of ſpeech in Scripture: for otherwiſe we will conclude as well, that Chriſt and the Apoſtles did but conſecrate in one kinde, which they holde for a great abſurditie, as that the other receiued but in one kinde: But their opinion is, that although the people muſt communicate in one kinde onely, yet the Prieſt muſt conſecrate in both, *Rhemiſt.annot.Iohn.6.ſect.*11.

Bellarmine here anſwereth, that the Apoſtles did conſecrate in both kinds, but they miniſtred to the people onely in one; for it is like that many of them were Nazarites, and ſo would not drinke wine contrarie to their vow. *reſp.ad ration.*3.

Contra. Firſt, *Bellarmine* a little before ſpeaking of that place, Luk.24. how our Sauiour brake bread to the two Diſciples in Emaus, ſayth, *Nullum locum benedicendo, &c.* That no place is left in the ſtorie for the bleſſing or diſtribution of the cuppe: ſo that in his opinion Chriſt did not conſecrate in both kinds: as Chriſt did there, ſo doe the Apoſtles here. Secondly, as here the Apoſtles breake bread, ſo likewiſe S. *Paul* Act.20.7. but he miniſtred in both kinds, as he writeth to the Corinthians, 1.Cor.11.26. but the Apoſtles were not contrarie one to another: therefore they alſo at Ieruſalem miniſtred in both kinds. Thirdly, it might be, that ſome of the congregation were Nazarites, but not all, for the whole number was three thouſand, Act.2.4. and the vow of the Nazarites did hold but for a time; for S. *Paul* alſo had a vow, & yet receiued in both kinds. Act.18.18.

2 To the ſecond place we anſwere: Firſt, it is not vnderſtood of the ſacramentall eating of Chriſt, but of the ſpirituall manducation of him, which may be done without a Sacrament: *For whoſoeuer eateth this bread, ſhall liue for euer:* but whoſoeuer eateth the Sacrament, ſhall not liue for euer. Secondly, ſeeing the eating and drinking of Chriſt are ſo often ioyned in this chapter, as verſ.53.55.56. they might well know, that drinking is here to be vnderſtood, though it be not expreſſed.

Argum 3. In many countries there is no wine to be had, as in the colde Northerly countries: and therefore they cannot communicate according to the inſtitution: whereupon that there might be an vniformitie in all Churches, it is moſt meete that where wine may be had, they ſhould notwithſtanding be content to receiue it in one kinde, *Bellarm.cap.*28. Alſo there may ariſe much inconuenience in granting the cup to the people, as in ſpilling and ſheading the wine, which after conſecration is the blood of Chriſt, *Rhemiſt.annot.Iohn.6.ſect.*11.

*Anſw.*1. As in ſome countries there is no wine to be had, ſo we finde that in certaine places and regions of the world there is no bread, ſuch as Chriſt vſed, made of wheate or the like graine: as in ſome places amongſt the Weſt Indians they haue a certaine kinde of breade made of rootes, called *Cazabi*, as *Benzo* witneſſeth. Lib.1.cap.27. Wherefore by this reaſon of vniformitie, we ſhould not communicate at all, either in bread or wine, ſeeing that as ſome countries are deſtitute of wine, ſo other are of bread: but all this notwithſtanding, the Sacrament may be duely adminiſtred in all places in both kinds: And where they haue neither bread nor wine, neither can poſſiblie prouide them, they may ſafely vſe ſuch other elements, as doe ſtand them in the like ſtead; as in the place of bread, that which commeth neareſt to the vſe thereof: and for wine, ſome other precious liquor, that is to be had, as in Ruſſia, in ſtead of wine, they vſe a certaine drinke like vnto that which we call Metheglen.

2 As for the other reaſons of the inconueniences in ſpilling the wine, ſhaking the cup, the hanging of it on mens beards, and other ſuch friuolous allegations: as they were no let or hinderance, why Chriſt notwithſtanding did not inſtitute the Sacrament in both kindes, and the Church accordingly obſerued it, as we reade, the Corinthians did communicate in both kindes: ſo ought they to be no reaſon, why Chriſtians ſhould not receiue in both kindes now.

The Proteſtants.

WE holde it to be an Antichriſtian practiſe of the Church of Rome, to take away from the people the cup in the Sacrament: for although they ſometime miniſter the cup to the people, yet they vſe no conſecration ouer it, neither giue it as any part of the Sacrament, *Fulk. annot.* 1.*Cor.*4.10.*ſect.*4 They doe therefore offer great wrong to the people of God, in depriuing them of the one halfe of the communion.

Argum.1. Ioh.*6*.53. Chriſt ſaith, ***Except you eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, you haue no life in you.*** Here we ſee both eating and drinking are ioyned together: ***Ergo,*** Chriſtians ought to doe both. This place maketh ſtrongly againſt our aduerſaries, who do expound it of the ſacramentall eating and drinking of Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, theſe words of our Sauiour Chriſt doe binde vs onely to the taking and receiuing of Chriſts body and bloud, they inioyne not the manner of receiuing them, whether vnder one kinde or both, ***Bellarm.lib.*** 4.***de Euchar.cap.***25.

Contra. If theſe words be vnderſtood of the ſacramentall eating and drinking of Chriſt, as the Ieſuite ſaith, they are: then muſt Chriſt be receiued ſacramentally vnder both kinds: ſpiritually to eate and drinke Chriſt, it is all one: but his body cannot be ſacramentally eaten, but in bread, nor his blood ſacramentally drunke but in wine: for we are ſaide to eate, not to drinke bread.

Bellarmine 2. The wordes are to bee read diſiunctiuely, Except ye eate the fleſh, &c. (and) that is, (or) drinke the blood of Chriſt, as it is read Act.3.5. ſiluer, ***and***, that is, ***or***, gold haue I none.

Contra. Firſt, it followeth not, ***(and)*** is taken for ***(or)*** in ſome places of Scripture, therefore in all it is ſo to be taken, as in this. Secondly, the example alleaged is nothing like, for whether we ſay, ***ſiluer and gold haue I not***, or, ***ſiluer or golde, &c.*** it is no materiall or ſubſtantiall poynt of faith: but here is a condition of ſaluation annexed, ***except ye eate, and drinke, &c. ye haue no life in you:*** wherefore we muſt not dally thus in ſo waightie matters of our ſaluation, with ***(and)*** and ***(or)***. Thirdly, where Chriſt ſaith, Iohn 3. ***Except a man be borne of water and the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen***, he may as well ſay, that ***and*** here is taken for ***or***, and ſo either of them ſhall be ſufficient, as to be borne of water without the ſpirit. Laſtly, to admit your diſiunction, (though this be a new Grammarian tricke to put a coniunction for a diſiunction) then it followeth, that either may ſuffice, to eate Chriſts body, or drinke his blood in the Sacrament: and ſo conſequently, as you preſume to giue the bread without the cuppe, ſo the cuppe may be vſed without the bread.

Bellarm.3. This precept is giuen to the whole Church; yet it is ſufficient if it bee performed by ſome onely in the Church, that is the Miniſters: ſo that precept is generall giuen in the creation, ***Encreaſe, and multiplie:*** yet all are not therefore bound vnto procreation.

Contra. Firſt, the example is nothing like: for the precept or libertie rather of procreation is not laid vpon men with any ſuch neceſſitie, as this commaundement of eating and drinking Chriſts bodie, and blood is; which whoſoeuer doth not, periſheth, verſ.53. Secondly, the precept is generall, becauſe the daunger of periſhing, or not hauing life in tranſgreſſing the ſame is generall: Whoſoeuer doth not ſo eate and drinke Chriſt, periſheth: ***Ergo,*** it belongeth to all to eate and drinke Chriſt.

Argum.2. Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament in both kindes, giuing charge and commaundement to all Chriſtians in the ſame manner to celebrate it: for he ſaith, ***Drinke ye all of this.*** If our aduerſaries anſwere, as they doe, that this was ſpoken to the Apoſtles: firſt, by the like reaſon they may ſay alſo, that when Chriſt ſaid, ***Take, eate***, he ſpake vnto his Apoſtles, and ſo the people ſhould neither receiue bread and wine, but the Miniſters onely.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt indeede gaue the whole Sacrament in both kindes onely to his Apoſtles, yet he forbiddeth not, but that it may be giuen to the people alſo: yea he commandeth it, in ſaying, ***Hoc facite,*** Doe this.

Contra. Bellarmine here, hath made a good argument againſt himſelfe: for Chriſt ſaith, ***Do this,*** not onely after the breaking of the bread, but the giuing of the cup alſo, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, 1.Corint.11.24,25. Wherfore if it be a commandement from Chriſt to miniſter the Sacrament in both kinds, it is great impietie in them to withhold either: for they may as well withhold the bread as the cup; and as well both, as one: and ſo the people ſhould haue no Sacrament at all.

Secondly, Chriſt ſaith after the cup, *Drinke ye all of this*: but after giuing of the bread, he ſaith not, *Eate ye all of this*: ſo that our Sauiour as it were did foreſee, that the cup ſhould bee denied to ſome, and therefore directly commaundeth that to be vſed of all.

Bellarmine here telleth vs, that though the Euangeliſts haue not theſe words, *eate ye all of this*, yet by tradition it is certaine, that Chriſt ſpake them.

Contra. Thus he holdeth the Scriptures imperfect, and maketh blind traditions of equall authoritie with them: thus adding to the Scriptures, not regarding the great curſe laid vpon al ſuch, that God *will adde vnto them plagues, &c.* Apocal.22.18.

*Argum.*3. Our Sauiour ſaith after the giuing of the cup, *This is my blood, which is ſhed for you, and for many*: wherefore the blood of Chriſt muſt bee giuen to all thoſe, for whom it was ſhed; and ſo conſequently to lay-men alſo.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt died for all men, euen Turkes, Iewes, Infidels: and by this reaſon, if his blood ſhould be giuen to all, for whom it was ſhed, euen Turkes and Iewes alſo ſhould be admitted to the Communion: for the proofe of the firſt part, he alleageth 1.Corinth.15. Coloſſ.1. 1.Ioh.2.

Contra. Firſt, that Chriſts death is ſufficient for all the world, if all could beleeue in him, wee willingly acknowledge: but that Chriſt died effectually for all, theſe places proue not, but onely for the elect. Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1.Cor.15.22. *As in Adam all die, ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made aliue*: If all men generally be here vnderſtood, and not the vniuerſall companie of the elect onely; then all men indeede ſhould be made aliue by Chriſt, and ſo be ſaued. Againe, Coloſſ.1.20. *He hath reconciled all things in heauen and in earth*: If he will vrge theſe words (*all things*) ſtrictly according to the letter, then Chriſt muſt haue died for all creatures: wherefore the Apoſtle by *all things in earth*, vnderſtandeth all nations both Iewes and Gentiles, as he expoundeth it, verſ.21. *You, which were ſtrangers, hath he reconciled, &c.* And where S. *Iohn* ſaith, 1.Epiſt.2.2. *that Chriſt died for the ſins of the whole world*: he is not contrarie to himſelfe, who teſtifieth thus of Chriſt, Ioh.17.9. *I pray not for the world*: if Chriſt prayeth not for the world, much leſſe did he die for the world: wherefore by the world is ſignified the vniuerſall companie of the elect. Secondly, that Chriſt died onely to ſaue the elect, it is euident by theſe places of Scripture: Ioh.17.19. *For their ſakes ſanctifie I my ſelfe*: which his ſanctifying was in offring himſelfe vp in ſacrifice to God his father: Epheſ.5.25. *He gaue himſelfe for his Church*: Coloſſ.1.24. *I fulfill the reſt of the afflictions of Chriſt in my fleſh for his bodies ſake, which is the Church*: Al Chriſts ſuffrings both in his own perſon, and in his members, are for the ſame companie and bodies ſake: but his ſuffrings in his members are for the Church, as here the Apoſtle ſaith, and for the elects ſake; 2.Timoth.2.10. *I ſuffer all things for the elects ſake, that they might obtaine ſaluation in Chriſt*: *Ergo*, Chriſts ſuffrings in his owne perſon are onely for the elect. But of this matter hereafter we ſhall haue better occaſion to entreat at large: to which place I referre the reader. Thirdly, this rather is a good argument to proue that Chriſts blood was not ſhed for all, becauſe the Sacrament of his blood muſt not be giuen to all: For to whom the thing ſignified belongeth, the ſigne doth much more; as our Sauiour reaſoneth, Mar.10.verſ.14. *Suffer little children to come vnto me, &c. for of ſuch is the kingdome of God.* Chriſt toucheth, and bleſſeth children, becauſe they had intereſt in Chriſts kingdome: ſo the bleſſing of the Sacrament belongeth to them, that haue intereſt in Chriſts blood.

*Argum.*4. Our Sauiour ſaith, *Hoc facite*, Doe this, &c. in the miniſtring of the Sacrament we muſt doe as Chriſt did: but he gaue the bread, and ſimiliter, *likewiſe the cup*, Luk.21.20. he gaue the one in like manner as the other: *Ergo*, ſo muſt the Miniſters of Chriſt doe now, diſtribute both to the people.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that Saint *Luke* hath not, *Hoc facite*, Doe this, after the giuing of the cup, but onely after the bread.

Contra. But S. *Paul* ſetteth downe, *Hoc facite*, Doe this, after the cup alſo, 1.Cor.11.25. and both Saint *Lukes* Goſpell and Saint *Pauls* Epiſtle are of one and the ſame authoritie. Now where *Bellarmine* putteth a difference in S. *Pauls* words, that ſpeaking of the bread, he ſaith, *Doe this in remembrance of me*: but after the cup, *Doe this, as oft as you drinke it, in remembrance of me*: who ſeeth not his ridiculous fondnes herein, making a difference, where there is none at all?

Secondly, ſaith he, he did not giue the cup, ſimiliter, *in like manner*, as the bread, for he brake the bread, ſo did he not the cup: and of the bread, it is ſaid, *he gaue it*, but of the cup, *likewiſe he tooke it*; not, *likewiſe he gaue it*, 1.Corin.11. *Ergo*, the cup was not giuen in like manner, *Bellarm. reſponſ. ad argum.*3.

Contra. Firſt, *Bellarmine* profeſſing himſelfe a Maſter in his ſect, may be aſhamed thus to palter, as though in euery thing, we ſaid the cup was giuen like to the bread: for the bread is broken, and eaten; the wine is diuided, and not broken, as Saint *Luke* himſelfe ſaith, preuenting this cauil, verſ.17. but in the action of giuing, bleſſing, receiuing, they are alike. Secondly, neither S.*Luke* nor S.*Paul* ſay, *likewiſe he tooke the cup*, but thus onely, *likewiſe the cup*: ſo that the word, *take*, or *giue*, may be indifferently ſupplied out of the words going before: and yet S.*Marke* ſaith directly, that he gaue the cup alſo, chap.14.23. We ſee what goodly ſtuffe here is.

Argum.5. Saint *Paul* writing to all the faithfull at Corinthus, deliuereth this as a tradition and commaundement from Chriſt, that they ſhould receiue in both kindes: ſaying, *Hoc facite*, Doe this: and verſ.28. *Let a man examine himſelfe, and ſo eate, &c. and drinke*. But the tradition of Chriſt and his Apoſtles muſt not be tranſgreſſed. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that Saint *Paul*, verſ.28. doth not bid them eate, &c. and drinke, but onely preſcribeth a way, how they ſhould doe it profitably, when they did eate, &c. and drinke. Secondly, he denieth that this tradition of the Apoſtle is a precept. Thirdly, he denieth that this epiſtle was written to all the faithfull at Corinthus; ſo that the doctrine therein ſhould concerne them all.

Contra. Firſt, S.*Paul*, verſ.28. doth both bid them examine themſelues, and that done he doth bid them eate and drinke: and though wee could not finde a precept in the Apoſtles wordes, yet that is a precept of Chriſts rehearſed by the Apoſtle twice, *Hoc facite*, Doe this, verſ.24.25. Secondly, if this tradition of the Apoſtle binde not, neither is in the nature of a precept, where hee ſaith, 1.Cor.11.23. *I haue receiued of the Lord that, which I haue deliuered to you*: then neither is that a binding and commaunding tradition, where he ſaith, 1.Corinth.15.3. *I deliuered vnto you, that which I receiued, how Chriſt died for our ſinnes*; which hee vttereth in the ſame manner of ſpeech, and with the like authoritie from Chriſt: So that if this doctrine muſt be beleeued, that *Chriſt died, &c.* then the other tradition of receiuing in both kindes ought to be receiued. Againe, if the Apoſtles traditions binde, *Keepe the traditions, which ye haue been taught*, 2.Theſſ.2.15. how much more the traditions, which (he ſaith) he receiued from Chriſt? And is it not ſtrange, that we are driuen now to maintaine the authoritie of traditions againſt the Papiſts? Thirdly, it is falſe, that this epiſtle and the doctrine therein contained concerneth not all the faithfull at Corinthus, ſeeing the Apoſtle directeth his epiſtle to all the Saints *at Corinthus, with all that call vpon the name of Ieſus*, 1.chap.1.verſ.2.

Argum.6. The Prieſt that ſaith Maſſe, you allow to conſecrate and receiue in both kinds, becauſe he muſt expreſſe liuely the paſſion of Chriſt, and the ſeparation of his blood from his bodie in the ſame: *Rhemiſt.annotat.Ioh.6.58.* By the ſame reaſon all the communicants ought to receiue in both kindes, becauſe they doe all ſhew forth the death of Chriſt, and ſhedding of his blood in the Sacrament, 1.Cor.11.26.

Argum.7. This prohibition for lay men, not to receiue in both kinds, is but a late deuiſe of the Church of Rome, not paſt two hundred yeere old, decreed no longer agoe then in the Councell of Conſtance, *Fox* p.1150. Yet after that, the Councell of Baſile graunted the vſe and libertie of the cup to the Bohemians, *Fox* pag.694.

Thus they take vpon them to ouer-rule mens conſciences, now reſtraining, now againe granting libertie, binding and looſing at their pleaſure.

Tract.in Iohan.27. In *Auguſtines* time there was no ſuch ſeparation of the cup from the bread: but both were indifferently vſed in the Communion: *Cum cibo & potu*, ſaith he, *id appetant homines vt neque eſuriant, neque ſitiant, hoc veraciter non præſtat, niſi iſte cibus & potus, &c.* As men by their meate and drinke doe prouide, that they neither hunger nor thirſt: ſo this ſpirituall meate and drinke worketh the ſame effect in vs. Whereupon it followeth, that ſeeing in the Sacrament is contained and ſignified the full and ſufficient nouriſhment of our ſoules by the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, it muſt needes bee reſembled by the outward full ſufficient nouriſhment of our bodies, which is not by eating alone, but by eating and drinking.

See alſo the teſtimonie of *Bernard* of this matter, or who elſe is the author of thoſe ſermons: *Audite fratres, non me, ſed Apoſtolum dicentem, calix benedictionis, nonne communicatio ſanguinis Chriſti? Calix.i.communicatio calicis, facit nos communionem quandam cum Chriſto, i.ſerm.Guerric.* Heare yee my brethren, not me, but the Apoſtle ſaying, the cup of bleſſing is it not the communication of the blood of Chriſt? ſo then the cup, that is the communicating, or partaking of the cuppe, doth ioyne vs in one communion with Chriſt. If then the people of God, euen ſuch, as are of the lay ſort, haue one communion with Chriſt, the ſigne of that communion which is the cup, is not to be denied them.

Concil.Matiſconenſ.2.4. decernimus, vt omnibus diebus dominicis altaris oblatio ab omnibus offeratur tam panis, quam vini: We decree, that euery Lords day, the people doe make an oblation of bread and wine: that is, that they ſhould communicate in both, *vt peccatorum ſuorum ſordibus careant*, that they may be freed from their ſinnes.

Concil.Vormatienſ.can.31. Leproſis, ſi fideles Chriſtiani fuerint, dominici ſanguinis & corporis participatio tribuatur: Let leprous perſons, if they beleeue, communicate both the bodie and blood of

Chriſt: Here is excepted no ſorte or calling of men, if they bee Chriſtians.

Let vs ſee their owne teſtimonie: *Decret.par.3.diſtinct.2.c.7.Iulius:Seorſim panis, ſeorſim calicis commendatio memoratur*: The bleſſing of the bread, and the bleſſing or commendation of the cup are ſunderly rehearſed. But moſt euidently, *ibid.c.*12.*Gelaſius: Comperimus autem,&c.* We finde, that ſome receiuing onely a portion of the ſacred bodie, doe abſtaine from the cuppe of blood, who either let them receiue, *integra ſacramenta*, the whole and entire Sacraments, or let them bee kept from the whole: becauſe the diuiſion of one and the ſame myſterie cannot be done without great ſacrilege. *Gelaſius* here maketh no mention at all of conſecrating, but of receiuing in one kinde, which he counteth great ſacrilege in whomſoeuer: his words are generall.

Likewiſe the Maſter, *lib.4.diſtinct.*11.*f.* rendreth a reaſon out of S. *Ambroſe* of receiuing in both kindes: *Valet ad tuitionem anima & corporis,&c.* That which we receiue is auailable for the tuition both of the bodie and ſoule: for the fleſh of Chriſt is offered for the health of the bodie, his blood for our ſoules. But lay men haue ſoules to ſaue, as well as Prieſts: *Ergo*, they ought to receiue both Chriſts bodie, and blood. Some alſo of the Papiſts themſelues doe hold, that there ariſeth more ſpirituall fruite by receiuing in both kindes, than in one: *Alexand. Alenſis in 4.par.ſumm.queſt.*53. *memb.*1.*Gaſpar.Caſſalius,libr.de cœna & calice,cap.*25.

The holie Martyrs haue ſealed this trueth: *Iohn Philpot*, pag.1820. Chriſt inſtituted nothing ſuperfluous; therfore you cannot ſay, that the whole effect of the Sacrament is as well in one kind as in both: if it were, Chriſt would haue giuen but one kinde onely.

Biſhop *Cranmer* holy Martyr: Chriſt ſaid, *Drinke ye all of this:* the Pope giueth a contrarie commaundement to Chriſt, that the lay ſort ſhall not drinke of the cup of their ſaluation. *Theophilus Alexandrinus* ſaith, That if Chriſt had been crucified for the diuels, his cup ſhould not haue been denied them: Yet the Pope denieth the cup of Chriſt to Chriſtian people, *Fox* pag.1890.

THE NINTH QVESTION, OF THE adoration of the Euchariſt.

The Papiſts.

IT was decreed in the Councell of Trent, that the Euchariſt ſhould bee adored euen with the highest degree of worſhip, (*Cultu latreia*) which is proper to God: that it ſhould alſo be carried about in ſolemne proceſſions, to be ſhewed to the people, to bee worſhipped and adored of them. And whoſoeuer holdeth the contrarie, they pronounce accurſed, *Trident.Concil.ſeſſ.*13.*can.*6. 27. Error.

*Argum.*1. Hebr.1.6.*Worſhip him all ye Angels: Ergo*, Chriſt in the Sacrament, and whereſoeuer elſe his perſon is, ought to bee adored of men and Angels, *Rhemiſt.ibid.* This Saint *Paul* meaneth, they ſay, by diſcerning the Lords bodie, 1.Cor.11.29. that is, adoring, worſhipping it, and making prayers vnto it, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, we denie Chriſt to bee preſent in the Sacrament really, corporally, ſubſtantially: therefore it is not to be adored. Secondly, although the bodie of Chriſt were preſent in that manner vnder the accidents of bread and wine; yet vnleſſe Chriſt be ſo preſent, that the elements or the accidents of the elements be ioyned and vnited vnto him in one perſon, as the Godhead and humanitie make but one perſon, he is no more to be adored, then God the Father is to be worſhipped in the Sunne or Moone, in the which he is verely preſent. But to ſay that the viſible formes and elements are ioyned in an hypoſtaticall vnion to Chriſt, as his humanitie is to his Godhead, it is great blaſphemie. Thirdly, a reuerent eſtimation and diſcerning of the Lords bodie we grant in the Sacrament; in preferring the elements before all other meates and drinkes, becauſe of their myſticall ſignification, as wee preferre the myſticall waſhing in Baptiſme before all other: but to kneele, hold vp the hands, and to worſhip a piece of bread, we count it groſſe and abominable Idolatrie.

*Argum.*2. *Bellarm.* God is verely and truly to be worſhipped, Matth.4. *Thou ſhalt worſhippe the Lord thy God,&c.* but Chriſt in the Euchariſt is very God: *Ergo*, verely in the Euchariſt to bee worſhipped, *cap.*29.

Anſw. Firſt, all this wee eaſily graunt, that Chriſt is in the Euchariſt to bee adored, ſo is he alſo in Baptiſme, and in the word preached, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, 1.Corinth.14.24. *If all prophecie, if there come in one, that beleeueth not,&c. the ſecrets of his heart are made manifeſt, and ſo he will fall downe on his face, and worſhip God, and ſay plainly that God is in you indeede:* So we alſo, though wee denie that the Euchariſt is to be adored, yet wee adore Chriſt in the Euchariſt, ſaying, *We praiſe thee, we bleſſe thee, we worſhip thee, we glorifie thee,&c.* Secondly, he ſhould haue aſſumed thus, *but the Euchariſt is very God*, if he would haue prooued any thing: but it were blaſphemie ſo to ſay: for though wee ſhould graunt the bodie of Chriſt verely to be preſent, yet is not the bodie of Chriſt God. And beſide there are the formes of bread and wine remaining ſtill, which being creatures and not hypoſtatically ioyned to the perſon of Chriſt, cannot without great perill of Idolatrie bee adored.

Thirdly, to put all out of doubt, Chriſts fleſh is not bodily preſent, neither ſhal they be able, while they liue, to proue it: and therefore they haue no colour or ground at all of their adoration.

The Proteſtants.

THat the Sacrament is not to be adored with any godly worſhip, but onely to bee duly reuerenced as an holie myſterie; thus we proue it by the word of God.

Argum. 1. In the firſt inſtituting of the Sacrament, the Apoſtles receiued it ſitting, not kneeling, by taking of it, not lifting vp their hands to it: *Ergo*, they did not adore it, neither is it by vs to be adored.

Againe, Chriſt commaundeth vs, onely to Take, and eate and drinke, and to doe all in remembrance of him: the Sacrament therefore was appointed to bee eaten and drunken, not to be carried about, or to be gazed vpon, or to be kneeled vnto.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that it was no maruel, that they worſhipped not the bodie of Chriſt inuiſiblie preſent vnder the forme of bread, ſeeing they worſhipped not Chriſt himſelfe viſiblie preſent at the table: for it was now Supper time, neither could they at all times worſhip Chriſt, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 30.

Contra. 1. Though the Apoſtles did not alwaies externally worſhip Chriſt, eſpecially being occupied in ciuill and common acts, as taking now their repaſt at Supper: yet there was now great occaſion offered, both in reſpect of this high religious act begun, the inſtitution of the Sacrament: and becauſe of this great and wonderfull worke in the tranſubſtantiating of the bread into Chriſts bodie. Now it had become them to haue fallen downe, and wondred, as *Peter* did at the taking of ſo many fiſh, Luke. 5. 8. and *Thomas* did when he thruſt his hand into Chriſts ſide: And though they were ſitting at ſupper, yet they might ſoone haue chaunged their geſture; eſpecially ſeeing the legall ſupper was finiſhed, and Chriſts ſupper begun. Therfore it is moſt like, that there was no adoration at all then intended.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Whatſoeuer is not of faith is ſinne*, Rom. 14. 23. but the adoration of the Euchariſt is not of faith: for *faith commeth by hearing of the word*, Rom. 10. 17. but no where in the word are we taught, to adore the elements in the Euchariſt: *Ergo*, it is ſinne.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the word doth euidently teach that Chriſt is to be adored; and that he is in the Euchariſt, and therefore in the Euchariſt to be adored, *c.* 30. *reſp. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. Firſt, that Chriſt is to bee adored as God and man, both in the Euchariſt, and euery where elſe, both of men and Angels, the Scripture teacheth, and we beleeue: but hereof it followeth not, that the Euchariſt it ſelfe is to be adored with diuine worſhip. Secondly, neither is it of faith, or by the word, that Chriſts bodie is preſent in the Sacrament corporally: for if it were of faith, it ſhould be plainly expreſſed in Scripture, as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith: *In ijs, quæ apertè in ſcripturis poſita ſunt, inueniuntur ea omnia, quæ continent fidem, moreſq; viuendi:* In thoſe places, which are plainly ſet forth in Scripture, are all thoſe things found, that containe faith and manners, *lib.* 2. *de doctrin. Chriſtian. c.* 9. But that onely place, which they vrge, *this is my bodie*, though it be to vs maniſeſt and plaine, yet by their groſſe comment is made obſcure: and therefore according to their owne rule, *In rebus obſcuris minimum eſt ſequendum:* In obſcure things the leſſe and ſafeſt from danger is to be followed, *Bonif.* 8. *regul. iuris.* 30. But there is leſſe daunger in not adoring at all; but in adoring there is perill and feare of idolatrie.

Argum. 3. Chriſt, as we haue ſhewed, is no otherwiſe preſent in the Euchariſt, then in Baptiſme. But the water in Baptiſme is not to be adored: *Ergo*, neither the bread in the Sacrament.

Auguſtine did not ſo much as dreame of any adoration of the Sacrament: *A Cerere & Libero Paganorum dijs longè abſumus, quamuis panis & calicis ſacramentum noſtro ritu amplectimur:* We doe not worſhip the heatheniſh Gods of corne and wine, *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, although after our maner we embrace the Sacrament of the bread, and of the cuppe. His meaning is, that Chriſtians doe not worſhip bread and wine in the Sacrament, as the heathen did, *contr. Fauſt.*

In ſacramenti ſanctificatione & diſtributione exiſtimo Apoſtolum propriè iuſſiſſe fieri προσευχὰς, *orationes*, 1. *Timoth.* 2. 1. *Quod verò quidam codices non habent, orationes, ſed adorationes, non arbitror ſcienter interpretatum:* In the conſecrating and diſtributing of the Sacrament, I thinke the Apoſtle bade orations or prayers to be made, not as ſome doe vnlearnedly interpret, adorations or worſhippings, *Epiſtol.* 59. *Ergo*, he approueth not the adoration of the Sacrament.

Bellarmine obiecteth that place of S. *Auguſtine Pſal.* 98. *Nemo carnem illam manducat, niſi prius adorauerit:* No man eateth that fleſh, vnleſſe he firſt adore it. *Bellarm. cap.* 30.

Anſw. S. *Auguſtine*, as he holdeth onely a ſpirituall manducation: *Quid paras dentes & ventrem? crede & manducaſti, &c.* Why doeſt thou prepare thy teeth and bellie? beleeue onely and thou haſt eaten, for to beleeue in him is to eate him, *decr. par.* 3. *diſt.* 2. *cap.* 47. So he is to be vnderſtoode ſpeaking of adoration: as Chriſts fleſh is eaten, ſo is it adored; it is ſpiritually eaten by faith, *Ergo*, it is ſpiritually to be adored. So ſpeaketh alſo *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, as he is cited in the decrees, *part.* 3. *diſt.* 2. *cap.* 35. *Sacrum Dei corpus fide reſpice, honora, mirare, &c.* The ſacred bodie of

God behold by faith, honor it,maruell at it, touch it with thy minde, receiue it with the hand of thy heart,&c.

Nicen.2.action.6. Theſe words are rehearſed out of the Synode of Conſtantinople, which was aſſembled againſt images: *Ecce viuificantis illius corporis imaginem totam,&c.* Beholde all the image of that liuelie and quickening bodie, the ſubſtance of bread, which he commaunded to be ſet before vs, leaſt, if it ſhould be ſhewed in humane ſhape, *Idololatria induceretur*, Idolatrie by this meanes ſhould bee brought in : They conclude directly againſt the adoration of the Sacrament.

Concil.Florentin.ſeſſ.25. The Grecians maner is, when as the bread and wine are caried by the Prieſt from one Altar to another, *Capita ſua reuerenter inclinant cùm panis ipſe vinumque nondum ſint conſecrati:* Doe reuerently bow their heads,when as the bread and wine are not yet conſecrated. So then the Greeke Church doth reuerently vſe them as holy ſignes, not adore them with a diuine worſhip : for it were to too groſſe Idolatrie to worſhip the bare elements, ſuch as they are before conſecration.

Trullan.Synod.can 90. *Nicen.*1*.can.*20. and in diuers other Councels it was decreed, that none ſhould bow their knees *diebus dominicis*, vpon the Lords day. It is not like then, that kneeling, they did adore the Sacrament ; which was vſually celebrated vpon the Lords day.

So that this adoration of the Euchariſt ſeemeth to bee but a new deuiſe, hauing no warrant from the auncient practiſe of the Church : and indeed *Honorius* the third was the firſt, that commaunded the people at eleuation time to incline and bow themſelues, and when the Hoaſt was carried about in proceſsion: as it may appeare,*decr.Greg.lib.*3*.t.*41*.c.*10.

See alſo the teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs: *Iohn Fortune:* if it be not God before the conſecration,it is not God after,for God is without beginning and ending.p.1919.

Thomas Spurdance holy Martyr : I receiue Chriſt by fayth by beleeuing in him : but the bread **Fox.p.2025.**
being receiued is not God, nor the bread, that is yonder in the pixe is not God : God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. And therefore you doe very euill to cauſe the people to kneele downe and worſhip the bread.

AN APPENDIX OR TENTH PART, WHETHER the wicked doe receiue the bodie of Chriſt.

The Papiſts.

THe wicked,they ſay, doe in the Sacrament eate the true fleſh of Chriſt and drinke his blood, **28.Error.**
though they be infidels,and ill liuers.

*Argum.*1. They are guiltie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt, 1.Corin.11.27. How can they be guiltie of that,which they haue not receiued ? And againe,by the vnworthie receiuing of no other Sacrament,is a man made guiltie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt, but onely heere : *Ergo*, the wicked are partakers of his bodie? *Rhemiſt.annotat.*1*.Corinth.*11*.ſect.*16.

Anſw. Firſt,the wicked may be guiltie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt in vnworthie receiuing the Sacrament,though Chriſt be not corporally preſent : Euen as he that contumeliouſly receiueth the ſeale of the Prince or abuſeth his image,is guiltie of the Maieſtie of the Prince,though he haue not hurt his perſon. Secondly,he alſo may be guiltie of the blood of Chriſt, that deſpiſeth Baptiſme,which he receiued as a ſigne of his waſhing in the blood of Chriſt. And ſo the Apoſtle ſaith of wicked men,that fall away from Chriſtian religion,that they crucifie againe to themſelues the Sonne of God,Hebr.6.6.

Auguſtine alſo bringeth in Chriſt thus ſpeaking to the wicked in the day of iudgement,*Grauior apud me eſt peccatorum tuorum crux,in qua inuitus pendeo, quàm illa, in quam tui miſertus aſcendi :* The croſſe of thy ſinnes,whereby thou didſt crucifie me,was more grieuous vnto me, then the croſſe, to the which for thy cauſe I was lifted vp : *Serm.*181*.cap.*7 *de tempor.* Thus we ſee,that wicked men by their ſinfull life may crucifie Chriſt,though they can offer no violence to his bodie.

*Argum.*2. One *Collins* a Papiſt thus reaſoned from the example of *Iudas: Iudas* receiued the bodie of Chriſt, *Ergo*,the wicked,&c. *Fox*.p.1686.

Anſw. Firſt,it is not ſo certaine out of the Goſpell,whether *Iudas* receiued the Euchariſt at all with the other Diſciples, but ſome thinke that he went out before : and there are ſome probable coniectures of this opinion : as firſt, it is like that the firſt ſupper was not yet finiſhed, becauſe of the dipping of the ſoppe, which was giuen vnto *Iudas* : for in his laſt ſupper,there was no ſuch dipping vſed,but onely bread and wine. Secondly, the waſhing of the Diſciples feete was done before the laſt ſupper, and immediatly vpon that waſhing, the ſoppe was giuen to *Iudas*, and forthwith vpon it he went out: Theſe and other coniectures might leade one to thinke,that *Iudas* was not preſent at the inſtitution of the laſt ſupper, but that S. *Luke* ſetting downe the ſtorie in order,as *Auguſtine* thinketh, rehearſeth thoſe words of Chriſt, as ſpoken after his laſt ſupper: *Be-*

hold the hand of him which betrayeth me, is with me at the table. Luk.22.verſ.21.

Secondly, it is notwithſtanding certaine, that the wetted or dipped ſoppe was not the Euchariſt, which was giuen to *Iudas*; for Chriſt miniſtred the bread and wine apart, bread by it ſelfe, and wine by it ſelfe, not ſoppes in wine: as the decree condemning a certaine abuſe of ſome that gaue the Euchariſt to the people dipped, or ſopped, concludeth thus, *Intincta buccella,&c.* The dipped ſoppe ſerued to bewray the betrayer of his Maiſter, not to ſignifie the Sacrament. p.3.d.2.c.7.

Thirdly, though we graunt with *Auguſtine*, that Chriſt deliuered the Euchariſt to *Iudas* as well as to the reſt of the Apoſtles, in Pſalm.10. rehearſed alſo in the decrees, *p.2. cauſ.1.q.1.c.*88. yet it followeth not that he receiued Chriſts bodie, Satan being entred in before, but the Sacrament onely of his bodie.

The Proteſtants.

THat wicked men and Infidels, cannot in any ſenſe be partakers of the true body and blood of Chriſt, thus it is proued.

*Argum.*1. By faith onely are wee made partakers of the bodie and blood of Chriſt: but this faith the wicked cannot haue. The firſt part is proued out of the Goſpell: *He onely that drinketh of the blood of Chriſt ſhall neuer thirſt againe,* Iohn 4.14. *He that ſhall neuer thirſt, muſt beleeue in Chriſt,* Iohn 6.35. *Ergo,* he onely that beleeueth doth drinke the blood of Chriſt. So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Nolite parare fauces, ſed cor; non quod videtur, ſed quod creditur, paſcit:* Doe not prepare your iawes, but your heart; it is not that which is ſeene, but what is beleeued, that nouriſheth: *Ergo,* Chriſt muſt be receiued by faith: therefore Infidels or vnbeleeuers cannot receiue him.

*Argum.*2. Whoſoeuer eateth the fleſh of Chriſt and drinketh his blood, ſhall haue eternall life, Iohn 6.54. But the wicked haue not eternall life: *Ergo,* they neither eate nor drinke of Chriſt. So *Origene* reaſoneth: *Si fieri poſſet, vt qui malus adhuc perſeueret,&c.* If it were poſſible, that he which yet remaineth wicked, could eate the word made fleſh, it had not been written, He that eateth this bread, ſhall liue for euer: *Hom.in* 15. *Matth.*

But here they will thruſt in an olde diſtinction: that we muſt conſider three things in the Euchariſt, *Speciem panis, veritatem carnis, virtutem gratiæ ſpiritualis:* The ſhape of bread, the veritie of Chriſts fleſh, the ſpirituall grace or vertue: the firſt a mouſe may gnaw; the ſecond a wicked man may receiue; the third none but the faithfull can haue.

*Contra.*1. The veritie of Chriſts fleſh cannot bee ſeparated from the ſpirituall grace: for hee ſaith, Iohn 6.55. *My fleſh is meate indeede,&c. and whoſoeuer eateth my fleſh hath eternall life,* verſ.54. If the wicked then verilie eate Chriſts fleſh, they verily haue eternall life. Secondly, ſo then there are not three, but two things in the Sacrament: the Sacramentall ſigne, which the wicked may be partakers of; and the ſpirituall grace, which is the communicating of Chriſts bodie and blood, which none but the faithfull can haue: As *Bernard* witneſſeth: *Sacramentum ſicut accipit ad vitam dignus, ſic ad mortem indignus, rem ſacramenti nemo percipt, niſi dignus & idoneus:* As the worthie may receiue the Sacrament to life, ſo the vnworthie vnto death: but the matter or ſubſtance of the Sacrament no man receiueth, but he that is worthie. *Bernard de vit. ſolitar.*

Tract. in Iohann.26.

Auguſtine ſaith, *De menſa dominica ſumitur quibuſdam ad mortem, quibuſdam ad vitam,&c.* From the Lords table ſome doe receiue vnto life, ſome vnto death: but the thing, whereof it is a Sacrament, worketh in all to life, in none to death, whoſoeuer are partakers of it. But the body and blood of Chriſt are the things ſignified in the Sacrament: *Ergo,* whoſoeuer receiueth them hath life thereby; the wicked then receiue them not.

*Colonienſ.part.*6.*cap.*2.*Panis ſpiritus, tam per verbum prædicationis quàm ſacramentaliter in veritate corporis & ſanguinis dominici in viua fide comeſtus, viuificat,&c.* The bread of the ſpirit, as well by the preaching of the word, as in the Sacrament, being eaten by faith in the veritie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt quickeneth. The veritie of Chriſts bodie then is receiued by faith, which the wicked haue not: and as they receiue not Chriſt in the worde preached, ſo neither in the Sacrament.

Arguments out of the decrees, that the wicked eate not Chriſts bodie.

We haue the teſtimonie of their owne decrees: *Part.*3.*diſt.*2.*c.*65. *Qui diſcordat à Chriſto,&c.* He that diſſenteth from Chriſt, doth neither eate his fleſh, nor drinke his blood. But the wicked diſſent from Chriſt: *Ergo.*

1 *Ibid.c.*69. *Quicunque panem hunc manducauerit,&c.* Whoſoeuer eateth this bread, ſhall liue for euer. But the wicked liue not for euer: *Ergo,* they eate not this bread.

2 *Cap.*70. *Quando Chriſtus manducatur, vita manducatur:* When Chriſt is eaten, life is eaten. But the
3 wicked eate not life: *Ergo,* they eate not Chriſt.

4 *Cap.*75. *Norunt fideles,&c.* The faithfull know how they eate the fleſh of Chriſt: Therefore wicked and vnbeleeuers know it not.

5 *Cap.*40. *Qui manducauerit corpus,&c.* He that eateth Chriſts bodie, hath remiſſion of ſinnes: The wicked haue not remiſſion of ſinnes. *Ergo.*

Laſtly, *ibid.c.*42. this was the faith of Pope *Nicolas*, to the which he cauſed *Berengarius* to ſubſcribe, *Corpus Chriſti frangi & fidelium dentibus atteri*: That Chriſts bodie is broken and chawed in the teeth of the faithfull. So that his bodie commeth not betweene the teeth of the wicked and vnfaithfull.

Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr, when *Harpſfield* had ſaid, the wicked receiue the body of Chriſt, Fox.p.1815. but not the grace of his bodie: anſwered: They receiue not the bodie: for Chriſts body is no dead carcaſe, he that receiueth it, receiueth the ſpirite, which is not without grace.

Iohn Newman Martyr, after one *Collins* had ſaide, that *Iudas* receiued the body of Chriſt: replied, But the Diuell was entred into him before, and if the Diuell and Chriſt were there at once, how could they agree together? pag. 1686. Theſe holy Martyrs, with many others, for this their franke confeſſion of their faith, were cruelly put to death.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CONTROVERSIE, CONCERNING THE POPISH MASSE.

THis part likewiſe comprehendeth diuers queſtions.

1 Of the diuers repreſentations of the death and ſacrifice of Chriſt.
2 Of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the name thereof, and of the ſacrificing prieſthood.
3 Of the vertue and efficacie which they falſly aſcribe to the Maſſe.
4 For whom the ſacrifice of the Maſſe is auailable: whether for the quicke and the dead.
5 Of priuate Maſſes.
6 Of the manner of ſaying and celebrating Maſſe.
7 Of the ceremonies which they vſe in the idolatrous ſacrifice of the Maſſe: ſome goe before: ſome are obſerued in the celebration thereof.
8 Of the forme of the Maſſe, which conſiſteth partly of the Canon, and of the preface to the Canon, where we are to ſhew the ſtrange and hereticall blaſphemies, which in great number are vttered by them in the Maſſe. Of theſe now in order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE DIVERS repreſentations of the death of Chriſt.

The Papiſts.

THey are not contented with that one liuely repreſentation of the death of Chriſt, which is 29. Error. exhibited in the Lords Supper, but they haue brought in two more beſide that, and ſo make three in all: the firſt, ſay they, is *ſimplex repræſentatio*, a ſimple and plaine repreſentation of the death of Chriſt, which is done ſo often as the Sacrament is receiued. The ſecond is, *Repræſentatio ad viuum*, A liuely and full repreſentation of Chriſts death: which they doe vſe yearely to ſet forth by ſolemne geſtures, apparell, and other ceremonies vpon Good Friday, as it is commonly called, before Eaſter, when they doe make nothing elſe but a Pageant play of the Sacrament. The third repreſentation is alſo a ſacrifice beſide, and that is the ſacrifice of the Maſſe. *Bellarm. de Miſſa. lib.*1.*cap.*1. The Rhemiſts make a fourth repreſentation beſide, which is in the ſolemne receiuing of the Communion at Eaſter: So then firſt, Chriſts death is ſhewed forth by the Sacrament of the Euchariſt all the yeare long as it hangeth in the pixe, or when it is carried to houſle the ſicke, *Catechiſm.Rom.pag.*408. Secondly, it is repreſented once in the yeare by their ſolemne Pageant vpon good Friday, when there is no Sacrament conſecrated, but an hiſtrionicall expreſſing by certaine geſtures and actions, the manner of Chriſts crucifying. Thirdly, in the continuall ſacrifice of the Maſſe, Chriſt his death is repreſented. And laſtly, in the ſolemne receiuing at Eaſter: for then eſpecially, the myſterie of Chriſt our Paſchall Lambe is commended to the people to be eaten with all ſinceritie in the Sacrament: and ſo doe the Rhemiſts expound that place of S. *Paul*, *Let vs keepe feaſt or holy day, not with the leuen of malitiouſnes*, 1.Cor.6.8. literally applying it to the feaſt of Eaſter, *Rhemiſt. in hunc locum.*

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, we are taught by the word of God, that by eating the bread, and drinking of the cup in the Sacrament, not by gazing, looking, lifting vp, turning, hanging vp bread in pixes, or by any ſuch meanes, but only as wee haue ſaid, is the Lords death ſhewed forth and repreſented, 1.Corinth.11.26. We acknowledge therefore one onely ſacramentall repreſentation of Chriſt, and no more in the Lords Supper: the ſacrifice of the Maſſe we iudge to be an abominable idoll, as afterward ſhall be ſhewed.

Secondly, it is a foule abſurditie to make any repreſentation of Chriſts death by bare geſtures, ſhewes, and actions of the bodie without any Sacrament, as they doe in their popiſh Pageants vpon Chriſts Paſſion day: for at that time there is no Sacrament conſecrated; but the Prieſt, by certaine geſtures and motions of the bodie, in bowing, bending, caſting abroade his armes and ſuch like, doth reſemble Chriſt crucified, *Bellarmin. cap.* 1. But to call this a liuely repreſentation done without a Sacrament, and the other in the Sacrament, *ſimplicem repræſentationem*, but a ſimple and plaine repreſentation, is too great preſumption: wherein they preferre their owne ſuperſtitious deuiſes, before the ordinance of Chriſt.

Thirdly, that place of S. *Paul* is vnfitly applied to the celebration of Eaſter: *Auguſtine* expoundeth it far otherwiſe: *Diem ſeſtum celebremus, non vtique vnam diem, ſed totam vitam in azymis ſynceritatis & veritatis*: Let vs keepe holy day, not one onely day, but all our life long, in the vnleauened bread of purenes and trueth. So then in *Auguſtines* iudgement, the Apoſtle had no relation to any certaine time, which he would haue kept holy: but to the reformation of the whole life.

Laſtly, *Nicen.* 2 *action.* 6. *tom.* 3. The ſentence of the Synode of Conſtantinople is thus rehearſed, after they had ſet downe the words of our Sauiour, *This doe in the remembrance of me*, they infer thus, *Ecce viuificantis illius corporis imaginem totam panis, id eſt ſubſtantiam*: Behold the whole image of that quickening bodie, the ſubſtance of bread. The Synode vpon theſe words of Chriſt concludeth, that there is no other repreſentation of Chriſt, but in the Euchariſt: ſo that without the Sacrament there is no repreſentation at all. Likewiſe, *Concil. Toletan.* 12. *c.* 5. *Quoties ſacerdos ſanguinem & corpus Chriſti in altario immolat, toties ſe participem præbeat*: As often as the Prieſt doth offer vp the bodie and blood of Chriſt, let him be partaker of it. Wherefore by this Canon the ſacrifice of Chriſts bodie and blood cannot be repeated or repreſented, without the partaking and receiuing of the Sacrament.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE SACRIFICE of the Maſſe, and the Prieſthoode thereto belonging.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NAME and terme of Maſſe.

The Papiſts.

30. Error. THere are diuers opinions amongſt them, concerning the originall of this name. Some ſay it is called *Miſſa*, the Maſſe, *Quia oblatio & preces ad Deum mittantur*, *Hugo de S. Victore*. Others, *quòd Angelus à Deo mittatur, qui ſacrificio aſſiſtat*: Becauſe an Angell is ſent of God to be aſſiſtant at the Maſſe. *Thom. Aquinas* 3. *part. quæſt.* 83. *artic.* 4. Some of the Hebrew worde *Miſſath*, Deut. 16. which ſignifieth an oblation: Some, *ex miſſis donariys, & ſymbolis*, of the giftes and offerings ſent or put in before the Communion. But what beginning ſoeuer it had, they doe now generally take the Maſſe, for that ſolemne action, whereby the Sacrament is made a ſacrifice, and offered vp to God, *Bellarm. lib.* 1. *de miſſa. cap.* 1.

The Proteſtants.

WE doe not greatly force vpon this name: for both the name and the thing is aboliſhed from our hearts and mouthes; and wee truſt in God, wee ſhall neuer haue occaſion to know it againe. But howſoeuer it is, this name *Miſſa*, Maſſe, cannot ſignifie any ſuch thing as they pretend.

1 For it ſeemeth that *Miſſa* was deriued, *à dimiſſione populi*, of the dimiſſion or ſending away of the people: and ſo was taken generally for any congregation aſſembled either to pray, or ſing Pſalmes, or for any other religious duety: As yet to this day in the dutch language (*Miſſe*) ſignifieth any ſolemne frequencie or congregation of the people. In this ſenſe *Caſſianus* vnderſtandeth Maſſe, that is, for the dimiſſion of the people: ſpeaking of him that commeth not timely to the howres of prayer: hee would not haue him to enter in, but *Stantem pro foribus congregationis miſſam præſtolari debere*: He ought ſtanding without the doores to waite for the miſſe of the congregation. Or as Maſter *Philpot* giueth the ſence of this word, the Communion was called, *Miſſa, à mittendo*: of ſuch things as were ſent at the celebration of the Sacrament by ſuch as were of abilitie to the reliefe of the poore, pag. 1815.

De Canonicis orat. lib. 3. c. 7.

2 *Auguſtine* taketh this word *Miſſa* generally for the Leiturgie or ſeruice of the Church, as *ſerm. de tempore* 251. if that Sermon be *Auguſtines*. *Sunt aliqui, & maximè potentes huius mundi, cùm veniunt ad eccleſiam, non ſunt deuoti ad laudes Dei celebrandas, ſed cogunt Preſbyterum vt abbreuiet Miſſam*: There are ſome, and commonly the great men of the world, which come not to Church

with any deuotion to ſing praiſes to God, but they conſtraine the Presbyter or Miniſter to make ſhort Maſſe. Here this word Maſſe ſignifieth the whole Leiturgie, as ſinging of Pſalmes, and praiſing God; not any ſacrifice or oblation: which could not be abridged or curtalled. Wherefore as the ſacrifice of the Maſſe is of no great antiquitie, ſo neither is the name in that ſenſe.

And it is euident out of their owne decrees, that the Sacrament of the bodie and blood of Chriſt was more vſually knowne of ancient time by other names, than this of the Maſſe. *Decret. p.2.cauſ.1.qu.1.c.72. Gregorie* calleth it the Communion. *C.88. Auguſtine, Euchariſtiam*, the Euchariſt. *Decret.p.3.diſt.2.c.63.* it is called *Sacramentum pietatis*, The Sacrament of pietie or deuotion. *Ibid.c.17. Soter* calleth it *Cœnam Domini*, The Supper of the Lord. *Ibid.c.8. Alexander*, the oblation. *C.12. Gelaſius, Myſterium*, a myſterie. *C.5. Sacramentum corporis & ſanguinis Domini:* The Sacrament of the bodie and blood of Chriſt. Theſe and other ſuch names they gaue this Sacrament, more ſignificant, and farre more ancient than the title of the Maſſe.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE SAcrifice of the Maſſe.

The Papiſt.

31.Error. CHriſt, they ſay, at his laſt Supper, did offer vp his owne bodie and blood in ſacrifice, vnder the formes of bread and wine, to God his father: and at the ſame inſtant made his Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors Prieſts, to offer vp his bodie in the Sacrament, *Concil.Tridentin.ſeſſ.22.cap.1.* And the ſame bodie which Chriſt offered vp vpon the croſſe, is daily offered vp by the miniſterie of the Prieſts; the difference onely is in the manner of offering, *Concil.Trident.ibid.cap.2.* The eternitie and proper act of Chriſts Prieſthood, conſiſteth in the offering and ſacrificing of the bodie and blood of Chriſt in the formes of bread and wine in the Church, *Rhem.Heb.7.ſect.8.* And we meane alwaies of Prieſt and ſacrifice taken in their owne proper ſignification, *ibid ſect.7.* In the Euchariſt then there is a true ſacrifice of the very bodie and blood of Chriſt offered vp to God, by the hands of the Prieſt, in the formes of bread and wine, *Bellarm cap.5.*

Argum.1. Chriſt is a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech:* but the proper act of *Melchiſedechs* Prieſthood did conſiſt in ſacrificing in the formes of bread and wine: *Ergo*, the eternitie of Chriſts Prieſthood ſtandeth in the ſacrificing of his bodie and blood in thoſe formes: there doth therefore ſtill remaine a proper externall ſacrifice in the Church, *Rhemiſt.annot.Heb.7.ſect.8.Bellarm.cap.6.*

And that *Melchiſedechs* Prieſthood conſiſted in the oblation of bread and wine, *Bellarmine* would ſtrengthen by theſe reaſons:

Firſt, from the word vſed, Geneſ.14.18. *he brought forth*, the Hebrue word is, יצה *iatſa*, which in Scripture is properly applied to the bringing forth of ſacrifice: as Geneſ.4. the like word is vſed to ſignifie *Cain* and *Abels* ſacrifice, *Bellarm.c.6.*

Contra. Firſt, the word, which here ſignifieth to bring forth, is not alwaies, or for the moſt part, applied to the bringing of ſacrifice; as Exod.3.10. *That thou maiſt bring my people out of Egypt:* Ierem.51.10. *The Lord hath brought forth our righteouſnes:* wherefore his obſeruation of this word is more bold, than true. Secondly, Geneſ.4.3. *Cain brought an oblation to the Lord:* Here theſe two words, *an oblation*, and *to the Lord*, doe ſhew that he brought a ſacrifice: but there is not any word ioyned in this place to *Melchiſedechs* bringing, that may conclude a ſacrifice.

Secondly, becauſe *Abraham* had no neede of bread and wine to refreſh himſelfe, being returned with great ſpoyle from his enemies, and ſo hauing ſufficient to refreſh himſelfe with: therfore it is like *Melchiſedech* brought them forth to offer to God.

Contra. Firſt, your owne vulgar text hath this note in the margent: *Melchiſedech cibat ipſum Abraham: Melchiſedech* doth feede *Abraham* himſelfe: their owne note is againſt them. Secondly, whereas *Abraham* had receiued all the King of Sodomes goods, and the victuals alſo, which were carried away, though hee ſuffered the young men to eate thereof; yet he would not take himſelfe of the Kings goods *ſo much as a thread or a ſhooe latchet*, verſ.23. and therefore it was Gods prouidence to ſend *Melchiſedech*, that hee ſhould bee refreſhed rather at his hands, than from the King of Sodome an Infidell.

Thirdly, as *Melchiſedech* is ſaid to haue been Gods prieſt, ſo it was requiſite that the Scripture alſo ſhould make mention of his ſacrifice, wherein his prieſthood conſiſted: but that is not any where elſe mentioned: *Ergo*, he offered the ſacrifice of bread and wine, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, the argument followeth not, there is no mention made of any other ſacrifice in Scripture which *Melchiſedech* offered: *Ergo*, he offered bread and wine: for as touching this high myſterie of *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood, many things in Scripture are concealed, as the Apoſtle ſaith to the Hebrues, 5.11. *of whom we haue many things to ſay, which are hard to be vttered, becauſe ye are dull of hearing.* Vpon which words S. *Hierome* thus writeth, *Si vas electionis ſtupet ad myſterium, &c.* If the Hieron.Euagrio, Tom.4.

the veſſell of election be aſtoniſhed at this myſterie,and confeſſeth that, whereof he diſputeth, to bee ineffable, how much more we, &c. Secondly, the Apoſtle ſheweth wherein *Melchiſedech* ſhewed himſelfe a prieſt,namely,*in bleſſing of Abraham,and therefore receiued tithes of him*,Hebr.7. verſ.6.

Fourthly,whereas the words are, *Melchiſedech brought forth bread and wine, for he was a Prieſt of the moſt high God*, Geneſ.14.18.the Scripture giuing this as a reaſon of his bringing forth bread and wine,becauſe he was a prieſt,implieth,that he brought them forth to ſacrifice,*Bellar.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt,the text according to the Hebrue is this: *And Melchiſedech King of Salem brought forth bread and wine,and he was a Prieſt of the moſt high God,and he bleſſed him,&c.*Geneſ.14.18. What though in ſome places of Scripture,*and*,ſignifieth(*for*) yet it followeth not, that it ſhould bee ſo euery where? and if it be ſo taken here in this clauſe of the Sentence,*for he was a Prieſt,&c.* why not in the other alſo, *for he bleſſed him?* ſo that this is giuen as a reaſon taken of the effect of his Prieſthood. And indeede the order of the words ſo requireth: that as firſt he is named a King, and then the effect followeth,which was his munificence in bringing forth bread and wine:ſo ſecondly he is called a Prieſt, and then the effect of his Prieſthood is expreſſed, namely, *his bleſſing.* Secondly, whereas *Bellarmine* ſaith,that the Apoſtle,Hebr.7.proueth *Melchiſedech* not to be a Prieſt, becauſe he bleſſed *Abraham*,but therefore greater onely then *Abraham*, it is a falſe collection: for the Apoſtle ſaith thus,Hebr.7.6.*He receiued tithes of Abraham,and bleſſed him that had the promiſes.*From which words we reaſon thus: *Melchiſedech* as he was a Prieſt receiued tithes: for tithes were not due but to the Prieſthood,verſ.5. but as he bleſſed he receiued tithes, as the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ.6. *Ergo*,as he bleſſed he was a Prieſt.

Fiftly,*Bellarmine* reaſoneth thus: Chriſt is ſaid *to be a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedech:* but his prieſthood cannot remaine,vnleſſe his ſacrifice continue ſtill: but his ſacrifice vpon the croſſe was once done for all: *Ergo*, hee muſt haue another ſacrifice daily to bee offered in the Church,which is the ſacrifice of *Melchiſedech* in bread and wine,*Bellarm.c.6.*

Contra. Firſt,as Chriſt is a Prieſt for euer, ſo alſo doth his ſacrifice continue for euer, which was but once offered; yet the vertue and efficacie thereof endureth ſtill: for his blood yet ſpeaketh vnto God for mercie for vs,not for vengeance,as the blood of *Abel*, Hebr.12.24. Secondly,it is not neceſſarie that Chriſt ſhould haue an externall prieſthood ſtill in earth: for neither in the time of the law,was there any externall prieſthood after *Melchiſedechs* order continued, and yet euen then, was Chriſt a Prieſt after *Melchiſedechs* order. Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſheweth, that Chriſt our high Prieſt is entred into heauen,as the Prieſt did goe once a yeere into the holy place, and there continueth a Prieſt for euer after *Melchiſedechs* order, in appearing in the ſight of God for vs,Hebr.9.23.

Sixtly,Chriſt being a Prieſt for euer after *Melchiſedechs* order,muſt agree with *Melchiſedech* in that,which was proper to *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood: but nothing is proper to his prieſthood,but to ſacrifice in bread and wine: *Ergo*,herein there muſt bee an agreement of *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood and Chriſts.

The aſſumption is proued thus: firſt, it was not proper to *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood to bleſſe, and to receiue tithes: for this the Leuiticall prieſthood did. Secondly, nor yet to haue none to ſucceede him: for ſo neither had *Abel*. Thirdly, neither to bee without genealogie,and ſo to bee a type of Chriſt: for there is no mention made likewiſe of the genealogie of *Iob* and *Helias*, who were alſo Prieſts: *Ergo*,this was onely proper to *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood to ſacrifice in bread and wine,*cap.6.reſp.ad 3.arg.*

Contra. Firſt,though *Leui* receiued tithes,and gaue bleſſings,yet not as *Melchiſedech*,to whom euen *Leui* paid tithes then in *Abrahams* loynes,Hebr.7.verſ.9.and they being of *Abrahams* ſeede could not be greater then *Abraham*;yet *Melchiſedech* was greater becauſe he bleſſed him: wherefore to receiue tithes of *Abraham*, and to bleſſe ſo great a Patriarch, was proper to *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood,and not common with *Leui*. Secondly, though *Abel* had none to ſucceede him in his carnall generation,and reſpect of his perſon; yet in his office in ſacrificing of ſheepe and ſuch like,he had many ſucceſſors: but *Melchiſedech* in his prieſthood and office had none to ſucceede him: wherefore this was alſo proper to his prieſthood, and agreeable herein to Chriſt. Thirdly, *Iob* and *Helias* are not in the Scripture called prieſts, as *Melchiſedech* is: but *Iob* is ſet forth by the name of a iuſt man, Iob.1.1. *Helias* by the name of a Prophet, Malach.4.5. and *Melchiſedech* was ſo without genealogie,as there is no mention made neither of the beginning nor of the end of his daies,Hebr.7.2.yet there is mention made both of the terme of *Helias* life,in the earth,when hee was taken vp into heauen,2.King.2.and of *Iobs* death,Iob.42.17.wherefore this alſo is proper to *Melchiſedech* to be a prieſt without genealogie,hauing neither beginning of daies,nor end of life, and herein he was a type of Chriſt. We neede not then ſeeke for any thing els, wherein Chriſt and *Melchiſedech* ſhould agree,the type anſwering in euery reſpect to the ſubſtance; much leſſe are we forced to deuiſe any ſuch ſacrifice of bread and wine.

Seuenthly,Chriſt was not a prieſt after *Melchiſedechs* order,in reſpect of the ſacrifice vpon the croſſe,becauſe he did not offer vp himſelfe vnder the forme of bread and wine: *Ergo,* hee is after *Melchiſedechs* order in reſpect of the daily ſacrifice offered vnder bread and wine: *Bellarm.cap.6. reſp.ad argum.5.*

Contra. Firſt,we denie that *Melchiſedech* ſacrificed vnder the formes of bread and wine at all, and therefore therein he is not a type of Chriſt at all. Thus he ſtill ſhamefully beggeth the thing in queſtion. Secondly, it followeth not that if Chriſt anſwere not to *Melchiſedech* in the ſacrifice of his croſſe,that the reſemblance ſhould be in ſacrificing bread and wine: for in many other things was *Melchiſedech* a type of Chriſt: 1. In his name, which ſignifieth King of righteouſnes. 2. In his offices,becauſe he was both King and Prieſt. 3. In the eternitie and continuance of his office. 4. In the excellencie of his perſon, in that hee was greater then *Abraham* the Patriarch. Thus the Apoſtle ſheweth Chriſt in *Melchiſedech* to haue been prefigured: ſo that wee neede not run to any ſuch ſtrange deuiſe of the ſacrifice of bread and wine. Thirdly,euen Chriſt vpon the altar of the croſſe was a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech,* in reſpect of the permanencie of his prieſthood,and eternall efficacie of his croſſe, *hauing with one offring conſecrated for euer them,that are ſanctified,* Hebr.10.14.ſo that *Melchiſedech* was not ſo much to prefigure the matter of Chriſts ſacrifice,which was ſhadowed forth in the bloodie ſacrifices of calues and goates in the law,as to ſet forth the dignitie of his perſon,and eternitie of his office. Fourthly,this cannot be farre from blaſphemie to denie, that Chriſt was properly a Prieſt after *Melchiſedechs* order, and to affirme, that their popiſh prieſts doe ſacrifice in the formes of bread and wine according to the order of *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood: And ſuch are their reaſons drawne from the ſimilitude of *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood vnto Chriſt. Now on the contrarie ſide our arguments follow, to prooue,that their ſacrifice of the Maſſe hath no ſhew of ground at all in the type of *Melchiſedech.*

*Argum.*1. We confeſſe,that *Melchiſedech* was a type of our Sauiour Chriſt,and that hee was a Prieſt after *Melchiſedechs* order: but not in any ſuch reſpect,for offring in bread and wine: for the text ſaith,he brought forth bread and wine,he offered it not: he brought it foorth for the refreſhing of *Abraham,*and thoſe which were with him,Geneſ.14.18.

Bellarmine anſwereth,that the bread and wine were firſt offered and ſacrificed to God, and afterward giuen to *Abraham,*and his fellowes to eate,*reſp.ad argum.7.*

Contra. Firſt, if the ſame bread and wine were firſt offred to God, and then giuen to *Abraham,* then in effect nothing was offered to God: for in all offrings and ſacrifices, whether burnt-offerings,meate-offerings,or peace-offerings, ſome part at the leaſt was burnt vpon the altar vnto God: but here no ſuch thing was done. Secondly, there was no ſacrifice without an altar,fire, and wood: as *Abraham* laid the wood vpon *Iſaac,*and tooke the fire in his hand,and built an altar,Geneſ.22.6,10.but here are none of all theſe. Thirdly, if *Melchiſedech* had a purpoſe to ſacrifice to God, he would rather haue imitated *Abel* to haue offered of the fruites of his ſheepe, then of *Cain* who brought of the fruites of the earth,Geneſ.4.2.

2. He brought forth bread and wine, and not the formes onely of bread and wine: therefore your ſacrifice in the formes onely,is not after his order.

Bellarm. The ſacrifice of *Melchiſedech* and the ſacrifice of the Maſſe agree in the outward ſymbole,though not in the inward ſubſtance, which is ſufficient: for the repreſentation is in the accidents,not in the ſubſtance: and that was but the type or ſymbole, and therefore the ſubſtance may be diuers,*reſp.ad argum.6.*

Contra. Firſt,hereof it followeth,that they which conſecrate bread and wine only without any reall preſence,doe more properly imitate *Melchiſedech,*then your Maſſe-prieſts,that hold a fleſhly preſence vnder the formes of bread and wine: for *Melchiſedech* offered the ſubſtance of bread and wine,and not the formes only. Secondly, if *Melchiſedechs* oblation do repreſent the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, it muſt repreſent it as it is a ſacrifice:but the Maſſe is no ſacrifice but in reſpect of the inward ſubſtance: the ſacrifice is not of the outward formes of bread and wine: *Ergo,* the repreſentation is in reſpect of the ſubſtance. Thirdly,types and ſhadowes differ from the bodie in outward ſymboles onely,they agree in ſubſtance, as S.*Paul* ſheweth, how Chriſt was the ſame ſpirituall meate and drinke both to the Iſraelites and vnto vs, but vnder diuers Sacraments, 1.Corinth.10.4. Wherefore it is a falſe concluſion, *Melchiſedechs* ſacrifice was a type of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe: *Ergo,*diuers in ſubſtance.

3. If *Melchiſedechs* bringing forth of bread and wine, were a ſacrifice or oblation, and a type of the like ſacrifice to continue for euer in the Church, it muſt alſo haue bin a propitiatorie ſacrifice for the remiſſion of ſinnes,as they ſay the ſacrifice of the Maſſe is,which was thereby ſignified: but there is no propitiatorie ſacrifice for remiſſion of ſinnes,without ſhedding of blood, Hebr.9. verſ.22. Therefore *Melchiſedechs* act,being without blood,was no ſuch ſacrifice,and conſequently none at all.

4. The Apoſtle to the Hebrues ſheweth, wherein Chriſt was a Prieſt after *Melchiſedechs* order,

der,Hebr.7. Firſt,in that *Melchiſedech* was both King and Prieſt,verſ.2.ſo is Chriſt. Secondly, in reſpect of the eternitie of his Prieſthood : we doe not reade either of the beginning of his daies, or end of his life, nor of any chaunge of his Prieſthood, verſ.3. All which is moſt truly verified in Chriſt. Thirdly, *Melchiſedech* was a type of Chriſt, and his Prieſthood of Chriſts,becauſe of the excellencie thereof aboue the Leuiticall Prieſthood : for *Leui* paid tithes in *Abraham* to *Melchiſedech*;and therefore was inferiour,and was bleſſed of *Melchiſedech* in *Abraham*, the leſſe of the greater : ſo is the Prieſthood of Chriſt aduanced farre aboue *Aarons* order. If in any other materiall point *Melchiſedechs* Prieſthood had reſembled Chriſts,as in this oblation of bread and wine, the Apoſtle would not haue omitted it.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtle omitteth of purpoſe to ſpeake of *Melchiſedechs* oblation of bread and wine,leaſt by this occaſion he ſhould haue been conſtrained to treate of the Euchariſt,which was too high a myſterie for them, and that very thing (which he ſaith) was hard to bee vttered concerning *Melchiſedech*,in reſpect of their dulnes,*reſp.ad argum*.2.

Contra. Firſt, the Hebrues were no more dull to vnderſtand, than the Corinthians : for as the Apoſtle ſaith to them,*they haue neede of milke, not ſtrong meate*,Hebr.5.12. ſo likewiſe he writeth to the Corinthians, that *he gaue them milke to drinke, and not meate, becauſe they were babes*,1.Cor.3.2. yet hee doubteth not to vnfolde to the Corinthians the myſterie of the Euchariſt both in the 10. and 11.chapters : wherefore this can bee no reaſon, why hee ſhould conceale it from the Hebrues. Secondly,the Euchariſt is no higher a myſterie,than the doctrine of Baptiſme,or then the myſterie of the reſurrection: but theſe things the Hebrues were well inſtructed in Heb.6.2.therefore they were capeable alſo of the doctrine of the Euchariſt. The antecedent is thus proued : for Baptiſme by the Apoſtle is called a myſterie : *This is a great myſterie, I ſpeake concerning Chriſt and the Church*,Epheſ.5.32.and wherein this myſterie lieth,is declared,verſ.26.*Chriſt loued his Church, and gaue himſelfe for it,&c. that hee might cleanſe it by the waſhing of water thorough the worde*. This waſhing in Baptiſme, is that myſterie, which hee ſpeaketh of : ſo alſo the reſurrection is called a myſterie,1.Cor.15.51.*I ſhew you a myſterie,we ſhall not all ſleepe, but we ſhall all be changed* : but theſe myſteries the Hebrues vnderſtood,Hebr.6.2.*Ergo*,they might ſafely be inſtructed in the myſterie of the Euchariſt.

5. Therein conſiſted the proper act of *Melchiſedechs* Prieſthood, for the which hee receiued tithes of *Abraham* : but,as the Apoſtle ſaith, hee receiued tithes, and bleſſed *Abraham*,Hebr.7.6. *Ergo*,the tithes were due not for any ſacrifice which he offered,but for his bleſſing.The ſame therfore was the proper act of his Prieſthood. See *Bellarmine* his anſwere,and the replie thereunto,*argum*.4.by him before produced.

6. *Melchiſedech* is a type of Chriſt in thoſe things,which are not common with *Aarons* Prieſthood: but to offer bread and wine was daily frequented in the Leuiticall Prieſthood: *Ergo*,therein conſiſteth not the type of *Melchiſedech*.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the ſacrifice of bread and wine in the Leuiticall Prieſthood was alwaies ioyned with other ſacrifices of beaſts, and was tempered or mingled with oyle : but here *Melchiſedech* offereth bread and wine alone, and ſimple bread, without any mixture,*reſponſ.ad argum*.4.

Contra. Firſt,it is vntrue,that the Prieſts of the law neuer vſed the oblations of bread and wine, but with other ſacrifices,as it may appeare,Leuit.2.where the law of meat-offerings is ſet downe, and no ſuch thing there preſcribed. Secondly,if the mixture of bread with oyle make a difference betweene the Leuiticall oblation of bread,and *Melchiſedechs* offering;then your mixture of wine with water maketh the like difference, betweene your Maſſe ſacrifice and *Melchiſedechs*, who offred as ſimple bread,ſo alſo ſimple wine. Thirdly,the Apoſtle ſaith, *If the Prieſthood be chaunged, there muſt of neceſſitie be a chaunge of the law*,Heb.7.12. Wherefore if the law of ſacrifices be changed,then could not the new Prieſthood offer the ſacrifices of the law,and therefore not bread and wine : for then the law of ſacrifices ſhould onely be chaunged in part,not in whole.

7 The eternitie of Chriſts prieſthood after *Melchiſedechs* order conſiſteth not in the daily ſacrifice of the Maſſe,which is offered by many Prieſts, one ſucceeding another : for this is a difference betweene *Aarons* order,and *Melchiſedechs*,as the Apoſtle noteth,*that among them many were made Prieſts,becauſe they were not ſuffered to endure by reaſon of death;but this man, becauſe he endureth euer,hath an euerlaſting Prieſthood*,Hebr.7.23. *Ergo*,in *Melchiſedechs* order there cannot be a multitude of Prieſts one following another.

It will be here anſwered,that although there be many Maſſe-prieſts, yet the prieſthood is one, and Chriſt the eternall prieſt offereth by them as his miniſters.

Contra. Firſt,ſo alſo the office of the prieſthood vnder the law was one,and Chriſt the vnſpotted Lambe in all the ſacrifices was typically ſlaine,Reuelat.13.8. Yea *Bellarmine* confeſſeth that Chriſt was a prieſt vnder the law,and offered by his types and figures, *cap.6.initio* : yet the difference remaineth ſtill betweene the many mortall prieſts of *Aaron*,and the one eternall prieſt after

Melchiſedech. Secondly, the power, right, and execution of *Melchiſedechs* prieſthood reſteth in the perſon of Chriſt, and cannot be transferred to any other that die, but is proper to him, *of whom it is witneſſed, that he liueth*, Hebr.7.8.

Argum.8. To make Chriſts prieſthood eternall, it is not neceſſarie to bring in a continuall ſacrifice to bee frequented in the Church: but the Apoſtle ſheweth wherein the eternitie of his prieſthood conſiſteth, namely in thoſe foure points.

Firſt, *becauſe he endureth euer, he hath an euerlaſting Prieſthood*, Hebr.7.24. This reaſon *Bellarmine* ſaith is not ſufficient, *Chriſt liueth for euer: Ergo, he is a prieſt for euer:* for ſo the Leuites after the reſurrection, which were once Prieſts, and then ſhall liue for euer, might bee ſaid to be Prieſts for euer, *reſp.ad argum*.8.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtles reaſon is this; The prieſts of the law, were not prieſts for euer, becauſe they liued not euer: but Chriſt a prieſt after *Melchiſedech*, is a prieſt for euer, becauſe hee liueth euer: So then he peruerteth the Apoſtles reaſon, who ſpeaking of Chriſt as a prieſt, by the eternitie of his life concludeth the eternitie of his prieſthood. This then is the reaſon, Chriſt our prieſt liueth euer: *Ergo*, he is a prieſt euer. Secondly, the Leuites when they begin to liue euer after the reſurrection, ſhall then be no prieſts at all, and therfore cannot be ſaid to be prieſts for euer.

Secondly, Chriſt is ſaid to be a prieſt for euer, in reſpect of the euerlaſting efficacie and vertue of his ſacrifice vpon the croſſe. So ſaith the Apoſtle, *With one offering hath he conſecrated for euer, them that are ſanctified*, Hebr.10.14.

Bellarm. This reaſon is not ſufficient: for ſo might *Noah* his ſacrifice be ſaid to be eternall, becauſe the force therof remaineth, in that he obtained thereby, that the waters ſhould not returne to couer the earth: the effect alſo of Chriſts birth and death ſtill remaineth, and yet he cannot be ſaid euer to die, and to be borne, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, it was not the force of *Noahs* ſacrifice, which maketh Gods couenant ſtable, but the ground and foundation of all thoſe ſacrifices, which was Chriſt the vnſpotted Lambe ſlaine from the beginning of the world, Apoc.13.8. *In whom all the promiſes of God are yea and amen*, 2.Corinth.1.20. This inſtance therefore ſheweth the eternitie of Chriſts ſacrifice, the force whereof extended euen to the ages before. Secondly, as wee ſay not, that Chriſt is daily borne, but becauſe the effect of his birth remaineth euer, he is the man Chriſt for euer: ſo neither doe we ſay, that he dyeth daily, but becauſe the force of his death and ſacrifice euer remaineth, he is the Prieſt Chriſt for euer.

Thirdly, Chriſt is a Prieſt for euer, becauſe *he euer liueth to make interceſſion for vs*, Heb.7.25. and he is entred *into heauen to appeare in the ſight of God for vs*, Hebr.9.24.

The ſumme of *Bellarmines* anſwere here is this; that whereas Chriſt is our interceſſour by the mediation of his ſacrifice, it is neceſſarie that Chriſts ſacrifice ſhould be continually offered, ſeeing he continually maketh interceſſion for vs, *reſp.ad 3.ration.8.argum.*

Contra. Firſt, the argument followeth not: for the ſacrifice of Chriſt once done is the foundation of his interceſſion, and it were a great derogation to Chriſt, that his interceſſion in heauen ſhould depend of the act of prieſts in the earth. Secondly, as Chriſt is not to be imagined to continue his interceſſion by making daily prayers vnto God: ſo neither is his ſacrifice continued by daily offring; but the very *appearing of him*, as the Apoſtle ſaith, in heauen is ſufficient: And as *Gregorie* ſaith, *Sine intermiſſione, &c.* Our Redeemer, without any intermiſſion, doth immolate himſelfe in ſhewing his incarnation for vs to his father, &c. *Moral.lib.1.c.10. Interpellari, &c.* To make interceſſion for vs, is to demonſtrate himſelfe to be man, *lib.12.c.13.* So that as their Schoolemen confeſſe, he doth daily offer himſelfe, and make interceſſion for vs, *repræſentatione ſui*, by repreſenting himſelfe to his father, *Gabriel Biel.*

Fourthly, the Apoſtle ſheweth Chriſt to be an eternall Prieſt, becauſe he is for euer perfitly able to ſaue, Heb.7.25. *Bellarm.* This ſheweth him to bee a Sauiour, not a Prieſt.

Contra. As Chriſt is a Prieſt, ſo he alſo ſaueth by the ſacrifice of himſelfe. And thus much of this firſt argument drawne from *Melchiſedech.*

Argum.2. They alleage that place, Heb.8.3. Euery high Prieſt is appointed to offer gifts and hoaſtes: wherfore it is neceſſarie that he alſo haue ſomewhat to offer. Chriſt then hath a certaine hoaſt in externall and proper manner, as other Prieſts haue; but this viſible and externall act of ſacrificing he doth not exerciſe now in heauen: therefore it muſt needes be meant of the perpetuall oblation of his bodie and blood in the Church; for ſomewhat he muſt alwaies haue to offer, *Rhemiſt.Heb*.8.*ſect*.3.

Anſw. 1. The Apoſtle ſaith not, that it is neceſſarie that Chriſt ſhould ſtill haue ſomewhat to offer in ſacrifice: but that it was needfull for him to haue ſomewhat, which hee had alreadie offered: for the verbe προσενέγκῃ, ſignifieth not the preſent tence, but the time paſt: whereby is vnderſtood the oblation which hee had alreadie offered once, and which neede not to bee repeated, Hebr.7.verſ.27. For as herein hee is like to other Prieſts, that hee muſt haue ſomewhat to haue offered, ſo is he vnlike alſo in this, that they by reaſon of their infirmitie had neede to offer often: but Chriſt our high Prieſt did it but once, as in that place the Apoſtle ſheweth.

Heb.8.verſ.2.

2 The gift which the Apoſtle in this place attributeth to Chriſt, was his bodie, which he calleth the true Tabernacle, which the Lord pight and not man. But that bodie of Chriſt, which they ſay is offered vp in the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, is not of that nature: for it is made by the miniſterie of man: for euery one of their ſacrificing Prieſts is able to make the bodie of Chriſt: but this bodie, which Chriſt had to offer, was made onely by God, without the helpe of man, as the Apoſtle ſaith. Againe, ſay, if you dare, that the bodie which you offer, is the true Tabernacle and temple of God: for then it would follow, that God dwelleth in Temples made with hands, that is, by the miniſterie of man, contrarie to the Scriptures: ſeeing you affirme that the bodie of Chriſt is no otherwiſe preſent but by the miniſterie of the Prieſt. And what a goodly Tabernacle is this for God, thinke you, which you ſhut vp in a pixe, and hang vp in your Churches? A mouſe may eate it, the fire may conſume it, corruption may take it: would God ſuffer his Tabernacle thus to be defiled? Wherefore vpon theſe premiſſes we conclude, that what you offer in your popiſh ſacrifice, cannot be the proper gift belonging to Chriſts Prieſthoode.

*Argum.*3. The celebration of the Paſſeouer was a manifeſt type and figure of the celebration of the Euchariſt: but in the Paſſeouer there was a ſacrifice: *Ergo*, there muſt be a Sacrifice in the Euchariſt.*cap.*7.

Firſt, *Bellarmine* proueth the propoſition out of S.*Paul*: *Chriſt our Paſſeouer is ſacrificed for vs, therefore let vs keepe the feaſt with the vnleauened bread of ſynceritie, &c.* 1.*Cor.*5.8. Chriſt was not crucified or ſacrificed vpon the croſſe to be eaten; he is then ſacrificed to be our Paſſeouer, where he is to be eaten; and that is no where, but in the Euchariſt: the Euchariſt therefore is the true Paſſeouer. *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, S.*Paul* ſpeaketh not in that place of any Sacramentall eating of Chriſt, but of the reformation of the whole life to be ledde in ſynceritie and trueth, as before verſ 7. *Purge out the old leauen*: He applieth this type to his preſent purpoſe, that the Corinthians ſhould expell from amongſt them the inceſtuous perſon: wherefore in this ſenſe Chriſt our Paſſeouer was ſacrificed vpon the croſſe, ſpiritually to be eaten by faith, and to be followed by vertuous imitation all our life. Secondly, though we grant, that the Paſchal Lambe and the Euchariſt may haue ſome reſemblances together, as *Bellarmine* noteth ſome, as in the ceremonie of eating commanded in them both, alſo in the end, that is to bee a remembrance of their corporall deliuerance, this of our ſpirituall; and likewiſe, as that was eaten with ſowre herbes, ſo the other muſt be receiued with true ſorrow and repentance: yet was not the Paſſeouer appointed directly to be a type of the Euchariſt, but of Chriſt crucified, as the Euangeliſt expoundeth, Iohn 19.37. theſe things were done, *That the Scripture ſhould be fulfilled, Not a bone of him ſhould be broken*: if then the type of the Paſſeouer were fulfilled in Chriſt crucified vpon the Croſſe, we are not to ſeeke for any other accompliſhment of it. Thirdly, if it ſhould be granted, that the Paſſeouer was a type of the Euchariſt, it followeth not, that it ſhould be in euery thing a type, which hee muſt proue, or els his argument concludeth not: for they differ in many things 1. The Paſſeouer was of fleſh with blood; the Euchariſt is of bread without blood. 2. The Paſſeouer was done in remembrance of their deliuerance; the Maſſe they ſay is a propitiatorie ſacrifice, and not a commemoration onely. 3. The Paſſeouer was eaten at Eeuen, Maſſe is ſaid in the morning. 4. Nothing was left of the Paſſeouer, vntill the morning; but their conſecrated hoaſt is reſerued. 5. The Paſſeouer was eaten in their houſes; Maſſe is ſaid in their Churches: if in theſe and other points the Paſch and Euchariſt differ, why not alſo in this? that the one was a Sacrifice, and ſo is not the other.

Secondly, whereas *Bellarmine* proueth the aſſumption, that the Paſſeouer was a Sacrifice, for ſo S. *Marke* ſaith, Marke 14.12. *When they ſacrificed the Paſſeouer*: We anſwere, firſt, it was not properly a Sacrifice, becauſe Sacrifices were made by fire, and were brought to the Prieſt, and ſome part laid vpon the Altar, as we may reade in the lawes of Sacrifices, Leuit.1.2.3.Chap. But the Paſſeouer was eaten in the houſe, where neyther Prieſt, nor Altar was neceſſarie, and the whole Lambe was eaten, nothing reſerued. Secondly, notwithſtanding it was called a Sacrifice, being a religious act, in reſpect of other ſacrifices of ſheepe and bullockes, which the Paſſeouer was vſed to be ſolemnized with, Deuter.16.2.

*Argum.*4. The Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr.13.10. *We haue an Altar, whereof they haue no power to eate, which ſerue in the Tabernacle. Ergo*, we haue not onely a common table to eate meere bread vpon, but a very Altar in the proper ſenſe to ſacrifice Chriſts body vpon. *Rhemiſt.annot. Hebr.*13.*ſect.*6.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the Sacrifice of Chriſts death, whereof we are made partakers by faith: which they can reape no benefite by, which remaine in the ceremoniall obſeruations of Leuiticall ſacrifices. Chriſt therefore is our Prieſt, Altar and Sacrifice: for verſ.12. the Apoſtle maketh mention of the ſufferings of Chriſt: he meaneth not then the Communion table, which is vnproperly called an Altar, or any materiall Altar beſide, but the Altar onely of Chriſts death. Secondly, if whereſoeuer in Scripture this word (*Altar*) is read, it muſt be taken for a proper materiall Altar, wee ſhall haue alſo a materiall Altar in heauen, Apocal.8.3. which I am ſure they will not grant. Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *We haue an Altar*; which is but one, whereas popiſh altars are many: it cannot therefore be vnderſtood of ſuch Altars. Fourthly, *Bellarmine* better aduiſed then the *Rhemiſts*, refuſeth to vrge this place, becauſe diuers of their owne writers vnderſtand it of Chriſts croſſe: *cap*.14.

Argum.5. Ierem.33.18. *Neyther ſhall the Prieſtes and Leuites want a man before me, to offer burnt offrings and meate offrings, and to do ſacrifice continually:* theſe are the Prieſts of the new Teſtament, which do truely offer ſacrifice in the Maſſe: for it cannot be vnderſtood of the Miniſters of the Goſpell, becauſe theſe are called Prieſtes, and are ſaid to offer burnt offringes: neyther of Chriſt, for the Prophet ſpeaketh of many Leuites and Prieſts: *Bellarm.cap*.9.

Anſw. Firſt, this text may very well be referred to Chriſt, for verſ.17. the Prophet had ſayd, *Dauid ſhall not want a man to ſit vpon the throne, &c.* This is vnderſtood of the ſpirituall kingdome of Chriſt, and ſo may the other of his ſpirituall Prieſthood: for the Prophet ſpeaketh of one ſingular man, *Non interibit vir*, there ſhall not be wanting a man to offer Sacrifice, &c. Secondly, but we rather vnderſtand this place of the Miniſters of the Goſpell, as it may be expounded by the like place, Iſay 59.21. *I will make this my couenant with them, &c. My words ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor the mouth of thy ſeede, nor out of the mouth of the ſeede of thy ſeede, &c.* And in the new Teſtament we reade both of ſpirituall Prieſts, Reuel.1.6. *He hath made vs kings and prieſts to God his Father*; and of ſpirituall burnt offrings and ſacrifices, Rom.12.1. *I beſeech you giue vp your bodies a liuing ſacrifice*. Thirdly, but this place cannot be vnderſtoode of any ſuch externall Prieſthoode for theſe reaſons: firſt, as is the kingdome of *Dauid* here promiſed, ſo is the Prieſthood: but the firſt is ſpirituall: *Ergo* the ſecond. Secondly, as they are called Prieſts, ſo alſo Leuites: but their Prieſts offering according to *Melchiſedecks* order, as they ſay, cannot be of the Leuiticall order. Thirdly, neither haue they any, *holocauſtomata*, burnt offerings in their Maſſe ſacrifice: therefore the literall ſenſe of this place ſerueth not their turne.

Argum.6. Daniel 8.11.& 12.11. The Prophet foretelleth how Antichriſt ſhall take away the daylie ſacrifice, which is the ſacrifice of the Maſſe: it cannot bee vnderſtoode of *Antiochus*, who worſhipped the God of his Fathers: but Antichriſt ſhall not regard the God of his Fathers, Daniel 11.37. *Bellarm. ibid*.

Anſw. Firſt, theſe propheſies were hiſtorically fulfilled in *Antiochus Epiphanes*: how that the Temple ſhould by him bee firſt prophaned, by the ſpace of two thouſand three hundred dayes, Dan.8.14. that is ſixe yeares, three moneths and an halfe: for this profanation began in the yeare 142. or thereabout, as may bee gathered 1.Macchab.1.12. for hee turned againe to ſpoyle the Temple in the 143. yeare. *ibid.v*.21. So that he began the yeare before: and the Temple was purged in the 148. yeare, the 25. day of the ninth moneth *Caſleu*. 1.Macc.4.52. Againe, the finall deſolation and defiling of the Temple with the ceaſing of the daylie ſacrifice was to endure 1290. dayes, Dan.12.11. that is, three yeares, ſeuen moneths and odde dayes: ſo it came to paſſe, for in the 125. yeare *Antiochus* ſent againe to defile the Sanctuarie, and to aboliſh the ſacrifice, 1.Macchab.1.30. and in the moneth of Caſleu he accompliſhed his purpoſe, and ſet vp the abomination of deſolation vpon the altar, verſ.57. and in the 128. yeare, in the eleuenth moneth Zanticus, the King by his letters patents reſtoreth religion againe, 2.Macchab.11.33. So that theſe propheſies being ſo euidently fulfilled in *Antiochus*, cannot be applied to any other. And concerning the obiection of *Antiochus* idolatrie, though he openlie profeſſed the worſhip of the idols of the heathen; yet in truth, as by his profanenes appeareth, he had no conſcience of any religion at all.

Secondly, the place cannot be vnderſtoode, as *Bellarmine* would enforce. Firſt, their Antichriſt ſhall raigne but three yeares and an halfe, as they ſay; but the Prophet ſpeaketh of ſixe yeares and three moneths, Dan.8.14. Secondly, if their Maſſe ſhall be aboliſhed by Antichriſt, wherein they ſay the eternitie of Chriſts Prieſthoode conſiſteth; then ſhould Chriſts Prieſthoode alſo be at an ende. Thirdly, the abomination of deſolation ſpoken of by *Daniel*, is interpreted to be the ceaſing of the Iewiſh ſacrifice, both in the ſtorie of the Macchabees, which is Scripture with them, 1.Macch.1.57. and by our Sauiour, Matth.24.15.

Argum.7. Malach.1.11. *From the riſing of the ſunne, vnto the going downe of the ſame, my name is great amongſt the gentiles, and in euery place incenſe ſhall be offered to my name, and a pure offering:* This place *Bellarmine* proueth by theſe reaſons to be vnderſtoode of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe; and not of any ſpirituall ſacrifice. *c*.10.

Firſt, by the ſignification of the Hebrue word מנחה, *Mincha*, that ſignifieth an offering or oblation, which properly betokeneth a kinde of externall ſacrifice, which was made of oyle and incenſe.

Contra. Firſt, if this be the proper ſignification of the word, it cannot meane the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, which conſiſteth in the formes of bread and wine, not of oyle and incenſe. Secondly, this word doth not onely ſignifie a Sacrifice, giuen vnto God, but a gift or preſent offered to man, Geneſ.33.11. So *Iacob* calleth his preſent ſent to his brother: wherefore the Ieſuites collection fayleth him. Thirdly, Pſalm.141.2. The Prophet ſaying, *Let the lifting vp of mine hands bee an euening ſacrifice*, vſeth the ſame word: Where we ſee that the ſpirituall ſacrifice of Prayer is called by this name, or reſembled to it: and ſo is the Prophet to be vnderſtoode in this place.

Secondly, the Prophet calleth it a pure offering, which cannot be polluted: but prayers may bee polluted; the ſacrifice of the Maſſe onely cannot by the euilnes of the Miniſter bee defiled. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, though our prayers as they proceede from vs haue many imperfections, yet they are accepted thorough Chriſt, 1. Pet. 2. *Offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices acceptable to God thorough Chriſt:* in which ſenſe the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *I will that euerie where men lift vp pure hands, &c.* 1. Timoth. 2. as here the Prophet ſaith, *In euery place a pure offering ſhall be offered.* Secondly, we haue ſpirituall ſacrifices and exerciſes of religion, which cannot be by the euilnes of the Miniſter defiled: as the preaching of the word, which though it be vnder a pretenſe preached, is profitable, Philip. 1. 18. The Euchariſt alſo which is a ſacrifice of thankeſgiuing is effectuall to a worthie receiuer, though by the hands of an vnworthie Miniſter. Thirdly, your Maſſe is ſo farre from being a pure offering, that it is the moſt impure and vncleane ſinke, that euer was brought into the Church: and your ſelues alſo require to the conſecration thereof, the intention of the Miniſter, which if it be not deuoute and religious, the ſacrifice fayleth: ſo that an impure intention alſo defileth your Maſſe.

Thirdly, the Prophet ſpeaketh of ſuch an offering as was not in vſe amongſt the Iewes: ſaying, *I will not accept an offering at your hands*, verſ. 10. but prayer was in vſe amongſt them: *Ergo.* Againe, the Prophet ſpeaking directly to the Prieſts, verſ. 6. *Thus ſaith the Lord of hoſtes vnto you, O ye Prieſts, &c.* and reprouing their ſacrifices, bringeth in a new kinde of offering, which a new kinde of Prieſts ſhould offer vnto God: but ſpirituall ſacrifices are common to all Chriſtians: *Ergo. Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, the Prophet ſpeaketh onely in this place of the abuſe and corruption of their externall ſacrifices, in that they offered the lame and the blinde, verſ. 8. and chap. 3. 8. *Yee haue ſpoyled me in tythes and offerings:* and he ſaith he will accept no ſuch offering at their hands: but he will be ſpirituallie worſhipped among the Gentiles. To the ſame effect he ſaith, Pſalm. 50. 9. 14. *I will take no bullocke out of thy houſe, &c. but offer vnto God praiſe:* theſe ſacrifices of praier and thankeſgiuing, though they were not altogether vnknowne to the Iewes, yet they were not ſo frequented and vſed, nor relied vpon, as the other externall ſacrifices.

Secondly, the Prophet doth not onely reproue the hypocriſie of the Prieſts, but the deceite alſo of all the people, verſ. 14. Curſed be the deceiuer, *that hath in his flocke a male and ſacrificeth a corrupt thing:* ſo that he propheſieth of the generall ſacrifices of all Chriſtians, not of any peculiar ſort, as S. *Peter* beſt of all expoundeth this place, 1. Pet. 2. 5. *Yee are made a ſpirituall houſe, an holy Prieſthoode to offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices, &c.*

Argum. 8. Iohn 4. 23. *The houre commeth and now is, when the true worſhippers, ſhall worſhip my father in ſpirite and trueth:* By worſhip and adoration here is vnderſtoode the ſolemne worſhipping of God by ſacrifice. Firſt, the ſcope of the place giueth it: for the womans queſtion was of the worſhip of God by ſacrifice, which was tied to Ieruſalem, You ſay that Ieruſalem is the place, where men ought to worſhip, verſ. 20. but it was lawfull for the Iewes to offer ſpirituall ſacrifice in any place: therefore Chriſts anſwere muſt be of ſuch a ſacrifice which ſhould not be tied to a place, as the Iewes ſacrifice was.

Secondly, *The howre commeth, &c.* Chriſt ſpeaketh of a new adoration which was not before: but the time was alwaies to offer ſpirituall ſacrifices of praier, &c.

Thirdly, Chriſt ſpeaketh of publike and ſolemne adoration, which ſhould anſwere to the publike ſacrifices of the Iewes; but praier and thankeſgiuing may be done priuatlie: *Ergo*, he meaneth the ſolemne ſacrifice of the Maſſe, *Bellarm. cap.* 11.

Anſw. To the firſt reaſon. Firſt, though it were lawfull for the Iewes to pray otherwhere; yet prayer made in the Temple, had a more eſpeciall promiſe: and therefore it was called The houſe of prayer. Iſay. 56. 7. and *Salomon* prayeth to God at the dedication of the Temple, That whoſoeuer vpon any occaſion ſhould come and make his prayer in that houſe, God would heare in heauen euen if he were a ſtranger, 1. Reg. 8. 42. Wherefore Chriſts anſwere may include alſo the worſhip of God by prayer. Secondly, it followeth not, the worſhip of God by Sacrifice was tyed to a place, or they ſacrificed onely at Ieruſalem: *Ergo*, now they ſhall ſacrifice euery where: for by this reaſon the ſacrifices of beaſts might continue ſtill with an enlargement onely of the place: but Chriſt oppoſeth the ſpirituall worſhip of God, not limited to any place, againſt their carnall ſacrifices appendant to the Temple.

Secondly, though the time was alwayes for ſpirituall Sacrifice, yet neither was it ſo generall vnder the law, as vnder Chriſt, whoſe name is called vpon amongſt the Gentiles: And againe they were notwithſtanding bound to the externall Sacrifices, which now are aboliſhed by this ſpirituall worſhip: which ſeemeth in theſe two reſpects to be a new worſhip. Secondly, Chriſt ſaith, *The houre now is*; but as yet the Euchariſt was not inſtituted, nor the Sacrifice thereof, and therefore at this time God could not be ſo worſhipped by Sacrifice.

Thirdly, the argument followeth not, prayer may be vſed priuately: *Ergo*, it cannot be the publike ſeruice of God: *For the houſe of God is called the houſe of prayer*: therefore this publike ſpirituall worſhip doth anſwere to the ſolemne carnall ſacrifices. Secondly, neither is your Maſſe alway publike, neyther in reſpect of the place, ſeeing you allow it to be ſaid in houſes; nor in reſpect of the perſons, for the Prieſt and his boy may diſpatch a Maſſe.

Laſtly, that this place cannot be vnderſtood of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, it is thus euident. Firſt, Chriſt ſaith, *The houre is*; but at that time the ſacrifice was not inſtituted. Secondly, this worſhip is in ſpirite, as God is a ſpirite: but in the Maſſe they vrge a carnall, not a ſpirituall preſence. Thirdly, God muſt be worſhipped in trueth: but the carnall preſence is a monſtrous lie. Fourthly, *The Father requireth ſuch to worſhip him*, verſ.23. But God no where in Scripture teacheth any ſuch carnall preſence, nor requireth vs ſo to worſhip him.

Argum.9. That which Chriſt did in his laſt Supper, hee commaunded his Apoſtles to do the ſame: but Chriſt offered himſelfe vp to his Father, vnder the forme of bread and wine: *Ergo*, Chriſt is offered vp in the ſacrifice of the Maſſe: *Bellarm.cap.12.* That Chriſt offered vp himſelfe in his laſt ſupper, he thus laboureth to proue.

Firſt, S.*Luke* ſaith, *This is my bodie, which is giuen, and my blood, which is ſhedde*, not, (which ſhall be:) ſo that in that very inſtant Chriſts body and blood was offered vnto God, and (*for you*) ſaith Chriſt, (not vnto you:) and (*for many*) as S. *Matthew* hath, Matth.26.28. ſo that it was a ſacrifice then offered to God, not for them there preſent, to whom it was miniſtred, but for many beſide.

Anſw. Firſt, the Scripture doth often ſpeake of that which is to come, as preſent, becauſe it is as certaine before God, as alreadie done: as Iohn 5.24. *He that beleeueth, hath euerlaſting life*, Ioh.10.15. *I lay downe my life for my ſheep*: yet Chriſt had not yet laid it down: likewiſe Exod.12.11. *It is the Lords Paſſeouer, for I will paſſe, &c.* the Lord had not yet paſſed ouer; yet hee ſaith, *It is the Lords Paſſeouer*, in the preſent tence: So, *My bodie is giuen, and my blood is ſhedde*: that is, it ſhall be as ſurely giuen, and ſhedde, as if it were now done.

Secondly, I do vrge *Bellarmines* owne words againſt himſelfe, who elſewhere ſaith, that theſe words, *Which is ſhedde for you for the remiſſion of ſinnes*; do not ſignifie, that his blood is drunke for remiſſion of ſinnes, but that it was ſhedde for remiſſion of ſinnes, *& hoc per Euchariſtiam repræſentari*: and that this is repreſented in the Euchariſt, *lib.4 de Euchar.c.19.reſp. ad argum.3.* If Chriſts blood be not then drunke for remiſſion of ſinnes in the Sacrament, as he confeſſeth; it is not ſhed, for the ſame thing is drunke, that is ſhedde: and if the ſhedding of Chriſtes blood be onely repreſented in the Euchariſt, then it is not ſhedde. Thirdly, it is falſe that Chriſts bodie was not giuen to the Apoſtles in the Euchariſt, for the text is plaine, *He gaue the bread vnto them, and likewiſe the cup*: and whereas *Matthew* ſaith, *for many*, it is euident that he ſpeaketh of Chriſts death, for the Sacrament is onely profitable to them that receiue it. Fourthly, if theſe words, *which is giuen for you*, are ſo materiall to proue the Maſſe a ſacrifice, why are they left out in the Canon of the Maſſe?

Secondly, S.*Paul* ſaith, *Which is broken for you*, ſignifying Chriſts bodie, for bread is not broken for them, but to them: and S. *Luke* ſaith, *This cuppe (is the new teſtament in my blood) which is ſhed for you (which cuppe)* for ſo is the conſtruction in the Greeke: ſo that the blood, as it was in the cuppe, was then ſhed. *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, S.*Paul* maketh euidently againſt them, for Chriſts bodie is not broken in the Sacrament, but bread: *the bread, which we breake*, 1.Cor.10.16. ſo that theſe words, *which is broken for you*, muſt be referred to the breaking and tormenting of Chriſts bodie vpon the Croſſe. Secondly, S.*Luke* muſt be expounded by S. *Matthew*, who ſaith, τὸ αἷμα ἐκχυνόμενον, *The blood, which is ſhed*, not τὸ ποτήριον ἐκχυνόμενον, *The cuppe which is ſhed*, as S.*Luke* hath it: which ſome thinke ſhould be read ἐκχυνομένῳ, in the datiue caſe, as S. *Baſile* readeth to anſwere vnto *blood*, in the ſame caſe: And againe, in proper ſpeaking, the cuppe cannot be ſaid to be ſhed, and blood in the cuppe we acknowledge none to be ſhed but wine onely. Vide Bez in hunc locum.

Thirdly, *Bellarmine* thus reaſoneth againſt the Lutheranes, who holde a carnall preſence, the blood and fleſh of Chriſt are verily in the Euchariſt, as the blood and fleſh, *occiſi & mortui corporis*, of a ſlaine and dead bodie, and therefore they are conſecrated apart; the body by it ſelfe, and the blood by it ſelfe: Chriſt is then preſent as a Sacrifice killed and ſlaine: *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Let the Lutheranes here anſwere for themſelues; this argument doth not force vs at all, holding no ſuch carnall preſence: I will onely note the notable contradiction of *Bellarmine*, who elſe where affirmeth that the bodie of Chriſt is not in the Euchariſt, as *exanimum, exangue, mortuum:* as without life, without blood, or dead, becauſe Chriſt now dieth no more: *lib.4. de Eucha* c.21. *argum*.3. But here he ſaith, it is preſent as a ſlaine and dead bodie: therefore his owne anſwere ſhall ſuffice for his owne obiection.

Argum.8. S. *Paul* ſaith, 1.Cor.10.16. *The cuppe of bleſſing, which we bleſſe, is it not the communion of the blood of Chriſt, &c.* verſ.18. *They which eate of the ſacrifices are partakers of the altar, &c.* verſe.20. *Thoſe things which the Gentiles ſacrifice, they ſacrifice to diuels.* verſe.21. *Ye cannot drinke the cuppe of the Lord, and the cuppe of diuels, you cannot be partakers of the Lords table, and the table of diuels.* From this place *Bellarmine* reaſoneth thus, Such as was the table of diuels, ſuch is the Lords table: but that table was the altar of idols, *Ergo*, the Lords table is an altar. Againe, as the Iewes did eate the ſacrifices, and ſo were made partakers of the altar, and the Gentiles by eating of idolatrous ſacrifices were partakers of diuels: ſo we by eating the fleſh and drinking the blood of Chriſt are made partakers of him. c.14.

Anſw. Firſt, the table of diuels was not the altar of the Idols, but they had beſide their altars, tables in the Idol temples, whereat they did feaſt. 1.Corinth.8.10. *If any man ſee thee ſit at table in the Idols temple*: therefore as their tables were not their altars, no more is the Lords table an Altar. Secondly, the argument followeth not, they were made partakers of the externall altar by eating externall Sacrifices: *Ergo*, ſo are we made partakers of Chriſt by an externall Sacrifice: for as their altar was externall, ſo their ſacrifices were externall; but as our Altar is ſpirituall, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *We haue an Altar*, Heb.13.10. ſo our eating and drinking muſt be ſpirituall: and the Apoſtle himſelfe putteth this difference, verſe.18. *Behold Iſrael which is after the fleſh:* ſignifying, that they were delighted in fleſhie ſacrifices, becauſe they were after the fleſh, but we being after the ſpirit, muſt be exerciſed in ſpirituall ſacrifices. Thirdly, that we are effectuallie ioyned vnto Chriſt, by a ſpirituall coniunction, though we carnallie eate him not, the Apoſtle ſheweth, *He that is ioyned to the Lord is one ſpirite*, 1.Cor.6.17. And if while the materiall Altar ſtoode, they might be partakers of it in heart and deſire, though they did not eate of the ſacrifices, as *Dauid* being abſent from the temple ſaith, *My ſoule fainteth for the courts of the Lord, &c. euen for thine Altars*, Pſalm.84.1.3. much more may we now in ſpirit and by faith, communicate with the true Altar and ſacrifice: And ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr.13.10. *Wee haue an altar, whereof they haue no authoritie to eate, which ſerue in the Tabernacle: Ergo* they, which ſerue not in the Tabernacle, but haue left the ceremonies of the law may eate thereof, partly by faith and ſpirituallie, partly in the Euchariſt ſacramentallie, which Chriſt hath commaunded to be done in remembrance of him. And thus farre of their arguments for the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

The Proteſtants.

THat there are ſpirituall ſacrifices remaining yet vnto Chriſtians in the exerciſe of religion, we doe verilie beleeue, being ſo taught by the Scriptures: ſuch are the ſacrifices of praiſe and thankeſgiuing, Hebr.13.15. The ſacrifice of almes and diſtribution, verſ.16. the mortifying alſo of the fleſh, is a kinde of crucifying, and ſo a ſpirituall ſacrifice, Galath.6.14. And in this ſenſe we denie not, but that the Sacrament may be called a ſacrifice, that is, a ſpirituall oblation of praiſe and thankeſgiuing: but that there is a proper and externall ſacrifice, as in the lawe of Goates and Bullocks, vpon the croſſe of the bodie of Chriſt; ſo in the Euchariſt, of the ſame bodie and fleſh of Chriſt: we doe holde it for a great blaſphemie, and hereſie.

Argum.1. The very fleſh, and true naturall bodie of Chriſt, is not, as we haue ſhewed before at large, in ſuch carnall and corporall manner preſent in the Sacrament: therefore it cannot in the Sacrament be ſacrificed, and offered vp.

Argum.2. This ſacrificing of the bodie and blood of Chriſt is contrarie to Chriſts inſtitution: for he ſaith onely, *Take ye, eate ye, drinke ye*: he ſaith not, Sacrifice ye, or lift vp, and make an oblation of my bodie. Neither doe thoſe words, *hoc facite*, doe this, giue them any power to ſacrifice, as *Bellarmine* would haue it: for to whom he ſaith, *Eate ye, drinke ye*, to the ſame alſo he ſaith, *Doe ye*. Wherefore if doe ye, be as much as, ſacrifice ye: all Chriſtians, for whom it is lawfull to eate and drinke the Sacrament, by this rule haue authoritie to ſacrifice. Againe, the words are, *Doe this in remembrance.* We remember things abſent, and which are alreadie done and paſt: if then there be a preſent ſacrifice in the Sacrament of the bodie of Chriſt, it cannot properly be ſaid to be a memorie of his ſacrifice.

Argum.3. The Apoſtle ſaith, that Chriſt neede not to offer himſelfe often, but that he hath done once in the end of the world, Heb.9.26. And with one offering, hath he made perfit for euer them that are ſanctified, 10.14. *Ergo*, Chriſt cannot bee ſacrificed againe: for that were to make his ſacrifice vpon the croſſe imperfect.

Bellarmine anſwereth: that the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh of the bloodie and painefull ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe, which was ſufficient once to be done: but this taketh not away the vnbloodie ſacrifice, which is but an iteration of the former, whereby the fruite and efficacie of that firſt oblation is applied vnto vs, *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de miſſ.cap.*25.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle excludeth all manner iterations of the ſacrifice of Chriſt; for otherwiſe, if Chriſt ſhould now be often howſoeuer ſacrificed, the difference would not hold betweene the ſacrifices of the law which were often done, and the ſacrifice of Chriſt, which was once to bee performed: as the Apoſtle ſetteth it downe, Hebr.10.11. *Euery prieſt appeareth daily miniſtring, and oftimes offreth one manner offring, &c. but this man after he had offred one ſacrifice for ſinne, &c.* and their ſacrifices were alſo in a manner iterations and commemorations of the ſacrifice of Chriſt. The Apoſtle then thus reaſoneth; They had many iteratiue and commemoratiue ſacrifices of Chriſts death: *Ergo,* we haue not now. Secondly, that is but a fooliſh and falſe diſtinction of the bloodie and vnbloodie ſacrifice, as they vnderſtand it: for there can bee no proper vnbloodie ſacrifice of Chriſt, neither could he be offered vp, otherwiſe then by dying, Heb.9.27.28. Therefore he is not offered vp in the Sacrament, becauſe now he dyeth not. Thirdly, neither neede wee inuent a new kinde of ſacrifice, for the application of Chriſts death: for to that end Chriſt hath appointed the preaching of the worde, and inſtituted the Sacraments; whereby the death of Chriſt, with all the benefits thereof, are moſt fruitfully applied vnto vs, Galath.3.1. S.*Paul* ſaith, that Chriſt was deſcribed in their ſight, and as crucified: that is, by the preaching of the Goſpell. 1.Corinth.11.verſ.26. *As oft as ye eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye ſhew the Lords death till he come.*

Bellarmine replieth: firſt, though the death of Chriſt be applied by the preaching of the word and adminiſtration of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper: yet it may be applied alſo by the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, which in this behalfe is not ſuperfluous, no more then Baptiſme is, by which alſo Chriſts death is applied. Secondly, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the bloodie and painfull ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe, it appeareth by the words following, verſ.26. *for then he muſt haue often ſuffered, &c. Bellar.c.*25.*reſp.ad argum.*2.

Contra. Firſt, Baptiſme is not ſuperfluous in applying and ſhewing forth Chriſts death, though to the ſame end we haue the preaching of the word and the other Sacrament, becauſe they are all of Chriſts inſtitution, ſo is not the Maſſe. Againe, they applie Chriſts death diuerſly; Baptiſme as the ſeale of our regeneration; the Euchariſt as a ſigne of our ſpirituall feeding vpon Chriſts death; the word preached as a worker of our faith: ſo that none of them are ſuperfluous. But the Maſſe is ſuperfluous, becauſe the remembrance and ſhewing forth of Chriſts death is as fully ſet forth in the Sacrament without a ſacrifice.

Secondly, the words of the Apoſtle make againſt their vnbloodie ſacrifice: for thus the Apoſtle reaſoneth, Hebr.9.25. *not that he ſhould offer himſelfe often, &c. for then muſt he haue often ſuffered.* Chriſt cannot bee offered without ſuffering, but hee ſuffred but once: *Ergo,* he was offered but once.

*Argum.*4. Chriſt ſaith, *This cup is the new teſtament in my blood:* we reaſon then thus; The ſame thing cannot bee both the teſtament, and the matter teſtamentarie, or which is teſtified; the Euchariſt is the publike inſtrument or teſtament; the ſacrifice of Chriſts death is the thing teſtified: *Ergo,* the Euchariſt is not the ſacrifice: for a ſacrifice is a thing from vs offered to God, a teſtament is a ſeale of Gods promiſe exhibited to vs.

Bellarmine anſwereth, the Euchariſt in diuers reſpects is both a ſacrifice and a teſtament: a ſacrifice, as it is offered vnto God; a teſtament, as it is an authenticall inſtrument of Gods promiſe toward vs. So we reade, Exod.24. *This is the blood of the teſtament, that God hath appointed.* Like as then the ſacrifices of the law were ſignes of Gods couenant and teſtament, and yet true ſacrifices notwithſtanding: ſo the blood of Chriſt is both the ſacrifice, and the ſigne of Gods teſtament and couenant, *cap.*24.*reſponſ.ad argum.*1.

Contra. Firſt, wee graunt, that a teſtament cannot bee ratified without blood, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Heb.9.18. and therefore the blood of the ſacrifice is alſo a ratification of the teſtament: but there the ſacrifice was one thing, the teſtament another: the ſacrifices of the law were of beaſts, the teſtament had relation to Chriſt: So then the ſacrifices of the law were true ſacrifices, & ſignes alſo of the ſacrifice of Chriſt, which was diuers from the ſacrifices of the law: But here they make the ſame thing to be both the ſacrifice it ſelfe, and the ratification or teſtament of the ſame ſacrifice, which cannot be.

Secondly, there cannot bee ſuch diuers reſpects, as to make the ſame thing, at the ſame inſtant, to be both the ſigne, and the thing ſignified: and therefore in the Euchariſt there cannot be both the ſacrifice it ſelfe, and the teſtification thereof, what reſpects ſoeuer can bee pretended: for this were to make a thing abſent, preſent at the ſame time: for that which is ſacrificed muſt bee preſent, that which is repreſented and remembred is abſent: Chriſts bodie therefore being repreſented in the Euchariſt, cannot be then and there ſacrificed.

*Argum.*5. If there were remaining ſtill in the Church a reall externall ſacrifice, then there muſt be alſo a reall and externall prieſthood,and ſo a multitude of ſacrificing prieſts: but this is contrarie to the Scripture,that maketh this difference betweene the law and the Goſpel,that then there were many prieſts,*becauſe they were not ſuffered to endure by reaſon of death: but now Chriſt hath an euerlaſting prieſthood*,Heb.7.23.24.So that he is the only prieſt of the Goſpell: *Ergo*,there being no more ſacrificing prieſts, there is no ſuch ſacrifice: for it were a derogation to the euerlaſting prieſthood of Chriſt,to ordaine other prieſts beſide.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, it is no more derogation to Chriſts prieſthood to conſtitute inferiour prieſts vnder him,then it is to his paſtoral and propheticall office to ſubſtitute inferiour paſtors,miniſters and teachers vnder him: and as *Aaron* while he liued had other inferiour prieſts, and a King hath vnder him inferiour officers and gouernours; ſo Chriſt may haue other inferiour prieſts, as his vicars and miniſters. Secondly, the Apoſtle excludeth onely the multiplying of prieſts in the ſame degree and power,not of inferiour prieſts,that are but Chriſts miniſters,*Bellar. cap.25.reſp.ad argum.*1.

Contra. Firſt, the compariſon betweene inferiour ſacrificing prieſts, and inferiour preaching paſtors vnder Chriſt is not like: 1. Becauſe Chriſt hath giuen cōmandement for the one,*Go teach and baptize*,Matth.28.but no where are they commanded againe to ſacrifice Chriſt.And Epheſ.4. verſ.11.the Apoſtle ſheweth,that the callings of Apoſtles,Prophets,Euangeliſts,Paſtors,teachers are giuen of Chriſt: but prieſts are not there named. 2. Becauſe there is neceſſitie of preaching, *Woe is me if I preach not*,1.Cor.9.16.and ſuch offices are neceſſarie in the Church,*for the gathering together of the Saints,for the work of the miniſterie,and the edification of the bodie of Chriſt*,Epheſ.4.12. but of ſacrifices and ſacrificing prieſts there is no neceſſitie at all. 3. There is in paſtors and teachers but an outward ſeruice and miniſtrie onely,the efficacie is of God: *Paul planteth, Apollo watereth,God giueth encreaſe*,1.Cor.3. but Chriſts paſtorall and propheticall office giueth the inward encreaſe and vertue, to the which the outward miniſtrie is not derogatorie: but vnto the ſacrificing prieſthood they aſcribe an efficacious power to make Chriſts bodie,and to work atonement by it, and ſo ioyne them as fellow-workers with Chriſt in the ſpirituall worke,which is great impietie.

Secondly, *Aaron* had other inferiour prieſts for other ſacrifices and ſeruices: but he himſelfe onely entred into the holie place with the blood of reconciliation, Exod.30.10. This office did reſt in him perſonally: but the Papiſts in this office of ſacrificing the blood of reconciliation ioyne in commiſſion their prieſts with Chriſt himſelfe. A King hath other miniſters,becauſe he is a man, and cannot execute euery part himſelfe, yet his ſoueraigntie and princely prerogatiues he giueth not to any other: but Chriſt is an abſolute prieſt, and is able to execute euery part of his prieſthood himſelfe: and this being a prerogatiue of his perſon to be a prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*, cannot be deputed to another.

Thirdly,they bring in a multitude of prieſts in the ſame higheſt degree of prieſthood, to ſacrifice the bodie of Chriſt,and to make reconciliation by it: nay,they make their prieſts ſuperiour to Chriſt: for he offered but his bodie in earth, they ſacrifice it being in heauen: Chriſt offered his bodie but in one place,they in many places; he a bodie borne of the Virgin, they make him a bodie out of bread; Chriſt without a miracle offered his bodie to the death, they ſacrifice him miraculouſly without death: and they make their ſacrificing prieſts alſo after the order of *Melchiſedech*,as Chriſt himſelfe is.

Fourthly,the Apoſtle excludeth all ſucceſſion or multiplying of prieſts, but onely where they are taken away by death: *Ergo*, ſeeing Chriſt euer liueth and dieth not, there is no other prieſt but he.

Argum.6. Our Sauiour ſaid vpon the croſſe, *Conſummatum eſt*, It is finiſhed, Ioh.19.30. *Ergo*, the ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe being perfect and ſufficient,all other ſacrifices beſide are ſuperfluous.

Bellarmine anſwereth,that theſe words,*it is finiſhed*,doe ſignifie that al the prophecies of Chriſts paſſion were accompliſhed,not that all things were done neceſſarie to ſaluation: for then the Sacraments,and all doctrine ſhould be ſuperfluous,*ibid cap.*25.

Contra. Firſt, all prophecies of Chriſts paſſion were not finiſhed, when he ſpake theſe words, for hee had not yet giuen vp the ghoſt: after which time the Euangeliſt ſheweth the fulfilling of two prophecies, as touching the piercing of his ſide out of *Zacharie*,verſ.37.and of the not breaking of his bones out of *Moſes*,verſ.36. Secondly, that Chriſt meaneth the perfection and conſummation of his ſacrifice vpon the croſſe, the Apoſtle ſheweth, Hebr.10.14. with one offering, τετελείωκεν, *conſummauit*, hee hath conſummated thoſe that are ſanctified: where the very ſame word is vſed both in the Greeke and vulgar Latine,whereby the Euangeliſt expreſſeth the conſummation and perfection of Chriſts croſſe. Thirdly, the perfection of Chriſts ſacrifice taketh not away the vſe of doctrine and Sacraments,which doe but ſet before vs the death and ſacrifice of death: but it is a barre to all other ſacrifices,which if they bee but memorials of Chriſts death,are ſuper-

fluous,

ſluous,doctrine and the Sacraments being ſufficient to that end : if they bee more then memorials,as auailable to forgiue ſinnes,they are blaſphemous,and make Chriſts ſacrifice imperfect.

*Argum.*7. Saint *Paul* ſaith,*Chriſt dieth now no more,*Rom.6.9.but he that is ſacrificed dieth:*Ergo,*Chriſt is not ſacrificed. The firſt part is thus prooued : firſt, from the vſe of the ſacrifices,which were firſt killed,before they were offered. Againe,where a ſacrifice is, the teſtament is confirmed, Heb.9.20.but where a teſtament is,there is death,*ibid.*17.*Ergo.* Further, there is no remiſſion of ſinnes without blood,verſ.22. but in the Maſſe there is remiſſion of ſinnes : *Ergo,* there is blood, and conſequently death.

Bellarmine anſwereth : firſt,the death of the ſacrifice is not neceſſarie, but where a thing liuing is offered in the forme of a liuing thing : but Chriſt is ſacrificed vnder the forme of bread and wine. Secondly, the Maſſe is not a teſtament, but a repetition of the teſtament confirmed in Chriſts death. Thirdly,the Apoſtle ſpeaketh onely of the legall ſacrifices, where there was no remiſſion of ſinnes without blood : or the Apoſtles meaning onely is, that there is no remiſſion of ſins, but in the vertue of the ſhedding of blood : and ſo in the Maſſe there is the vertue of Chriſts blood,though it be not ſhed,*reſp.ad argum.*3.

Contra. Firſt,that thing is killed,that is ſacrificed : if bread and wine be ſacrificed,they being dead things neede not bee killed : But if the ſacrifice be of Chriſt,he muſt be killed,what formeſoeuer you pretend of the ſacrifice. Secon[illegible],if the Maſſe be but a repetition of a teſtament alreadie confirmed,then it is no ſacrifice,but a memoriall onely: for where a ſacrifice is,a teſtament is ratified and confirmed,not repeated onely. Thirdly,S.*Paul* ſpeaketh not properly of the legall ſacrifices,for they *did not ſanctifie the conſcience,*verſ.9. *Ergo,* they gaue no remiſſion of ſinnes : And if the vertue of Chriſts blood be onely in the Maſſe,it is ſufficient alſo to haue the vertue of his ſacrifice : for to expreſſe the vertue of Chriſts blood,a new ſacrifice neede not,a Sacrament to that purpoſe is ſufficient.

*Argum.*8. In euery ſacrifice there is a conſecration of the thing ſacrificed from a prophane to an holie vſe,as the Paſchal Lambe was ſet apart foure daies,before it was eaten,Exod.12.4.there muſt alſo be an oblation vnto God : but in the Maſſe,there is nothing conſecrated but bread and wine,nothing offered but bread and wine : for in the inſtitution after the conſecration in theſe words,*this is my bodie,*immediatly follow,*take ye, eate ye :* there is no mention made at all of any oblation to God: *Ergo,*if there be any ſacrifice, it is of bread and wine onely.

Bellarmine anſwereth : firſt,that the bread is conſecrated by being turned into the moſt holie bodie of Chriſt. Secondly,the very placing of that holie thing vpon the altar, is an oblation and offering of it to God,*Bellarm.c.*27.

Contra. Firſt,if bread bee conſecrated,then bread is ſacrificed: for the ſame thing is ſacrificed, that is conſecrated : if the bodie of Chriſt bee conſecrated, then was it before prophane and vnholie : let him chuſe which part he will. Secondly,if the very placing vpon the Communion table (for Altar we acknowledge none)be an oblation,then bread and wine are offered : for they only are there exhibited and placed. Chriſts bodie is placed in heauen,his place is not on the earth.

*Argum.*9. *Auguſtine* in a certaine place allegorizing the parable of the prodigall childe,thus writeth,*Vitulum occidit, quando in ſacramento altaris memoriam paſſionis in mente renouauit :* He ſlew the fat calfe,when he renued in the Sacrament of the altar,the memorie of his paſſion in his mind. He calleth it the Sacrament, not the ſacrifice of the altar : and it onely bringeth to our minde the memorie of Chriſts paſſion and ſacrifice: there is then no oblation or ſacrifice in the Sacrament, but onely a commemoration of Chriſts ſacrifice,which we denie not.

Ad fratres in erem.

Bernard alſo witneſſeth here very plentifully for the truth : *Sicut Chriſtus adhuc quodammodo immolatur quotidie donec mortem eius annuntiamus, ſic videtur & naſci dum fideliter eius natiuitatem repræſentamus: In Vigil.natal.ſer.*6. As Chriſt is daily offered vp,while we doe ſhew forth his death, ſo he ſeemeth to be borne,when we faithfully repreſent his natiuitie. The reaſon is this, as Chriſt is borne daily,ſo is he ſacrificed;but he is borne onely by a godly remembrance of his birth: *Ergo,* he no otherwiſe dieth or is ſacrificed.

Againe,*Voluit Chriſtus,vt iugiter recoleretur per myſterium, quod ſemel offerebatur in precium,&c.* Chriſt his will is, that it ſhould bee daily remembred in myſterie which was once offered vp for our price,and that the euerlaſting ſacrifice ſhould liue in our godly memorie, and bee preſent alwaies in grace : for Chriſt ought not to be crucified againe,but it is a ſufficient remedie,if by faith and imitation,we keepe his death in remembrance. Chriſts ſacrifice then, is onely renued by a godly remembrance thereof,and a faithfull imitation of his death,and no otherwiſe.

Serm.in cœn. Dom.

*Argum.*10. Let vs ſee alſo their owne teſtimonies : *Damaſus epiſtol.*4. *Menſæ Domini participes,&c.* Let them be partakers onely of the Lords table. So alſo S.*Hierom.libr.de 7.ordinib. Ipſis ſacerdotibus de menſa Domini,&c.* It is not lawfull for the Prieſts,without preſumption, to take the cup from the Lords table,vnleſſe it be giuen them of the Deacon. Where a table is then,and not an altar,there can be no ſacrifice.

*Gregor.Moral.lib.*1*.c.*10. *Sine intermiſſione pro nobis holocauſtum redemptor immolat,&c.* The Redeemer without ceaſing doth immolate a burnt-offring for vs,in demonſtrating or ſhewing vnto his father his incarnation. *Innocent.*3*.in conuerſion.S.Pauli: Sanguis ipſius,&c.*His blood cryeth alwaies to God for vs. *Gabriel Biel in cœnam.lect.*61. *Ad quem pertinet & pro peccatis offerre,&c. repræſentatione ſui ad patrem:*It belongeth to him to offer for our ſinnes,&c.by preſenting himſelfe to his father,&c.If then the preſenting of Chriſt in heauen, bee our burnt-offring, the crying of his blood,an offring for ſinne; then it is ſuperfluous to ſacrifice him, or to offer and preſent him to God in the earth?

And if they will allow that definition of a ſacrifice in the decrees.*Par.*2*.cauſ.*1*.qu.*1*.c.*84.*Sacrificium quaſi ſacrum factum,&c.* A ſacrifice,that is made ſacred or holie, being conſecrate to the memorie of the Lordes paſſion. Thus is the Euchariſt a ſacrifice without the Maſſe, for it is an holie action inſtituted for the remembrance of Chriſts paſſion. If it bee then but a repreſentation of Chriſts ſacrifice,it is not the reall and externall ſacrifice it ſelfe. Likewiſe, *Decr.par.*3*.diſt.*2*.c.*51. *Quod factum,&c.*That which was once done,is done in our memorie euery yeere. *C.*53. *Quod nos facimus,in commemorationem fit eius,&c.* That which wee doe,is done for the remembrance of him. So then the Euchariſt is not a ſacrifice of a thing preſent, but a commemoration of Chriſt abſent. *In diſtinctione membrorum ſemel tantum,&c.* In the diſtinction of his members he hanged but once vpon the croſſe offring himſelfe,&c.*cap.*52*.ibid.* Chr[illegible]hen cannot be ſacrificed without diſtinction of his members; which diſtinction being not in the Maſſe, when he is imagined to bee in a leſſe roome then the compaſſe of a ſpanne,he cannot be there ſacrificed.

This truth hath the plentifull teſtimonie of the holie Martyrs,whoſe effectuall reaſons and ſubſtantiall arguments againſt the Idolatrous ſacrifice of the Maſſe, wee haue ſet downe together in the treatiſe annexed to this controuerſie: to the which place I referre the reader.

AN APPENDIX OR THIRD PART, OF the name and office of Prieſts.

The Papiſts.

32.Error. AS they doe falſely teach and perſwade,that there is yet remaining a proper externall ſacrifice for Chriſtians vnder the Goſpell, ſo alſo they maintaine a ſacrificing Prieſthood. And further they ſay,that the Leuiticall Prieſthood was not tranſlated into the ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe,but is properly turned into the Prieſthood and ſacrifice in the Church, according to *Melchiſedechs* rite,in offring vp the bodie and blood of Chriſt in the formes of bread and wine, *Rhemiſt.annot.Hebr.*7*.ſect.*7. Wherefore they which miniſter vnder the Goſpell, are worthilie called Prieſts: which worde doth ſo certainly implie the authoritie of ſacrificing, that it is by vſe made the onely Engliſh of *Sacerdos,Rhemiſt.Act.*14*.ſect.*3.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt,we hold it to be a great blaſphemie to ſay, that the Prieſthood and ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe, is not that ſacrifice or Prieſthood into the which the olde ſacrifice and Prieſthood was tranſlated and chaunged. The Apoſtleproueth the contrarie: for that ſacrifice, whereby the new teſtament is eſtabliſhed,is that, wheriunto the old ſacrifice and Prieſthood is tranſlated: but this is done by the ſingular ſacrifice of Chriſt,who is the ſuretie of a better teſtament, Hebr.7.23. *Ergo,*his ſingular ſacrifice vpon the croſſe,is that whereinto the old Leuiticall ſacrifices are chaunged, and no other. Againe, the Prieſthood after *Melchiſedechs* order is that, into the which the old Prieſthood is chaunged: but the Prieſthood of Chriſt vpon the croſſe was after that order. *Ergo.* But here they are not aſhamed to denie,that the ſacrifice of Chriſt vpon the croſſe was after *Melchiſedechs* order; but doe moſt impudently and blaſphemouſly affirme,that it was after the order of *Aaron: Heskin.lib.*1*.cap.*13. And thus euery vile Maſſe-monger ſhall bee more properly a prieſt after *Melchiſedechs* order,than Chriſt himſelfe.

Secondly,none but Chriſt is a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech:* for vnto whom the Lord ſaid, Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of *Melchiſedech,* to him the Lorde ſaith alſo in the ſame Pſalme, *Sit thou at my right hand.*Pſal.110.But this cannot agree to any popiſh prieſt;therefore not the other. Againe the Apoſtle maketh this difference betweene the Prieſthood of the law and the Goſpell: becauſe then there were many Prieſts, they being prohibited by death to continue: but Chriſt is the onely prieſt of the new Teſtament,becauſe he dieth not,Heb.7.23.24. If they anſwere,as they doe,that although there be many prieſts, yet it is but one Prieſthood, becauſe Chriſt concurreth with them in the acts of the Prieſthood,*Rhemiſt.*

We anſwere: firſt,Chriſt concurreth with his faithfull miniſters in the acts of their Miniſterie: but no ſuch Prieſthood doe we acknowledge. Secondly,ſo Chriſt concurred in the acts of the Leuiticall Prieſthood,& the ſacrifices of the law that were rightly offred: wherfore this concurrence of Chriſt doth no more take away the multitude of prieſts in the Goſpell,than it did in the law.

Thirdly, concerning the name of Prieſts in their ſenſe, as it implieth an authoritie of ſacrificing, we vtterly abhorre it. Secondly, but as it is deriued of the Greeke word πρεσβύτερος, which ſignifieth an Elder, we refuſe it not, but wiſh rather, that it had not been abuſed in common ſpeech to ſignifie popiſh ſacrificers. Thirdly, as for the word (*ſacerdos*) which may be engliſhed a ſacrificer, wee finde it no where in the new Teſtament giuen to the Miniſters of the Goſpell, and ſo much *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, *cap.*17. And therefore vnfitly and vnproperly agreeth vnto them. If ſome of the fathers haue confounded the names of *Sacerdos* and *Preſbyter*, they are not to bee commended. The word *Sacerdos*, a ſacrificer, being a proper name of the Leuiticall Prieſts, cannot properly bee attributed to the Miniſters of the Goſpell. To conclude, this word (*Prieſt*) as it is the Engliſh of *Sacerdos*, we doe not approue: but as it giueth the ſenſe of (*Preſbyter*) from whence it is deriued, we condemne it not: for ſo it ſignifieth nothing elſe but an Elder. If common vſe of ſpeech haue drawne it to a contrarie ſenſe, it would be amended.

Bellarmine anſwereth, the Apoſtles in their writings vſe not the words of prieſt, ſacrifice, temple, altar, and ſuch like; becauſe the Iewiſh ſacrifices and prieſthood were yet in force, leſt they might bee thought, by vſing theſe words, to renew and confirme the rites of the Iewes: but afterward, when as the temple was deſtroyed, theſe names began to bee vſed of the ancient fathers, *Bellarm. cap.*17.*lib.*1.*de Miſſa.*

Contra. Firſt, it is vntrue that the Apoſtles in the Scripture forbeare at all to vſe theſe names: for in the new Teſtament euery one of theſe names is found, but in a ſpirituall ſenſe, as the Apoſtle taketh the Temple for the Church of God, 1.Cor.3.16. 2.Cor.6. Againe, the Apoſtles ſpeake of ſpirituall ſacrifices, Rom.12.1. Heb.13. and the Apoſtle in the ſame chapter ſaith, *we haue an altar, &c.* meaning the altar of the croſſe. And Reuel.1.6. *He hath made vs Kings and Prieſts*, that is ſpiritually: wherefore it is a great vntruth, that the Apoſtles did of purpoſe ſhunne theſe names, for any ſuch cauſe alleaged, ſeeing they euery where vſe them.

Secondly, it cannot be denied, but that this word (*ſacerdos*) a prieſt, is taken by ſome of the ancient fathers, for an office of the Goſpell: but they vnderſtand not then a ſacrificing prieſt, but either the ſame, which was called (*Preſbyter*) a teaching Elder, as *Damaſus epiſtol.*4. *Chorepiſcopi miniſterio preſbyterorum contenti ſint, &c.* Let the countrie Biſhops be contented onely with the miniſtrie of the Presbyters, and bee partakers onely of the Lordes table; A table is for miniſters, not for prieſts: Or elſe they expreſſed it by this word (*miniſter*) a miniſter; as *Cornelius epiſtol.*2. *Epiſcopi & miniſtri, &c.* Biſhops and Miniſters muſt not frequent riotous feaſts. *Arelatenſ.*1.2. *Miniſtri fœnerantes*, That Miniſters ſhould not bee vſurers: Or elſe they vnderſtood this word ſpiritually. *Ambroſ.lib.*5.*in Luc. Omnes filij eccleſiæ ſacerdotes, &c.* All the children of the Church are prieſts, offering themſelues ſpirituall ſacrifices to God. So alſo *Origen, Hom.*9.*in Leuitic. Petrus ad omnem dicit eccleſiam, &c. Peter* ſaith to the whole Church, ye are a royall prieſthood. But a ſacrificing prieſt by this word (*ſacerdos*) they vnderſtood not: for (*ſacrificans*, or *ſacrificulus*) a ſacrificer was taken for an Idolatrous prieſt of the Idols of the Gentiles, as S. *Cyprian* vſeth it, *Epiſt.*3.*ad Cornelium: Hi quinque cum paucis vel ſacrificantibus, vel male ſibi conſcijs, &c.* Theſe fiue with a few ſacrificers, or men of a guiltie conſcience, did adopt *Fortunatus* to be their falſe Biſhop.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Sacerdotium Iudæorum nemo dubitat, &c.* No faithfull man doubteth, but that the Prieſthood of the law was a figure of the royall Prieſthood in the Church, whereby all that pertaine to the bodie of Chriſt are conſecrated. He acknowledgeth no other Prieſthood abiding in the Church, then that whereby all Chriſtians are made Prieſts, to offer ſpirituall ſacrifices vnto God through Chriſt. Quæſt.Euangelicar.lib.2. quæſt.40.

Heare alſo what *Bernard* ſaith: *Non ſolus ſacerdos ſacrificat, non ſolus conſecrat, ſed totus fidelium cœtus, qui adſtat, cum illo conſecrat, cum illo ſacrificat*: The Prieſt onely doth not ſacrifice or conſecrate, but the whole companie of the faithfull, that ſtand by, doe conſecrate and ſacrifice with him: *Ergo*, in this ſenſe all the people are as well Prieſts, as the ſacrificer.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE VERTVE and efficacie falſely aſcribed to the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

The Papiſts.

1. THey blaſphemouſly affirme, that it is a ſacrifice propitiatorie, that is, auailable to obtaine, *ex opere operato*; by the very worke wrought, remiſſion and pardon of all their ſinnes, *Trident.Concil.ſeſſ.*22.*can.*3. 33.Error.

*Arg.*1. There were vnder the law ſacrifices truly propitiatorie, and auailable to take away ſin, as Iob.1. he ſacrificed for the ſins of his ſonnes: and Leuit.chap.4.5. there are deſcribed diuers ſacrifices for ſinne. If then the ſacrifice of the croſſe, which was ſhadowed forth in theſe ſacrifices, did not hinder them to be propitiatorie, much leſſe doth it hinder the ſacrifice of the Maſſe to bee ſuch, which is a commemoratiue alſo of the paſſion of Chriſt, *Bellar.lib.*2.*de Miſſ.c.*2.

Anſw. Firſt, the ſacrifices of the law did not truly purge ſinnes as concerning the conſcience, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Heb.9.10. but were figures onely and types of the ſacrifice of the croſſe, which *doth onely purge our conſcience from dead workes, ibid. verſ.*14. And it is vntrue, that *Bellarmine* to this replieth, that thoſe ſacrifices were figures alſo of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe and of the Euchariſt: for neither doe wee acknowledge any ſuch ſacrifice of the Maſſe; and the Euchariſt hath relation to Chriſts ſacrifice alreadie paſt, as the olde ſacrifices did ſhadow it forth then to come: ſo that the Euchariſt is not the ſubſtance of the ſhadow of ſacrifices; but the paſſion of Chriſt is the ſubſtance both of their ſacrifices and our Sacraments. Secondly, *Bellarmine* himſelfe granteth, that the legall ſacrifices did not iuſtifie men before God, as *ex opere operato*, by the work wrought, but only ſerued for the expiation of legall faults: therefore the argument followeth not from the ſacrifices of the law to the ſacrifices of the Maſſe, which he affirmeth to bee propitiatorie, *ex opere operato*. Thirdly, all this being graunted to be true of the ſacrifices of the law, yet he hath prooued nothing for the Maſſe, which we denie to be a ſacrifice.

*Argum.*2. Hebr.5.verſ.1. *Euery Prieſt is ordained to offer gifts and ſacrifices for ſinnes:* but in the Church now there are Prieſts properly ſo called: *Ergo*, they offer for ſinnes: *Bellarm. ibid. argum.*3.

Anſw. I haue ſhewed before, that there remaineth now no externall Prieſthood in the Church but onely a ſpirituall, to offer *vp ſpirituall ſacrifices to God through Chriſt*, 1.Pet.2.5. and that the true Prieſthood in the new Teſtament reſteth onely in the perſon of Chriſt: Hebr.7.26. *Such an high Prieſt it became vs to haue, which is holy, harmeleſſe, vndefiled, ſeparate from ſinners, higher than the heauens, &c.* But theſe properties are onely in Chriſt: *Ergo*, he is the onely Prieſt of the new Teſtament. This argument then beggeth the thing in queſtion, and therefore concludeth not.

*Argum.*3. Chriſt himſelfe ſaith in the inſtitution, *This is my blood ſhed for you for the remiſſion of ſinnes: Ergo*, the ſacrifice of the Maſſe is auailable for remiſſion of ſinnes: for it forgiueth ſinnes either as a ſacrifice, or a Sacrament: but as a Sacrament it is onely appointed for our ſpirituall nouriſhment: *Ergo*, as a ſacrifice, &c. *Bellar.lib.2.de miſſ.c.*2.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. First, Chriſt inſtituted no ſacrifice, as we declared before, but only a Sacrament in remembrance of his death and paſſion. Secondly, the Euchariſt as a ſacrifice neither forgiueth ſinne, nor giueth aſſurance thereof, becauſe it is no ſacrifice at all, but as a Sacrament rightly adminiſtred it ſerueth to aſſure our faith of remiſſion of ſinnes, by the death of Chriſt: which is an effect of our ſpirituall nouriſhment, to aſſure vs of our ſpirituall health, which is the remiſſion of our ſinnes: but it doth not by it owne vertue conferre remiſſion of ſinnes, neither profiteth by the worke wrought: for the Apoſtle ſaith, that *without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God*, Hebr.11.6. Wherefore no action is accepted of God, not proceeding of faith.

*Argum.*1. The Apoſtle ſaith, *Where there is remiſſion of ſinnes, there is no more ſacrifice for ſinne*, Heb.10.18. Seeing then remiſſion of ſinnes is fully obtained by the death and ſacrifice of Chriſt, there can be no more ſacrifice for ſinne: *Ergo*, the Maſſe is no ſacrifice for ſinne.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, there are two things required to the remiſſion of ſinnes: firſt, the finding out, or paying the price of our redemption. Secondly, the application thereof: The firſt is done by the ſacrifice of the croſſe, ſo that there neede no more offring for the ſatisfying for ſinne: but for the application of that remedie a ſacrifice is yet neceſſarie, which is the Maſſe: *lib.*1.*de Miſſ. c.*25.*reſp.ad argum.*2.

Contra. Firſt, the ſacrifices of the law alſo did ſerue to applie the vertue of Chriſts croſſe, and yet the Apoſtle excludeth them by this reaſon, *that where there is remiſſion of ſinnes, there is no more ſacrifice:* wherefore if the Apoſtles reaſon be good, it concludeth againſt ſacrifices applicatorie alſo. Secondly, to applie the benefit of Chriſts paſſion, a ſacrifice is not neceſſarie; God hath appointed the preaching of the word, and the miniſtration of the Sacraments to that end. Thirdly, the power of Chriſts croſſe is not ſeene onely in finding out the price of our redemption, but in giuing and conferring the ſame actually vpon all beleeuers, to whom alſo he giueth that grace to beleeue by the vertue of his croſſe: Heb.10. *With one offring hath he conſecrated for euer them that are ſanctified.*

Secondly he anſwereth, that the Maſſe doth not immediatly giue remiſſion of ſinnes, but obtaineth the gift of repentance for ſinners, whereby they are ſtirred vp, to ſeeke for remiſſion of ſinnes: And if it worke not in them repentance, as it doth not in all, yet it worketh a diſpoſition to repentance, which yet helpeth them not, becauſe they reiect the calling of God, *Bellarm.lib.*2. *de Miſſ.c.*5.

Contra. Firſt, if the ſacrifice of the Maſſe conferre not remiſſion of ſinnes, and yet you ſay the Sacrament doth conferre grace: then is the Sacrament more auailable, where Chriſt is not offered, than the ſacrifice wherein he is offered. Secondly, if the Maſſe purchaſe remiſſion of ſinne no otherwiſe but by working repentance, then is it not at all auailable for the dead, as you ſay it is, to whom repentance is not giuen. Thirdly, if in the Maſſe Chriſt were offered vp verily and indeed as you ſay, why ſhould not the Maſſe giue then remiſſion of ſinnes? which is the immediate and proper effect of the Sacrifice and Croſſe of Chriſt. Fourthly, neither doth the Maſſe giue repentance to all thoſe, for whom it is ſaid, for many of them remaine impenitent ſtill: and as for that diſpoſition you ſpeake of, ſeeing it benefiteth them not, they might as good be without it. And thus by your owne graunt, the Maſſe is altogether vnprofitable, neither auaileable to remit ſinnes, nor to giue repentance to him, that is otherwiſe diſpoſed.

*Argum.*2. Heb.9.22. *Without ſhedding of blood is no remiſſion*; but in the Maſſe, there is no ſhedding of blood: *Ergo*, no remiſſion.

Bellarmine anſwereth, firſt to the propoſition, that the Apoſtles meaning is, not that blood ſhould be ſhedde ſo often as there is remiſſion of ſinnes, but that there is no remiſſion of ſinnes, but in the vertue of the ſhedding of blood, *lib.*1.*de Miſſ.c.*25.*reſp. ad argum.*3. Secondly, to the aſſumption he ſaith, that the blood of Chriſt is really ſhedde in the oblation of the Maſſe. *ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle meaneth not the vertue of blood onely, but the actuall ſhedding of blood, verſ.22. *Almoſt all things are by the Law purged with blood, and without ſhedding of blood is no remiſſion*: as the legall purging then was by blood, ſo is the remiſſion of ſinnes by blood; but there was the very actuall ſhedding of the blood of Sacrifices: *Ergo*, conſequently there muſt be ſo in the remiſſion of ſinnes. Secondly, if Chriſts blood be really ſhedde in the Maſſe, then is Chriſt ſlaine in the Maſſe: for without death, there is no ſhedding of blood: becauſe that the ſhedding of blood is to confirme a Teſtament, and a Teſtament is not ratified but by death. Heb.7.17.

*Argum.*3. The Maſſe is no Sacrifice at all, as we haue ſhewed before: *Ergo*, it is not a Sacrifice propitiatorie: the firſt alſo may be thus further proued: The Sacrifice of Chriſt is of infinite vertue. Heb.10.14. *With one offering hath he conſecrated for euer, them that are ſanctified*: but, *Valor Miſſæ finitus*, the valour or vertue of the Maſſe is finite, *Bellarm.c.*4.*prop.*4.*lib.*2. *Ergo*, in the Maſſe Chriſt is not ſacrificed. And againe, no finite thing can conferre that which is infinite: but remiſſion of ſinnes is infinite, that is, for euer: Heb.10.17. *Their ſinnes and iniquities will I remember no more*: but the vertue of the Maſſe is finite, and therefore is often iterated: *Ergo*, it doth not conferre remiſſion of ſinnes. If it ſhall be here obiected, that this reaſon alſo may be vrged againſt the often receiuing of the Euchariſt; I anſwere, that the Euchariſt, doth not as a Sacrifice actually and really conferre remiſſion of ſinnes by the worke wrought, but onely inſtrumentally aſſure vs of remiſſion of ſinnes, by faith in the blood of Chriſt: and therefore the reaſon is not like againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and the Sacrament of the Euchariſt.

*Interrelig.cap.*22.*Chriſtum incruento & impaſſibili modo ſiſtimus patri, non vt remiſſionem peccatorum promereamur,&c.* We do after an vnbloodie and impaſſible manner preſent Chriſt to his Father, not to merite thereby remiſſion of ſinnes, but that calling to minde the memorie of the Lords Paſſion, we giue him thanks for our ſaluation purchaſed vpon the Croſſe, and by faith applie the ſame vnto vs: *Ergo*, the Maſſe in it ſelfe conferreth not remiſſion of ſinnes.

See further euidence out of their owne decrees: *part.*2.*cauſ.*1.*qu.*1.*c.*80. *Scito, quoniam ſanctum eſt, quod offertur in altari,&c.* Know, that it is holie, which is offered vpon the Altar: but thou art not ſo much ſanctified by the hoaſt, as polluted by thy dead workes. If the ſinne of the partie doth hinder the worke of the Sacrifice, then doth it not profite *ex opere operato*, by the very worke of the Sacrifice onely.

Doctor *Taylor* holy Martyr witneſſeth the ſame: Chriſts body offered vpon the Croſſe was the propitiatorie ſacrifice, full, perfect, and ſufficient vnto ſaluation, for all that beleeue in him: Our Sacrifice is onely memoratiue in the remembrance of Chriſts death and paſſion, a Sacrifice of thankeſgiuing, and other Sacrifice hath the Church of God none. p.1521.

The Papiſts.

2. THe ſacrifice of the Maſſe is not onely propitiatorie for ſinnes, but auaileable to obtaine all other benefites, as peace, tranquillitie, health, and ſuch like, *Bellarm.cap.*3. 34. Error.

*Argum.*1. The Sacrifices of the law were auaileable for obtaining of temporall benefites, as *Dauid* by his ſacrifice turned away the plague, 2.Sam.24. and the Iſraelites did offer ſacrifice for the life of *Darius* and his children, Ezra.6.10. *Ergo*, the Euchariſt is much more auaileable, *Bellarmin.c.*3.

Anſw. Firſt, the argument followeth not, for the Sacrifices of the Law being temporall and carnall, might ſerue for temporall bleſſings; as the Apoſtle ſaith, Heb.9.13. *They did ſanctifie, as touching the purifying of the fleſh*: but the euerlaſting Sacrifice of Chriſt is to procure eternall bleſſings. Secondly, the plague was ceaſed before *Dauid* ſacrificed, for the Angell was bidde to ſtay his hand, verſ.16. ſo that *Dauids* ſacrifice following, verſ.25. was rather a ſacrifice Euchariſticall, than impetratorie: and the Iſraelites are not commanded to ſacrifice, but to pray for the life of the King, verſ.10.

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* willeth, that prayers and interceſſions ſhould be made for all men, eſpecially for Kinges, that wee may leade a godly and a peaceable life, 1.Timoth.2.1. Theſe are the prayers which are made in the celebration of the Maſſe, *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh generally of all prayers, made by whomſoeuer, as it appeareth, verſ.1. Therefore this place is vnfitly applied to the prayers of Prieſts in the Maſſe. Secondly, this place proueth, that temporall benefites are obtained by faithfull prayers, not by the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, which Saint *Paul* neuer knew. Thirdly, *Auguſtine* indeed expoundeth this place of the publike prayers of the Church, vſed in the adminiſtration of the Sacrament: for he

Epiſt.59. calleth it, *Domini menſam*, the Lords table, not the Altar: hee meaneth nothing leſſe then your popiſh Maſſe.

The Proteſtants.

IT is contrary to the inſtitution of Chriſt, to apply the Sacrament for any ſuch temporall or externall vſe.

*Argum.*1. It was ordayned to be receiued in remembrance of Chriſts death, as our Sauiour ſaith, *Doe this in remembrance of mee*, to aſſure vs by faith, of remiſſion of ſinnes, and other ſpirituall bleſſings: not to giue vs aſſurance of health, peace, life, proſperitie; for the obtayning of ſuch bleſsings, according to the will of God, other meanes are appointed. The miniſterie of the Sacraments no more ſerueth for ſuch vſes, then the preaching of the word.

*Argum.*2. The Apoſtle maketh this difference betweene the legall Sacrifices, and the Sacrifice of Chriſt: *They ſanctified as touching the purifying of the fleſh: but the blood of Chriſt, which through the eternall ſpirite offred vp himſelfe, &c. doth purge our conſcience from dead workes, to ſerue the liuing God:* wherefore the end and vſe of Chriſts Sacrifice, is, to obtaine eternall redemption for vs: temporall bleſsings we obtaine alſo through him: but all his members haue them not, nor alwayes: but eternall redemption by him, all beleeuers obtaine: wherefore this onely is the ende and vſe of his Sacrifice.

And further the ancient name of this Sacrament, called the Euchariſt, of giuing of thankes, ſheweth the vſe thereof rather to be in giuing of thankes for benefites receiued, then in praying for the ſame: and ſo it may be gathered, that ſacrifices were vſed vnder the law, to teſtifie their thankefulneſſe after ſome temporall deliuerance, as from famine, or captiuitie, for the obtayning whereof they vſed publike faſting and prayer, as Ioel.2.16. *Sanctifie a faſt, call an aſſemblie, &c. Let the Prieſts weepe betweene the porch and the altar, &c.* Theſe were the meanes which they vſed in their diſtreſſe, Prayer and faſting: And againe, verſ.14. *Who knoweth, if he will returne, and leaue a bleſſing, a meate offring, and a drinke offring, &c.* Theſe Sacrifices were vſed after their deliuerance, as teſtifying their thankeſgiuing.

Let vs ſee what antiquitie ſaith, *Liberius decret.*1. *Si euenerit fames, aut peſtilentia, &c.* If there fall out a famine, or the peſtilence, &c. Let them intreat Gods mercie, with faſting, almes, prayers, &c. He ſaith not, Let a maſſe be ſaid.

*Trullan.can.*28. *Ad viuificationem, & peccatorum remiſſionem, &c.* For our quickening and the remiſsion of ſinnes, *ſolam oblationem, &c.* That they miniſter the oblation onely to the people: the oblation then in the Euchariſt ſerueth onely for remiſsion of ſinnes.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, FOR WHOM the ſacrifice of the Maſſe is auaileable.

The Papiſts.

35.Error. FIrſt, they affirme that Maſſe may be ſaid and offered for all the liuing, yea for Pagans and Infidels, for men abſent as well as preſent: for S. *Paul* willeth prayers and ſupplications to bee made for all men, 1.*Timo.*2.1. *Bellarm.cap.*6.

Secondly, the ſacrifice of the Maſſe is auaileable for the dead which are in Purgatorie, *Bellarm. cap.*7. *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.*22.*can.*3.

Thirdly, Maſſe may be rightly ſaid in the remembrance and for the honour of Saints, with inuocation of them alſo in the prayers of the Church, *Bellarm.cap.*8.

*Argum.*1. The Apoſtles taught the Church to keepe a memorie or inuocation of the Saints in this ſacrifice, and that there ſhould be ſpeciall prayers for the dead: for theſe and ſuch like were the things (no doubt) that Saint *Paul* ſaith he would ſet in order when he came, 1.Cor.11.34. *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

*Anſw.*1. To the place out of *Timothie* we haue anſwered before, that it is vnderſtood generally of all prayers made by the faithfull: neither doth it follow, it is lawfull to pray for all men, and therefore the Sacrament is auaileable for all men: For theſe are two diuers things; Prayer is an effect of our faith, which we are commanded one to make for another: the Sacrament is an inſtrumentall or miniſteriall cauſe of our faith; the benefite whereof is to them onely that worthily receiue it, becauſe to them onely it is a Sacrament, by preſenting the viſible ſignes to their eyes.

2 It is too great boldnes for you, without Scripture, to affirme, that theſe ſuperſtitious rites of yours were thoſe very orders which the Apoſtle promiſed at his comming to eſtabliſh: but either they were ſuch as pertained not to the adminiſtration of the Sacrament, or were but accidentall orders meete for the Church of Corinth, and not neceſſary for all times and places.

*Argum.*2. The ſacrifice of the Croſſe was offered for all; the ſacrifice of the Maſſe is a repreſentation of the ſacrifice of the Croſſe: *Ergo*, it may be offered for all. *Bellarm.c.6.*

Anſw. Firſt, the ſacrifice of Chriſt was not offered for all men in generall, but onely for the children of God: Iohn 11.52. *Chriſt dyed to gather together in one the children of God, which were ſcattered:* and if Chriſt prayed not for the world, Iohn 17.9. much leſſe would hee dye for the world.

Secondly, we deny any ſuch ſacrifice of the Maſſe to be offered at all in Chriſts Church: thirdly, it followeth not, that ſo many ſhould be partakers of the Sacrament and repreſentation of Chriſts death, as ſhall be partakers of his death: for he dyed for many yet vncalled and vnregenerate, but none but the faithfull are to be admitted to the Sacrament.

*Argum.*3. The ſacrifices of the olde teſtament were offered for the dead, as *Iudas Macchabeus* is commended for ſo doing, 2.Macchab.12.45. *Ergo*, the ſacrifices of the new may likewiſe be vſed. If it be here anſwered, that this booke is not Canonicall; yet for the matter of ſtorie, it is of as good credite as *Ioſeph*, or *Saluſt*, and ſheweth, that this hath been an ancient cuſtome in the Church to ſacrifice, and make prayer for the dead. *Bellarm.c 7.*

Anſw. Firſt, for a matter of fact, we refuſe not this ſtorie, and it may be, that ſuch a thing *Iudas* did: but this booke erreth in commending it to be well done; as likewiſe, chap. 14.41. *Razis* is commended for killing himſelfe. Secondly, the Iewes to this day haue no ſuch cuſtome to pray for the dead. Thirdly, here ſacrifice is made for manifeſt idolaters, verſe 40. whom this author notwithſtanding commendeth for godly men, verſe 45. and it is contrarie alſo to the practiſe of the popiſh Church to pray for the notorious wicked.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, the Sacrament (for ſacrifice we acknowledge none) is onely ordayned for their comfort that doe receiue it: neither can one receiue the Sacrament for another, no more then he may be baptized in the ſtead of another.

Secondly, neither doth the celebration of the Sacrament profite the dead, as we haue ſhewed before, that it is in vaine to pray for them.

Thirdly, neither are the Saints, either then or at any other time to be prayed vnto, or either by this, or any other religious worſhip to be honored.

*Argum.*1. All theſe ſuperſtitious obſeruances are cleane contrarie and repugnant to the inſtitution of Chriſt. Firſt, he ſaith, *Take ye, eate ye, doe this:* wherefore to their comfort onely the Sacrament worketh, that doe receiue it, and are doers in that action: the benefite thereof then is not extended to the abſent, but onely to the partakers. Secondly, the dead can feele no comfort by it, becauſe they can neither eate nor drinke it, nor be dooers therein. Thirdly, Chriſt ſaith, *Doe this in remembrance of mee:* hee ſaith not, in remembrance of Angels, Apoſtles, Saints: but onely of mee. Therefore it is contrarie to the inſtitution to vſe any commemoration of Saints in the Sacrament.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Saints are not remembred in the Maſſe, as Chriſt is: for his death is there repreſented and remembred, ſo is not the death and paſſion of the Saintes: but they are remembred as our mediators and interceſſors. *Bellarm.c.8.*

Contra. Firſt, there are but two kinds of commemorations; one is with worſhip and adoration; the other is Euchariſticall, when wee giue thankes in the memoriall of the Martyrs and Saints, for ſuch excellent inſtruments: this commemoration may be made of the Apoſtles and Saints: the other is peculiar to Chriſt in the Sacrament; and yet they do aſſociate vnto him, the Virgine *Mary*, in that kinde of commemoration, thus ſaying in the Maſſe; *Worſhipping the memoriall of the Virgine.* Secondly, they doe in their Maſſe vſe commemoration euen of the death and paſſion alſo of their Saints: as thus,

Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit,
Fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quò Thomas aſcendit.
By the blood of *Thomas*, which for thee he did ſpend,
Graunt vs Chriſt with *Thomas* to aſcend. This was *Thomas* of Canturburie.

Thirdly, the remembrance, which is to be made in the Sacrament, is expounded by S. *Paul*, to be a ſhewing of the Lords death, 1.Cor.11.25,26. but the death of none but Chriſt is to be ſhewed forth, and this *Bellarmine* himſelfe confeſſeth: *Ergo*, he onely is to be remembred.

*Argum.*2. He onely is to be inuocated, or we are onely to draw neere vnto him by prayer, by whom we haue an entrance vnto God, Hebr.10.19,20. but by the blood of Ieſus we haue entrance onely, *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt and the Saints are not mediators alike, for Chriſt is a Mediator by himſelfe, the Saints by him: and as wee praying one for another, do no iniurie to Chriſts mediation; ſo neither the Saints praying for vs, through Chriſt; nor we praying to them to pray for vs. Againe, in the Maſſe, we pray not directly vnto Saints, as thus; *O Peter pray for me*: but indirectly, we pray that God would heare their prayer for vs. *Bellarm.ibid*

Contra. 1. If Chriſt be the Mediator both of the prayers of the Saints and ours, then is the mediation of Saints ſuperfluous; for ſeeing we may haue acceſſe to the Sonne himſelfe, it is in vaine to runne to the ſeruant. Secondly, we pray not as mediators one for another, but as humble ſuters, not with authoritie, but of charitie; therefore the compariſon betweene our prayers and the Saints prayers is not like. Thirdly, though the Saints pray in heauen for vs, as fellow members, in reſpect of their inward deſire; yet it followeth not, that we ſhould pray vnto them, no more then we pray to men liuing that pray for vs. Fourthly, your indirect inuocation of Saints in the Maſſe, when ye pray thus, *by whoſe merites and prayers, graunt we may be defended*, is both blaſphemous in leauing out the Mediation of Chriſt; and preſumptuous, in making your ſelues mediators of the prayers of the Saints: for they pray, that the prayer of the Saints may be heard. Fiftly, yet is not our argument anſwered, that we muſt draw neere onely to him, by whom we haue an entrance, which are the Apoſtles direct words: and I thinke they will not ſay, that we haue entrance by the blood of Saints.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Quis offeret ſacrificium corporis Chriſti, niſi pro ijs, qui ſunt membra Chriſti?* Who will offer the ſacrifice of the bodie of Chriſt, but for the members of Chriſt? *Lib.1.de origin.anim. cap.9.* Therefore the Sacrament cannot be celebrated for Pagans and Infidels, who are no members of Chriſt.

Againe, hee ſaith: *Nos Martyribus non conſtituimus templa, ſacerdotia, ſacra aut ſacrificia:* Wee doe not erect either temples, Prieſts, ſeruice or ſacrifices to Martyrs, *De ciuitate Dei. lib.8. cap.27. Ergo,* it is not lawfull to vſe the Sacrament for the honor of Saints.

Concil. Carthaginenſ.3.can.6. Placuit vt corporibus defunctorum Euchariſtia non detur, dictum eſt enim à Domino, Accipite, edite, cadauera autem nec accipere poſſunt, nec edere: Wee thinke good that the Euchariſt be not giuen to the bodies of the dead, for the Lord ſaid, *Take, eate:* Now dead bodies cannot take and eate, &c. The Sacrament then is appliable to none, but to thoſe that take and eate; but neither the dead nor any that are abſent, can take and eate: *Ergo.*

Fox.p.1471. In defenſe of this trueth, that the Maſſe is not a propitiatorie ſacrifice for the quicke, and dead, many holy and excellent Martyrs willingly rendered their liues: As *Rowland Taylor, Iohn Philpot, Iohn Bradford,* Biſhop *Hooper,* with others.

Their owne decrees thus teſtifie, *decr.par.3.diſt.1.c.40. Clemens. Mortui non obuoluantur veſtimentis altaris:* That the dead ſhould not be wrapped in the altar-cloathes. But the ſacrifice of the altar is more then the altarcloath, if this muſt not be communicated to the dead, much leſſe the other. Againe, *decr.Gregor.lib.3.tit.41.c.6. Innocent.3. Iniuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre:* He doth wrong to a Martyr, that prayeth for a Martyr: But ſo doe the Papiſts in praying, that God would heare the prayers of Martyrs, *Ergo* they offer them wrong.

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF PRIuate Maſſes.

The Papiſts.

36. Error. IF any many ſhall ſay, that priuate Maſſes, wherein the Prieſt alone by himſelfe doth communicate, are vnlawfull, and therefore to bee aboliſhed; wee pronounce him accurſed, *Concil. Trident.ſeſſ.22.can.8.*

Argum.1. The reaſon of the Councell is this, becauſe that many doe communicate ſpiritually in the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, that are not preſent, and ſo the fruite thereof being publike, the Maſſe it ſelfe is in this behalfe not priuate, but publike: *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.22.cap.6.*

Anſw. Firſt, a ſpirituall communion of the faithfull, we graunt euen without a Sacrament, which is not the effect of the Sacrament, but by fayth, Epheſ.4.4. *There is one bodie, one ſpirite:* And in the celebration of the Sacrament, there is alſo an exerciſe of this ſpirituall communion, the faithfull doe communicate with vs in our prayers, and in the profeſſion of the ſame faith: but they doe not communicate with vs in the Sacrament, or the fruite thereof. Secondly, to the ſacramentall communion is required a preſence of many: as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1.Cor.10.17. *Wee that are many, are one bread and one bodie, becauſe we are partakers of one bread:* ſo then the ſpirituall communion is one thing, the ſacramentall another: and wee cannot bee one bodie ſacramentally, vnleſſe wee communicate together in the Sacrament. Thirdly, as priuate prayer, though it may haue a publike fruite, yet it is priuate ſtill; ſo the Sacrament priuatly adminiſtred, though it might haue ſome publike effect, is yet priuat ſtill.

*Argum.*2. Prayer is profitable to him,that is prayed for, though he be not preſent; the ſacrifice of the Maſſe is a kinde of ſolemne prayer: *Ergo*, though it bee priuat, it may bee profitable. *Bellarmin.lib.*2*. de miſſ.c.*9.

Anſw. Firſt,we ſee that they are forſaken of the Scripture, for the proofe of their priuat Maſſes, and therefore are driuen to deuiſe reaſons of their owne. Secondly, there is not the ſame reaſon of a Sacrament (for ſacrifice therein,we acknowledge none) and of prayer : for a Sacrament is exhibited vnto men by the commaundement of Chriſt, a prayer is exhibited vnto God from men,and therefore prayer may be priuat,becauſe,God,to whom we pray, heareth priuatly : And againe,we haue warrant in Scripture for priuat prayer,Matth.6.6. ſo haue we none for a priuat Maſſe. Secondly,*Bellarmine* confeſſeth that a Maſſe cannot be ſo priuat,*Vt vni ſoli applicaretur:* To be applied to one man alone,c.9. yet priuat prayer may be made for one man alone : therefore the compariſon is not like betweene them. Thirdly, the prayers which are made in the Euchariſt for the whole congregation of Chriſts Church, may be profitable to thoſe that are abſent; but it followeth not therefore, that the ſacramentall action of eating and receiuing ſhould be auaileable for them which are abſent.

*Argum.*3. The ſacrifices of the law were ſacrifices, before the people did eate thereof: ſo the ſubſtance and making of a medicine is one thing,the ingredience,or taking of it,another : *Ergo*, neither is receiuing part of the ſubſtance or making of the ſacrifice of Chriſts bodie, but a conſequence onely : therefore there may be a ſacrifice and Sacrament without it, *Rhemiſt.*1*.Cor.*11*. ſect.* 14.

Firſt, the argument followeth not from the ſacrifices and ceremonies of the lawe, to the Sacraments of the Goſpell : for they are much vnlike : it was not lawfull but for the Prieſts onely, and the males amongſt them to eate of the ſacrifices, Leuiticus 2. 3. 6. 29. they may as well conclude hereupon, that none but Prieſts ſhould eate of the Sacraments of the new teſtament.

Secondly,the propoſition is alſo falſe,for the Paſchall Lambe, which of all the ſacrifices doth moſt properly reſemble the Euchariſt, was neither ſacrifice nor ſacrament, vnleſſe it were eaten.

Thirdly,we deny that there is any ſacrifice in the Euchariſt,but a ſacrament onely : and therefore the compariſon holdeth not betweene a ſacrifice, which conſiſted both of oblation to God, and the participation of the people that offered,and the Sacrament which Chriſt in his inſtitution offered not to God,but to his Diſciples.

Laſtly,neither doth the ſimilitude of a medicine conclude : for you cannot proue that the Sacrament not receiued hath vertue in it, as a medicine hath : for faith is requiſite to the worthie receiuing of the Sacrament,which is not neceſſarie in the applying of a medicine; and yet it is not properly called a medicine,vnleſſe being made,it be alſo applied,and receiued: And ſay it is a medicine vnreceiued,yet it profiteth not,vnleſſe it be vſed; ſo you haue gayned nothing hereby, but that the Euchariſt is alſo an vnprofitable medicine,where it is not receiued.

The Proteſtants.

WE vtterly condemne the ſuperſtitious practiſes of popiſh prieſts,who doe vſe to communicate alone in their Maſſes,the people ſtanding by,gazing and looking vpon him : yea you might haue ſeene many Maſſes ſaid in one Church at once, almoſt in euery corner one, no perſon being preſent for the moſt part,but the Prieſt and his boy.

*Argum.*1. This priuate receiuing of the Sacrament is contrarie to the inſtitution of Chriſt, who ſaith,ſpeaking to many, *Take ye, eate ye, and diuide this amongſt you:* there muſt be then a diuiſion and diſtribution. S. *Paul* alſo ſaith, *We that are many are one bread and one bodie, in as much as we are partakers of one bread,* 1.Corinth.10.17. *Ergo,* many muſt communicate together. For the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the myſticall communion of the faithfull in this place, which doe all make but one bodie in Chriſt, (for ſo we doe communicate with the Church by faith, not onely in the Sacrament,but without it) but of the Sacramentall Communion of as many as receiue together : for how elſe can they be ſaid to be partakers of one bread, or loafe, vnleſſe they receiue together?

Bellarmine anſwereth,firſt, all that which Chriſt commaunded in the inſtitution to be done, is not of the eſſence of the Sacrament, nor alwaies to be obſerued; but in reſpect of perſon, time, and place : for if there be none worthie to miniſter the Sacrament to,yet it muſt be celebrate notwithſtanding. *c.*10*.reſponſ.ad argum.*1.

Contra. Firſt, and doe you ſpeake,as you thinke, that all, which Chriſt commaunded concerning the Sacrament,is not of neceſſitie to be obſerued : and yet all which your Church commandeth,muſt be kept: we may then iuſtlie ſay vnto you, as Chriſt ſaid to the Phariſees, *You reiect the commaundement of God,to obſerue your owne tradition,* Mark.7.9. Secondly,all Chriſts precepts in the inſtitution of the Sacrament are of the ſame authoritie : for of them all he ſaith (*this doe ye*) *&c.* then they may as well leaue all vndone, or any one of them, as another; and ſo they neede no more vſe conſecration of the Sacrament, than diſtribution, which in their owne learning is very abſurd. Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſaith, concerning the actions of breaking, taking, eating, &c. *that, which I receiued of the Lord, haue I deliuered to you*, 1. Cor. 10. 23. He maketh euery one of theſe of and belonging to the tradition and inſtitution of Chriſt.

Secondly, ſaith he, the Apoſtle concludeth affirmatiuely, that he which eateth the Euchariſt is ioyned to Chriſt : but not negatiuely, he, which receiueth not the Euchariſt, is not ioyned vnto Chriſt: for this may be done in heart and deſire, *Bellarm. reſp. ad* 3. *obiect.*

Contra. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of a ſpirituall onely, but of a ſacramentall communion with Chriſt in this place : and therefore he ſaith, *The bread which we breake is the communion of the bodie of Chriſt, &c.* If the ſacramentall communion of Chriſts bodie be in the breaking and diſtribution of bread, then where the bread is not broken and diſtributed, there is not that ſacramentall communion. So he ſaith, *We that are many are one bread, becauſe we are partakers of one bread.* They then which partake not, are not ſacramentally one bread, though ſpiritually wee denie not, but they are.

Argum. 2. Act. 2. 42. *They continued in the Apoſtles doctrine and fellowſhip, and breaking of bread :* It was then the vſe in the Primitiue Church to vſe diſtribution in the Sacrament.

Bellarm. It is true, yet it followeth not, that the Sacrament cannot bee celebrated without diſtribution.

Contra. It cannot bee ſhewed that in the Primitiue Church, there was any celebration of the Euchariſt without diſtribution : *Ergo*, the argument followeth. The Apoſtles neuer celebrated the Euchariſt priuately, therefore it is vnlawfull ſo to doe.

Argum. 3. The Apoſtle maketh a manifeſt difference betweene the Lords Supper, and other feaſts : for theſe might be priuate in their owne houſes, 1. Cor. 11. 22. *Haue ye not houſes to eate and drinke in ?* but the other ought to bee publike, ver. 33. *they muſt one tarrie for another: Ergo*, the Lords Supper muſt not be priuate.

Bellarmine anſwereth, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the Sacrament, but of other feaſts, then vſed in the Church, which he calleth the Lords Supper : for hee ſaith, *one is hungrie, another is drunken:* but in the Euchariſt, they did all eate alike, &c. Theſe then are the feaſts which the Apoſtle would haue common.

Contra. Firſt, it is true, that ſuch feaſts were then kept, which were called feaſts of loue: but in the end of thoſe feaſts they vſed to receiue the Sacrament : and therefore the Apoſtle reprooueth them, becauſe, when they came together to eate the Euchariſt, they did eate their owne Supper afore, verſ. 22. Secondly, it is euident, that the Apoſtle by the Lords Supper meaneth the Euchariſt, becauſe immediatly he inferreth the inſtitution of Chriſt, which had been impertinent, if hee ſpake not of the Sacrament. And where he ſaith, that *ye come not together vnto condemnation*, it is euident, that he ſpeaketh of comming together to the Lords table, wherein only, and not at the common table, they eate and drinke their damnation, that doe it vnworthilie.

Argum. 4. The word of God is not to be preached but to a congregation, nor Baptiſme to bee adminiſtred, where there is none to bee baptized : *Ergo*, neither is the Euchariſt without communicants to be adminiſtred.

Bellarmine anſwereth, the reaſon is not alike : for the word and Sacraments are from God directed to men : but the ſacrifice of the Maſſe is directed vnto God, *Bellarm. c.* 9.

Contra. Firſt, we denie any ſacrifice in the Euchariſt, but a Sacrament onely : and therefore as the one Sacrament of Baptiſme requireth ſome to bee baptized, ſo the other of the Euchariſt requireth communicants. Secondly, the Euchariſt is not directed vnto God but vnto men, no not in the words of conſecration, whereby they ſay it is made a ſacrifice : for theſe words, *this is my bodie*, whereby they ſay it is conſecrated to bee a ſacrifice, are directed vnto men, if they vſe thoſe words, as Chriſt did : for theſe words follow in the Goſpell, *This is my bodie, which is giuen for you:* which words are by them left out in the Maſſe, that their craft ſhould not appeare, in peruerting the vſe of Chriſts words, which were ſpoken onely to his Apoſtles, and not directed vnto God.

Epiſtol. 59. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that, *Sacramentum benedicitur, ſanctificatur, & ad diſtribuendum comminuitur:* That the Sacrament is bleſſed, ſanctified, and broken to be diſtributed: *Ergo*, where there is diſtribution, there muſt be many to receiue.

Can. Apoſtolor. 10. *Fideles qui ingrediuntur eccleſiam, & ſanctam Communionem non perceperint, communione priuentur :* The faithfull, which come into the Church, and receiue not the Communion, ſhall be excommunicate.

Clement. epiſtol. 2. *Tanta in altari holocauſta offerantur, quanta populo ſufficere debeant :* Let ſo much be offered, as may ſuffice all the people. Prouiſion muſt be made for all the companie to communicate : *Ergo*, priuate Maſſes were not yet heard of in the Church.

See further teſtimonie out of their owne decrees : *Par.3.diſtinct.2.c.10. Anacletus. Peracta conſecratione omnes communicent,&c.* After conſecration, all muſt communicate,they which will not, let them bee thruſt out of the Church : for thus the Apoſtles haue ordained, and the Romane Church ſo holdeth. *C.17.Soter. In cœna Domini à quibuſdam,&c.* Some men neglect to receiue the Euchariſt in the Lords Supper,which ought to be receiued,*ab omnibus fidelibus,*of all the faithfull: *Ergo,*priuate Sacraments are againſt their owne Canons.

Fox.pag.1816. Maſter *Philpot* holy Martyr : Chriſt ſaid,and the Miniſter ſaith in Chriſts behalfe to all that are preſent,*Take ye,eate ye :* wherefore as many as be preſent,and doe not communicate,breake Gods commandement in not receiuing the ſame: and the Miniſter is no iuſt Miniſter, that doth not diſtribute the Sacrament as Chriſt did to all,that are preſent : and where Gods word is tranſgreſſed, there is not Chriſt preſent,and conſequently no Sacrament.

AN APPENDIX, CONCERNING the name of Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

37.Error. THey vtterly miſlike theſe names of the Sacrament,that it is called amongſt vs the Lords Supper or Communion : belike (ſay they) they will bring it againe to the Supper, or euening ſeruice, *Rhemiſt.* 1.*Cor.*11.*ſect.*6. And the name Communion,is as ignorantly vſed of them,thereby making the people beleeue, that many ſhould communicate together, 1.*Cor.*11.*ſect.*24. they ſhould rather vſe the names of the Euchariſt,Maſſe,or Leiturgie.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt,for the name of the Lords Supper,we doe learne of S.*Paul* ſo to call it : When ye come together,(ſaith he) this is not to eate the Lords Supper,1.Cor.11.20.

Rhemiſt. The Apoſtle calleth their feaſts of loue, which they were wont to make after the receiuing of the Sacrament,the Lords Supper,*cœnas dominicas,*becauſe they were made in the Lords houſes,which were called *Dominica :* he meaneth not the Sacrament.

Anſw. Firſt,there were then no ſuch diſtinct places, as Churches, and Oratories for the ſeruice of God, which began to bee built many yeeres after,but they aſſembled together in their owne houſes. Secondly,the Apoſtle cannot meane any other Supper,but that which was inſtituted by Chriſt,and which he deſcribeth afterward as it followeth, verſ.23. Further,the Apoſtle ſpeaketh but of two Suppers ; the one, which he calleth their owne Supper,verſ.21. the other, is the Lords Supper, which is ſo called, becauſe it was inſtituted by the Lord Ieſus, as the Apoſtle ſheweth afterward.

Thus teſtifieth alſo Maſter *Latimer* holy Martyr : There was *cœna Iudaica,* the Iewiſh Supper, when Chriſt with his Apoſtles did eate the Paſchall Lambe ; the other was called *cœna Dominica,*the Lords Supper,*Fox* pag.1456.

And though Doctor *Weſton* cauill in that place againſt this name,(the Lords Supper) yet hath the Communion been ſo called in former times.

In Luk.ſer.33. *Concil. Cabiloneuſ.can.*47. *In cœna Domini perceptio Euchariſtiæ à quibuſdam negligitur :* In the Supper of the Lord,ſome neglect to receiue the Euchariſt. *Auguſtine* calleth it the Lords Supper, *Cœnam manibus ſuis conſecratam diſcipulis ſuis dedit :* His Supper being conſecrated,he gaue it with his owne hands to his Diſciples. And although we ſate not downe at the feaſt: *Ipſam cœnam tamen fide quotidie manducamus :* Yet we eate that Supper daily by faith.

Yea their owne decrees allow this name : *Decret.par.*3.*diſtinct.*2.*c.*17.*Soter* : *In cœna Domini à quibuſdam perceptio Euchariſtiæ negligitur,&c.*In the Supper of the Lord the receiuing of the Euchariſt of ſome is neglected.

2. The name Communion,the Apoſtle alſo himſelfe vſeth : he calleth it κοινωνίαν, The Communion of the bodie of Chriſt,1.Cor.10.16. ſo doth *Auguſtine* name it, *Communionem corporis Chriſti. de ciuit.Dei* 20.*cap.*9. So alſo is it called in the Councels : *Nicen.*1.*cap.*14.*Eliberin. decret.*1.*Toletan.*12.5.and in diuers other.

3. As for the names of the Euchariſt, and Leiturgie, we miſlike them not, being vnderſtood in their owne ſenſe : but becauſe they are Greeke and not vnderſtood of the people,we vſe them not. The horrible ſacriledge of the Maſſe,is the cauſe alſo why we vſe not that terme.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF THE MANner of ſaying and celebrating Maſſe.

The Papiſts.

38.Error. IT is not neceſſarie that the Maſſe(or as we call it,the Sacrament) ſhould bee ſaid or done in the vulgar and familiar ſpeech,but for the greater reuerence, to be kept in the Latine tongue,they ſay,it is more conuenient: and that the words of conſecration ſhould not bee vttered in a loud and audible,but in a ſoft and low voyce,*Bellarm.cap.*11.12.

*Argum.*1. If Maſſe ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue, two great inconueniences would enſue: one,that the wordes of conſecration muſt bee often chaunged, becauſe the vulgar ſpeech doth often alter: the other is,that hereby the communion of Churches ſhould be taken away: for an Italian could not ſay Maſſe in France,nor a French man in Italie,*Bellar.cap.*11.*argum.*5.

Anſw. For the firſt,the vulgar tongue is not ſo ſoone, nor ſo eaſily altered: the vulgar Engliſh tongue doth not differ,ſauing in certaine new wordes, from the vulgar language vſed three hundred yeeres agoe: but if it ſhould in proceſſe of time be wholly altered,what would it hurt,if the forme of the Leiturgie were chaunged with all? as likewiſe the vulgar tranſlation of Scriptures may ſafely be amended,as the vulgar ſpeech is perfited. To the ſecond we anſwere: firſt,the ſame obiection may be made againſt Latine Maſſe, for neither can an Italian ſay Maſſe in Greece, nor a Grecian in Italie. Secondly,the Latine tongue rather taketh away the communion and fellowſhip of the Church,when the ſame congregation vnderſtandeth not a Latine Maſſe, where it is ordinarily and daily ſaid,which is rather to be reſpected,than any ſuch extraordinarie or vnwonted occaſion of ſtrangers and trauellers. Thirdly,by the ſame reaſon ſermons alſo ſhould be made in Latine,becauſe otherwiſe ſtrangers cannot vnderſtand them. Fourthly, where in populous cities there bee diuers congregations, there ſhould bee prouided for them Miniſters of their owne: As *Innocent.*3.decreed,*Qui ſecundum diverſitates linguarum,&c.* Which according to the diuerſitie of the tongues,ſhould celebrate the diuine offices,*Decr.Greg.lib.*1.*tit.*31.*c.*14.Their owne decree is euidently againſt them.

*Argum.*2. Chriſt for the ſpace of three houres,being ſo long vpon the croſſe, vttered nothing in the hearing of the ſtanders by,but ſeuen ſhort ſentences: *Ergo,* in the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, it is not neceſſarie to vtter all in the hearing of the people,*Ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt,they haue not proued by this example,that the Prieſt ſhould mutter and mumble to himſelfe,but the contrarie rather: that either he muſt altogether hold his peace, or elſe ſpeake aloude; vnleſſe they can ſhew that Chriſt ſpake ſome words ſecretly to himſelfe. Secondly,wee muſt not fetch the right vſe of the Sacrament of our owne heads, from the example of Chriſts ſacrifice vpon the croſſe: but wee are commaunded to reſort for direction to the inſtitution in his laſt Supper,1.Cor.11.23.wherein Chriſt is not read to haue ſpoken any thing, but in the hearing of his Apoſtles: neither did Chriſt pronounce any of the words of conſecration vpon the croſſe, but in the inſtitution of his laſt Supper.

*Argum.*3. The Prieſt in the law did enter alone into the holy place,all the people ſtanding without,as we reade of *Zacharie,*Luk.1.10.*Ergo,*the ſacrifice of the Maſſe muſt be offered vp in ſilence and ſecret,*Bellarm.cap.*12.*argum.*3.

Anſw. Firſt,the Prieſt herein was a type of Chriſts entring into the holie place of heauen, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, Hebr.9.24. therefore it concludeth not for the Maſſe. Secondly,a ſacrifice might be offred without the preſence of the people,but vnder the Goſpell wee denie any ſuch ſacrifice. Thirdly,the Prieſt while he burned incenſe,was neither heard,nor ſeene of the people:you may as well inferre,that your Prieſts neither muſt bee ſeene of the people ſaying of Maſſe,and ſo ſhould yee loſe the glorie of your ſuperſtitious eleuation. Fourthly, the reaſon why the people ſtaied without in the time of the ſacrifice,was in reſpect of the diuiſion of the Temple,which conſiſted of three parts;the moſt holy place,whereinto only the high Prieſt entred;the holy place,appointed for the inferiour ſacrificing Prieſts; and the court without,which was for the people:but the Temple now is diſſolued,and the vaile thereof,which made this diuiſion,was rent by the death of Chriſt: ſo that it muſt not be a patterne of Chriſtian oratories or houſes of prayer.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt,for the Sacrament,or any other part of the ſeruice of God to be miniſtred in an vnknowne tongue,is contrarie to S.*Pauls* rule,who would haue all things to bee done in the Church to edifying,and in ſuch ſort that the vnlearned might ſay, Amen, 1.Cor.14.16.But the people cannot be edified by a language which they vnderſtand not: nor yet can ſay Amen vnto ſtrange prayers. But of this matter we haue alreadie elſewhere entreated more at large.

Secondly, it is alſo contrarie to Saint *Pauls* rule,that the Prieſt ſhould mutter to himſelfe, and not ſpeake aloud in the hearing of the people: for he ſaith, Ye doe ſhew forth,καταγγέλλετε,*annuntiatis,* preach or declare the death of Chriſt, ſo often as ye receiue it, 1.Cor.11.26. But they doe not *annuntiare,* that is, preach, ſet forth,and declare the death of Chriſt, that ſpeake onely to themſelues.

Bellarmine anſwereth; This ſhewing forth of Chriſts death is not done ſo much by the words, as in act and in deed: for how elſe could all the people ſhew forth the death of Chriſt,but by eating and drinking in the Sacrament?

Contra. Firſt,we grant,that by the very action of eating and drinking in the Sacrament Chriſts death is ſhewed forth, but not thereby onely: for the inſtitution of Chriſt muſt be declared, as the Apoſtle doth, 1.Cor.11.23. *I haue receiued of the Lord, that which I haue deliuered vnto you:* otherwiſe, if there ſhould bee a dumbe action onely, without the word of inſtitution rehearſed in the audience of the people, they ſhould not know, what by their action is repreſented and ſhewed forth. Secondly, if by the action of eating and drinking onely the Lords death is ſhewed forth, then in your priuate Maſſes, where the people neither eate nor drinke, there is no ſhewing forth at all of the Lords death.

*Argum.*3. A Sacrament conſiſteth of two parts; of the outward element, as the matter; and of the word of inſtitution, as the forme: the element, as water in Baptiſme, bread and wine in the Euchariſt muſt not be concealed: *Ergo,* neither the word of inſtitution.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that it is ſufficient, if the words bee vſed, though not pronounced in their hearing, that receiue the Sacraments: for infants heare not the words ſpoken in Baptiſme.

Contra. Firſt, the reaſon is not alike betweene infants baptized, and other communicants; they heare not, neither vnderſtand, therefore they profit not by the words: but they which communicate in the other Sacrament can both heare and vnderſtand. Secondly, though infants heare not, yet they which are preſent at their Baptiſme doe heare and are edified: otherwiſe ye might as well reaſon thus, Infants ſee not the element, which is vſed: *Ergo,* the water alſo may bee concealed. Thirdly, yet the argument is not anſwered, drawne from the proportion, betweene the element of the Sacraments, and the word.

*Argum.*4. There is the ſame reaſon of vſing words not vnderſtood in the Church of God, and of words, that are not heard: for by neither is the people edified: but the firſt are not to bee vſed; as the Apoſtle ſaith, *I had rather in the Church ſpeake fiue words with mine vnderſtanding, that I might inſtruct others, than tenne thouſand words in a ſtrange tongue,* 1.Cor.14.19. *Ergo,* neither are the other: and therefore their fiue words of conſecration muſt be ſo ſpoken, as that others may be inſtructed thereby.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of preaching, not of prayer. Secondly, ſacrificing is not a ſpeaking, but a doing: and if it be a ſpeaking it is to God, not to the Church.

Contra. Firſt, it is euident that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of prayer, verſ.14. *If I pray in a ſtraunge tongue my ſpirit prayeth, but my vnderſtanding is without fruite,* that is to others. Secondly, if their ſacrifice be a doing onely, what neede they vſe any words at all? Thirdly, prayer is a ſpirituall ſacrifice offered onely to God, yet the Apoſtle would not haue it without vnderſtanding and inſtruction.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Populus cum epiſcopo orat, & quaſi ad eius verba ſubſcribens reſpondet, Amen:* The people prayeth with their paſtor, and ſubſcribing to his words, ſay, Amen. But how can the people ſay, Amen, where nothing is heard, or ſubſcribe in their hearts vnto it? Contra Parmenian. lib.2. cap.7.

Concil. Oxonienſ. ſub Stephano: Verba canonis præſertim in conſecratione corporis Chriſti plenè & integrè proferantur: The words of the canon, eſpecially at the conſecration of the body of Chriſt, muſt bee pronounced fully and wholly.

*Concil. Baſilienſ. ſeſſ.*21. *Abuſum aliquarum eccleſiarum, in quibus Miſſa priuatè ſine miniſtro, aut per ſecretas orationes ita ſubmiſſa voce dicitur, quod à circumſtantibus audiri non poteſt, abolemus, &c.* The abuſe of certaine Churches, where Maſſe is ſaid priuatly without a Miniſter, or with a low voyce the prayers are mumbled, that the ſtanders by cannot heare, wee doe aboliſh. This is contrarie to *Bellarmines* opinion, who would not haue the words of conſecration vttered in a loud voyce.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, OF THE CEREMOnies which they vſe in the idolatrous ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

The Papiſts.

SOme ceremonies goe before the celebration of the Maſſe, and they are of ſuch things, as they haue alwaies in a readines for that impious ſeruice: ſuch are the veſtiments and apparell of the Prieſt, the Albe, Cheſill, Stole, Dalmatike, with ſuch other: Altars, Altarclothes, Corporaſſes, Pixes, Paxes, Diſhes, Candleſtickes, Platters, Cenſers, Water-pots: all theſe and the like trumperie ought of right to be vſed in the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the better to diſcerne the bodie of Chriſt, *Rhemiſt. 1.Cor.11.ſect.*18. 39. Error.

Argum. Bellarmine warranteth their maſſing garments by the example of the prieſtly attire preſcribed in the law: and as Magiſtrates in their office vſe a ſpeciall kinde of attire for reuerence ſake, ſo alſo it is fit that prieſts ſhould be knowne by ſome ſpeciall habite in the publike ſeruice of the Church, *Bellarm. lib.2. de Miſſ. c.*14.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, *If the Prieſthood be chaunged, there muſt be alſo a chaunge of the law,* Heb.7.12. wherefore the prieſtly garments belonging to the law of the Prieſthood, are chaunged together with it, and are no warrant for the habite of the Miniſters of the Goſpell. Secondly, be it graunted that Miniſters may bee diſcerned in their office, by ſome decent habite (though by their life and doctrine they chiefly are to manifeſt themſelues) yet ſuch partly ridiculous, partly ſuperſtitious apparell, as you hang vpon your Maſſe-prieſts backe is not fit: for as the Magiſtrate will not adorne himſelfe with ſtraunge and vnwonted apparell, but ſuch, as may adde comelines and grace to his perſon; ſo neither are ſuch popiſh ragges ſeemely for a Miniſter of the Goſpel, which onely attend vpon their Idolatrous ſacrifice. Thirdly, ſacrificing garments are not meete to bee vſed where there is no externall ſacrifice: but vnder the Goſpell there is no externall ſacrifice: *Ergo*, the ſacrificing garments of *Aaron* are not now to be put in vſe.

The Proteſtants.

First, for diuers cauſes wee doe condemne and reiect theſe ſuperſtitious vſages of the Papiſts: firſt, becauſe of the ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie number of them, fewer by a great deale may ſerue for the Communion to be kept, after Chriſts inſtitution: neither doe wee reade, that Chriſt at his laſt Supper vſed any ſuch, who notwithſtanding would not haue left out any thing requiſite and needfull for the Sacrament.

Secondly, the ſuperfluous and exceſſiue coſt, in making ſo many Church veſſels of gold and ſiluer, ſo many Maſſe garments of ſilke, fine linnen, embroidered with gold, pearle, and pretious ſtones, was both an intolerable burthen to the Church, at whoſe charge ſuch things were prouided, and a great deale more coſtly, than became the ſimplicitie of the Goſpell.

Thirdly, conuenient veſſels and inſtruments, which are neceſſarie for the adminiſtration of the Sacrament, with other ſeemely ornaments: as a decent couering for the Communion table, a cleane and handſome veſſell to keepe the wine, a cup of ſiluer for the diſtribution, cleane linnen napkins for the bread; ſuch inſtruments and ornaments of the Lords table we condemne not, but vſe them our ſelues: yet none of them for ſuch ends or purpoſes, as they pretend, to diſcerne the bodie of the Lord by them; as though they were ordained to waite and attend vpon the bodily preſence of Chriſt, which they haue falſely imagined: but wee doe vſe them for decencie and order ſake, and due reuerence, which is to bee yeelded to ſo great myſteries. As in their owne decrees, *decr. Gregor. lib. 3. tit. 44. c. 2. Innocent. 3. Sunt alij, &c. qui veſtimenta tam immunda relinquunt:* There be, that leaue the veſtments ſo vncleane, &c. that they are loathſome vnto ſome, &c. wherefore we will, that they bee kept white and cleane. Such comelines and cleanlines in the celebration of the Sacrament wee commend, and allow: but their ſuperfluous veſſels and garments the Goſpell hath no neede of.

Argum. The Tabernacle, with all things thereto belonging, *was a figure for the time preſent, vntill the time of reformation*, Hebr. 9. 9. The prieſtly garments did belong to the ſeruice of the Law: *Ergo*, they are no more to be vſed now vnder the time of reformation.

Againe, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *That the ſimilitude of heauenly things, and the heauenly things themſelues, are not purified with the ſame things*, Heb. 9. 23. ſo neither are they to bee adorned, and ſet forth with the ſame things: the ſimilitude of heauenly things require ſuch ornaments; but the heauenly things themſelues muſt haue better ornaments.

In the Apoſtles time they had no conſecrated Altars, but Communion tables, 1. Cor. 10. 21. neither is it like that they vſed veſſels of gold or ſiluer in the Lords Supper, when they had neither ſiluer nor gold in their purſes, Matth. 10. 9. Wherefore ſuch things are not neceſſarie for the diſcerning of the Lords bodie.

Bernard ſaith well: *Quam multa hodie gemmis & auro fulgent Altaria? &c.* How many Altars now a daies ſhine with gold and pretious ſtones? how many walles are decked with coſtly garments? thinke you that the Angels will regard theſe things, and thinke ſcorne of baſe attyred men? if it were ſo, how chance they appeared to ſhepheards rather than vnto Kings? Altars therefore or Communion tables are better adorned with the frequencie of poore faithful people, than with cloth, and iewels of gold.

Euſebius, decr. par. 3. diſtinct. 1. cap. 45. Non in ſerico panno, aut tincto, ſed puro lineo, terreno ſcilicet lino procreato, ſacrificium altaris conſecretur: Let the ſacrifice be conſecrate, not in ſilke, or coloured cloth, but in pure linnen made of naturall flaxe. But now ſilke will not ſerue the turne: their Altars, and Altarclothes are decked with gold, ſiluer, and pretious ſtones.

Bonifacius Martyr and Biſhop, being asked, whether it were lawfull to celebrate the Sacrament in wooden veſſels, made anſwere: *Quondam ſacerdotes aurei ligneis calicibus vtebantur, nunc è contrario lignei ſacerdotes aureis vtuntur calicibus:* In time paſt golden prieſts vſed wooden cuppes, now wooden prieſts vſe golden cups, *decr. par. 3. diſtinct. 1. c. 46.* Wherefore it is euident, that in the ſimpler ages of the Church, ſuch ſumptuous ornaments were not requiſite. Firſt they did miniſter in wooden cups; then *Zepherinus* brought in glaſſe cups: and after that time cuppes were in vſe; and laſt of all ſiluer and golden cuppes, *ibid. cap. 44. 45.* And thus by ſteps and degrees, they grew to this ſuperfluitie.

The Papiſts.

2. THere are other ceremonies,which they obſerue and vſe in the very action it ſelfe and celebration of the Maſſe : as the diuers geſtures of the Prieſt,to lift vp his eyes, and caſt them dow neagaine,and to lift them vp the ſecond, the third time : ſometime to caſt abroad his hands, to cloſe them againe,to warble with his fingers,to bow,to bend,to duck, to turne on this ſide and on that,now on the right hand, againe on the left : to ſigh, to ſmite vpon his breaſt,to lift vp the Chalice, and ſhew it to the people, and ſet it down againe : as alſo the diuiding of the hoaſt into three parts,which ſignifie three parts of the Church, in Heauen,in Earth,and in Purgatorie : the rinſing of part thereof in wine, and eating part drie, the waſhing of his fingers before conſecration : kiſſing of the Altar, the paten, the booke, the paxe : ſprinkling of holie water, cenſing of odors,croſſing the Chalice,the bread,their mouth,breaſt and face, which ſigne of the croſſe they make aboue twentie times in one Maſſe while : Adde alſo vnto theſe, their tedious and yrkeſome ſongs,the rude noiſe and vnedifying ſound of ſtrange inſtruments,and the whole courſe of their Maſſe-muſicke ſet forth in a ſtrange language,and endited to the honour of Saints. All theſe ſuperſtitious rites, with diuers more, vaine, vnfruitfull, abominable, they notwithſtanding with force and maine defend and maintaine, *Bellarm.lib.2.de Miſſa.cap.*14.15.*Concil.Tridentin.ſeſſ.*22.*can.*7.

Argum. The lifting vp of the hands *Bellarmine* warranteth by *Moſes* example, Exod.17. the bowing of the knees,and the eleuating of the eyes by the example of Chriſt,who often lift vp his eyes,and prayed kneeling : the eleuation of the hoaſt,the burning of incenſe,and muſicall inſtruments he deriueth from the ſacrifices of the law : and ſo concludeth the lawfull and neceſſarie vſe of them,*lib.2.de Miſſ.c.*15.

Anſ. Firſt,to lift vp the eies,the hands,to bow the knees,to knocke the breaſt,are reuerent geſtures,and to be vſed in prayer,and we willingly reteine them in our ſeruices:but they abuſe theſe ſeemely geſtures three waies : firſt, in ſetting foorth thereby a falſe and idolatrous ſacrifice ; for though it bee a comely thing to kneele, yet it is impious to kneele to an Idoll. Secondly, they offend in their mutabilitie and inconſtancie,ſhifting and chaunging their geſtures, looking ſometime vp,ſometime downe,now this way,now that way : as the Wiſeman ſaith,*The eyes of the foole are in the corners of the world,* Prou.17.24. but *Stephen* looked ſtedfaſtly into heauen, Act.7.55. ſo they kneele,they ducke,they bend,they bow: So did not *Moſes,* that continued holding vp his hands till the euening,and *Salomon* was vpon his knees all the time he prayed, 1.King.8. Thirdly, they offend in vſing dumbe and mute geſtures, without any prayer at all, or the ſame in an vnknowne tongue: ſo did not the Publicane,who not onely ſmote vpon his breaſt, but ſaid,*Lord be mercifull to me a ſinner.*

Secondly, if the fleſh of beaſts were now ſacrificed, as vnder the law, then they might alſo ſhake them and heaue them before God, and perfume them with incenſe,as the Leuites did : wherefore thoſe ſacrifices being aboliſhed, the rites alſo and ceremonies accompanying them are alſo extinguiſhed.

Thirdly, a moderate and ſober vſe of Muſicke in the Church wee condemne not, though the practiſe of the Iewiſh Church doth not warrant it: for their melodious ſound of inſtruments was typicall,ſignifying the ſpirituall melodie and harmonie, which we ſhould make in our hearts, Epheſ.5.19.And though Muſicke may be well vſed,yet is it by them three waies abuſed : firſt,in adorning a falſe and idolatrous ſeruice. Secondly,in playing and ſinging vnedifying ſongs. Thirdly,in diſplacing thereby the preaching of Gods word, and fruitfull prayer.

The Proteſtants.

1. THis multitude of humane inuentions, agreeth not with the inſtitution of the Lords Supper : for wee reade not of any ſuch kiſſing, kneeling,becking,bowing,or the like ridiculous geſtures to haue been vſed,when our Sauiour inſtituted the Supper, nor afterwards by the Apoſtles to haue been practiſed : wherefore we contenting our ſelues with the plaine inſtitution of Chriſt,doe worthilie reiect all ſuch toyes.

2. Moſt of theſe geſtures are impious, and tend to Idolatrie in the adoration of bread and wine,which are but creatures : and they are all friuolous and hypocriticall, ſtealing away true deuotion from the heart, and making men to reſt in the outward geſtures of the bodie. *Auguſtine* ſaith very well : *Corpus genibus flexis proſternis,collum curuas in oratione, video vbi iaceat corpus,ſed quæro vbi volitet animus?* Thou boweſt the knee,bendeſt thy bodie in prayer, ſtretcheſt out thy necke,I ſee where thy bodie lieth : but what is become of thy ſoule?

3 Concerning Church ſongs and Muſicke, *Auguſtine* thus writeth : *Sobriè pſallimus in Eccleſia diuina cantica Prophetarum :* We ſing treatably and ſoberly in the Church the diuine ſongs of the Prophets. Two conditions he requireth : firſt, that we ſing holy Pſalmes taken out of the Scriptures. Secondly,that they be ſung treatably and diſtinctly. *Etiam illic* (ſaith he) *ſi ſonum non ſenſum libido audiendi deſideret,improbatur :* Euen in good ſongs,if we follow the ſound, not the ſenſe,

Epiſtol. 119.
cap.19.
Contra.Iulian
lib.4.14.

it is to be diſcommended: but in popiſh ſongs neither of theſe conditions is kept: for both the dittie, for the moſt part, is idolatrous, ſtuffed with inuocation and adoration of Saints, and the note is ſo diuided and drawne out in length, that it cannot be vnderſtoode.

Bernard thus writeth excellently of this matter: *Sæpe ad ſacrum myſterium vocem meam fregi, vt dulcius cantarem: magis delectabar in vocis modulatione, quàm in cordis compunctione: Meditat. cap.*11. Oftentimes in diuine ſeruice, I quauered with my voyce to ſing more pleaſantly, and ſo delighted more in tuning my voyce, then in turning my heart. This then is one great fault in ſinging, ſo to regarde the note, that we thinke not of that which is ſung: And therefore he ſaith, *Sic mulceat aures, vt moueat corda:* Let it ſo pleaſe the eares, that it may play vpon the heart: *Frangis vocem, frange & voluntatem: ſeruas conſonantiam vocis: ſerua & concordiam morum:* Thou reliſheſt with thy voyce, reliſh alſo with thy heart: thou keepeſt the conſort of the voyce; keepe alſo the harmonie of manners, *Meditat.cap.*51. But popiſh Maſſe ſongs ſet forth with tedious notes, and vnknowne ſyllables, doe want this conſort and harmonie of the heart, being not vnderſtood for the moſt part of the ſingers themſelues, much leſſe of thoſe that heare them.

Concerning Organe play: Order hath been taken by Councels in theſe two poynts eſpecially. 1. *Nolumus quod organicis inſtrumentis reſonet in Eccleſia impudica aut laſciua melodia, ſed ſonus omnino dulcis qui nihil præter hymnos diuinos, & cantica ſpiritualia repræſentet:* We will not haue any light, wanton voluntarie melodie to be played vpon the Organes, but onely ſpirituall and diuine hymnes: *Concil.Senonenſ.decret*.17.

2 For the moderating of Organe play, thus alſo it is decreed, *Colonienſ.part.*2.*cap.*12. *Illud non recte fit in quibuſdam Eccleſys &c.* That is not well done in ſome Churches, when becauſe of the ſingers, and Organes, better things, as prayer, giuing of thankes, are ſhortened, are omitted or cleane cut off. Theſe rules in Church muſick are to be kept: which the popiſh ſort little obſerue in their Maſſe ſeruice.

Let vs heare their owne decrees: *part.*1.*diſtinct.*92.*c.*2. *Gregor. In ſancta Romana Eccleſia dudum eſt conſuetudo valde reprehenſibilis exorta &c.* There is of late a very euill cuſtome riſen vp in the holy Church of Rome, &c. That certaine ſingers are choſen for the Miniſterie of the altar, &c. and they attend the tuning of the voyce, which ſhould applie themſelues to preaching, and ſo it commeth to paſſe, *Dum blanda vox quæritur, quæri congrua vita negligatar:* That while they ſtudie for a pleaſing voyce, they neglect a good life: and a ſinging Miniſter pleaſing the people with his voyce, offendeth God with his workes: Wherefore I ordaine, *Vt altaris Miniſtri cantare non debeant:* That the Miniſters of the altar ſhould not ſing. Likewiſe, *Iohann.*22.*extrau. commun. lib.*3. *tit.*1.*c.*1. reproueth certaine notorious abuſes in Church muſicke: *In ſemibreues & minimas Eccleſiaſtica cantantur, diſcantibus lubricant, triplis &c. inculcant:* They ſing Church ſongs with ſembriefes and minimes, and glide away with triple time and deſcant, &c. This curious kinde of ſinging here reprehended, is notwithſtanding ſtill vſed in the popiſh Maſſe-ſeruice.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE FORME OF THE Maſſe, which conſiſteth partly of the Canon, partly of ſuch things as are rehearſed before and after the Canon.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE PRAIERS WHICH goe before the Canon of the Maſſe.

WE doe not vtterly condemne whatſoeuer is ſaid or ſung in their Leiturgie or Maſſe: for as they haue their *introite*, ſo we doe bid the people, after due preparation, in our Communions to draw neere. We haue alſo our *Confiteor*, a confeſſion of ſinnes to bee ſaid before the Communion. Other formes alſo, which haue been vſed of auncient time, we doe not refuſe: as *Dominus vobiſcum*, The Lord be with you: *Kyrie eleyſon*, Lord haue mercie on vs: *Surſum corda*, Lift vp your hearts: with *Alleluia*, praiſed be God, and *Sanctus, Sanctus*, holy, holy; and *Gloria in excelſis*, Glorie be to God on high: the preface alſo to the Communion, *Verè dignum, & iuſtum eſt*: It is meete, right, and our bounden duetie: And we vſe alſo the Lords prayer after the diſtribution. Theſe formes we miſlike not, vſing the ſame our ſelues, which notwithſtanding wee borrow not from them, but from the ancient and purer ages of the Church. But the corruptions, additions, immutations, which are vſed by them in theſe prefaces to the Maſſe, wee doe vtterly condemne, as their *introite* and *confiteor*, is ſtuft full of idolatrie, and inuocation of Saints: their *Kyrie eleyſon* is nine times repeated in an vnknowne tongue. Eleuation and adoration was brought in by Pope *Honorius, anno.* 1222. the *Agnus* was deuiſed by Pope *Sergius, anno.* 700. the *Pax* by *Innocentius, plura apud Foxum*.pag. 1403.

THE

THE SECOND PART, OF THE Canon of the Maſſe.

The Papiſts

1. FIrſt, the forme of their Maſſe they haue (they ſay) by tradition from the Apoſtles: *Rhemiſt. 1.Cor.11.ſect.22.Bellarm.lib.2.de miſſ.c.19.* 40. Error.

Argum. That the Canon of the Maſſe is moſt auncient, and ſo like to take beginning from the Apoſtles time, *Bellarmine* ſheweth by theſe three coniectures: firſt, becauſe mention is made only of Martyrs in the Canon, not of the confeſſors of the Church, who began of later time to be honoured: Secondly, becauſe ſome few words of the Canon haue been added ſince by diuers, as by *Leo* 1. *Gregorie* 1. with others, whereby it appeareth, that the Canon it ſelfe was before their time. Thirdly, becauſe the author of the Canon is vnknowne, and therefore it is like it came by tradition from the Apoſtles.c.20.

Anſw. Firſt, the adoration and inuocation of Martyrs, as alſo of confeſſors, is but a late ſuperſtitious deuiſe, not knowne in the auncient and purer times of the Church: as *Origene* ſaith, *Homil.6.Ioſue. Ioſua non adoraſſet, niſi agnouiſſet Deum: Ioſua* would not haue worſhipped, if hee had not knowne the Angell to be God. *Ambroſ. in 9. ad Roman. Non poteſt genu flecti niſi Deo:* The knee cannot be bowed of euery creature but onely to God. And againe, *lib.4. de interpellat. c.*12. vpon theſe words in the 73. Pſalme, *Whom haue I in heauen but thee? Nec ſupereſt in cæleſtibus quod amplius quæram,&c.* There is nothing in heauen but Chriſt, which I deſire: *Ergo*, hee needed not, neither deſired the helpe and aſſiſtance of Saints. S. *Hierome* alſo ſaith, *aduerſ.Vigilant. Quis enim ô inſanum caput Martyres vnquam adorauit?* Who euer (thou fooliſh head) worſhipped or adored Martyrs? *Ergo*, by this reaſon it appeareth, that the Canon of the Maſſe, allowing inuocation of Martyrs is not ſo auncient as *Origene* or *Ambroſe* and *Hieromes* time. Neither is it true, that Martyrs onely are mentioned in the Canon, for the Virgine *Marie* and *Iohn* the Apoſtle were no Martyrs, who are eſpecially remembred: and whereas they conclude thus, after rehearſall made of ſome, *Et omnium ſanctorum tuorum:* And of all thy Saints, vnder this generall name, not onely Martyrs, but all true confeſſors of Chriſt are contained.

Secondly, the patching together of the Maſſe by diuers at ſundry times doth euidently ſhew, that the Canon of the Maſſe, as it now ſtandeth, is not auncient. And whereas he inferreth that ſome part of the Canon was before *Leo* and *Gregorie*, we graunt it, for the Lords Prayer vſed in the Maſſe, and theſe words, *This is my bodie*, and the rehearſing of the inſtitution are read in the Goſpell: but this proueth not, that the other parts alſo are Apoſtolicall.

Thirdly, the author of the Canon is aſſigned to be one *Scholaſticus* by *Gregorie*, as euen now followeth to be ſhewed, *Ergo Bellarmines* third coniecture is vaine.

The Proteſtants.

THeir owne authors doe teſtifie, that euery patch of their Maſſe was thruſt in by Popes, later then the Apoſtles: As *Sixtus* the ſecond brought into the Maſſe, the *(Sanctus) Innocentius* the firſt, the (*Pax*) *Leo* the firſt added this clauſe, *Sanctum ſacrificium, immaculatam hoſtiam*, the holy ſacrifice, the vnbloodie hoſt: *Gelaſius* the prefaces, collectes, gradualts: *Symmachus* the *(Gloria in excelſis) Agapetus* the firſt, the proceſſions. *Pelagius* the ſecond, appoynted nine prefaces before the Canon: *Gregorie* the firſt, brought in the *(Antiphonies*, and the *Kyrie eleyſon) Sergius* the firſt, *Agnus Dei:* The other parts alſo and members of the Maſſe are aſſigned to their ſeuerall authors, and inuentors: yea, *Gregorie* the firſt confeſſeth, that one *Scholaſticus* made the moſt part of the Canon. *Ergo*, it was not deuiſed by the Apoſtles. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that *Gregorie* ſetteth not downe any one man, by this name *Scholaſticus*, but meaneth generally ſome notable learned man: and in this ſenſe S. *Peter*, ſaith he, which was the author of the Canon, may be called *Scholaſticus, Bellarm.cap.*19.

Anſw. This deuiſe of the Ieſuite is rather to bee laughed at, then to bee confuted. Who euer heard before, that S. *Peter* and the other Apoſtles were *Scholaſtici*, Schoolemen? What is this elſe, but to ſet the ſpirite of God to ſchoole, in ſaying that the Apoſtles being men endued with the holy Ghoſt, were brought vp in Schooles? Againe, *Gregorie* findeth fault with the ſaid *Scholaſticus*, that in compoſing the Canon, hee would put in his owne prayers, and leaue out the Lordes prayer: but if this *Scholaſticus* had been *Peter*, I thinke *Gregorie* would not haue been ſo bolde, as to haue rebuked him: Or elſe ſaith *Bellarmine*, this *Scholaſticus* was not the author of the Canon, but of certaine extraordinarie prayers.

Contra. I will here oppoſe the iudgement of *Eſpenſæus* a graue writer among the Papiſts, who calleth *Scholaſticum, vſitati Canonis authorem: Scholaſticus* the author of the vſuall Canon. *Comment. in* 1.*Timoth.p.*31.*d.*

*Argum.*2. There be many things contained in the Canon contrarie to the doctrine of the Apoſtles, as inuocation of Saints, adoration of bread, prayer for the dead, with many other groſſe errors, as afterward ſhall be ſhewed : *Ergo*, the Canon was not inſtituted by the Apoſtles.

Argum. 3. S. *Hierome* findeth fault with ſome in his time, that in their prayers and oblations vſed to ſay, *Qui ſedes ſuper Cherubim & Seraphim* : Thou that ſitteſt vpon the Cherubim and Seraphim : *Illorum pius, ſed coarguendus error* : Whoſe error, though it may haue a ſhew of pietie, is worthie of reproofe, becauſe that no where mention is made in Scripture, that God ſitteth vpon the Seraphim, but only vpon the Cherubim : *tom.4.epiſt.ad Damaſ.* From hence I reaſon thus; If they vſe the ſame forme in their Maſſe oblation, then is it an error, and ſo can not be fathered vpon the Apoſtles : if they doe not; then do they not vſe that forme, which was in *Hieromes* time, and ſo it cannot be of any great antiquitie, let them chooſe which part they will.

The Papiſts.

41.Error. 2. THe Canon of the Maſſe (ſay they) is perfect and abſolute, voyd of all error, and therefore not to be changed or abrogated. *Concil.Trident. ſeſſ.22.can.6.Bellar.cap.21.*

The Proteſtants.

BVt wee on the contrary ſide, more truely and agreeable to Scripture, doubt not to ſay, that there can bee nothing more corrupt, abominable, fuller of all impietie, hereſie, lying, then is their idolatrous ſacrifice of the Maſſe: as it ſhall now more particularly appeare, by the collection of the ſeuerall errors.

A FVLL HALFE HVNDRED OF ERRORS AND Blaſphemies that are to be found in the Canon of the Maſſe, as touching the matter.

1. THe Prieſt ſaith, *Wee pray thee accept theſe gifts, theſe holy and vnſpotted ſacrifices.* Thus hee maketh Bread and Wine the ſacrifices of the Goſpell: for theſe words are ſpoken before Conſecration. And whereas *Bellarmine* ſaith, it is called a ſacrifice, becauſe it is intended and ſet apart to be a ſacrifice: *Contra,* Yet is it not already a Sacrifice, much leſſe vnſpotted, ſeeing it is neither vnſpotted in reſpect of it ſelfe, being not yet made the body and blood of Chriſt, nor in reſpect of the offerer, who is a ſinfull man.

2 The Prieſt ſpeaking of the bread and wine, thus ſaith; *Which wee offer vnto thee for thy holy Catholike Church.* And againe afterward; *Which wee offer for the redemption of our ſoules.* What great Blaſphemie is this, to offer bread and wine for the redemption of the Church, for the which Chriſt in great loue offered vp himſelfe? and ſo to make his death of no force.

Bellarm. Bread and wine is not offered for the Church, but the ſacrifice to be made of bread and wine. *Contra.* Then the Prieſt ſhould ſay, *Which we ſhall offer*, not, *Which we do offer:* but that which he offereth, is nothing but bread and wine, whatſoeuer it is, which he offereth afterward.

3 The rubricke of the Maſſe willeth, that the Prieſt ſhould pray for his owne Biſhop onely and for himſelfe, and his ſpeciall friends: But charitie would, that he ſhould pray for all Biſhops, Paſtors and Miniſters : and Chriſt biddeth vs, not onely to pray for our friends, but alſo for our enemies.

4 The Prieſt firſt prayeth for the Pope, then for his owne Biſhop, laſtly for the King : But Saint *Paul* would haue prayers firſt of all made for all men, but eſpecially for Kings, 1.Timoth.2.2. they ſhould firſt of all be remembred : & S.*Peter* ſetteth down the King as the chiefe, 1.Pet.2.13. *Agatho* B. of Rome writing to *Conſtantine* the Emperour, confeſſeth himſelfe *Imperij famulum,* a ſeruant to the Emperour, *action.4.Synod.6.Conſtantin.*

5 He ſaith, *and with thy ſeruant our Pope :* he is their Pope and Biſhop onely, that are vnder his Dioceſſe and Seignorie : he hath no iuriſdiction ouer other Churches: *Pelagius* 2.1.*epiſtol.decretal.* calleth it *prophanum vocabulum,* a prophane name to be called vniuerſall Biſhop : and *Gregor.*1.*ad Eulog.* Patriarke of Conſtantinople findeth fault with him, for giuing him the ſtile of vniuerſall Pope, calling it *ſuperba appellationis verbum*; a proud name. And here alſo let it be noted, whether our Engliſh Papiſts can be true ſubiects, that in their Maſſe and other prayers preferre the Pope before their Prince, and acknowledge him to be their Pope and Biſhop.

6 *Hoc ſacrificium laudis:* This ſacrifice of prayſe: it is only then a ſpirituall ſacrifice of thankeſgiuing, not a materiall and externall ſacrifice, as they beare men in hand. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that the Sacrifice of Chriſts body, is called a Sacrifice of prayſe, becauſe thereby God is prayſed, &c. *Contra.* Firſt, God thereby is greatly diſhonoured, when they adore a piece of bread, and Chriſts bodie alſo is diſgraced, being made ſubiect to wormes and corruption, and to be eaten of miſe and dogges : all which inconueniences enſue vpon the carnall preſence. Secondly, the Apoſtle ſheweth, what the Sacrifice of prayſe is, namely, *the fruite of the lippes*, Heb.13.15. but Chriſts bodie is not the fruite of the lippes : though their Prieſts can make Chriſts body with fiue words ſpeaking, yet I thinke they dare not ſay, that Chriſts body is the fruite of the Prieſtes lippes;

lippes: if they ſhould, the Apoſtle confuteth them, who expoundeth himſelfe, that the fruit of the lippes is, *the confeſſion of the Name of God: Ergo,* Chriſts body is not the Sacrifice of prayſe.

7 The Prieſt ſaith, *Worſhipping the memoriall of the Virgine:* But Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament to be kept in remembrance of himſelfe, and not for the worſhip of Saints.

8 *By whoſe merites and prayers, namely of the Saints, graunt we may be defended.* But S. *Iohn* ſaith, *If any man ſinne, we haue an aduocate with the Father, Ieſus Chriſt the righteous,* 1.Iohn 2.2.

9 In the ſecond prayer of the Canon, they pray, by vertue of the oblation *of bread* and wine *to be deliuered from eternall damnation:* for as yet the elements are not conſecrated. *Bellar.* They conclude this prayer, through Chriſt our Lord, by whom, and not by the oblation, they deſire it to bee graunted. *Contra.* They doe for faſhion ſake indeede conclude their prayers, *through Chriſt,&c.* but they do alſo aſcribe their Petition to the vertue of the oblation: *that God being well pleaſed with that oblation, &c. would deliuer them from eternall damnation,&c.*

10 *We beſeech thee* (ſaith the Prieſt) *to receiue this oblation, which we beſeech thee in all thinges to make bleſſed:* Here the Prieſt is made a Mediator betweene Chriſt and his Father; deſiring God to ſanctifie the body and blood of his Sonne. Thus beginneth the third prayer of the Canon. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, they pray not here for the Euchariſt now conſecrated, but to be conſecrated, that it may be made the bodie and blood of Chriſt, *c.*23. *Contra.* Firſt, they pray for that oblation, whereby they prayed a little before to be deliuered from damnation: *Ergo,* for an oblation conſecrated. Secondly, after the conſecration they pray alſo in the ſame manner, *Which wee beſeech thee vouchſafe to accept.*

11 *Who the next day afore hee ſuffered:* But the Scripture ſaith, The ſame night. *For this is my body:* Here they haue put in *enim,* of their owne, and left out, *Quod pro vobis datur.* Such is their boldneſſe, that they are not aſhamed to change the words of our Sauiour Chriſt.

12 *Take yee, &c.* Why then doth the Prieſt take it alone? ſeeing Chriſt appointed it to be taken of many.

13 *Eate yee,&c.* Why then do they hang it vp in a Pixe? ſeeing Chriſt would haue it eaten.

14 *Drinke yee all of this*: why then doth the Prieſt drinke it alone? ſeeing by the inſtitution all are to drinke of it.

15 He ſaith further in the fourth Prayer: *The holy bread of eternall life, which vouchſafe thou with a pleaſant countenance to behold:* The bread of eternall life is Chriſt himſelfe, if this be he, how dare yee preſume to offer him vp to his Father? *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that they pray not in reſpect of the Sacrifice offered, but in reſpect of the Miniſter, that offreth. *Contra.* They deſire God not to behold the Prieſt, but the oblation.

16 *As thou didſt vouchſafe to accept the righteous gifts of Abel, and the ſacrifice of Abraham.* Here the Sacrifice of Chriſt is compared to the ſacrifice of beaſtes: and the Prieſt ſeemeth to attribute as much efficacie to the one, as to the other: he compareth the gifts and ſacrifices together, not the ſacrificers in reſpect of their deuotion, as *Bellarmine* trifleth.

17 *And the holy ſacrifice which thy high Prieſt Melchiſedech did offer vnto thee.* This is a plaine vntrueth, and a flat lie, as we haue ſhewed already, that *Melchiſedech* ſacrificed bread and wine.

18 After the words of conſecration rehearſed, the Prieſt is willed in the Rubricke, *to rubbe his fingers, becauſe of the crummes:* but if it be Chriſts bodie, it cannot be crummie. And againe, let the fourth croſſe *be made vpon the bread:* here it is called bread after the conſecration: then is it not Chriſts bodie: So by their owne Canon, they are conuinced to be in an error.

19 *Command thou theſe to be brought by the hands of thy holy Angell, vnto the high Altar in heauen.* What an abſurd thing is this, that he ſhould deſire that to be carried into heauen, which hee eateth and deuoureth? And if this be the body of Chriſt, what need the helpe of an Angell to carrie it vp to heauen? Is not Chriſt able to lift vp his owne body? Or what need that to be conueyed to heauen, which was neuer from thence? *Bellarm.* The Angell doth not carrie vp Chriſts body into heauen, but, their ſeruice and obedience. *Contra.* Hee ſaith, *Iube hac,&c.* Command theſe things, &c. looking toward the hoaſt and the chalice: *Ergo,* he meaneth, that Chriſts bodie and blood ſhould be carried.

20 *As many of vs as ſhall receiue thy Sonnes body and blood:* And yet for the moſt part none receiue, but the Prieſt; and when the people doe communicate, the wine they haue not: how then can he ſay, *As many?*

21 *Remember, O Lord, the ſoules of thy ſeruants, which reſt in the ſleepe of peace, and grant them a place of refreſhing and reſt:* Here is another error contrary to the Scriptures in praying for the dead, and the prayer alſo is contrary to it ſelfe: for firſt he ſaith, they reſt in peace, and yet afterward prayeth for their refreſhing: thus beginneth the fift prayer of the Canon. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that they which are in Purgatorie, are at reſt from the workes of ſinne, though not from torment. *c.*25. *Contra,* They which are dead in Chriſt, *do reſt from their labours,* Apocal. 14.13. *Ergo,* from all laborious and painfull torments.

22 In the ſixt prayer, *Vouchſafe that they may haue a portion with the Saintes*, ending *through Ieſus Chriſt,&c.* the Rubricke forbiddeth *Amen* to be ſayd; contrary to the Apoſtle, 1.Cor.14.16. that would haue Amen to be ſaid to the publike bleſſing and thankeſgiuing in the Church.

23 *Deliuer vs by the bleſſed interceſſion of the Virgine:* What then is become of Chiriſts Mediation and Interceſſion? who euer liueth to make Interceſſion for vs, Heb.7.25.

24 *Let this mingling together of the body and blood of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be vnto me ſaluation of minde and body:* Then is not Chriſts blood ſhedde vpon the Croſſe the full ſufficient and perfect ſaluation of mankinde, if there be another ſaluation beſide.

25 Againe, if it be the very bodie and blood of Chriſt, how can they be mingled together, ſeeing the very body and blood of Chriſt cannot be deuided? *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that they are mingled onely by reaſon of the formes of bread and wine, which remaine. *Contra.* Formes and accidents cannot be mingled without ſubſtances, and therefore, if there be no ſubſtance remayning but of Chriſts body and blood, it followeth, that they are mingled. And further; ſeeing they hold, by way of their deuiſed *concomitance*, that the fleſh of Chriſt is with the blood, and the blood with the fleſh, what need then any ſuch mixture or mingling at all?

26 *Grant me ſo worthily to take this body and blood, that I may merit to receiue forgiueneſſe of ſinnes:* O ſinful man, how canſt thou merite that which is Chriſts onely gift? And in the ſixt prayer of the Canon, the Prieſt prayeth thus, *Not weighing our merite,&c.* and here hee prayeth for merite: So that their Maſſe is contrarie to it ſelfe.

27 *Let the Prieſt bow himſelſe to the hoaſt, ſaying, I worſhip thee, I glorifie thee, I prayſe thee:* What monſtrous Idolatrie is this, thus to worſhip a peece of bread?

28 *The Sacrament of thy body and blood,&c.* If it be a Sacrament of Chriſts bodie, then is it not the bodie it ſelfe: for the ſame thing cannot be both the Sacrament, and the thing whereof it is a Sacrament: the ſigne, and the thing ſignified; the ſhadow and the bodie: Sacraments are liuely ſhadowes, but Chriſts bodie is not a ſhadow. Coloſſ.2.17.

29 *Haile for euer, thou moſt holy fleſh of Chriſt,&c. Haile for euer, thou moſt heauenly drinke:* Where do they finde in Scripture, to ſalute God in this manner? the Angell indeed ſaid to *Marie*; *Aue*, Haile: and S. *Iohn* forbiddeth vs to ſay to an heretike, *Aue*, which the *Rhemiſts* tranſlate, *God ſaue you. epiſt.*2.10. Is it not then a ſeemely thing to ſay to Chriſt, *all health, haile*, or *God ſaue you ſyr?* that we ſhould bleſſe him, of whom we looke to be bleſſed.

30 *Let not this Sacrament be vnto my iudgement or condemnation:* thus they thinke that Chriſts fleſh may be eaten to condemnation, contrary to the Scripture: *Whoſoeuer eateth my fleſh, hath eternall life*, Iohn 6.54.

31 *Deliuer me by thy precious bodie from all mine iniquities,&c. and graunt, that for euer I be not ſeparated from thee:* This is contrary to their owne doctrine, that a man cannot be ſure to be preſerued from finall falling: for if the Maſſe be an auaileable Sacrifice, as they hold, then is it auaileable to this ende, that they ſhall not be finally ſeparated from God.

32 *Out of a temporall gift, let it be to vs a remedie euerlaſting:* Here he calleth the body and fleſh of Chriſt a temporall gift, which is blaſphemie, vnleſſe they will graunt that there is bread ſtill.

33 *Let this Communion purge vs from ſinne:* If they meane the principall purging of our ſinne, ſo doth Chriſt onely purge vs, Heb.1.3. If they vnderſtand the inſtrumentall meanes of our purgation, ſo are we purged and iuſtified onely by faith, Rom.3.28. *I conclude, that a man is iuſtified by faith, without the workes of the Law.*

34 *Reſpect not my ſinnes, but the faith of thy Church:* By this reaſon one may be profited by anothers faith; which is contrary to the Scriptures: *The Iuſt ſhall liue by faith:* his owne, and not anothers: Rom.1.17. and belike the Prieſt thus ſaying, hath no fayth himſelfe.

35 *Let vs worſhip the ſigne of the Croſſe*: What I pray you will not theſe Idolaters worſhip?

36 *Let this ſacrifice which I haue offered, auaile to obtaine remiſſion of ſinnes:* If the Maſſe be auaileable for this ende, wherefore then dyed Chriſt?

37 The Prieſt prayeth, that God would reſtore *the land conſecrated by Chriſts blood to the Chriſtian faith*. But where do they finde, that the land was conſecrated by Chriſts blood, whereas the Scripture ſaith, that *the land is defiled with blood*, that is, ſtandeth accurſed, Numb.35.33. And the Apoſtle ſaith, *He hath conſecrated*, (not the earth, but) *them that are ſanctified.* Heb.10.14. and, *the blood of Chriſt purgeth our conſcience*, Heb.9.14. not the terrene part.

38 And whereas they pray, that the holy land may be recouered out of *the hand of the enemies of the Croſſe:* which God hath not done: how is now their Maſſe auaileable for the obtayning of temporall benefites, as *Bellarmine* would beare vs in hand?

39 The Prieſt prayeth alſo, *That the vowes of the faithful may be directed toward the deliuering of that land:* Theſe were ſuperſtitious and vnlawfull vowes: as S. *Hierome* writeth vpon theſe words of the Pſalme, *I hope to ſee God in the land of the liuing: Ergo, Terra Iudæa, quæ illius ditionis erat,&c.* Therefore the land of the Iewes, which was vnder his regiment, is not that land of the liuing,

but he draweth vs to a ſpirituall vnderſtanding: *Hierom.de terra promiſſ.* And againe, vpon theſe words, *The Lord loueth the gates of Sion more, then all the tabernacles of Iacob: Nunquid iſtas portas diligit Deus, quas videmus in cineres,&c.* Doth God loue thoſe gates, which are turned to aſhes? *Ne ſtultis quidem hoc perſuaderi poteſt,* Very fooles will not be ſo perſwaded. So then all ſuch vowes are fooliſh, that are made in reſpect of the terreſtriall Ieruſalem, and by *Hieromes* ſentence they are fooles, that are ſo perſwaded.

40 In the end of the Maſſe, according to the vſe of *Sarum,* there is annexed the forme of bleſſing, or conſecrating the Paſchal Lambe, with this prayer, *Vouchſafe to ſanctifie this Paſchall Lambe, that as many of thy people as doe eate thereof, may be repleniſhed with all heauenly benediction,&c.* What groſſe ſuperſtition is this, that they ſhould ſtill retaine the vſe of the Paſchall Lambe, which cannot be, but to the great derogation of the true Paſchall Lambe Chriſt Ieſus, that the body being come, the ſhadow ſhould bee ſtill retained? And I haue heard it crediblie reported, by one ſometime brought vp in Barnwell Abbey by Cambridge, that the Monkes did vſe once a yeere to roſt a Lambe whole, and ſo to eate it with herbes: what greater ſuperſtition can bee found among the Iewes?

OTHER ERRORS IN THE MANNER of celebrating Maſſe.

41. Now to make vp the halfe hundred of errors in the Maſſe, as thoſe before going are found in the matter, ſo theſe following are in the manner: as firſt, all is done and ſaid in the Latine tongue, not vnderſtood of the people, and often not of the Prieſt himſelfe, contrarie to Saint *Pauls* rule, *that all things ſhould be done to edifying,* 1.Cor.14.12. and they that ſpeake words not vnderſtood, *ſpeake in the ayre,* verſ.9.

42 Againe, they vſe many irkeſome, tedious, and friuolous repetitions of the ſame words, as *Benedicamus Domino,* Let vs bleſſe the Lord, is ſung tenne ſeuerall times together, and *Ite, miſſa eſt,* is ſung thirteene ſeuerall times, with long and tedious notes. This is contrarie to the precept of Chriſt, *that we ſhould not, when we pray, vſe vaine repetitions,* Matth.6.7. for ſo the word βαττολογεῖν, there vſed, ſignifieth, being taken from the Poet *Battus,* that vſed often to inculcate or repeate the ſame things.

43 The Prieſt is charged in the Rubricke to ſay diuers prayers, *priuatim,* ſecretly to himſelfe: as that prayer, *Deliuer vs Lord from all euill, paſt, preſent, to come,&c.* And, *Thou Lambe of God, that takeſt away the ſinnes of the world.* Likewiſe, where he ſaith, *Forſake not vs thy ſeruants, but forgiue vs our ſinnes,&c.* theſe and many other words muſt bee pronounced to himſelfe: contrarie to S. *Paul,* who would haue prayers ſo ſaid, that they may be vnderſtood, and thereunto *Amen* anſwered by the people, 1.Cor.14.16.

44 The Prieſt is taught by the Rubricke to make thirtie ſeuerall croſſes at the leaſt vpon the bread, the cup, the Altar, his forehead: as may appeare in the Canon of the Maſſe, according to the vſe of *Sarum,* and as it is tranſlated by Maſter *Fox* in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Acts and Monuments: wherein firſt they doe contrarie to that, which they profeſſe in the Canon, ſaying thus, *Diuina inſtitutione formati,* Being informed by the diuine inſtitution. But no ſuch croſſing is to bee found in Chriſts inſtitution, which they profeſſe to follow. Secondly, whereas they vſe to croſſe themſelues either againſt the diuell and euill ſpirits, they neede not feare any ſuch thing, where Chriſts bodie is: or elſe they vſe it, to bleſſe withall: but they haue no reaſon to bleſſe Chriſts bodie, whereby they receiue bleſſing. Thirdly, if the ſigne of the croſſe be ſo effectuall a ſigne, as they make it, once or twice were enough, or too much: but the making of it ſo often, ſheweth it to be a vaine, idle, ſuperſtitious and vnprofitable ceremonie, as they vſe it.

45 Their geſture in ſaying of Maſſe, is ſo changeable, ſo ridiculous, ſo affectated, that a man would thinke a Player were comming forth vpon the ſtage, when the Prieſt addreſſeth him to the Maſſe: nay, *Roſcius* was not ſo full of action, as the Maſſing Prieſt is of geſture, varying and chaunging it at the leaſt fortie or fiftie times in a Maſſe while: firſt, he boweth his bodie: then he rouſeth himſelfe and kiſſeth the Altar on the right ſide: he boweth againe, and looketh toward the hoaſt, he ioyneth his hands, wipeth his fingers, lifteth vp the hoaſt: then he lifteth vp his eyes, and boweth himſelfe, and lifteth vp his eyes againe: he boweth againe, and lifteth vp the hoaſt aboue his forehead, vncouereth the cup, and holdeth it betweene his hands, keeping his thumbe and forefinger together: then hee boweth, and lifteth vp the cup a little, then to his breaſt, or aboue his head, he ſetteth it downe againe, and wipeth his fingers for feare of crummes: then he ſpreadeth his armes acroſſe: he boweth his bodie; then riſing kiſſeth the Altar on the right ſide, after this, he ſmiteth his breaſt: then he vncouereth the cup, maketh 5. croſſes with the hoaſt, beyond the cup twice, on each ſide, vnder the cup and before it: then he laieth his hands vpon the Altar: the Deacon then reacheth the Prieſt the Paten, which he putteth to his right eye, then to his left, and

maketh a croſſe beyond his head with it, kiſſeth it, and laieth it downe, then he breaketh the hoaſt in three, holding two pieces in his left hand, one in his right ouer the cup, which with a croſſe hee letteth fall into it: the Prieſt then kiſſeth the *Corporas*, the Deacon taketh the Pax from the Prieſt, giueth it to the Subdeacon, and he to the Queere: then humbling himſelfe, he firſt taketh the bodie, then the blood; ſo hee goeth to the right horne of the Altar: then the Subdeacon powreth in wine, and the Prieſt rinſeth the cup and waſheth his hands, &c. he turneth himſelfe to the people, commeth againe to the Altar, and turneth to the people the ſecond time, then bowing his bodie, and cloſing his hands he prayeth to himſelfe: he riſeth againe, making the ſigne of the croſſe, and bowing againe ſo goeth from the Altar. This leuitie and inconſtancie, in turning this way, and that way, to the right hand, to the left, now vp, now downe, backward and forward, caſting the armes acroſſe, warbling the fingers, &c. *Moſes* vſed it not in his prayer, that continued holding vp his hands in prayer againſt *Amelek*, till hee was wearie: and *Salomon* endured kneeling on his knees, and ſtretching out his hands to heauen, till he had made an end of his prayer, 1. King. 8. verſ. 54.

ERRORS COLLECTED OVT OF THE CAVTELES of the Maſſe, that follow after the Canon.

46. The eight cautele is, *that if the Prieſt chaunce to conſecrate water for wine, he muſt conſecrate againe.* Why maſters, if theſe wordes, *this is my bodie*, bee effectuall to make the bodie of Chriſt, why not ſpoken ouer water, as well as ouer wine? If ye vrge Chriſts power, he was able to turne water into wine, and ſo likewiſe water into his bodie: if ye vrge Chriſts inſtitution, that conſecrated onely in wine, he vſed no water at all, and therefore ye breake his inſtitution.

47 In the tenth cautele, *a Prieſt excommunicate is willed to proceede.* Can he then make Chriſts bodie, that is not of his bodie? this were monſtrous: for then not only Prieſts, but euery one may make Chriſts bodie, euen an Heathen or Infidell: for he that is excommunicate is ſuſpended from his office, and is for the time as an heathen man, Matth. 18. 17.

48 Cautele 12. *If a Flie or Spider fall into the cup after conſecration, they muſt bee firſt waſhed, then burned, and the waſhing and aſhes be kept in the ſacring veſſell: if the blood be poyſoned, it muſt not be drunk, but kept in a cleane veſſell.* But this Cautele telleth vs not, what ſhall become of that which is kept, but there it remaineth ſtill, till it ſowre or ſtinke, or putrifie with wormes, which is as bad, as the falling in of a flie: and how an abſurd a thing is it, that Chriſts blood may bee poyſoned, ſeeing there be many preſeruatiues againſt poyſon, much inferiour to Chriſts bodie?

49 Cautele 18. *If a drop of blood fall vpon the Altar, or Altar-cloth, table, &c. the Prieſt muſt licke it vp with his tongue, and the place muſt be waſhed, and the waſhing laid vp, &c.*

Contra. Here the Prieſt hath a good office, to licke ſtones and tables, and clothes with his tongue: but I would aske them, whether euery drop of the Chalice bee Chriſts whole bodie, or part: if a part, then is he diuided: if the whole, then, how many drops in the Chalice, ſo many bodies of Chriſt are there at once: they cannot winde themſelues from theſe abſurdities.

50 Cautele 22. *If any man vomit vp the Euchariſt, it muſt be burned, and the aſhes laid vp by the Altar, &c.* What maſters, will ye make Chriſt an heretike, that ye burne his bodie? And I pray you whence are theſe aſhes? they cannot be of accidents: ye muſt either graunt that it is bread, that is burned; or Chriſts bodie: if the firſt, then there is no tranſubſtantiation: if the ſecond, it is blaſphemie. And cannot Chriſts bodie ſtay a vomite, which many a medicine is able to doe?

51 Cautele 23. *If the Sacrament bee eaten of a mouſe, or if it bee loſt, let the Prieſt doe penance, &c.* Thus by the popiſh doctrine, myce may deuoure Chriſts bodie, and he that found the loſt ſheepe may be loſt himſelfe.

52 Cautele 24. *If by the negligence of the Prieſt the hoaſt doe putrifie, let him doe penance, &c.* If the accidents onely putrifie, there is no harme done, and this penance may bee ſpared: if the hoaſt it ſelfe putrifie, as this Cautele ſaith, then doe they make Chriſts glorious bodie corruptible.

Thus we ſee with how many and what great and horrible blaſphemies this popiſh, and ſuperſtitious Canon of the Maſſe is ſtuffed: indeede it is an epitome and abridgement of Papiſtrie, the marrow, ſinewes, and bones of their idolatrous profeſſion: yea the very darling of the popiſh Church: it is the very proper badge and marke of a Papiſt. He that hateth the Maſſe, hateth the whore of Babylon: he that loueth the Maſſe, cannot loue the truth.

If then I ſhould be demaunded at once, which of all popiſh blaſphemies and hereſies I thinke moſt abominable, contrarie to the faith, and to bee abhorred of all good Chriſtians: (though I know that there are many of this kinde) yet I would readily anſwere the Maſſe: the inuention whereof, I am well aſſured, cannot bee aſcribed but to him that is the author of all lyes, and blaſphemies.

Laſtly, let vs ſee how well the popiſh Maſſe agreeth with their owne Canons: concerning the mingling of the bread and wine together, it is contrarie to the decree of *Iulius : Decret.par.3.diſt.2.c.7. Illud, quod pro complemento cõmunionis intinctam tradunt Euchariſtiam,&c.* That for the complement of the Communion, they doe giue to the people the Euchariſt ſopped, or dipped, &c. it hath no warrant from the Goſpell.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this decree forbiddeth onely that commixtion, which is giuen to the people in the Sacrament, not that, which is done in the Maſſe, *lib.2.de Miſſ.c.27.reſp.ad obiect.4.*

Contra. The reaſon in the decree vſed, is generall againſt all mingling of the Sacrament : *Seorſim panis, ſeorſim calicis,&c.* The bread was commended or ſanctified apart, and the cup apart: neither did Chriſt giue dipped bread to any of his Diſciples, but to *Iudas*, to ſignifie his prodition, not any inſtitution of a Sacrament. Wherefore this decree is moſt euident againſt this ſuperſtitious mixtion in the Maſſe.

Concil.Colonienſ.par.2.c.11.Videbimur operæpretium facturi,&c. Wee ſhall doe very well, if wee cauſe the Miſſals and Breuiaries to be peruſed, that cutting off ſuperfluous things, *& quæ ſuperſtitioſius,&c.* and things ſuperſtitiouſly brought in, &c. How can the Miſſall or Maſſe-ſeruice be void of error, which is ſtuffed with many ſuperfluous and ſuperſtitious things?

Synod. Auguſtenſ.c.33.Quod ad apocrypha,&c. As touching apocryphall, fooliſh, and vnſyncere matters, by the corruption of time crept into the Breuiaries, the often repetition of Pſalmes, innumerable Suffrages, new Collects, Sequencies, Prefaces, to be amended, & taken out of the ſeruices, &c. This Canon reprehendeth vaine repetitions, the multitude of Collects in the Maſſe-ſeruice, which yet remaine vnpurged.

I will laſtly inſert the teſtimonie of *Lindanus* an arch-papiſt, who reporting the words of *Agobertus* Biſhop of Lyons : *Antiphonarium correximus,&c.* We haue corrected the Antiphonarie, cutting off what ſeemed to vs ſuperfluous, light, falſe, blaſphemous, ridiculous, phantaſticall. He addeth further : Who if he were now aliue to ſee our Miſſals, &c. how would he call them ? in the which not onely Apocryphall ſtories out of the Goſpell of *Nicodemus*, and other toyes, are inſerted, but ſecret prayers, *mendis turpiſſimis conſpurcatæ*, defiled with moſt filthie faults: yea the Canon it ſelfe, *variat & redundat*, doth varie and exceede, &c. *Lindan.lib.3.de interpret.ſcriptur.c.3.* Here is a graue teſtimonie of a learned writer of their ſide againſt the errors, faults, and corruptions of the Maſſe : how then are they not aſhamed to iuſtifie the ſame as perfect, and without any reprehenſion.

I conclude therefore with that ſaying of *Gregorie*, as he ſaid concerning the word *Antichriſtus:* ſo may I in as good ſenſe of this word, *Miſſa*, as it is now vnderſtood of Papiſts : *Si ſpectes quantitatem vocis, duæ ſunt ſyllabæ ; ſi pondus iniquitatis, eſt vniuerſa pernicies :* If you marke the quantitie of the word, it ſtandeth but of two ſyllables : but if we reſpect the waight of iniquitie, it containeth all impietie and vngodlines. As one ſometime pleaſantly deſcanting vpon the name, ſaid, that the Maſſe was called beyond the Sea (*Miſſe :*) for that all is amiſſe in it.

John Mailer
Fox p.1204.
col.2.

Soli Deo immortali Patri, Filio, cum Spiritu ſancto, ſit
honor & imperium ſempiternum.

Before I leaue this place, being a controuerſie of ſuch great waight, I thought good to inſert the arguments of the Martyrs againſt the reall preſence, and the contrarie reaſons vſed againſt them by the Papiſts in thoſe dayes.

THE PAPISTS THEN IN TIME PAST HAVE thus reaſoned for their reall preſence.

Arg.1. THe ſame bodie which was giuen for vs, is truly in the Sacrament : for our Sauiour Chriſt ſaid, *This is my bodie, which ſhall be giuen for you.*

But his true bodie was giuen for vs.

Ergo, his true bodie is in the Sacrament : *ſic Chedſeus cont.Cranmer.*

Anſw. Biſhop *Cranmer* anſwereth : His true bodie is truly preſent to them that truly receiue him, but ſpiritually : *ibid.* Which anſwere may be further explained thus : Firſt, wee graunt, that the ſame is preſent, but not after the ſame manner : Chriſts bodie may be truly preſent, although it be not there carnally : he is preſent ſpiritually by faith, which is his true preſence. Secondly, we turne this argument againſt them : for if the ſame bodie of Chriſt bee preſent in the Sacrament, which he gaue for vs ; then is it not preſent, but onely to thoſe for whom it was giuen : but it was giuen onely for the elect and beleeuers, therefore to the wicked and Infidels Chriſt is not preſent in the Sacrament, becauſe for ſuch he gaue not his bodie : and ſo it followeth, that wicked men doe not eate Chriſt in the Sacrament, and conſequently Chriſts bodie is not there really preſent: for then the wicked, that communicate, ſhould eate thereof.

Contra. Chriſt, when he ſpake theſe words, *this is my bodie*, ſpake of the ſubſtance of his bodie, not of the efficacie or effect; Chriſts bodie then is more then ſpiritually, that is effectually preſent: *Chedſey.*

Anſw. Wee graunt, that in the Sacrament there is both the efficacie of the bodie of Chriſt, and the ſubſtance thereof, but the ſubſtance ſpiritually applied by faith: for the fleſh profiteth nothing of it ſelfe, *My words* (ſaith Chriſt) *are ſpirit and life*, Ioh. 6. *ſic Cranmer.* It is therefore no good argument, the efficacie of Chriſts bodie is ſpirituall in the Sacrament: *Ergo*, the ſubſtance of his bodie is not there ſpiritually: for the ſubſtance of Chriſts bodie is there ſpiritually, as the worker; the effect alſo is ſpirituall, as that which is wrought.

Argum. 2. That onely is giuen to vs in the Sacrament, which was giuen for vs vpon the croſſe: but bread was not giuen on the croſſe for vs: *Ergo*, bread is not giuen in the Sacrament: *Chedſey.*

Anſw. To the propoſition wee anſwere: firſt, the ſame bodie indeede is giuen both in the Sacrament, and vpon the Croſſe, but not after the ſame manner: we haue the ſame bodie, but ſpiritually giuen vs by faith. Secondly, it is not true that that onely is giuen vs in the Sacrament, &c. For there are both the bodie of Chriſt preſent ſpiritually in myſterie, and the bread preſent viſiblie.

Argum. 3. The ſame fleſh, whereby Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman, is giuen of Chriſt to vs to be eaten.

Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman by his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh.

Ergo, his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh is giuen vs to be eaten: *argum. Weſton.*

Anſw. Chriſt giueth vs indeede his true naturall fleſh to be eaten, yet not after a carnall manner, but ſpiritually by faith: *ſic Cranmer.*

Contra. Chriſt gaue vs the ſame fleſh, which he tooke of the Virgin: but he tooke not his true fleſh of the Virgin ſpiritually, or in a figure.

Ergo, he giueth it not vs ſpiritually: *ſic Weſton. diſput. Oxonienſ.*

Anſw. Firſt, the propoſition wee graunt, that Chriſt tooke the ſame fleſh of his mother, which he giueth vs to be eaten, but not after the ſame manner: therefore the aſſumption, which includeth the manner, not the thing, is ſophiſtically inferred, and containeth more than is in the propoſition: which ſpeaketh of the ſame fleſh, but not of the ſame manner.

Secondly, this argument may be turned vpon themſelues: as thus,

Chriſt giueth vs the ſame fleſh, which he tooke.

But hee tooke not his fleſh of his mother ſpirituallie at all, but after an humane manner onely:

Ergo, he giueth not his fleſh to vs to be eaten ſpiritually at all.

If this bee a good conclusion, (which let them graunt, if they will) then is the other brought forth by them.

Argum. 4 *ex Chryſoſtomo.* That thing is ſhewed in the Sacrament, which is worthie moſt higheſt honour in the earth:

But the bodie of Chriſt is worthie higheſt honour, not the elements of bread and wine:

Ergo, the bodie of Chriſt is ſhewed in the Sacrament, *argum. Weſton.*

Anſw. Firſt, the concluſion wee graunt, if it be rightly vnderſtood: for the bodie of Chriſt is ſhewed ſpiritually to the eye of faith in the Sacrament, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Chriſts death is ſhewed forth: for other ſhewing of Chriſts bodie in the Sacrament there can bee none: The Papiſts themſelues cannot demonſtrate vnto vs Chriſts bodie, but onely the externall ſhapes of bread and wine.

Secondly, we graunt that the bodie of Chriſt, thus ſpiritually ſhewed in the Sacrament, is worthie higheſt honour: and that the outward ſignes, not as bare elements, but as they are myſticall ſeales of hidde and heauenly graces, and the Sacraments inſtituted of Chriſt, are of vs to be highly reuerenced, as the ordinances of God. So then Chriſts bodie ſhewed in the Sacrament, is worthie higheſt honour in earth, and the Sacraments, as ſignes of holie things, are highly to be eſteemed.

Argum. 5. The ſoule is fed by that, which the bodie eateth:

But the ſoule is fed by the fleſh of Chriſt:

Ergo, The bodie eateth the fleſh of Chriſt in the Sacrament, *argum. Chedſei.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Sacrament is one thing, the matter of the Sacrament another, outwardly the bodie eateth the Sacrament, inwardly wee eate the bodie of Chriſt: as in Baptiſme the fleſh is waſhed with water, that the ſoule may be purged ſpiritually, ſo our bodie eateth the outward Sacrament, that the ſoule may be fed of God: *ſic Cranmer.*

Secondly, to the argument in particular we anſwere thus: firſt to the propoſition: It is not generally true,that whatſoeuer the bodie eateth,the ſoule is fed by the ſame : and if it be but particularly propounded,this inſtance onely of eating in the Sacrament,then the argument prooueth not,ſtanding wholy of particulars. Againe,the bodie and the ſoule are fed by the ſame meate in the Sacrament,but not after the ſame manner;the bodie is nouriſhed by the naturall propertie of the elements, which they haue to nouriſh : but the ſoule,by the ſacramentall and ſupernaturall power,as they are ſignes and ſeales of holie things. Secondly,wee graunt that the ſoule is fed by the bodie of Chriſt,yet not carnally,but ſpiritually by faith: ſo that this argument may be turned vpon them thus : As the ſoule feedeth vpon Chriſt,ſo doth the bodie:the ſoule is fed by faith: *Ergo*,ſo and no otherwiſe is the bodie. And true it is that the bodie is nouriſhed both with the Sacrament,and with the bodie of Chriſt: with the Sacrament(though not as a Sacrament) naturally to temporall life ; with the bodie of Chriſt (ſupernaturally by the gift of faith in the ſoule) to eternall life : *ſic Cranmer ad Weſtonum.*

*Argum.*6. As Chriſt liueth by the Father,ſo liue we by his fleſh :
But Chriſt liueth by his Father naturally :
Ergo,we liue naturally by the eating of Chriſts fleſh,*argum.Treſhami.*

Anſw. 1. The firſt part of this argument is not generally true : for Chriſt liueth otherwiſe by the Father in many reſpects: for he is the Sonne of God by nature from all eternitie,but ſo are not we. Secondly,the Papiſts themſelues denie any ſuch naturall eating of Chriſts fleſh : for the naturall foode goeth downe into the bellie,part whereof is turned into the ſubſtance of the bodie, part is throwne out into the draught : But neither is true of Chriſts fleſh ; for if it were conuerted into our fleſh,then ſhould our fleſh alſo bee immortall,and without ſinne,as our foode is : and to ſay, that part thereof goeth the common way of meates, were a monſtrous blaſphemie againſt Chriſts glorious bodie : therefore we cannot ſo naturally eate Chriſts fleſh. Thirdly,we notwithſtanding in a good ſenſe are ſaid naturally to liue by Chriſt : firſt, not only becauſe wee are of his nature according to the fleſh,but rather in that we make all one myſticall bodie, whereof Chriſt is the head : that as the bodie naturally liueth by the head,ſo we doe naturally,that is verely,and in deede,liue by Chriſt. Secondly,in that Chriſt doth communicate vnto vs his nature of eternitie and glorie,and will bring vs to be,where he is,wee are ſaid alſo naturally to liue by Chriſt : *Sic Doctor Cranmer diſputat.Oxonienſ.*

*Argum.*7. The ſpeech of Chriſt,in ſaying(*this is my bodie*) they would thus proue,not to be a figuratiue,but a proper ſpeech.

Argum. Subſtantia, is not predicated denominatiuely :
This word (*bodie*) which is the *prædicatum,* is a ſubſtance :
*Ergo,*it is an eſſentiall predication,not a denominatiue : ſo it is his true bodie,not a figure of his bodie : *argum.Oglithorpi.*

Anſw. Subſtantia may be predicated denominatiuely, in an allegorie or metaphor,or a figuratiue locution : *ſic D.Cranmer diſputat.Oxonienſ.* And ſo is it in this place, where Chriſt ſpeaketh figuratiuely. Againe,they thus argue.

Argum. A figuratiue ſpeech worketh not:
But Chriſts ſpeech,*this is my bodie,*worketh: the word of Chriſt is of ſtrength,and by the Lords words the heauens were made :
*Ergo,*it is no figuratiue ſpeech : *argum.Yongi.*

Anſw. 1. The words of Chriſt doe not worke of themſelues, but Chriſt himſelfe, and he worketh by a figuratiue ſpeech. 2. Chriſts ſpeech,or rather Chriſt by his ſpeech worketh, in inſtituting a Sacrament, not in conuerting the ſubſtance of bread. 3. God doth worke by his power in the Sacraments,as in Baptiſme,ſo in the Euchariſt:But there is no ſuch conuerſion in Baptiſme, therefore not in the other. 4. The Sacrament of Chriſts blood is made ; the words make the blood to them,that receiue it ; not that the blood is in the cup,but in the receiuer : *reſp.D.Cranmer diſputat.Oxonienſ.* Againe,thus they reaſon.

Argum. My ſheepe (ſaith Chriſt) *heare my voyce,and follow me :* but all the ſheepe of Chriſt heare this voyce,*This is my bodie,*without a figure :
Ergo, Chriſts voyce here hath no figure : *argum.D.Ward.*

Anſw. Firſt,the ſheepe of Chriſt follow the voyce of Chriſt,vnleſſe they be ſeduced and deceiued through ignorance: But the ſheepe of Chriſt, neuer vnderſtood this voyce of Chriſt without a figure : for the fathers doe number this place among figuratiue and tropicall ſpeeches:*reſponſ.D. Ridlei diſputat.Oxonienſ.*

*Argum.*8. Whereas we alleage ſuch places of Scripture againſt the reall preſence,as doe make mention of Chriſts aſcenſion into heauen,and his abode there : they on the contrarie labour thus to proue,that Chriſts aſcenſion into heauen, and his continuance there, is no let to the reall preſence of his fleſh in the Sacrament.

Chriſt appeared corporally and really on the earth ſince his aſcenſion into heauen : as he was ſeene of *Paul*, 1. Corinth. 15. and eccleſiaſticall ſtories make mention, that Chriſt appeared corporally vnto Saint *Peter*, as he fled from Rome, as *Egeſippus* writeth, *lib*. 3. *cap*. 3.

Ergo, for all Chriſts being in heauen, he may alſo be in earth, and ſo conſequently in the Sacrament, *argum. Smithi.*

Anſw. Firſt, Chriſt may, when it pleaſeth him, bee in heauen, and in earth, and appeare to whom he will: yet it followeth not, that he will doe ſo. Secondly, that Chriſt appeared to *Paul* and *Stephen*, Act. 7. we graunt, but he was ſeene of them in heauen, not in earth: the ſtory that is reported of Chriſts appearing to S. *Peter*, is not certaine, and therefore it proueth not. Thirdly, though we ſhould graunt the corporall appearance of Chriſt ſometime vpon earth, yet it muſt needes be with ſome intermiſſion of his bodily preſence in heauen: for corporally to be preſent in earth, and corporally to bee in heauen at the ſame time, is contrarie to the Scriptures, and againſt the nature of an humane bodie: wherefore if Chriſt abide in heauen after the manner of his corporall preſence, as the Scripture ſaith, The heauens muſt containe him; this muſt needes hinder his bodily preſence in the Sacrament, *reſponſ. D. Ridlei. diſput. Oxonienſ.*

Argum. 9. Euery Sacrament of the newe Teſtament hath a promiſe of grace, and ſo conſequently the Euchariſt hath:

But there is no promiſe of grace made to the bread and wine, but to the bodie, and blood of Chriſt:

Ergo, the bread and wine are not the Sacraments, but the body, and blood of Chriſt: *argum. Watſon. diſputat. Oxonienſ.*

Anſw. Firſt, there is no promiſe made to bread and wine, as they are common bread, and wine; but in as much as they are ſanctified, and made the Sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they haue a promiſe of grace annexed vnto them. Secondly, and yet to ſpeake properly, this promiſe of the ſpirituall partaking of Chriſts body, is made not to the bread, and wine; but to them which worthily doe receiue the Sacrament: *Reſponſ. D. Ridlei.*

Argum. 10. *ex Chryſoſtemo:* That which the woman did hold in her wombe, that ſame thing holdeth the Prieſt: but the Virgine did beare the very fleſh of Chriſt in deede: *Ergo: argum. Weſtoni.*

Anſw. 1. We grant, the Prieſt holdeth the ſame thing, but after an other manner: ſhe did hold the naturall body, the Prieſt holdeth the myſtery of the body: *reſp. Ridlei. diſputat. Oxonienſ.* And thus far of our aduerſaries arguments.

THE ARGVMENTS OF THE MARTYRS AND holy confeſſors of Gods truth againſt the Reall preſence.

***Argum.* 1.** IF Chriſts body be really in the Sacrament, as it is now celebrated in the Church, then ſo was it preſent, at the firſt inſtitution thereof: If Chriſts body were then eaten in the Sacrament; and Chriſt as he did eate the Paſchall Lambe with his Diſciples, ſo likewiſe did he the Euchriſt: then it will follow, that Chriſt did eate his owne body, which were very abſurd.

Anſw. *Moreman* a popiſh Doctor granteth this conſequent, that Chriſt did eate his owne body: againſt whom Maſter *Philpot* framed this argument.

Receiuing of Chriſts body, hath a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes:

Chriſts eating the Sacrament had no ſuch promiſe: for he had no ſinnes, and therefore needed no remiſſion: *Ergo* Chriſt in the Sacrament did not eate his owne body.

Anſw. 1. Firſt, *Moreman* anſwereth to the propoſition, denying that the receiuing of the Sacrament hath a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes: whom Maſter *Philpot* confuteth by the very words of inſtitution; *Which is giuen for you, which is ſhed for you for remiſſion of ſinnes.*

Anſw. 2. Doctor *Weſton* anſwered, that Chriſt did no more eate the Sacrament for remiſſion of ſinnes, then he was baptized: and by this reaſon may we proue as well, that he was not baptized at all; becauſe Baptiſme is giuen for remiſſion of ſinnes.

Contra. Though Chriſt were baptized, not for any neede thereof, but to giue an example to his Church, yet it is otherwiſe in eating his owne body in the Euchariſt: for the water in Baptiſme of it ſelfe is but a terrene element, but Chriſts body is liuely, and cannot be eaten without ſome effect or operation. Againe, let it be obſerued, how they doe here match the Euchariſt and Baptiſme together, which elſwhere they deny; affirming that theſe two Sacraments haue no liklihood each to other: If then they will compare theſe Sacraments, they muſt be alike herein: that as the bread in the Euchariſt is become, as they ſay, the body of Chriſt; ſo muſt the water likewiſe in Baptiſme: and ſo conſequently it is as abſurd a thing, for Chriſt to eate his owne body in the Euchariſt, as for his body to be waſhed with his body in Baptiſme: *ex diſputat. conuocat. act. 3. diei.*

Argum. 2. The Angell ſaid to the woman, ***He is riſen, he is not heere:*** Matth. 28. Ioh. 16. ***I came from my father into the world: againe, I leaue the world, and goe to my father:*** Chriſt ſpeaketh of his naturall body: *Ergo,* we may conclude, that his body is not now in the world, *argum. Philpotti.*

Anſw. Chriſt is viſibly departed in his humanitie, but inuiſibly notwithſtanding he remaineth in the Sacrament.

Contra. This diſtinction may be taken away by the anſwere of the diſciples to our Sauiour Chriſt in the ſame place, where he ſpeaketh of his departure, Iohn 16. *Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly, and vttereſt forth no prouerbe:* But if Chriſt had vnderſtoode any ſuch inuiſible preſence according to the diſtinction, hee had ſpoken obſcurely, and darkely, not plainely, *reſp. Phil. diſp. conuoc. act. 4. diei.*

Argum. 3. Philpotti: S. *Peter* ſaith, Act. 3. *Whom heauen muſt receiue, till the conſummation of all things:* this is ſpoken of Chriſts humanity: *Ergo,* it cannot be preſent vpon earth in the Sacrament.

Anſw. Harpsfield anſwereth, 1. Chriſt is not *ex neceſſitate,* of neceſſitie forced to any place. *Contra:* Chriſt is no otherwiſe forced of neceſſitie to any place, then as he hath by his owne decree appoynted his body to remaine in heauen, and ſo declared it in his word. The decree therefore of God is immutable, not that God is forced by any to keepe it, but becauſe his will and purpoſe cannot be changed.

Anſw. 2. Chriſt is omnipotent, and may be in heauen, or in earth at his pleaſure. *Contra:* of Chriſts omnipotencie, what he can doe, is not our queſtion, but rather what he doth: it is no good argument, he may doe this or that: *Ergo,* he doth it. So much onely is to be beleeued of Chriſts omnipotencie, as is in the word expreſſed: but that Chriſts bodie is in heauen, and really in the Sacrament vpon earth, is not expreſſed in the word: *Ergo,* it is not to be beleeued, *ſic Philpot Martyr.*

Anſw. 3. This word *oportet,* vſed by S. *Peter,* he muſt, doth not include an abſolute neceſſitie, as may appeare by other places of Scripture: S. *Paul* ſaith, *Oportet Epiſcopum vnius vxoris virum eſſe:* A Biſhop muſt be the husband of one wife, yet he may be a Biſhop, that was neuer married.

Contra. This word *oportet,* is diuerſly taken in Scripture: S. *Paul* deſcribing a Biſhop, ſheweth his qualitie, what manner of perſon he ought to be; but S. *Peter* ſpeaking of Chriſts being in heauen, declareth the place where Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be, vntill his ſecond comming: As when I ſay (*oportet te hic eſſe*) you muſt needes be in this place; here is included an abſolute neceſſitie, that you cannot poſſibly, at the ſame inſtant, be in another place: but when I ſay, *oportet te virum bonum eſſe,* you muſt be a good man: it doth not include any ſuch neceſſitie, but that you may be an euill man: *ſic Philpot diſputat. conuocat. action. 6.* As then this word is taken in common ſpeech, ſo alſo in Scripture: ſometime it ſignifieth (it is meete) conuenient, ſometime it implyeth an abſolute neceſſitie.

Argum. 4. As Chriſt worketh in Baptiſme, ſo he worketh in the other Sacrament.
But in Baptiſme he worketh not by any conuerſion of ſubſtance:
Ergo, there is no ſuch conuerſion in the Euchariſt: *argum. Cran. diſp. Oxon.*

Anſw. 1. Firſt, D. *Young* anſwereth, that by this meanes they will make no change at all in the Sacrament.

Contra. Not ſo, but wee make a great change: as in them that are baptized there is a great change, when the child of the bond-ſlaue of the diuell is made the ſonne of God: ſo is it alſo in the Sacrament of the Supper, when he receiueth vs into his protection and fauour: *ſic Cranmer.*

Anſw. 2. There is great difference betweene Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper: in the Supper the words are directed to the bread: in Baptiſme, to the ſpirit: he ſaid not the water is the ſpirit, but of the bread he ſaid, *This is my body: ſic Weſt.*

Contra. The Scripture in like manner, as here the bread is called Chriſts body, becauſe it repreſented his bodie, ſo it calleth the ſpirit a doue, when the ſpirit deſcended in likeneſſe of a doue: as Iohn 1. *Vpon whomeſoeuer thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirit deſcending:* he calleth that which deſcended, the holy Spirit: the bread then is no more the body of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, then the doue in the Baptiſme of Chriſt lighting vpon him, was the ſpirite.

Argum. 5. ex Theodoreto: who thus reaſoneth againſt the heretike *Eutyches,* who denied two natures of ſubſtance to remaine in Chriſt.

As in the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt after the conſecration, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſts humanitie together with the ſubſtance of bread, ſo in the perſon of Chriſt there doe remaine two ſeuerall ſubſtances, that is, his diuinitie and humanitie vnited together, &c. But if ſo, that there ſhould not remaine in the Sacrament, which is a repreſentation of Chriſt, the ſubſtance of bread, but ſhould be abſorpt by the preſence of Chriſts fleſh, this would make ſtrongly, not againſt, but for *Eutyches,* that euen ſo in the perſon of Chriſt, his humanitie ſhould be ſwallowed vp of his diuine nature annexed thereunto: *argum. Philpotti diſputat. conuocation.*

Argum. 6. To theſe reaſons we may adioyne thoſe ſubſtantiall prooues and arguments exhibited by that famous Clerke, and moſt conſtant Martyr Biſhop *Ridley,* in his learned diſputation at Oxford.

1 The reall preſence varieth from the articles of the faith, *He aſcended into heauen,&c. and from thence, and from no other place ſhall he come to iudge the quicke and the dead.*

2 It deſtroyeth and taketh away the inſtitution of the Lords Supper: firſt, the Lords Supper was commanded onely to be vſed, vntill the Lord himſelfe ſhould come: but if he be come already in his fleſh, then muſt the Supper ceaſe. Secondly, wee are commaunded, to vſe it in remembrance of Chriſt: but a remembrance is not of a thing preſent, but of a thing that is paſt, and abſent.

3 This opinion of the reall preſence,admitteth many abſurdities:as that whoremongers,murtherers, wicked and faithleſſe men, yea myce, rats, and dogs alſo may receiue the very reall, and corporall body of the Lord.

4 It confirmeth and maintaineth that beaſtly kind of crueltie of the *Anthropophagi*, that is, the deuourers of mans fleſh: for it is a more cruell thing to deuoure a quicke man, then to ſlay him.

5 Againe, the bread which Chriſt gaue to his Diſciples, hee brake: but his body could not be broken, for the Scripture ſayth, Exod.12. *Ye ſhall not breake a bone of him.*Further the bread which Chriſt giueth vs to eate, came downe from heauen, Iohn 6. But Chriſts body came not downe from heauen: *Ergo,* his body is not carnally eaten, and after a fleſhly maner.

*Argum.*7. Here we may remember alſo the pithy arguments of that renowned learned man *Peter Martyr*, propoſed by him in his diſputation at Oxford.

1 The analogie or reſemblance betweene the Sacrament, and the thing ſignified in the Sacrament,muſt alwayes be kept: But ſo is it not,if the real preſence be affirmed, without the ſubſtance of bread and wine:as it is thus further proued. Firſt, one point of reſemblance is in nouriſhing, that as the bread and wine nouriſh the body, ſo the body of Chriſt doth ſpiritually nouriſh the ſoule: but the elements of bread and wine without a ſubſtance cannot nouriſh, they cannot therefore reſemble the ſpirituall nouriſhment. Secondly, another reſemblance in the Sacrament is this,that as one loafe of bread, and one cup of wine containeth many cornes, and grapes; ſo the myſticall congregation containeth many members,yet maketh but one body: but if there be no ſubſtance of bread and wine (which ſhould conſiſt of many cornes, and grapes vnited) remaining,this ſimilitude of the coniunction of the parts and members of the Church, cannot be repreſented: *Ergo,* there remaineth the ſubſtance of bread and wine, or elſe the analogie of the Sacrament is aboliſhed.

2 The death of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament, but by ſimilitude: for it is done in remembrance of his death: Chriſt in the Sacrament dyeth not verily, or is crucified againe.

The precious blood of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament, as his death is preſent, for Chriſts blood was ſhed in his death,and without his dying his blood cannot be ſhed: if his death be verily and indeed,ſo is the ſhedding of his blood: if one be in myſterie,ſo is the other:

*Ergo,*the precious blood is not preſent in the Sacrament, but by ſimilitude,and as the death of Chriſt is ſhewed forth.

3 Chriſts body cannot be really in the Sacrament,vnleſſe it be in many places at once: for out of heauen his body muſt not be vntill Chriſts ſecond comming:

But his body being a true naturall body cannot bee at one inſtant preſent in many places: *Ergo.*

The aſſumption or ſecond part is thus proued: Firſt, Spirits being of a more rare and ſubtill ſubſtance then a bodie is,cannot be in many places at once: as the ſoule of man hath his certaine place,ſo alſo are the Angels limited at one time to one place: much more is a naturall bodie tyed vnto a definite and certaine place. Secondly, euery quantitie, that is, euery body hauing magnitude,length,and other dimenſions,is circumſcribed in one peculiar place: but the bodie of Chriſt hath his dimenſions,and is a quantitie: *Ergo:*

4 The wicked receiue not Chriſts body:

But if Chriſt be really preſent in the Sacrament, and ſo all receiue his body that communicate in the Sacrament, then ſhould the wicked bee partakers of Chriſts bodie, which is not to be graunted:

*Ergo,*Chriſts bodie is not really preſent.

That the wicked eate not Chriſts bodie,it is further thus proued:

To eate Chriſt, is for a man to haue Chriſt dwelling, and abiding in him, the wicked haue not Chriſt dwelling in them.

*Ergo,*the wicked eate not the bodie of Chriſt. Againe,

Chriſts body is eaten by faith.

But the wicked haue no faith.

*Ergo,*they cannot eate the bodie of Chriſt: that Chriſts body is eaten onely by faith, it thus appeareth:

That bread, the eating whereof giueth eternall life, is eaten by faith : as Iohn 6.47. *He that beleeueth in me hath euerlaſting life*, and verſe 50. *He which eateth of this bread, ſhall not die.* Here to beleeue, and to eate of the heauenly bread, are all one, becauſe they bring forth the ſame effect, namely euerlaſting life : But Chriſts bodie is this heauenly bread, that giueth euerlaſting life, verſe 53.

Ergo, his body is onely eaten by faith. And further thus :

Chriſts body is either eaten by ſenſe, reaſon, or faith :

But the wicked eate him not by any of theſe meanes : *Ergo*, not at all.

Not by ſenſe : for they ſay, that Chriſts body in the Sacrament is not ſenſible : they are the ſhapes onely and accidents of bread and wine that are ſeene, felt, and taſted, (as they ſay) in the Sacrament : Not by reaſon, for the Sacrament exceedeth all reaſon. *Nec fides habet meritum, vbi ratio præbet experimentum :* Faith is nothing worth where reaſon maketh experience : And faith wicked men and vnbeleeuers cannot haue: *Ergo*, they cannot eate Chriſts bodie at all.

5 The holy Ghoſt could not come, if the body of Chriſt were really preſent, as it is proued, Iohn 16. *Vnleſſe I goe from you, the holy Ghoſt cannot come.*

That the holy Ghoſt is come it is moſt certaine : *Ergo*, Chriſt cannot be really preſent, for this were to depriue vs of the preſence of Gods ſpirit.

6 If Chriſt had giuen his body ſubſtantially and carnally in the ſupper, then was that body either paſſible, or impaſſible :

But you cannot ſay that it was either paſſible, or impaſſible : *Ergo*, Chriſts paſſible bodie is not now giuen to bee eaten, for Chriſt dieth no more, his bodie is now glorified, and can bee no more paſſible.

Neither did he giue an impaſſible bodie to be eaten: for he ſaith, *This is my body, which ſhall be giuen for you:* that is, which ſhould ſuffer and be crucified for them: If it be then neither paſſible, nor impaſſible, it is no bodie at all. And thus farre alſo of theſe arguments, who liſt at large further to know the ſure and ſubſtantiall grounds of the faith of the holy Martyrs in this matter, may ſupply what is here wanting, which for want of ſufficient leyſure, and the neceſſitie of finiſhing and haſtening this worke, I could not at large collect together, may make a ſupplie thereof by his owne obſeruation out of the ſtorie of their actes and doings. Againſt the reall preſence we haue the full conſent of antiquitie.

S. *Cyprian ſerm. de cœna Domini. Panem Angelorum ſub Sacramento manducamus, &c.* We eate the bread of Angels vnder a Sacrament in earth, we ſhall eate the ſame without a Sacrament more manifeſtly in heauen: The ſame bodie ſhall be eaten in heauen, which is eaten in earth, though not after the ſame manner : but Chriſts fleſh ſhall not be eaten in heauen, therefore it is not eaten in earth.

Againe in the ſame Sermon, *Eſus carnis huius, &c.* The eating of this fleſh, is a certaine deſire of abiding in him : That which food is to the fleſh, that is faith to the ſoule : that, which meate is to the bodie, that is the word to the ſpirit.

Origen. homil. 16. *in Numer. Bibere dicimur ſanguinem Chriſti, &c.* We are ſaid to drinke the blood of Chriſt, not onely in the ſacramentall rites, but when wee receiue his word. If Chriſt be eaten in his word, as in the Sacrament, then is he onely eaten ſpiritually.

Chryſoſtome alſo, *hom.* 51. *in Matth. Tangamus nos fimbriam veſtimenti, &c.* Let vs touch the hemme of Chriſts garment, whoſe not veſture onely, but his body is ſet before vs. As Chriſts garment is ſet before vs, ſo is his body; but the one is ſpiritually done, therefore the other. Againe, *Ne agnum comedentes, in lupos conuertamur, &c.* Let vs not after we haue eaten the Lambe, be turned into Wolues: As men are turned into wolues, ſo they eate the Lambe; but they are ſo ſpiritually onely turned : *Ergo*, they do ſpiritually eate the Lambe : *Non eſt opus, &c.* We haue no neede of golden veſſels, but of golden ſoules, *ibid.* Chriſts body then is food for the ſoule.

Auguſtine in Pſalm. 14. *Donec ſeculum finiatur, ſurſum eſt Dominus; ſed etiam hic nobiſcum eſt veritas Domini: corpus enim in quo reſurrexit, in vno loco eſſe oportet, veritas eius vbique diffuſa eſt :* While the world ſhall laſt, the Lorde is aboue, and the veritie of the Lorde is with vs: for his body, wherewith hee roſe muſt bee in one place, but the veritie thereof is euery where diſperſed.

Hierom. ad Marcellum : Stultum eſt in paruo loco vel abſcondito quærere, qui totius mundi eſt lumen: It is great fooliſhneſſe to ſeeke him in a corner (as the popiſh Prieſt doth, that putteth him into the pixe) who lighteneth the whole world.

Ambroſius: Qui diſcordat à Chriſto non manducat carnem eius, nec bibit ſanguinem, etſi tantæ rei ſacramentum accipiat : Hee that diſſenteth from Chriſt, doth neither eate his fleſh, nor drinke his blood, though hee receiue the Sacrament thereof. If wicked men eate not Chriſts body, and yet eate the Sacrament, then is not the bodie of Chriſt the Sacrament.

Againe, S. *Ambroſe lib.* 1. *offic. c.* 48. *Nunc Chriſtus offertur, ſed hic in imagine, &c.* Now Chriſt is offered, but here in an image or ſimilitude, but there in trueth, where he as our aduocate maketh interceſsion for vs with his Father: if Chriſts body then be onely in veritie in heauen, then is not his true body carnally preſent in the earth.

Likewiſe, *Tertullian contra Marcion. lib. 4. Auguſt. in Pſal. 3. cont. Adimant. cap. 12.* In this ſpeech of Chriſt, *This is my bodie,* doe vnderſtand the figure of his bodie. Likewiſe *Origen. hom. 7. Leuitic. Eſt in Euangelijs litera, quæ occidit:* There is a killing letter in the Goſpell, as well as in the old Teſtament, for if according to the letter we follow that, which is ſaid, *Vnleſſe yee eate my fleſh, &c.* this letter killeth. And many teſtimonies wee haue beſide, but theſe here ſhall ſuffice, and ſo I conclude this place.

HEERE FOLLOWETH A SHORT TREATISE CONSISTING OF THREE PARTS: THE FIRST CONTAINETH THE REASONS OF THE HOLY MARTYRS, AGAINST THE MASSE: THE SECOND, A confutation of Maſſe-goſpellers arguments, in defence of their going to Maſſe: the third dealeth againſt Popiſh Recuſants.

THE FIRST PART.

ARGVMENTS IN GENERALL AGAINST the Idolatrous ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

B. Ridley Martyr. Epiſt ad Bradford. pag. 1725.

THere are two moſt perilous engines, whereby Antichriſt doth chiefly impugne the veritie and faith of the Goſpell, which ſeeme to bee the moſt maſſie poſtes, and mightie pillers, whereby he vpholdeth, and maintaineth his Kingdome: the one is the idolatrous vſe of the Lords Supper, which they haue turned into the idoll of the Maſſe: the other is the proud and arrogant vſurpation of the primacie of the See of Rome. Of this latter we haue entreated before at large: this other pillar, as we haue hitherto in this place laid particular aſſault vnto it, ſo now, we will by Gods grace ſhake the foundation of it all at once: by ſetting forth ſuch valiant arguments, wherewith the faithfull and ſtout Souldiers of Chriſt, the holy Martyrs and confeſſors of the truth, haue armed themſelues, againſt this raging beaſt, that hath deuoured the precious liues of ſo many of Gods Saints.

Argum.* 1.** The popiſh Maſſe, is not onely diuers from the inſtitution of the Lords Supper, but contrarie to it, not diſſenting onely from it, but quite and cleane ouerthwarting, and ouerthrowing it: ***Ergo, it is abominable.

The antecedent or firſt part of the argument thus appeareth to be true, by theſe particulars. Firſt, Chriſt commanded it to be done in his remembrance: the Prieſt ſaith Maſſe in remembrance of dead men. Secondly, Chriſt tooke bread, and left bread: the Prieſt taketh bread and coniureth it away. Thirdly, Chriſt tooke bread and brake it: the Prieſt taketh bread and hangeth it vp. Fourthly, Chriſt tooke bread and gaue it to his Apoſtles: the Prieſt eateth euery whit alone. Fiftly, Chriſt gaue a Sacrament to ſtrengthen mens faith: the Prieſt giueth a ſacrifice to redeeme mens ſoules. Sixtly, Chriſt gaue it to be eaten; the Prieſt giueth it to be worſhipped: Chriſt gaue bread; the Prieſt ſaith he giueth a God, ***Ergo,*** the Maſſe is contrarie and oppoſite to Chriſts inſtitution. *ex dialog. conſuetud. verit. p.* 1392.

***Argum.* 2.** Whatſoeuer commandeth and practiſeth things contrarie to the word, will, and commaundements of God, is to be abhorred and deteſted: But ſo doth the Maſſe: it maintaineth inuocation of Angels and Saints, prayer for the dead, adoration of creatures, yea euen of bakers bread, opinion of merits, with ſuch like, as we haue proued before ſeuerally in euery one of theſe queſtions: *Ergo.*

*Argum.*3. The ſacrifice of the Maſſe, which they ſay is a propitiatorie ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead, is iniurious and derogatorie to the death and paſſion of Chriſt: *Ergo,* it is abomniable.

The firſt is thus proued: to reiterate a thing once done for the ſame end wherefore it was begunne, declareth the imperfection of the ſame thing before: but in the Maſſe is reiterated the ſacrifice of Chriſt for the ſame end, for the which it was firſt offered, namely for propitiation and remiſſion of ſinnes: *Ergo,* it maketh Chriſts ſacrifice vnperfect. *Argumentum M. Bradford. Fox.* pag. 1397. col. 2.

*Argum.*4. The Maſſe alſo is blaſphemous to the Prieſthood of Chriſt, which is eternall and perpetuall; but by that popiſh ſacrifice it is made not eternall: That thing is not eternall or perpetuall, which admitteth ſucceſſion of other to doe the ſame thing, that was done before, Heb. 7. 23. But the Maſſe Prieſts ſucceede after Chriſt, doing the ſame ſacrifice, as they ſay, which he did before: *Ergo,* they make Chriſts Prieſthood not to be perpetuall. *Argum. Bradford.*

*Argum.*5. The popiſh Prieſthood is idolatrous and abominable: *Ergo,* ſo is their ſacrifice. *Probatur antecedens.*

No ſacrifice ought to be done, but by a Prieſt meete for the ſame, and appoynted thereunto.

But all Prieſts are vnmeete to offer ſacrifice for ſinne, ſauing Chriſt, becauſe they are ſinners, Hebr. 7. 27. And onely Chriſt is called to that honour, to ſacrifice for ſinnes, he being the onely Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech,* Hebr. 5. 6. *Ergo,* popiſh Prieſts haue no authoritie to ſacrifice for ſinnes, but in ſo doing commit ſacriledge and idolatrie. *Argument. B. Ridlei. Fox pag.* 1445.

*Argum.*6. The Maſſe is a vaine, needleſſe, and fruitleſſe action: *Ergo,* to be aboliſhed. It is thus proued.

After eternall redemption found and obtained, there needeth no more dayly offering for the ſame.

But Chriſt hath for vs obtained eternall redemption, Heb. 9. 12. and is able perfectly to ſaue vs, Heb. 7. 25. *Ergo,* all ſacrifice and oblation for the ſame is needles and in vaine. *Argum. D. Ridlei.*

*Argum.*7. As the matter, end, and the Miniſter of the Maſſe are, as we haue ſeene, all idolatrous and vnlawfull; ſo alſo is the manner thereof. All things, according to S. *Paules* rule, ought to be done in the Church in a knowne and edifying tongue, 1. Cor. 14. But the Maſſe is celebrate in a ſtrange and vnknown tongue: *Ergo,* it ought not to be done or vſed in the Church.

*Argum.*8. The Maſſe hindreth the right ſeruice of God: *Ergo.* Whatſoeuer cauſeth a man to reſt in the outward ſeruing of God, whoſe ſeruice ſhould be inward, in ſpirit and truth; that hindreth the true ſeruice of God. But this doth the Maſſe, requiring nothing but externall ſeruice; in hearing, ſeeing, gazing, peeping, ſtouping, kneeling, knocking: yea and they make theſe things meritorious, *Ex opere operato, etiam ſine bono motu intentionis:* By the very worke wrought, without any good motion or intention: *Ergo,* the Maſſe deſtroyeth the true ſeruice of God.

*Argum.*9. The Maſſe is an enemie to preaching, praying, and all other godly Chriſtian exerciſes: *Ergo.*

Where one thing is made and thought to be alone ſufficient, there all other helpes are needleſſe. But the Maſſe, as they ſay, ſerueth for all, to pardon ſinnes, to deliuer from Hell and Purgatorie: to giue health both of bodie and ſoule: *Ergo,* it maketh all other helpes needleſſe, hearing of Gods word, praying, repenting, &c. and other helpes to good life. *Argumentum Magiſtri Foxi.*

*Argum.*10. As the Maſſe ouerthroweth the true ſeruice of God, and doth oppoſe it ſelfe to all Chriſtian exerciſes, ſo doth it alſo hinder a good life.

Whatſoeuer maketh men preſumptuous, and miniſtreth falſe hope of forgiueneſſe to the wicked, maketh them more prone and readie to ſinne, and hindreth good life.

But this doth the Maſſe, promiſing ſufficient redemption to the wicked, that haue ſpent their life in drunkenneſſe, adulteries, wantonneſſe, ſwearing, riot, exceſſe, and in all vncleannes, if they will but come to the Church and heare a Maſſe, and take holy bread, and holy water, or finde a ſoule Prieſt, or giue ſomewhat to the Prieſt to doe penance for him; though they neither pray, nor repent, nor heare the word preached.

This is proued by the confeſſion of *Roger Holland,* who was at the firſt an obſtinate Papiſt, yet afterward (God hauing mercy vpon him) he was conuerted to the faith of the Goſpell, and dyed a conſtant Martyr. It is not vnknown (ſaith he) that I was of this your blind religion, and therein continued obſtinately all King *Edwards* dayes: and hauing libertie vnder your auricular confeſſion, I made no conſcience of ſinne at all; truſting to the Prieſts abſolution, he for money alſo doing ſome penance for me: which after I had giuen, I cared no further what offences I did, ſo that lechery, ſwearing, and all other vices I accounted no offence or daunger, ſo long as I might haue them abſolued for money. *Hæc Roger Holland. Martyr. coram Bonero. vid. plur. Fox. pag.* 2040. *col.* 1.

Ergo, the Maſſe bringeth wicked men into a fooles paradiſe, and maketh them preſumptuous, and more bold to ſin, and ſo hindreth good life. Wherefore, ſeeing the popiſh Maſſe is ſo contrary to the inſtitution of Chriſt, ſo full of errors and blaſphemies, ſo derogatorie to the eternall Prieſthood, and onely ſufficient ſacrifice of Chriſt, a peruerting of ſound doctrine, and a deſtruction of good life and manners: we conclude, that it is an abominable inuention, and ſay with Doctor *Taylor*, that it is one of Antichriſts daughters, *Epiſtol. ad vxorem. p.*1588. with Biſhop *Ridley*, that it is one of the maſſie poſtes, and mighty pillars of Sathans Synagogue, pag. 1725. with *William Tims* Martyr, that in the ſacrament of the Altar, Chriſt is not preſent neither ſpiritually, nor corporally, but as they vſe it, it is an abominable Idol, pag. 1897. with *Thomas Hudſon* Martyr, that it is a patched monſter, a diſguiſed puppet, more longer a peecing then euer was *Salomons* temple, pag. 2035. And therefore to be abhorred and deteſted of euery good Chriſtian.

HERE FOLLOW OTHER REASONS, WHY IT IS not lawfull to reſort to the popiſh Maſſe, or any part of their Idolatrous ſeruice.

Arg. 1. FOr as much, as there haue beene ſome of opinion, (whether caried away with a ſelfe-loue, and ſingularitie in themſelues, or thereunto driuen by reaſon of their weakenes, in time of perſecution) that a man keeping his heart and conſcience to himſelfe, might preſent himſelfe, for ſafegard of his life, at the popiſh idolatrous and maſſing ſeruice. How dangerous this opinion is, and how vnlawfull a thing it is ſo to do, we will by theſe reaſons make it plaine. Firſt, the Maſſe, and the whole popiſh ſeruice, (though the firſt we graunt, is fuller of abominations, and therefore more dangerous; yet both of them wicked and abominable;) doth repugne maniſeſtly againſt Gods word. In the Maſſe, theſe things are offenſiue, and intolerable; the want of ſhewing the Lords death, in making it priuate, whereas it ſhould be a Communion: the Sacrament is not communicated vnder both kindes: the ſigne is ſeruilely worſhipped, for the thing ſignified: Chriſts paſſion is iniuried, ſeeing they make the Maſſe a propitiatorie ſacrifice: *Ergo*, for theſe abominations, we ought neither to heare, nor ſee a Maſſe. *Argum. Ridlei. p.* 1718.

In the popiſh ſeruice or leiturgie, theſe notorious abuſes and ſuperſtitions are common: In their Mattens and Euenſong, there is idolatrie maintained, inuocation of Saintes, kneeling to the Rood, creeping to the Croſſe, reading fables in ſtead of Scripture, prayer for the dead, and all is done in an vnknowne tongue, which is forbidden in Gods word. Wherefore ſeeing they are manifeſtly oppoſite to the word of God, we ought not to vouchſafe our preſence, leſt thereby we ſhould ſeeme to giue conſent vnto them. *Arg. Bradford in epiſtol. quad. p.* 1647.

Argum. 2. Wee cannot be partakers of Gods Religion, and Antichriſts ſeruice, whereof the Maſſe is moſt principall: and the Latine ſeruice is a plaine marke of Antichriſts Synagogue: a man can not be a member of Chriſts Church, and of the Popes Church: But he that frequenteth their idolatrous aſſemblies, maketh himſelfe a member thereof: *Ergo*, he cutteth himſelfe off from the Church of Chriſt. *Argum. Bradford.*

Argum. 3. To diſſemble, and to halte in matters belonging to Gods glorie, is a thing impious and vngodly: but they which are preſent at Maſſe, both hearing the name of God blaſphemed, and ſeeing many abominations, and yet holding their peace, doe notably diſſemble: for as the Iewes were wont to rend their clothes, when they heard or ſaw any thing done or ſpoken blaſphemouſlie againſt God: and *Paul* and *Barnabas* did ſo likewiſe, when they ſaw the people of Lycaonia readie to offer ſacrifice vnto them; ſo ought we to open our mouthes againſt the blaſphemie and abominations of the Maſſe: but this the Maſſe-goſpellers doe not: *Ergo*, they are diſſemblers, and to be condemned in ſo doing, *Argum. Bradford epiſtol. quad. p.* 1652.

Argum. 4. Frequenting of Maſſe impugneth diuers petitions in the Lordes prayer, and ſo the practiſe of ſuch is contrarie to the daily prayer they vſe: How can we ſay, *let thy kingdome come*, and goe to Maſſe, when as nothing in the earth more deſtroyeth the preaching & kingdome of Chriſt, than the Maſſe? How can we pray, *thy will be done*, when we will doe our owne will, and the will of our parents and friends, and not Gods will? How pray we, *deliuer vs from euill*, which knowing the Maſſe to be euill, doe come to it? *Ergo*, if we meane, as we pray, going to Maſſe is to bee auoyded: *argum. Bradford. ibid.*

Argum. 5. The Maſſe and Latine ſeruice, and the ſetters forth of it, condemne the Engliſh reformed ſeruice, as hereſie, and ſo do they which communicate with their aſſemblies, thus condemning that in practiſe, which they allow in iudgement: contrarie to S. *Pauls* rule, *Bleſſed is hee that condemneth not himſelfe, in that thing which he alloweth*, Rom. 14. 22. *Ergo*, in going to Maſſe, they ſin againſt their owne conſcience: *argum. Bradford. p.* 1647. *col.* 1.

Argum. 6. All things, which giue occaſion to the wicked to be more obfirmed, to the weake to ſtumble and fall, are to be abhorred: But Goſpellers going to Maſſe, and by their preſence giuing allowance of it; doe occaſion the obſtinate to bee more intractable: the weake Papiſts to bee more obſtinate: the ſtrong Goſpellers to be ſore weakned: the weake Goſpellers to be vtterly ouerthrowne: *Ergo.argum.Bradford.ibid.*

*Argum.*7. *Daniel* refuſed to be defiled with the Kings meates, Dan.1.8.which were polluted by idolatrie,and ſo *Iudith* likewiſe,Iud.12. The Macchabees manfully gaue their liues in defence of the ceremonies of the Law: *Ergo*,we ought much more to endure and ſuffer all things for the maintenance of the word of God,and Sacraments:*argum.D.Ridlei.pag.*1722.

*Argum.*8. God commaunded his people by the mouth of his Prophet *Amos*, chap.5.verſ.5. not to ſeeke Bethel,neither to enter into Gilgall,where idolatrie was vſed: *My ſoule hath no pleaſure in theſe, ſaith the Lord, that withdraw themſelues*, Hebr.10.38. *If any man prophane the temple of God,him will God deſtroy*,1.Cor.3.17. All ſtraunge religion is counted whoredome with the Prophets, and they that follow the ſame goe a whoring: none of thoſe whoſe names are written in the booke of life,doe receiue the marke of the beaſt,Apocal.13.

But they that goe to Maſſe,enter into Bethel,and Gilgall,that is,places of idolatrie,they withdraw themſelues from the faith, in their outward behauiour: they prophane their bodies,which are Gods temples, being preſent at idolatrous ſeruice: they goe a whoring after a ſtraunge worſhip: yea and they carrie the marke of Antichriſt in their externall obedience: *Ergo*, the Maſſe is abominable,and they in ſo doing,are in daunger of Gods curſe: *argum. M.Philpotti Martyr, epiſtol.quad.p.*1832.

*Argum.*9. *Abraham*,becauſe he would not bee partaker of their Idolatrie,fled from the people of Chaldea,his natiue countrie: *Lot* departed from the Sodomites,leaſt hee ſhould bee conſumed with them: *Sara* would not ſuffer *Iſmael*,who was giuen to mocking,to keepe companie with her ſonne *Iſaac*,leaſt he alſo ſhould become a mocker. *Moſes* at Gods appointment, commanded the people to depart from the tents of Chore,Dathan,and Abiram,leaſt they ſhould bee all wrapped in their ſinnes,and ſo periſh among them: And the Scripture ſaith,*Goe out of her my people,that you be not partakers in her ſinnes, and ſo receiue of her plagues*, Apocal.18.verſ.4. *Ergo*,we muſt not keepe companie with Idolaters and Maſſe-mongers, in their idolatrous and maſſing temples; for ſo communicating with them in their ſinnes,wee doe entangle our ſelues in their puniſhment: *arg. Gulielm.Tyms.epiſt.Fox p.*1900.*col.*2.

*Argum.*10. Laſtly,what better proofe can wee haue,then the wofull experience of thoſe,who profeſſing the Goſpell,were entiſed through their infirmitie to come to Maſſe, and afterward either iudged themſelues,feeling inwardly an horror of conſcience,and ſo repented them,or continuing in that ſinne, were iudged of God.

Examples of the firſt,we haue one *Cicelie Ormes*,who for the ſpace of a tweluemoneth after ſhe had recanted,could not be quiet in conſcience,vntill ſhe had vtterly forſaken all poperie,and at the laſt gaue her life for the faith of Chriſt,pag.2023. Alſo one *William Sparrow*,who hauing yeelded to be confeſſed and heare Maſſe,had ſuch trouble in conſcience,that he could not bee at reſt, till he had renued the confeſſion of his former faith,and dyed for the ſame, *Fox* pag.2026. Many ſuch examples are occurrent euery where to ſuch,as are conuerſant in the ſtories of the Martyrs: and all theſe iudged themſelues,and found mercie.

I will ſet ſet downe one notable example of a backſlider, who not iudging himſelfe, was iudged of God: One *Robert Edgore* ſeruing in the place of the Clarke, in the Church of Mendleſham in Suffolke,but ſore againſt his conſcience, was at the length ſo depriued of his wittes,that many yeeres after his poore wife was conſtrained to keepe him bound in chaines.Notwithſtanding this ſo good a warning, one *George Reuet*,that had been a talkatiue Goſpeller, for lucres ſake, ſet his ſonne into the ſame roome; and being therefore reprooued of ſome good Chriſtians, his neighbours,he wiſhed of God that if it were not Gods will his ſonne ſhould ſerue in that place, God would ſhew ſome ſtraunge token, which came euen ſo to paſſe: for the Lord ſent vpon him a ſtrange ſwelling in his legges,which riſing vp to his bodie did ſo torment him, that he dyed moſt miſerably and impatiently,*Fox* pag.1918.col.1.

Thus I truſt,it appeareth how daungerous and vnlawfull a thing it is for Chriſtians to aſſociate themſelues to idolatrous aſſemblies,and to be preſent at Maſſe,or other popiſh ſeruice. Now becauſe it is the propertie of fleſh and blood,to ſeeke ſtarting holes,and to ſearch euery corner, to finde ſome excuſe to ſalue the weaknes, and infirmitie thereof, and with *Adam* as with fig leaues to hide our nakednes: I will therefore ſet downe certaine obiections with their anſweres: which ſome haue inuented in defence,or at the leaſt to excuſe their going to Maſſe.

CERTAINE OBIECTIONS WITH THEIR ANſweres made by Maſſe-goſpellers, in defence of their going to Maſſe.

*Obiect.*1. IT is not materiall, though my bodie be preſent, if my heart doe not conſent to their wicked doings.

Anſ. 1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Glorifie God in your bodie, and in your ſpirit,* 1.Cor.6.20. It is not enough then, to reſerue our ſoule onely for God; but as he hath made both bodie and ſoule, ſo we muſt honour him in both, *Reſponſ.M.Philpotti.pag.*1832.*col.*1.

2. In *Helies* time God counted none to be his ſeruants and people, but ſuch as had not bowed their knees to *Baal,* 1.King.19. euen ſo now he is Gods faithfull ſeruant, that hath not bowed his knee to the filthie Idoll of the Maſſe, or any other abomination. We muſt not thinke that God requireth leſſe of vs, than the husband of his wife: will the husband admit his wiues excuſe, finding her in bed with another, that her heart notwithſtanding is her husbands? No more will Chriſt allow the preſence of your bodie at Maſſe, though your heart be not conſenting to it, *Reſponſ.Bradford.p.*1652.*col.*1.

*Obiect.*2. It is a great crime to diuide and ſeparate our ſelues from the communion and fellowſhip of the Church, which is the common practiſe of the Anabaptiſts in our daies; and of the Nouatians, and the heretikes called (*Cathari*) in times paſt: therefore we thinke it beſt to retaine the fellowſhip of the Church, and to come to the ordinarie and vſuall aſſemblies.

Anſw. The ſect of the Anabaptiſts, Nouatians, and other heretikes is to bee condemned, who vpon no iuſt or neceſſarie occaſion doe ſeparate and diuide themſelues from the Church: alſo we graunt that the vnitie of the Church is to be retained by all meanes, as a thing neceſſarie to ſaluation: but the Popiſh Maſſe, as it is now vſed, is not the communion of the Church, but a monſtrous Idoll, and grieuous prophanation of the Lords Supper: So that they which abſtaine from it, doe not breake themſelues off from the fellowſhip of the Church, but indeed they depart from Babylon, and the abominations thereof, *Reſponſ.D.Ridlei.pag.*1718. Vnitie therefore and concord, is to be ſought for by all meanes, and embraced, but vnitie, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Secundum Ieſum Chriſtum,* According to Ieſus Chriſt: *Sic beat.Latimer.ibid.*

*Obiect.*3. Admit there bee ſome fault in the Maſſe, and ſomewhat that may bee mended, and made better: if you doe not conſent thereunto, what neede you further trouble your ſelfe. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that communion of the Sacraments defile not a man, but conſent of deedes.

Anſ. If there were but ſome ſmall faults, and indifferent matters, or tolerable abuſes in the Maſſe, rather ſhewing ſome imperfection, than tending to open impietie; they might for common quietnes ſake bee ſomewhat borne withall. But now ſeeing it is ſtuffed full of blaſphemies, and ſpotted with foule idolatrie, manifeſtly impugning the holie inſtitution of the Lords Supper: no man can with good conſcience either in word or deede, giue conſent thereunto. *Auguſtines* meaning is, that the badnes of the Miniſter, or of the receiuers, pollute not the Sacraments nor the commers thereunto, where the Sacraments are rightly adminiſtred: he ſaith not, that men abhorring ſuperſtition, and the traditions of men, thruſt vpon the Church in ſtead of Gods word, ought not to refraine from them for feare of pollution, *Reſp.beat.Ridlei.Martyr.p.*1719.

*Obiect.*4. Vnto this your fact in abſtaining from the Church by reaſon of the Maſſe, the examples of the Prophets, of Chriſt, of the Apoſtles is contrarie: for wee doe not reade, that any of them, no not in moſt ſuperſtitious times, refuſed to communicate in the Temple with the people, in their ſacrifices, and other Sacraments of the Law. Our Sauiour Chriſt and his Apoſtles, making no doubt or ſcruple, haunted the Temple: *Ergo,* you alſo may ſafely come to the popiſh Churches.

Anſw. That the Prophets, Apoſtles, yea our Sauiour Chriſt himſelfe, reſorted to the Iewiſh Temple, we graunt: but we reade not that they did communicate with them in their idolatrie, or ſuperſtitious worſhips, but reproued them: onely in the lawfull ceremonies and rites of the law, they aſſociated themſelues to their aſſemblies: So neither are we angrie with the Churches, or the men there congregated, but would willingly reſort to them, to heare Gods word, and if we might haue the Sacraments rightly adminiſtred: but not to communicate with them in their idolatrous ſeruices, we are taught by the examples aforeſaid, *Reſp.beat.Ridl.ad Antonij obiect.p.*1722.

*Obiect.*5. You condemne the Maſſe, becauſe it is ſaid in an vnknowne tongue, and therefore refuſe to come vnto it. So is Baptiſme alſo miniſtred in the Latine tongue: and yet, you will not ſay, that a child hauing receiued it, is to be baptized againe.

Anſ. There is great difference betweene the popiſh Maſſe, and Baptiſme vſed in poperie: firſt, I deny not Baptiſme to be a Sacrament in their church, nor ſay it ought to be reiterated, becauſe the

ſubſtance

ſtance of the inſtitution is kept, to baptize in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghoſt. But the Maſſe is neither ſacrifice, nor Sacrament at all, becauſe many ſubſtantials of the inſtitution are wanting, as we haue ſhewed before. 2. Though Baptiſme, and all other publike exerciſes ought to be celebrate in the vulgar tongue, yet there is not the like neceſſitie in Baptiſme, becauſe the children are not able to vnderſtand what is ſpoken, in what language ſoeuer: but to the other Sacrament, none but ſuch as are of diſcretion, are admitted. 3. Though children baptized in poperie, are not to bee baptized againe, yet when they come to yeeres of diſcretion, they muſt be taught and inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith: and for ſuch children, as are not yet baptized, the parents might doe better to defer their Baptiſme, than to receiue it in the popiſh Church, till ſome conuenient time, when they may get one to miniſter Baptiſme, not in ſubſtance only, but in rites and ceremonies agreeable to Chriſts inſtitution, wherein the Baptiſme of the popiſh Church faileth, *Reſponſ.beat.Ridlei.Fox p.*1722.

*Obiect.*6. Some will ſay, excuſing themſelues for their going to Maſſe, God is mercifull, and his mercie ouer all, and I truſt he will forgiue vs.

Anſw. True it is, God is mercifull, but wee muſt not ſinne vpon hope of forgiueneſſe: Gods mercie is aboue all his workes, and yet but vpon ſuch as feare him: as wee reade in the Pſalmes, *The mercie of God is on them that feare him*, Pſalm.103.17. And to feare God is to turne from euill, and doe that which is good. So that they which looke to bee partakers of Gods mercie, muſt not abide in any knowne and manifeſt euill, *Reſponſ.beat.Philpot.Fox pag.*1832.

*Obiect.*7. We are commaunded to obey our Magiſtrates, though they bee wicked: and therefore ſeeing they commaund and inioyne vs to come to Maſſe, we ſee not how wee can doe otherwiſe, for feare of contempt, and diſobedience.

Anſw. We are bound indeede to obey wicked Gouernours, but ſo long onely, as they commaund nothing contrarie to Gods word: if they doe, wee muſt herein follow the Apoſtles example, who not obeying the Magiſtrates wicked precepts, anſwered: that it was better to obey God, than men, Act.4. And our Sauiour Chriſt teacheth vs, to giue vnto *Cæſar*, the things that are *Cæſars*, and to God, the things that are Gods, *Reſponſ.Philpot.*

*Obiect.*8. Some other there be, that for an extreame refuge in their euill doing, doe runne vnto Gods predeſtination, and election, ſaying, If I bee elected of God to ſaluation, I ſhall bee ſaued, whatſoeuer I doe.

Anſw. Theſe men bee great tempters of God: they will at the diuels bidding caſt themſelues downe from the pinnacle of the Temple, by preſumption, that God may preſerue them by his Angels, through predeſtination. We muſt not doe euill, that good may come thereof, whoſe damnation is iuſt, ſaith S. *Paul*, Rom.3.8. Wee muſt alſo conſider, that God hath choſen vs to this end, that we ſhould be holie, Epheſ.1.4. And Saint *Peter* willeth vs to make our election ſure through good workes, 2.Pet.1.10. The conſideration of our election then, is ſo farre off from making vs careleſſe of good workes, that it will rather ſtirre vs vp to all godlines of life. So that hee which conformeth not himſelfe to all obedience of life, hath good cauſe to doubt, that he is none of Gods elect, *Reſponſ.Philpot.ibid.*

*Obiect.*9. Some doe obiect the example of *Naaman* the Syrian: who being newly conuerted to the worſhip of the God of Iſrael, deſired to be diſpenſed with, when hee ſhould goe in with the King into the houſe of his Idoll *Rimmon*, and there bow himſelfe, together with the King, that herein God would be mercifull vnto him: vnto whom the Prophet anſwered; Goe in peace, as liking of his motion, and yeelding to it.

Anſw. This example is ſo farre from being any warrant for Chriſtians to preſent themſelues in Idolatrous Temples, that it rather maketh againſt it: for the Prophets anſwere, Goe in peace, doth inſinuate no graunt made of his petition, but rather a prohibition, not to trouble himſelfe about thoſe matters: as if he ſhould haue ſaid, content thy ſelfe, requeſt no ſuch thing, it would trouble thy conſcience, but goe in peace, keepe a good conſcience, and labour for the peace thereof. That the Prophet is thus to be vnderſtood, it ſhall appeare by theſe two arguments.

Firſt, the circumſtance of this place ſheweth it: *Naaman* made two requeſts: one for a toleration to goe into *Rimmons* Temple: the other, for two Mules loade of earth to carrie home with him, to ſacrifice vpon vnto the Lord. Now the Prophet made the ſame anſwere to both: he then either graunted both, or denieth both: but graunt them both he did not: for the one was cleane contrarie to the law, to giue *Naaman* leaue to ſacrifice in Syria, whereas Ieruſalem was onely appointed to bee the place of ſacrifice: neither did *Naaman* aske to haue any Prieſt or Leuite with him, to whom it onely pertained to offer ſacrifice: ſo this had beene another tranſgreſſion of the law. This requeſt therefore, the Prophet in no wiſe is to bee thought to haue graunted: *Ergo*, not the other.

Secondly, the vſe of this phraſe in Scripture, *Goe in peace*, may teach vs how it is to bee taken here: it is twice vſed in one chapter, 2.King.4.verſ.23.and 26. In the 23.verſe the Shunamite, ſo ſoone as her child was departed, which God had giuen vnto her, according to the word of *Eliſha*, made haſte to goe to the Prophet: her husband not knowing the cauſe, ſeemed to bee vnwilling: *Wherefore wilt thou goe to him to day, ſaith he, ſeeing it is neither new moone, nor Sabboth day? She anſwered, Peace be vnto thee, and ſo went on her iourney:* In ſo ſaying, ſhe condeſcendeth not to her huſbands minde, but willeth him onely to content himſelfe, and not to be too inquiſitiue. Likewiſe in the 26. verſe, as ſhe was comming toward the Prophet, *Gehezi* met her and ſaid, *Art thou in health? is thy huſband and the child in health? She anſwered, Peace be vnto thee:* which was not an affirmation of his queſtion, but a watch-word, that he ſhould deſiſt, from further enquiring of her. As this forme of ſalutation is taken in theſe places, in the ſame ſenſe did the Prophet vſe it, when he ſaid to *Naaman, Peace be vnto thee:* wiſhing him to content, and quiet his minde, and not to trouble himſelfe with ſuch curious matters, which might diſturbe the peace of his conſcience. And thus I thinke this place is anſwered.

Obiect. 10. Laſt of all, it may bee thus obiected out of the 8. of the firſt to the Corinthians, verſ. 10. where the Apoſtle writeth thus: *If any man ſee thee which haſt knewledge ſit downe in the Idols Temple, ſhall not the conſcience of him that is weake, be bold to eate things ſacrificed to Idols?* Here the Apoſtle reprooueth not the ſitting downe in, or reſorting to the Temples of Idols, but onely the eating of things offred to Idols, whereby the weake might be offended: wherefore it ſeemeth not by the Apoſtle to be condemned.

Anſ. 1. This queſtion whether it be lawfull to eate things ſacrificed to Idols, the Apoſtle handleth at large, in the tenth chapter from the 19. verſe to the end: where the whole queſtion is diuided into three members or parts. Firſt, whether it be lawfull to eate them before the Idols in the Idolatrons Temples. Secondly, whether they may buy ſuch meate in the ſhambles: for that which was left of the ſacrifices, the idolatrous Prieſts put to ſale for their aduantage. Thirdly, whether they might eate ſuch things, if they were inuited by the Infidels home to their owne houſes: theſe two laſt caſes the Apoſtle alloweth in themſelues, as matters lawfull and indifferent, vnleſſe the weake brother be thereby offended: but the firſt he maketh abſolutely vnlawfull, without any reſpect had to the offence: Ye cannot, ſaith he, bee partakers of the Lordes table, and the table of diuels: that is, they which communicate in Chriſtian aſſemblies, thereby making themſelues members of Chriſt, ought not to aſſociate themſelues to the companie of the idolatrous Infidels, who in their filthie Idols worſhipped diuels, verſ. 20. 21.

Secondly, this being then the Apoſtles iudgement in that place, no doubt hee is of the ſame minde and meaning here, that it is vtterly vnlawfull to ſit downe at the ſacrificers feaſts in the Idoll Temples: yet he ſpeaketh onely of the offence, that may ariſe to the weake, about the eating of things ſacrificed, becauſe this is the matter onely here in queſtion, ſimplie for the lawfulnes of eating or not eating, without any relation had vnto the place, as it may appeare verſ. 4. And therfore the Apoſtle, who doth alwaies keepe himſelfe to the very point of the queſtion, leaueth the part leſſe pertinent to his purpoſe, and ſtandeth wholly vpon the other, deciding the reſt in the tenth chapter. This place then, is ſo farre off from giuing allowance, either of Chriſtians reſorting then to Idolatrous Temples, or now to popiſh ſeruices: that by comparing this place, in the eight chapter, and the other in the tenth, verſ. 20. we doe gather a ſtrong argument, againſt ſuch practiſes: for as the Apoſtle there reaſoneth againſt Idoll ſacrifices, that they ſacrificed them to diuels, becauſe Idolatrie is the inuention of the diuell: So we may ſay that Maſſe-ſeruice is the ſeruice of the diuell, that monſtrous Idoll being of his inuention and deuiſing; and they therefore that are partakers of it, doe worſhip the inuention of the diuell, and ſo in like manner are partakers of the table of diuels.

I will end now this treatiſe with a notable ſaying of Saint *Auguſtine: Conteſtor vos omnes coram Deo & Angelis eius, ac denuntio, vt nec ad diabolica illa conuiuia, qua aut ad fanum, ad fontes, aut arbores fiant, veniatis: etſi vobis forte inde aliquid tranſmiſſum fuerit, tanquam ſi ipſum diabolum videatis perhorreſcite, vt nec in domum veſtram permittatis, de illo ſacrilego conuiuio quicquam exhiberi, propter illud Apoſtoli, Non poteſtis calicem domini bibere, & calicem dæmoniorum:* I doe charge you all before God and his Angels, and denounce vnto you, that ye neither goe your ſelues vnto thoſe diuelliſh feaſts, which are made in their temples, by fountaines, or vnder trees: and if any thing chaunce to be ſent vnto you from thoſe feaſts, to be afraid to touch it, as if ye ſaw the diuell himſelfe, neither ſuffer any part of ſuch ſacrilegious feaſts to come within your houſe, becauſe the Apoſtle hath ſaid, Ye cannot be partakers of the Lords cup, and the cup of diuels, *Serm. de tempor.* 241.

Thus (I truſt) it hath been ſufficiently declared, how horrible and daungerous a thing it is, for good Chriſtians and welwillers of the Goſpell, though not conſenting in heart, yet in bodie to be preſent at Idolatrous ſeruices, ſuch as we are perſwaded the Maſſe-worſhip is. We haue alſo ſeene their weake grounds and ſimple excuſes, which goe about to maintaine and vphold their weakenes and imbecillitie herein. And here an end of this matter.

As we haue hitherto declared, how vnlawfull a thing it is, for profeſſors of the Goſpell to reſort to Maſſe,or Maſſe-ſeruice; and anſwered,what on the contrarie part may be obiected: ſo now in the next place,we will deale againſt our Recuſants, that refuſe to come to the Engliſh Leiturgie, as it is now vſed in the Church of England: who being of two ſorts, either popiſh, or ſchiſmaticall Recuſants,wee will buckle with them both in order, with the popiſh firſt, and then with the other. And ſeeing theſe alſo are not all of one ſort,for ſome will frequent our prayers, but not abide to heare ſermons; others will reſort to both theſe,but to the Communion in no wiſe.A third ſort,more ſlauiſhly addicted to poperie than the reſt, refuſe to bee preſent at any of them, either prayers, preaching, or Sacraments: we will put them all together, and ioyntly deale with them: firſt confuting their arguments, which they bring in defence of their recuſancie, and then conuincing them by contrarie arguments.

POPISH ARGVMENTS CONFVTED, COMmonly alleaged in defence of Recuſants.

*Arg.*1. THeir firſt argument is drawne from the matter of our Communion and ſeruice: they moſt blaſphemouſly call our Communion, the cup and table of diuels, wherein the diuell(ſay they moſt wickedly) is properly ſerued, *Rhemiſt.*1.*Cor.*10.*annot.in verſ.*9. and that our Communion will come at length to the ſacrifice of *Ceres* and *Bacchus,Rhemiſt.Ioh.*4.4. And as for our ſeruice, they ſay, it is the ſeruice of *Baal,* and plaine Idolatrie, *Rhemiſt.*2.*Cor.*6.*verſ.*14. And therefore they will none of our Communion or ſeruice.

Anſw. Firſt, this new vpſtart generation of Papiſts,in theſe their lyes and blaſphemies, filleth vp the meaſure of their forefathers: for as they blaſphemed, ſo doe theſe. One ſometime a B. in their Church,vnreuerently calleth the Communion table,an oyſter table: Biſhop *White,Fox* pag. 1765. Another ſaith,an houell is good enough for our Communion: they get them a tankard (ſaith he) and one ſaith,I drinke and am thankfull: the more ioy of thee,ſaith another, *Weſton Fox* pag.1459. Theſe lyes and blaſphemies they caſt not at vs, but euen againſt Chriſts inſtitution: for they ſhall neuer be able to ſhew,as long as the world ſtandeth, that any thing is vſed in our Communion beſide or contrarie to Chriſts inſtitution: Chriſt tooke bread and wine and bleſſed it,ſo doe we: he ſaid,*Take,eate,drinke ye all of this*;ſo both the bread and cup is diſtributed in the Communion: he bad vs doe it in remembrance of him; ſo wee doe celebrate the Communion,as a commemoration of Chriſts death and paſſion: and in all things,as neere as we can,we obſerue and keepe the firſt inſtitution. Wherefore,if our Communion bee the table of diuels; if it be the feaſt of *Ceres* and *Bacchus,*then was Chriſts euen ſo,which to think, what horrible and inexpiable blaſphemie is it?

Secondly,they do but preuent vs: for the Idoll of the Maſſe is, as they ſay falſely of our Communion; and as a notable Martyr ſaid, It is Antichriſts daughter,in which the diuell is rather preſent and receiued,than Chriſt: Doctor *Taylor,*pag.1528. For in how many points doe they ſwarue from the inſtitution? Chriſt ſaid,*Take ye,eate ye,*miniſtring to many; they make it priuate onely to the Prieſt: Chriſt appointed it to be eate and drunk; they hang it vp in pixes and make an Idoll of it: Chriſt celebrated in both kindes; they take away the cup from the people: Chriſt calleth it the fruite of the vine,and *Paul* bread after conſecration: they ſay,there is neither bread nor wine,but onely the bodie and blood of Chriſt. See more of this matter,*argum.*1.*general.cont. Miſſam.*

Beſide theſe contradictions to Chriſts inſtitution:One denieth that the Sacrament hath a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes: and yet Chriſt ſpeaking of his blood,as it is repreſented in the Sacrament,ſaith, *which is ſhed for you, and for many, for remiſſion of ſinnes.* The ſame partie alſo graunted another great abſurditie,that Chriſt eate his owne bodie, *Moreman.in diſput.conuocat.pag.*1412. Another denieth the Euchariſt to be a Sacrament of the bodie of Chriſt, ſauing onely of his myſticall bodie,which is the Church, *D.Coole diſput.Oxonienſ.pag.*1434.*col.*1. Another ſtoute champion of theirs,denyed that Chriſt commaunded the Sacrament,or the vſe of it: and that *Take ye, eate ye,*was no commaundement.B.*Winchest.p.*1611.*col.*1.

Let any indifferent man now iudge,whether of vs are departed from the inſtitution of Chriſt: and whether wee may not more iuſtly call their Maſſe-ſeruice,the ſeruice of the diuell,than they can ſo terme ours,being in euery reſpect anſwerable to Chriſts inſtitution.

Thirdly,but are they not aſhamed to charge vs with Idolatrie? What dare they not now ſay, ſeeing they herein,againſt all ſhew of truth,will not ſticke to belye vs? I pray you where be our Idols of ſiluer or gold? can you ſee your ſelues, or ſhew others any in our Churches? There are but two things requiſite to Idolatrie; To haue and ſet vp Images, and then to bow downe vnto them and adore them. The Lutheranes haue Images,but adore them not; we neither haue them, nor adore them: Papiſts doe both: the Lutheranes come neerer Idolatrie than Proteſtants: if they be not Idolaters,much leſſe are we.

I pray you this: if a Iew or Turke, which both of them hate Images, ſhould come firſt into a popiſh Church, and ſee in euery corner an Image, beautified and garniſhed, and the people kneeling before them, knocking vpon their breaſts: afterward let him bee brought into a Church of the Proteſtants, where there is neither Image to bee ſeene, nor any crouching or bowing vnto them; whether of theſe two now would he count Idolatrous Churches? or whether people would he call Idolaters? But thus blinde are the Papiſts, that they take bitter for ſweete, and ſweete for bitter, they call good euill, and euill good, as the Prophet ſaith. They would haue vs to bee counted Idolaters, which neither haue Images, nor yet doe worſhip them: and themſelues to bee none, which doe both. Wee worſhip not *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, that is, Bread and Wine, as the Manichees ſometime obiected againſt the Chriſtians, and the Papiſts doe now againſt Proteſtants. Wee vſe bread and wine in the Sacrament, and reuerence them as holie ſignes, but we bow not down vnto them, nor worſhip them. Our aduerſaries indeed do make an Idoll of a piece of bread, when the Prieſt boweth himſelfe to the hoaſt in the Maſſe, ſaying, *I worſhip thee, I glorifie thee:* what monſtrous Idolatrie is this, ſo to adore a cake made of flower? Who are now the worſhippers of *Ceres & Bacchus* but Papiſts? For that which they doe ſuch homage vnto, in ſhew is Bread, in taſte and feeling, Bread; in the eye, the mouth, and hand, Bread: what is it els then but Bread, whatſoeuer they ſay? Like vnto the old idolatrous Iſraelites, who, as the *Septuagint* tranſlate, and as *Auguſtine* readeth: *Elegerunt nouos Deos,* ὡς ἄρτον κρίθινον, *vt panē hordeaceū:* They choſe new Gods, as barlie bread: that is, they changed their Gods, as men do change their bread, as *Auguſtine* expoundeth it, *qu.*30. *in lib. Iudicum.* So the Papiſts haue choſen a new God, euen *panē triticeum*, wheaten bread. We may put out ὡς ἄρτον, as bread; for they do worſhip, not barlie, (for that is the only difference) but wheaten bread indeed. Wherefore, ſeeing our Communion is the ſeruice of Chriſt, not the ſeruice of the diuel, as they blaſpheme, & it is as far off from idolatrie, as that which hath the leaſt agreement with it; in this reſpect they haue no cauſe to refraine our churches: & thus is their firſt reaſon anſwered.

*Argum.*2. Another fault they finde with our congregations and aſſemblies; calling our Temples and people, ſchiſmaticall: and therefore they will not come at them, *Rhemiſt. annot.* 2. *Corinth.*6.14. Thus then they reaſon: It is not lawfull to aſſemble, or pray with ſchiſmatikes; you are ſchiſmatikes: *Ergo.*

Anſw. Firſt, the propoſition is not true, that it is not lawfull to pray with ſchiſmatikes: for if *Schiſma*, be nothing elſe, as it is defined in *Auguſtine contra Fauſt. lib.*20. *cap.*2. *Quam eadem opinantem atque eodem ritu colentem, quo cæteri, ſolo congregationis delectari diſcidio:* For a man holding the ſame iudgement in religion, and the ſame manner of worſhip, onely to ſeparate himſelfe from the reſt of the congregation: I ſee no reaſon, why it is not lawfull to pray with ſuch, who faile not in any point of faith, though they breake the bond of charitie; but both haue the word of God, and Sacraments truly taught and adminiſtred: ſo that by our comming to them, we ſeeme not to approoue their ſchiſme. Did not Saint *Paul* ioyne himſelfe to the Iewiſh Synagogues, which were more then ſchiſmatically diuided from the true Church, both enduring to heare the lectures of the law read, as alſo himſelfe to preach amongſt them, yea and to pray (for their preaching was not without prayer?) reade Acts chap.13. and 15.

Secondly, the aſſumption or ſecond part of their reaſon, is more falſe and vntrue than the firſt: for, be it knowne vnto them, we are no ſchiſmatikes, theirs is the ſchiſmaticall Church. Firſt, Saint *Paul* ſheweth who are ſchiſmatikes: namely, *They which depart, and play the apoſtataes from the faith, giuing eare to the doctrine of diuels, as forbidding of mariage, and teaching to abſtaine from meates,* 1. Timoth.4. verſ.1.3. But they, not we, teach theſe doctrines: *Ergo*, they, not we, are the ſchiſmatikes and apoſtataes. Secondly, euery departure maketh not a ſchiſme. Wee are commaunded to depart from Babylon, Apocal.18.4. that is, not to communicate with their ſinnes and errors: ſo wee in leauing the Church of Rome, haue not forſaken the fellowſhip of the true Church, but onely ſhaken hands with their filthie and abominable doctrine.

Thirdly, euery abſolute kingdome and Church, may meaſure themſelues by themſelues: and may eaſily know who they are that diuide themſelues from the ſociety of that Church, where they liue, without compariſon and reſpect had to other Churches: As to know who are ſchiſmatikes in England, we neede not runne to Rome, but they are ſuch, as ſeparate themſelues from the lawfull congregations in England, which haue the right vſe the Word, and Sacraments: to trie out this matter by their owne rules; who are the ſchiſmatikes in our Church? they that ſteale their Maſſes in corners, or they that heare diuine ſeruice, according to Gods word, publikely in Churches? Is the whole congregation ſchiſmaticall, or a few ſingular fellowes rather, that doe diuide themſelues from the reſt?

S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of the Gentiles in his time, ſaith, *Si non conſentiant veritati veſtræ, erubeſcant paucitati ſuæ:* If they will not agree to your veritie, let them be aſhamed of their paucitie: *in Matth. ſerm.*6. So may I ſay of popiſh Recuſants in England, that although their number is not ſo ſmall, as might be wiſhed, and I truſt in time may be, yet God be thanked it is not ſo great, as that it is able to counteruaile by many parts the Lordes royall hoſt of Proteſtants : whoſe number daily let vs beſeech God to encreaſe : *Ergo,* wee are no ſchiſmatikes, and ſo haue they loſt alſo this argument.

*Argum.*3. Catholikes muſt haue nothing to doe with heretikes, ſpeciallie in prayers: *Ergo,* they refuſe to aſſemble with vs in our Churches, holding vs to be heretikes, *Rhemiſt.annot.* 2.*Cor*.6.14.

Anſw. 1. It is not indeede lawfull to pray with heretikes, becauſe their prayers alſo are hereticall: but ſo are not our prayers, which moſt of them, I thinke, they themſelues will not refuſe to ſay Amen vnto : for many of them, the very ſame, they alſo vſe in their ſeruice, as the *Gloria in excelſis,* the Epiſtle and Goſpell, the Creede, the Lords prayer, and many Collects and ſhort prayers beſide: (for what is good in their ſeruice and Leiturgie, and may be vſed without ſuperſtition, we thinke not much to retaine:) *An heretike* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *after two or three admonitions, auoide,* Tit.3. But what if prayers vſed by thoſe, whom you count heretikes, haue not any thing worthie of admonition or reproofe? why then ſhould ſuch prayers bee ſhunned, and auoyded? but ſuch are ours : *Ergo.*

2. The accuſation of hereſie, we do with much better right, and iuſter title returne vpon your head, which you ſhall neuer be able to faſten vpon vs. Firſt, if they will bee tried by Saint *Pauls* rule, he ſaith, *He that loueth not the Lord Ieſus, let him be accurſed,* 1. Corinth. 16.21. Who is he now, that loueth not the Lord Ieſus? Is it he, that aſcribeth his ſaluation only to Chriſt Ieſus, in whole and in part, the beginning, continuing, and end : or he rather who hopeth to be ſaued partly by the death of Chriſt, partly by his owne merits? who ſaith, the beginning of his iuſtification, which they call the firſt iuſtification, is of grace : the ſecond (which indeede is nothing elſe but ſanctification, the fruits of iuſtification) ſay they, is merited. I thinke the firſt loueth Chriſt : ſuch I truſt, are we : the ſecond, I am afraid, loueth him not : for Chriſt will not part ſtakes, nor giue his honour to another : of this ſort, I would our aduerſaries were not. They therefore, if any, are the heretikes, and to be holden accurſed.

3. Or will they ſtand to *Auguſtines* definition of an heretike : *Hæreticus eſt, qui alicuius temporalis commodi, & maximè gloriæ & principatus cauſa, falſas & nouas opiniones, aut gignit, aut ſequitur :* He is an heretike, who for ſome temporall commoditie, or glorie and chiefedome ſake, doth either inuent and begin falſe and new opinions, or doth follow them : *De vtilitat.credend.c.*1. Now we neither inuent nor follow falſe or new opinions: not falſe; for our deſire is to be tried with our opinions by the touchſtone of Gods word in Scripture reuealed, the only rule of faith : and therfore we loue not the errors of darknes, ſeeing we hate not yͤ light: not new; for our faith is the ancient Catholik Apoſtolike faith, reuealed by Chriſt, preached by yͤ Apoſtles, profeſſed in yͤ church many hundreds after, ſealed with the blood of Martyrs : and this ancient freehold of our faith, they ſhall be neuer able to driue vs from. Againe, as wee are free from the falſe and ſtraunge opinions of heretikes, ſo alſo wee defie their couetous and ambitious minde. What temporall commoditie (I pray you) did the Proteſtants looke for, in the late daies of perſecution in England, when as for their conſcience and faith ſake, ſome loſt their liuings and dignities in the Church, Biſhoprickes, Archbiſhoprickes, Deanries, Archdeaconries, yea and their countrie withall? And as for vainglorie, it was farre from them, as it appeareth by their deepe proteſtations being charged therewith, as you may reade in Maſter *Bradfords* ſtorie, *Fox* pag. 1606. And Maſter *Philpot* doth in great vehemencie of ſpirit in this manner diſcharge himſelfe : *I proteſt here before God, and his eternall ſonne Ieſus Chriſt my Sauiour, and the holy Ghoſt and his Angels, that I doe not ſtand in any opinion of wilfulnes or ſingularitie, &c.* pag. 1800. And who would not beleeue them, both for their earneſt proteſtation ſake, but much more for that they declared it in deede? for what liſt, thinke we, or leiſure had thoſe holy men, to ſeeke for the fame of this world, when they looked euery day when their liues ſhould be taken from them? Fame and eſtimation is much deſired in the world, but hardly will a man purchaſe it by the loſſe of his life.

But what ſhall we thinke of our aduerſaries? Is not the hope or rather hauing of gaine a great piller of their profeſſion, and the fayreſt white, that they ayme at? Let their Pilgrimages, Maſſes, Dirges, Trentals, Suffrages for the dead, purgatorie doctrine, pardons, Indulgences, and the like trumpery ſpeake in this caſe, if lucre were not the mother, that bare them, and the nurſe that fed and nouriſhed them. There was neuer any ſuch gainfull religion to the profeſſors thereof ſince the world began, as popery hath been to Popes, Cardinals, Abbots, Monkes, Friers, and the like. And what for principality? do they contemne and deſpiſe it? I thinke no. What els made Popes in times paſt ſo proud, as to make Emperors and Kings their ſlaues and vaſſals, to tread on their neckes, to make them dance attendance in froſt and cold, barefoote, and barelegged at their gates, to cauſe them to kiſſe their feet, to hold their ſtirrop, and leade their horſe by the bridle, and ſuch like ſeruices they put them to? Is not this the prince of pride? Why doth the Pope chalenge to be head of Chriſts Church, to be the Lord of the whole world, aboue kings and princes, and propoſeth it to bee beleeued as an article of faith to all his ſubiects: if hee were not poſſeſſed with pride? *Eraſmus* that famous learned Clerke well perceiued the pride and couetouſnes of this generation, when hee being asked by the Duke of Saxony, what hee thought of *Luthers* proceedings, wittily anſwered, that hee dealt with two things, which were in no wiſe to bee touched, *the Popes crowne, and the Monkes belly*: meaning the pride of the one, and the couetous deſire of the other. Wherefore, if the holding of falſe and ſtrange opinions on the one ſide, with hope and deſire of gaine or glorie on the other, doe make an heretike, who ſeeth not that this definition better agreeth to the members of the Church of Rome, then vnto Proteſtants? We are then no heretikes, much leſſe are our prayers and ſeruice hereticall: and therefore our Recuſants in this reſpect haue no cauſe to abſent themſelues from our congregations.

*Argum.*4. An other reaſon of their recuſancie is drawne from the Miniſters of the word and Sacrament amongſt vs: Heretikes, ſay they, are not to be heard, though they pray and preach the truth, *Rhemiſt. annot. Mark.*3.*ver.*1. *Ergo,* they will not heare our Miniſters either preach or pray.

*Anſw.*1. That the truth is not to be heard or receiued at heretikes hands, it hath neither warrant of Scripture, nor good ground of reaſon: Firſt, *Auguſtine* ſaith, reaſoning thus out of Scripture, *Euangelium Iudas ſine detrimento fidelium prædicauit*: *Iudas* preached the Goſpel, without any hinderance or loſſe to the faithfull: *Nunquid Paulus gauderet de talium prædicatione, qui contentioſi erant, niſi ſciret, quod illis pernitioſum eſſet, rem caſtam non caſtè annuntiare, illis ſalubre qui per illos proficerent ad ſalutem*: Or would *Paul* haue reioyced of their preaching, which were contentious, as he doth, Philip.1.18. but that he knew, that it was hurtfull to them that preached the chaſt truth not chaſtly, but holeſome to them, that profited thereby to ſaluation? *Lib.*2.*cont.epiſt. Parmeni. ca.*11. Here be two examples out of Scripture, which ſhew, that the truth by whomſoeuer may ſafely be preached: our Sauiour Chriſt neither condemned *Iudas* preaching of the Goſpel, that child of perdition, nor yet *Paul* the contentious preaching of falſe diſciples.

Auguſtine addeth alſo a third example out of the Goſpel: *Botrum carpe, ſpinam caue: Cathedra Moſis, vitis eſt: Phariſæorũ mores & doctrina, ſpinæ:* Take the grape, but beware the throne: the vine, is the chaire of *Moſes*; the thorne is, the corrupt doctrine and manners of the Phariſies, *Tract. in Iohan.*46. The Phariſies had many erronious doctrines, and therefore our Sauiour Chriſt giueth his Apoſtles warning to take heede of their leauen: yet ſo long as they taught the truth ſitting in *Moſes* chayre, our Sauiour biddeth to heare them, Mat.23.2. Secondly, beſides thoſe examples out of Scripture, it is thus confirmed by reaſon: *Auguſtine* denieth that heretikes are worſe then ethnikes and Infidels: his reaſon is, becauſe Chriſt ſaith, *If a man heare not the Church, let him be vnto thee as an Infidel*: making that the extreameſt, and moſt dangerous caſe of all: But, ſaith he, *In ipſis ethnicis, quod rectum erat, approbarunt apoſtoli*: the Apoſtles in the very heathen allowed that was right, as Act.17. S. *Paul* citeth a place out of an Athenian Poet: *Ergo*, that which is right we may heare and allow, euen in heretikes.

2 Yet, though this were granted, that heretikes are not to be heard, no, not ſpeaking the truth; that our Miniſters are heretikes, or fauourers or followers of heretikes, or that they draw neere vnto hereſie, they ſhall neuer be able to proue: So that they are ſatiſfied for this, and need not therefore be ſo ſcrupulous in this behalfe, in not comming to our prayers.

*Argum.*5. A Catholike man, ſay the Rhemiſts, is bound to confeſſe his faith, *Rhemiſt. Luk.*10. *ver.*8. And, *Annot. Iohan.*12.*ver.*42. they doe ſharpely rebuke and reprehend ſuch Catholikes, as dare not freely confeſſe their faith: hereupon it followeth, that a Pope Catholike profeſſor ought in no wiſe to reſorte to the Churches of Proteſtants: which cannot be done without diſſimulation of their faith, which they ſhould openly and boldly profeſſe.

*Anſw.*1. The Rhemiſts iudgement in this place concerning the open profeſſion of faith, we doe willingly approue and allow: and we could wiſh, that all the Pope Catholikes in England at this day were of this minde, and herein would followe the counſell and aduiſe of their ghoſtly Fathers of Rhemes: that is, that all Engliſh Papiſts were become Recuſants, and would openly ſhew what lyeth hidde in their breaſts, that we might better take heede of them. But it is to be feared, that we haue many hollowe hearted Countrey men, that do openly reſort to our congregations in body, but in heart communicate not with vs; who haue Engliſh faces, but Romiſh hearts: Theſe are our moſt daungerous enemies, and chiefly to be feared: vnto whom we may vſe that good olde ſaying, *Aut appare quod es, aut eſto quod appares*: Either appeare as thou art, or be that which thou appeareſt. So it were to be wiſhed, that theſe cunning fellowes would either appeare outwardly to be Papiſts if they be ſo in heart, or els be Goſpellers indeede, as they ſhew by their outward behauiour.

2 Faith in deed is publikely to be confeſſed: diſſimulation in all matters is to be miſliked, but it is worſt in religion: yet he, that will make publike confeſſion of his faith, had neede be ſure,

he is in a right faith,leaſt afterward he be aſhamed of his faith: And ſo I would that Popiſh Recuſants did confeſſe their faith, that is,to abide and endure the examining,ſifting and tryall of their faith by the Scriptures,and not to refuſe our Sermons, bookes, conferences,admonitions,whereby we declare vnto them the errors of their faith : For this is to confeſſe our faith, as S.*Peter* defineth it: *To giue an anſwere to euery one that asketh vs a reaſon,&c.* 1.Pet.3.15. Theſe Recuſants then, are no open confeſſors of their faith, for as much as they are not ready to giue an account thereof: which courſe if they would take, I doubt not,but in the ende they ſhould ſee the errors, whereunto they had been nuſled,and ſo confeſſe,and ſet before their face their faith,as *Auguſtine* ſaith of ſin:*Tu peccatum tuum ante faciem tuam conuerte,ſi vis vt inde faciem Deus auertat: ſi peccatum tuum in dorſo tuo ponis, Deus ibi faciem ponit:* Set then thy ſin before thy face, if thou wilt haue God therefrom to turne his face, but if thou place thy ſinne behinde, as on thy backe, that is, hide it, thither alſo God turneth his face : that is, God will hide his face from thee, as thou hideſt thy ſinne from him. Thus let theſe ſelfe-willed Recuſants confeſſe and acknowledge their faith, that is, ſette before their eyes their errors and falſe opinions, ſo would God forgiue them their ignorances and errors, and thus they ſhould be right confeſſors of the popiſh faith,confeſſors not to maintaine, but to forſake it and to be aſhamed of it.

In Pſal.50.

3 A man we graunt, is in no caſe to diſſemble his faith : that is no right faith, or profeſſion, which alloweth diſſimulation, nor yet he a good profeſſor, or faithfull man, that will diſſemble : for we are not ignorant,what our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith,that *whoſo denieth him before men,him will he denie before his father in heauen.* To this purpoſe may be remembred, what *Auguſtine* reporteth of the conuerſion of one *Victorinus* a Rhetorician of Rome : who after he was become a Chriſtian, yet frequented not the Chriſtian aſſemblies : vnto whom *Simplicianus* a godly Prieſt was wont to ſay,*Ego te non deputabo inter Chriſtianos,niſi in Eccleſia te videro:* I will not for my part count you a Chriſtian,vnleſſe I ſee you in the Church of Chriſtians.But he at the firſt ſcoffed,ſaying: *Ergone parietes faciunt Chriſtianos?* then belike the walles of the Church make Chriſtians? Afterward being better aduiſed, he reſorted to the Church, was baptized, and openly (ſtanding in an high place) confeſſed his faith before the congregation, whereas he might haue done it more ſecretly : giuing this reaſon of his ſo doing: *Non erat ſalus (inquit) quam docebam in Rhetorica,& eam tamen publice profeſſus ſum:* That tended not to ſaluation,which I taught in Rhetorike,and yet I publikely profeſſed it : meaning that much more faith, whereby we are led vnto life, ought boldly and publikely to be profeſſed, *Auguſt.lib.confeſſ.*8 *cap.*2.

This then being fully determined and concluded,that faith is not to be cloked, or diſſembled: let vs ſee how much our aduerſaries come ſhort and fayle in this poynt, and ſo offend againſt their owne rules ; amongſt whom, it is an vſuall and common trade in the moſt, to cloake their popiſh profeſſion with an outward countenance and ſemblance of the Goſpel. And with Papiſts it is no rare thing to diſſemble both in religion and other affaires of life. Was it not ſaid openly in the Councel of Conſtance,when they brake the Emperors ſafe conduct granted to *Iohn Huſſe*,that *fides non eſt ſeruanda hæreticis*,that faith is not to be kept with heretikes? The like anſwere was made *ann.*1526.by *Hawnart* the Emperors Ambaſſadour,that whereas the Lady *Katherine* the Emperors yonger ſiſter was promiſed to *Iohn Fredericke* Duke of Saxony in mariage,and writings were made thereupon, yet after the reformation of Religion in Saxony,the couenant was broken : for with heretikes,ſaid *Hawnart*,promiſe is not to be kept.*Fox*.p.884.col.1.

It is not long ſince here in England ſolemne promiſe was made,that the religion eſtabliſhed in King *Edwards* dayes ſhould not be altered, and it was made by one that then ruled the helme,yet was it not performed,*vid.Fox*.p.1407.If they can thus diſſemble,and breake their troth and faith in humane matters, who doubteth thereof, but that they will be changelings in Religion : for as S.*Iames* ſaith, *A wauering minded man is vnſtable in all his wayes*,Iam.1.8. that is, both toward God and men. He that knoweth the vertue of the Popes diſpenſations, which can diſſolue othes and vowes, may eaſily thinke that Pope Catholikes may bee diſpenſed withall to diſſemble in Religion : How elſe came it about, that ſo many Proteſtants in ſhew, in King *Edwards* dayes, were ſo ſoone transformed into Papiſts in Queene *Maries:* and ſo many Papiſts then,had ſo ſoone put on the face of Proteſtantes in Queene *Elizabeths* gracious raygne? I could wiſh with all my heart, that all the Papiſts at this preſent day in England,were Recuſants,that we might the better take heede of them.But it is to feared,that there be many cloſe Papiſts in England,that are content for a while to temporize, watching for an houre, which I truſt they ſhall neuer ſee : like vnto the heretikes called Priſcillianiſts, of whom *Auguſtine* reporteth, that they thought it lawfull, *mendacio occultare hæreſin,& ſe catholicos fingere*: to cloake their hereſie by a lie,and to faine themſelues good Catholikes,*Lib.cont.mendacium cap.*1.I would we had no ſuch Romaniſts now in England,which faine themſelues to be true Catholike Proteſtants.

Thus then are our aduerſaries anſwered for this matter, whom firſt we deſire to follow their owne rules, that is, to deale plainely with vs, and to ſhew themſelues outwardly, as they are in heart: And then we doe wiſh, that they would glorifie God, and confeſſe their errors, and ſo be reformed both in heart, and changed alſo in their outward profeſſion: ſo may they ſafely reſort to our Chriſtian aſſemblies, without diſſembling their conſcience.

Argum.6. Another reaſon of their Recuſancie is drawne from the ſequell or euent of their comming to our Churches, if they ſhould yeelde thereunto: that is, they thinke that their preſence would grace and countenance, and bring credite to our aſſemblies, which by all meanes they labour to diſcredit, and bring into contempt: for thus the Rhemiſts open their blaſphemous mouth, *It muſt needes be an honour to Caluines communion, when Catholikes are ſeene in the Idols temple, ſitting at the abominable table. Annot.*1.*Cor.*8.*ver.*10.

Anſw. Firſt, we know no ſuch *Caluins* communion amongſt vs: that which we haue is Chriſts communion: and of his name both it and we are called: we depend not vpon men, though we praiſe God for ſuch excellent inſtruments, as *Caluine* and *Luther* were, ſtirred vp of God to ſet forth his truth. It is your guiſe, and not ours, to call your profeſſions, and Maſſes after the names of men: you haue Saint *Gregories* Maſſe, Saint *Baſiles* Maſſe, Saint *Iames* his Maſſe, which you doe falſely father vpon him. And in England, you had the vſe of *Sarum*, and the vſes of other Churches: diuers formes of your Maſſe: Contrarie to the decree of the fift Councell *Toletan. can.* 2. *Vnus modus in Miſſarum ſolennitatibus, vnus in veſpertinis officÿs, nec diuerſa ſit vltrà in nobis eccleſiaſtica conſuetudo, quia in vna fide continemur & regno:* Let one and the ſame way be obſerued at Maſſe and Euening prayer, neither let there be any longer a diuers vſe in the Church, ſeeing we belong to one faith and Kingdome.

Secondly, ye are ſhameles men to call our Churches, Idols temples. We haue no Images or Idols at all to be ſeene in our Churches, much leſſe doe we worſhip them: And as for the bread and wine in the Sacrament, though wee reuerence them as holy ſignes, yet wee adore them not, neither make idols of them as you doe. If our communion table be an abominable table, then ſo is Chriſts: for we ſay all that Chriſt ſaid, and doe all that he did in the inſtitution of his laſt ſupper: ye are not able to ſhew that in any one iot we haue ſwarued from the firſt inſtitution, as you haue done diuers waies; as in taking away the cup, whereas Chriſt ſaid, drinke ye, as well as eate ye; and making the communion priuate, whereas Chriſt ſaith, *drinke ye all of this*; in reſeruing the Sacrament, whereas Chriſt would haue it eaten and drunke, and in many ſuch things: your Maſſe altar therefore is that abominable table, not our communion table. And you are thoſe worſhippers of the Idols of ſiluer and gold, Apoc.9.20. for you haue ſuch Images in your churches, you fall downe and pray before them, and offer incenſe to them, and ſo are moſt groſſe Idolaters: but we follow the rule of your owne Councels, *Synod. Moguntin.cap.*42. *Nos praua ſuperſtitioni viam praecludere volentes, omnibus locorum Ordinarÿs iniungimus, vt ſi forte in territorÿs ſuis concurſus ad imaginem fieri, & homines ad ipſius imaginis figuram reſpectum habere, & quaſi quandam diuinitatis opinionem illi tribuere animaduerterint, ipſam imaginem pro cauſa qualitate tollant, aut mutent:* Wee willing to ſtop all way againſt ſuperſtition, doe inioyne the Ordinaries, that if they ſee in their territories the people to runne to images, and to attribute vnto them a diuine power, hauing reſpect to the figure of the Image, that they either take away, or chaunge the Image. If they bee idolators that haue taken away Idols and aboliſhed them, then will we alſo be Idolators.

Thirdly, now to anſwere to their argument: Firſt, they ſhew of what making they are, and whoſe children they bee, in that they are afraid, that the trueth by them ſhould bee graced, and Chriſts inſtitution honored. They will not come to Church, becauſe they thinke it would be an honor, not to *Caluins*, but to Chriſts communion: to whome wee may ſay, as Saint *Steuen* to the peruerſe Iewes, Act.7.51. *You ſtifnecked and of vncircumciſed hearts, and eares, you haue alwaies reſiſted the holy Ghoſt, as your fathers did, ſo doe you:* And as the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *O ye ſonnes of men, how long will ye turne my glorie into ſhame?* Pſalm.4.2. Doth it grieue you that Chriſt ſhould be honoured and his inſtitution reuerenced? O enemies to God and all godlines! Secondly, though they doe come to our Churches, if their hearts bee not reformed, but doe cloake the ſuperſtition of their darke minds, with the ſhew of outward conformitie and obedience, they are ſo farre from gracing our aſſemblies, that they are a diſgrace and a diſhonour to them. And as *Iude* ſaith of ſuch, *They are ſpots in your feaſts of charitie*, verſe 12. ſo theſe are foule blemiſhes in our holy meetings, when as hypocrites doe ioyne themſelues to the aſſemblies of the Saints. They neede not feare, leaſt thus comming, they ſhould honour our communion, nay rather as much as in them lieth, they prophane and pollute it: when holy things are thus caſt vnto dogges, and pearles before ſwine. Thirdly, but if they would reſort to our aſſemblies dutifully, as it becommeth good Chriſtians, to receiue inſtruction and comfort by the word of God and the Sacraments, they ſhould not for all this bring grace or win credit to theſe publike exerciſes, but ſhould themſelues be graced, and receiue honour thereby. The Pſalmiſt ſaith, Pſalm.149.9. *Such honor God vouchſafeth his Saints*, that is, in giuing vnto them his word: ſo ſaith *Moſes*, Deut.4.8. *What nation is ſo* *great that hath ordinances and lawes ſo righteous?&c.* The law of God maketh a people great, that is, honorable: and thus alſo haue we anſwered this argument. Wherefore ſeeing they can now pretend no honeſt excuſe for their Recuſancie, for neither is our ſeruice in it ſelfe hereticall, neither yet our people that profeſſe it, or Miniſters that preach it, heretikes or ſchiſmatikes: ſeeing alſo they may be freed from diſſimulation, when their hearts ſhall truely be conuerted vnto God, and ſo yeeld obedience to our publike aſſemblies, and that by their comming God may be honored, I pray God giue them grace to acknowledge their wilfulnes, and forſake their errors, into the which their blinde guides haue led them, that they may now at length ioyne themſelues vnto the true Church of Chriſt, in the profeſſion of the right faith, to the ſaluation of their ſoules.

Here now I thought to haue inſerted a treatiſe againſt the Browniſts, wherein I haue at large confuted the arguments, which they vſe againſt our Church, and likewiſe propounded our reaſons in defenſe thereof, with a diſcouerie of diuers erroneous opinions by them held and maintained: but I altered my purpoſe vpon theſe reaſons. Firſt, the treatiſe was not fullie finiſhed, and the Printer called vpon me earneſtly to make haſte. Secondly, becauſe I intended to deale onely againſt the Papiſts in this worke. Thirdly, though they be peeuiſhlie ſet, yet I iudged them the leſſe daungerous enemies, ſeeing they diſſent not from vs in the fundamentall poynts of our faith. Fourthly, many of their aſſertions are ſo abſurd, that they are rather to be laughed at, then worthie of any confutation. Fiftly, I reſerue thoſe labours, to a ſpeciall treatiſe hereafter as occaſion ſhall ſerue. Therefore not ſtaying the reader further in theſe digreſſions, I proceede to the reſt of the Controuerſies that follow.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CENTVRIE, OF THE FIVE POPISH SACRAMENTS.

HERE ENSVE THE CONTROVERSIES OF THE fiue other popiſh Sacraments: Penance, Matrimonie, Confirmation, Orders, Extreme Vnction.

THE FOVRTEENTH GENERALL CONTROuerſie, of popiſh Penance.

VNto this Controuerſie belong theſe queſtions following:

1 Of the name Penance, whether it be rightly giuen.

2 Whether that which they call Penance, but we much better, Repentance, be a Sacrament.

3 Whether there be any other Sacrament of repentance beſide Baptiſme.

4 Of the eſſentiall parts of Penance, as the matter and forme, and of the three materiall parts, Contrition, Confeſſion, Satisfaction: with an appendix, whether Repentance goe before Faith.

5 Of Contrition, 1. The cauſe thereof, 2. The quantitie thereof, 3. Whether it be ioyned with faith, 4. Whether it be ſatisfactorie, 5. Whether Contrition be neceſſarie for veniall ſinnes, 6. Of Contrition which onely proceedeth of feare.

6 Of Auricular confeſſion, 1. Whether it be neceſſarie, 2. Whether it be a diuine ordinance, 3. To whom it is to be made, 4. Of the time.

7 Of Satisfaction, with the ſeuerall branches of this queſtion.

8 Firſt, of penall iniunctions, 1. Whether neceſſarie, 2. By whom to bee impoſed. Secondly, of indulgences, 1. Whether there be any ſuch, 2. The ground of them, 3. In whoſe power they be.

9 The circumſtances of penance, 1. Their habite, 2. Their workes, 3. Of the time of their Penance.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE name of Penance.

The Papiſts.

42.Error. THe Latine word ***Pœnitentia***, which they tranſlate, Penance, being deriued of ***pœna***, doth ſignifie (ſay they) not onely confeſſion and amendment of life, but contrition and ſorrow for the offence, and painfull ſatisfaction, ***Bellarm.lib.1.cap.7.***

Argum. Matth.11.21. The word muſt needes ſignifie, ſorrowfull, painefull, and ſatisfactorie Penance, ***Rhemiſt.Matth.***3.2. for no man doth ſit downe in ſackcloth and aſhes, which hath not repented before: this therefore is a penall action that followeth the inward ſorrow. So the Niniuites are ſaid to haue repented, Luk.11.32. which ***was in ſackcloth and aſhes, and praiers: Ergo,*** Penance conſiſteth in an outward penall action. ***Bellarm.ibid.***

Anſw. The plac[illegible] quoted out of S. ***Matthew*** and S. ***Luke***, proue no ſuch thing: where our Sauiour ſaith, that Tyre and Sidon would haue repented in ſackcloth and aſhes, and Niniue had repented: which is no ſatisfaction for ſinne, but an outwarde ſigne of true ſorrowe for ſinne, inwardly conceiued: for repentance is begun inwardly, and continued and finiſhed outwardly: ſo then aſhes, ſackcloth, was no part of repentance, but an outward teſtification of their inward griefe.

*Argum.*2. S.*Paul* ſaith, *I ſhall bewaile many of them, which haue ſinned and not done penance for their vncleannes,* 2.Cor.12.21. It cannot be ſaid, *which haue not repented,* for, or becauſe of their vncleanneſſe: for then ſinne ſhould be the cauſe of repentance, which it is not: for inward repentance commeth of ſome good inſpiration: but ſinne is properly ſaid to be the cauſe of outward penance. *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, ſinne is, not the cauſe of inward repentance, but the occaſion, no more is it of outward puniſhment: for as the inward repentance proceedeth from a good *inſpiration,* ſo the outward puniſhment is procured by the inward ſorrow, as *the aſhes and ſackcloth* of the Niniuites were outwardly vſed, becauſe they firſt inwardly ſorrowed. Secondly, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh here of *inward repentance,* it is euident: becauſe 1. he ſaith, *he ſhall bewaile:* that is, becauſe they haue not mourned for themſelues, he will: as *Ambroſe* in the like caſe; *Si Saul defleſſet peccata:* If *Saul* had mourned for his ſinne, *Samuel* had not wept: *lib.*5.*in Luc.* 2. And it was in the Apoſtles power to haue inflicted an outward puniſhment, as he did vpon the inceſtuous young man: but to cauſe them to repent, was not in his power: the Apoſtle then would not haue complained of that, which was in his power to haue enioyned them. 3. And he ſaith, *I ſhall bewaile many:* There was a great multitude of them, in which caſe no ſuch penance could be inflicted, the diſeaſe being ſo generall; and thus *Auguſtine* expoundeth this place: *Cum idem morbus plurimos occuparit, nihil reſtat præter gemitum:* When as the ſame diſeaſe hath occupied many, there remayneth nothing but mourning: the Apoſtle doth not now bid them not to eat meat with ſuch, as he gaue a charge concerning the yong man, &c. *lib.*3.*cont.Parmen.cap.*3. So that in *Auguſtines* iudgement no ſuch externall penance is here ſignified; a great part of the flocke being with this diſeaſe inuaded.

The Proteſtants.

THat this word (μετανόια) vſed in the new Teſtament, is more fitly tranſlated *repentance,* to ſignifie a change of the minde, then by them, *penance,* to betoken ſome outward penall ſatisfactorie act, thus it is proued.

*Argum.*1. The Greeke word euery where vſed, is μετανόια, which ſignifieth as *Laurentius Valla* noteth, *emendationem mentis,* the change or amendment of the minde; and no ſuch outward ſatisfactorie Penance as they pretend. Wherefore it is more fitly engliſhed, Repentance. And although the Latine word *Pœnitentia,* doe not properly expreſſe the Greeke word, to the which *reſipiſcere,* and *reſipiſcentia,* repentance and to repent doe better anſwere: yet *agere pœnitentiam,* in Latine, is not to doe penance, as the Rhemiſts tranſlate it, but is all one, as to ſay, repent: yea, and ſo the Rhemiſts themſelues reade, be penitent, Mark.1.15. and not, doe penance. And Act.11.18. they tranſlate, *pœnitentiam,* repentance.

*Argum.*2. Matth.3,2. *Iohn Baptiſt* preached and ſaid, *repent, &c.* not, as the *Rhemiſts* tranſlate, *do penance:* that inward repentance is here ſignified, it appeareth by theſe reaſons 1. *Iohn* is ſaid *To preach the Baptiſme of repentance for remiſſion of ſinnes:* Luk. 3.3. That which hee preached, the people practiſed: but we reade not of any outward penall workes they did, but onely of contrition and confeſſion for their ſinnes, Matth.3.6. 2. Againe, Baptiſme is in the name of Chriſt: Penance, is a worke of man, whereby ſatisfaction is made vnto God, as they teach: how then can it be the *baptiſme of penance*? for Chriſt to ſatisfie, and man to ſatisfie, are two contrary thinges. 3. *Iohn* alſo ſaith, *Bring forth fruites of repentance,* worthie or meet for repentance: outward penall acts then are the fruits of repentance, they are not repentance it ſelfe.

*Argum.*3. Act.2.38. *Repent and be baptized,* not do penance and be baptized: for 1. they were immediatly the ſame day baptized, verſ.41. What time was there here for any doing of penance? 2. And ſeeing you make penance a Sacrament, how could they do penance, before they had receiued Baptiſme, the firſt Sacrament? 3. Thus their owne gloſſe expoundeth, *cauſ.*33.*diſtinct.*1. *de pœnit.c.*87.*gloſſ. Petrus legitur dixiſſe, &c. Peter* ſaith in the Actes, *do penance, &c. Quod de interiori, &c.* Which is vnderſtood of the inward, not outward penance: ſo the ſame gloſſe *c.*34. *Conuerſio eſt cordis verſio:* Conuerſion is the verſion or turning of the heart.

Auguſtine thus taketh this worde *pœnitentia, Rectè pœnitens quicquid ſordium contraxit, oportet vt abluat ſaltem mentis lachrymis:* The true penitent man muſt at the leaſt waſh away his ſinnes with the teares of the minde. If then repentance be in the ſoule, what is become of this outward ſatiſfactorie penance?

De pœnitentia cap. 9.

*Colonienſ.part.*7.*cap.*31. *Pœnitentia tum rectè prædicatur, cum arguuntur ſcelera ac flagitia per verbum Dei, & incutitur populo timor iræ, indignationiſque, ac iuſti iudicij Dei:* Then Penance or Repentance is rightly preached, when mens ſinnes are reproued by the word of God, and a feare of Gods wrath and iuſt iudgement is ſtriken into the people. This Councell calleth that Penance, when the people begin inwardly to feele Gods wrath, and ſo lament for their ſinnes: they ſpeake of no ſuch outward ſatisfactorie Penance.

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER there be any Sacrament of Penance.

The Papiſts.

43.Error. CHriſt (they ſay) inſtituted the Sacrament of Penance, when he breathed vpon his Apoſtles after his reſurrection, and ſayd vnto them: *Receiue ye the holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſinnes ye remit, they are remitted: whoſe ſinnes ye retaine, they are retained,* Iohn 20.22. The facultie of the Prieſthood conſiſting in remitting of ſinnes, is here beſtowed vpon the Apoſtles, *Rhemiſt. annot. Ioh.* 20 *ſect.* 5. Hereupon they are bolde to conclude, that Penance is truely and properly a Sacrament, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.* 14. *can.* 1.

Bellarmine addeth further, that here is *externum ſymbolum,* an externall ſenſible ſigne, the words of abſolution, and a promiſe of grace, namely, remiſſion of ſinnes: *Ergo,* a Sacrament of Penance: *Lib.* 1. *de pœnitentia. cap.* 10.

Anſw. Firſt, if the power of remiſſion of ſinnes were here firſt inſtituted, how could the Apoſtles baptize or miniſter the Lords ſupper before, without power to remit ſinnes to the penitent? Chriſt therefore in this place doth but renew and confirme the authoritie of their Apoſtleſhip, which was graunted to them before, Matth. 18.18.

Neither is there here any externall viſible ſigne to make a Sacrament, as euen now ſhall bee ſeene: and as for the promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes, it is not here annexed to any externall ſigne: but generally made to the Apoſtles to be executed as well without, as with a Sacrament: as the Councell of Cabilon ſaith: *Deus ſalutis & ſanitatis author plerunque hanc præbet ſuæ potentiæ inuiſibili adminiſtratione, plerunque medicorum operatione:* God the author of ſaluation ſometime giueth forgiuenes of ſinnes by his inuiſible power, ſometime by the working of his Miniſters, our Phiſitions. *Can.* 33.

Secondly, this power here giuen, is principally exerciſed by preaching of the word of God, and denouncing publikely or priuately the promiſes of God, for remiſſion of ſinnes to the penitent, or the threates and iudgement of God, in binding the ſinnes of the obſtinate and impenitent: So Luke 20.24. Chriſt commaundeth his Apoſtles to preach repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes in his name.

Thirdly, we confeſſe alſo a iudiciarie power of the keyes, in binding and looſing, which is exerciſed in eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, in puniſhing and abſoluing according to the word of God: as the inceſtuous perſon was bound, when he was deliuered vp to Sathan, 1. Cor. 5.5. he was looſed againe, when he was reſtored to the Church, 2. Cor. 2.7. But neither this nor the other was commended to the Church as a Sacrament.

Argum. 2. *Bellarmine* affirmeth, the Montaniſts and Nouatians were the firſt, that denied penance to be a Sacrament; for they did not, as ſome thinke, denie forgiueneſſe before God to thoſe that fell, but onely penance and reconciliation in the Church, *Bellarmine cap.* 9.

Anſw. As *Bellarmine* is to be truſted in this, ſo let him be credited in the reſt: but in this place he hath deuiſed a notable forgerie: firſt, thoſe forenamed heretikes did not onely exclude thoſe that fell in time of perſecution from reconciliation to the Church by penance, but euen depriued them of all hope of remiſſion of ſinnes before God. *Cyprian* deſerueth rather to be credited herein, than this Sophiſter: *lib.* 3. *epiſt.* 23. *Puto his indulgentiam Domini non defuturam &c.* I do thinke that mercie with God will not be wanting to thoſe, who once ſtood in the battell, though they afterward fell: thus he pleadeth againſt the Nouatians, in the behalfe of thoſe, that were fallen. And *Ambroſe* likewiſe, *lib. de pœnitent. lib.* 1. *c.* 9. thus witneſſeth, alledging theſe words of our Sauiour: *Euery one that beleeueth in him, ſhall not periſh, but haue life euerlaſting: if thou deſireſt to call againe any that is fallen, doeſt thou exhort him to beleeue, or not to beleeue? ſurely to beleeue: hee then that hath faith, hath eternall life, he that hath life; is not excluded from forgiueneſſe.* Theſe fathers are euident witneſſes, that the Nouatians did ſhut out grieuous ſinners from forgiueneſſe before God: and thus this Cauiller is taken in a notorious lie.

Secondly, it is one thing to take away penance altogether, another to denie it to be a Sacrament: the firſt theſe heretikes were guiltie of, the ſecond we affirme, but not the firſt.

Thirdly, if to denie penance be all one, as to denie it to be a Sacrament, then the fathers are further off (then we) from making it a Sacrament; for they did not graunt publike penance twice: *Auguſtine epiſtol.* 54. *Pœnitentia in eccleſia non iteratur*: Penance or publike repentance is not iterated in the Church: but we are not ſo ſtrict, but that to the truely penitent, though they haue fallen againe, we admit a ſecond reconciliation to the Church.

Argum. 3. *Bellarmine,* to proue penance a Sacrament, alledgeth the teſtimonie of the fathers: he produceth the witneſſe of tenne of them: *Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambroſe, Hierome, Auguſtine,* with others: and yet not one of them affirmeth penance a Sacrament: but ſome do call it *Aliud*

Lauacrum, another Lauer, and that it doth imitate Baptiſme, *Medicinam pœnitentiæ*, the Medicine of penitencie, and ſuch like, but none of them calleth it a Sacrament: but onely one *Victor Cartennenſ.* who is brought forth in the eleuenth place, but he is not ancient enough to be credited for this matter, nor of weight to ſway againſt the reſt.

The Proteſtants.

TRue repentance we do acknowledge, which is a dying to ſinne, and a walking in newneſſe of life, Rom.6.4. But a Sacrament of repentance we finde none in Scripture, and therefore we deny it.

*Argum.*1. In euery Sacrament there is an externall ſenſible element, as Water in Baptiſme, Bread and Wine in the Lords Supper: but there is none in their penance: *Ergo*, no Sacrament.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the words of abſolution and confeſſion, are the outward ſignes in penance: it is not neceſſarie it ſhould be a viſible ſigne: it is a ſenſible ſigne being audible, *cap.*11.

*Anſw.*1. There muſt be the word beſide the element: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Accedat verbum ad elementum*: Let the word be ioyned to the element; and it maketh a Sacrament: the word it ſelfe cannot be the element: for the ſame thing cannot both ſanctifie and be ſanctified. And if the Audible word be the element, by this reaſon the preaching of the word alſo ſhall be a Sacrament.

Bellarmine replieth. 1. That whether the outward ſigne be viſible, or audible, it skilleth not, ſo it be apt to expreſſe the ſpiritual effect: as the ſigne in penance is, which conſiſteth in the words of the Prieſt abſoluing, and the confeſſion of the penitent partie: and S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh onely of the Sacrament of Baptiſme, when he ſaith, *Let the word be ioyned to the element, &c. Bellarm. c.*11.*reſp.ad* 7.*argum.Kemnitij.*

Anſw. If 1. an audible ſigne ſufficed, what needeth water in Baptiſme? for there the Miniſter ſaith, *I baptize thee*, as in the other, *I abſolue thee.* 2. The Apoſtle ſaith, *Euery thing is ſanctified by the word and prayer*, 1.Tim.4.5. If the word do ſanctifie, then is it not the thing ſanctified. 3. It cannot be ſhewed, that any of the Sacraments of the law, which did reſemble ours, had any ſuch audible ſigne. 4. *Auguſtine*, though in that place, ſpeaketh chiefely of Baptiſme, yet elſewhere ſheweth this to be the generall condition of all Sacraments, to haue a viſible ſigne: as ſpeaking of the anointing of *Aaron*: *Quod in genere viſibilium ſignaculorum ſacroſanctum eſt, ſicut ipſe Baptiſmus, &c.* Which in the kind of viſible ſignes is holy, as Baptiſme is: So then he accounteth all holy ſignes, viſible, *cont.Petilian.lib.*2.*c.*104.

Likewiſe, *lib.*3.*de doctrin.Chriſtian.c.*7. *Deus nobis ſigna pauca pro multis dedit, factu facilia, &c.* God hath giuen vs few ſignes for many, eaſie to be done, excellent in ſignification, moſt chaſt in obſeruation, ſuch as is Baptiſme & the celebration of the bodie and blood of the Lord: the ſignes of the Sacraments are eaſie to be done, not eaſie to be ſaid: and as they are in Baptiſme and the Euchariſt, but there they are viſible.

*Argum.*2. There was repentance and abſolution of ſinnes both, in the old Teſtament: for both *Dauid* confeſſed and was ſorie for his ſinne, and the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced forgiueneſſe from God, 2.Sam.12.13. So likewiſe *Iohn* preached repentance for remiſſion of ſinnes, and the people came and confeſſed their ſinnes: here were all things neceſſarie for true repentance, yet was it no Sacrament all this while, as they themſelues confeſſe, which they hold to be inſtituted after Chriſts reſurrection, *Trident.Concil.ſeſſ.*14.*cap.*1. Why then ſhould it be rather a Sacrament now, then before?

Bellarmine anſwereth. 1. That the power of remitting ſinnes was not giuen to any in the olde law: And that *Nathan* did not remit vnto *Dauid* his ſinnes, but onely ſhew, that God had remitted them: And if *Nathan* did abſolue *Dauid*, it was but one ſingular example, which maketh no law.

Contra. 1. If *Nathan* did declare vnto *Dauid*, that God had forgiuen him, it was ſufficient: for the Apoſtles themſelues had no further power, then to declare on Gods behalfe remiſſion of ſins to the penitent, and to ſhew the way how they ſhall be forgiuen. *Synod.Cabilonenſ.ſub Carolo* 33. *Confeſſio, quæ Deo fit, purgat peccata, quæ ſacerdoti fit, docet, qualiter ipſa purgentur peccata*: The confeſſion which is made to God, purgeth ſinne, that which is made to the Prieſt, ſheweth how ſinne ſhould be purged. So the people being pricked in heart at the Sermon of S. *Peter*, cryied, ſaying, *Men and brethren, what ſhall wee do?* Act.2.37. then *Peter* himſelfe abſolueth them not, but onely ſheweth what courſe they ſhould take to haue their ſinnes forgiuen. 2. The pronouncing remiſſion of ſinnes, is no extraordinarie thing in the old Teſtament, Iſay 1.18. *Though your ſinnes were as crimſon*, Chap.6.7. *thy ſinne ſhall be purged*: and more plainly, Ezech.18.22. Hoſh.14.3. *Take vnto you words.* And be it that *Nathan* did it but once, yet haue we once in the old Teſtament abſolution of ſinnes, which the Ieſuite denyeth.

Bellarmin. 2. That Penance, which *Iohn Baptiſt* and our Sauiour Chriſt preached, was no Sacrament, becauſe the words of abſolution were wanting, in *Iohns* penance; and confeſſion, in that which Chriſt preached: *lib.*1.*de pœnitent.cap.*11.

*Cont.*1. The people confeſſed their ſinnes before *Iohn*, this they willingly grant: it is manifeſt alſo that he declared to them remiſſion of ſinnes, for he preached the Baptiſme of repentance to the remiſſion of ſinnes, Luke 3.3. And to what ende ſhould, or would the people haue confeſſed their ſinnes, if they had not expected forgiueneſſe of the ſame at *Iohns* hands? 2. Concerning the repentance which our Sauiour preached, there was both the words of abſolution, Luke 7.48. Thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee; and the womans abundant teares, therewith waſhing Chriſts feet, ſtood for confeſſion: and yet more planely, Luke 19. *Zacheus* confeſſeth, verſ.8. Chriſt abſolueth, verſ.9. *This day is ſaluation come to thy houſe.* Here therefore was as much a Sacrament of penance, as was after miniſtred by the Apoſtles.

*Argum.*3. Act.26.20. S.*Paul* hauing ſet downe the ſumme of repentance: *To repent, to turne to God, and to do workes worthie of repentance*: afterward teſtifieth thus, verſ.22. *Saying none other things, then Moſes & the Prophets did ſay ſhould come*: *Paul* preacheth no other repentance, then the Prophets; but they preached no Sacrament of repentance, which they themſelues confeſſe: *Ergo.*

Bellarmine. 1. *Paul* doth not recite the ſumme of the doctrine of penance, but it is an exhortation onely to penance. 2. And hee ſpeaketh of Penance before Baptiſme, which is no Sacrament. 3. And the things which the Apoſtle ſaith agreeable to the Prophets, are not concerning penance, but as touching the paſſion, and reſurrection of Chriſt, as it followeth, verſ.23. *reſp.ad* 4.*argum.Kemnitij.*

Anſ. Firſt, 1. the ſumme of the doctrine of repentance, is to turne in heart to God, and to bring forth good fruits: as *Auguſtine*; *Fructus eſt dignus pœnitentiæ tranſacta flere peccata, et eadem iterum non agere*: it is a worthie fruit of repentance, to lament ſinnes paſt, and not to do the ſame againe: *Serm.de tempor.*66. This ſumme of the doctrine of repentance, the Apoſtle here ſetteth downe, not 2. by way of exhortation onely, but he ſaith *he ſhewed, Annunciauit*, he preached or declared it vnto them, by way of inſtruction. Secondly, there is one and the ſame kind of repentance, both before and after Baptiſme, as followeth in the next argument. Thirdly, not the preaching only of Chriſts *ſuffring* is the doctrine agreeable to the Prophets, but of *remiſſion of ſinnes*, in his name, and ſo conſequently of *repentance*, as S. *Peter* ſheweth, Act.10.43. *To him all the Prophets witneſſe, that through his name all that beleeue ſhall haue remiſſion of ſinnes.*

*Argum.*4. There is one and the ſame kind of repentance before Baptiſme and after: but the firſt is not a Sacrament, as they confeſſe: *Ergo*, no more is the latter.

Bellarmine, Penance after Baptiſme requireth particular confeſſion of ſinnes and *laborious* workes, ſo doth not penance before Baptiſme. *Bellarm.c.*11.

Anſw. Firſt, particular confeſſion is not requiſite at all, as afterward ſhall be ſhewed: but both confeſſion, and bringing forth of good fruite are neceſſarie in repentance before Baptiſme, as may appeare, Matth.3.6. they *confeſſed their ſinnes.* verſ.8. *Bring forth fruites, &c.* Secondly, *Auguſtine* ſetteth forth *Zachæus* as an example of true repentance, *ſerm.*116.*de tempore*: who both confeſſed his ſinnes and made reſtitution, Luke 19.8. being not yet baptized.

Serm.de Baptiſme ad Infantes.

Auguſtine thus writeth, *Sacramentum ideò dicitur, quia aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur*: It is called a Sacrament, becauſe one thing is ſeene, another vnderſtood. And then he ſaith, *Quid tale aut ipſi vident, aut alijs queunt oſtendere in eo quod ſacramentum pœnitentiæ vocant*: But neither do they ſee, or can ſhew to others, any ſuch viſible ſigne in that which they call the Sacrament of repentance. Here *Auguſtine* denieth repentance to be a Sacrament, becauſe it hath no viſible ſigne.

Bellarmine anſwereth here moſt abſurdly, that *Auguſtine* by a viſible ſigne vnderſtandeth, that which is ſenſible to any of the ſenſes, though it be to the hearing, *cap.*11.*reſp.ad* 3.*argum. Caluini.* Thus that which is onely heard, ſhall be ſaid to be viſible, which is moſt abſurd, and needeth no other confutation.

The Maſter of the Sentences propoundeth 2. reaſons againſt the Sacrament of penance, which require a further anſwere: firſt, *if outward penance be a Sacrament*, then it would follow, that, *Non omne Sacramentũ euangelicum id efficit, quod figurat*: That euery Sacrament of the Goſpel doth not effect that, which it figureth: but inward repentance doth effect the outward, not contrariwiſe: The anſwere there is this, that the propoſition is true onely of thoſe Sacraments, that were inſtituted in the Goſpell, *but Penance and Matrimonie had their beginning before*: but ſeeing theſe new Sophiſters make Penance a Sacrament of the Goſpell, they muſt find out another anſwere. *Lambard lib.*4.*diſt.*22.*c.*

The other reaſon obiected is this; if externall Penance be a Sacrament, it will follow, that *res ſacramenti*, the ſacramentall thing or worke ſhould goe before the Sacrament, as inward repentance is the ſacramentall thing, and goeth before outward penance: the *Maſter* ſaith this may well be ſo, but we ſee not how; it would haue a better anſwere, I would haue them demur further vpon it.

This trueth alſo is ſealed: *Agnes Snoth* burned for denying the Sacrament of penance: *Foxe* pag.1859.

THE

THE THIRD QVESTION, WHETHER THERE BE any other Sacrament of repentance, beſide Baptiſme.

The Papiſts.

44.Error.

Baptiſme ſerueth onely, they ſay, for remiſſion of ſinnes done before : for ſinnes committed after Baptiſme, the Sacrament of Penance, which is a diſtinct Sacrament from Baptiſme, is appointed for a remedie : and therefore is fitly called, *The ſecond table of refuge after ſhipwracke : Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.* 14. *can.*2.

Secunda tabula poſt naufragium.

Argum. 1. Saint *Iohn* ſaith, *If we confeſſe our ſinnes,* hee is faithfull to forgiue vs, 1.Epiſt.1.9. he ſaith not, that by the memorie of Baptiſme, but by confeſſion, which is a part of penance, our ſinnes are forgiuen, *Bellarm.cap.*13.

Anſw. Firſt, wee ſay not, that by the bare memorie or remembrance of Baptiſme, ſinnes after committed are done away : but that the ſacramentall force of Baptiſme doth extend itſelfe to our whole life, that is, to bee a ſeale vnto vs of remiſſion of all our ſinnes in the blood of Chriſt. Secondly, the confeſſion of our ſinnes is not a taking away of the force of Baptiſme, but a more effectuall applying thereof, as the people which were baptized by *Iohn* confeſſed alſo their ſins. Thirdly, it is no good argument, wee muſt confeſſe our ſinnes after Baptiſme : *Ergo,* Penance is another Sacrament beſide Baptiſme : for confeſſion of ſinnes is a fruite of the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

*Argum.*2. In the old law Circumciſion was not appointed as a remedie for ſinnes committed afterward, but they had ſacrifices and other expiations, &c. ſo in the new Teſtament Baptiſme is not appointed to purge ſinne after Baptiſme, but we haue the ſacrifice of the new Teſtament, and abſolution, &c. *Bellarm.cap.*13.

Anſw. Firſt, the force and efficacie of Circumciſion was ſeene in the reformation of the whole life : why elſe doth *Stephen* thus charge the Iewes, Act.7.51. that they were of *vncircumciſed hearts and eares?* ſignifying thereby, that they did not expreſſe the force and vertue of their firſt circumciſion in the renuing of their hearts, reforming of their eares : if then to circumciſe the eares, be an effect of circumciſion, but infants cannot be circumciſed, becauſe they neither heare, nor vnderſtand; then it followeth, that the effect of circumciſion was not limited onely to that time, but was to bee exerciſed and applied thorough the whole life. Againe, Circumciſion being *the ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith,* Rom.4.11. and faith being *the life* of the ſoule, Rom.1.17. it followeth that the whole righteouſnes and ſpirituall life of man, not the beginning onely was then ſealed in Circumciſion, and now in Baptiſme.

Secondly, as then they had ſacrifices and Sacraments, not to beget a new faith, or to obtaine new remiſſion of ſinnes, but to confirme them in their firſt faith, and to applie the remiſſion of ſins ſealed in Circumciſion : ſo now beſide Baptiſme we haue the Euchariſt, no ſacrifice, but a Sacrament, to cheriſh and reuiue in vs our firſt life in Baptiſme: like as food doth not giue a new life to the bodie, but onely ſuſtaineth the firſt life receiued in the birth, &c.

*Argum.*3. The Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr.6.6. *that they which haue been once lightened,* (that is 1. baptized) *if they fall away ſhould be renewed by penance :* they cannot bee renewed againe by that penance, which is by Baptiſme : *Ergo,* by another 2. penance they may; vnleſſe 3. ye will ſay that the Apoſtle excludeth ſuch as fall after Baptiſme altogether from *Penance,* which was the hereſie of the Nouatians, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, to be *lightened* is not to bee baptized : the Apoſtle addeth further, verſ.5. *They that haue taſted of the good word of God :* but infants haue no *taſte of the word*; therefore they are not illuminate in Baptiſme. Secondly, if by penance you vnderſtand Baptiſme, then you haue made a good reaſon for vs, that hold no other Sacrament of Penance but Baptiſme. Thirdly, S.*Paul* ſpeaketh not of euery falling after Baptiſme, but of manifeſt apoſtaſie, and vtter renouncing of the grace receiued, for whō there was no more hope at al: which was not the error of the Nouatians, that denied reconciliation to thoſe that fell of infirmitie: but the Apoſtles owne poſition, Heb.10. verſ.26. *That there remaineth no more ſacrifice for ſinne at all for thoſe, which after the knowledge of the truth ſinne willingly,* that is, obſtinately and with a malicious and peruerſe minde, as the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe, verſ.29. *They tread vnder foote the Sonne of God, &c. and deſpite the ſpirit of grace :* of ſuch the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in this place, that they doe *crucifie to themſelues the Sonne of God.* Fourthly, if your expoſition be admitted, you haue gained nothing but this, that there is repentance after Baptiſme, which you call penance, and this we denie not : but any other Sacrament of repentance, we acknowledge not, which you ſhould haue proued.

The Proteſtants.

We acknowledge no other Sacrament of repentance, but Baptiſme.

*Arg.*1. The Scripture ſo calleth it, *The baptiſme of repentance for remiſſion of ſins,* Mar.1.4.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the baptiſme of *Iohn* was called the baptiſme of repentance, not the baptiſme of Chriſt, *cap.*14.

Anſ. 1. We haue proued before Contro.12.queſt.7. that the baptiſme of *Iohn*, and of our Sauiour Chriſt was all one, and therefore this diſtinction faileth. 2. That Chriſts baptiſme was a baptiſme of repentance, S. *Paul* ſheweth Rom.6.4. *We are buried by baptiſme into his death, &c. that we ſhould walke in newnes of life.* Chriſts baptiſme then teacheth vs to dye vnto ſinne, and to riſe vp to newnes of life: but this is repentance, Hebr.6.1. *Repentance from dead workes: Ergo,* Chriſts baptiſme preacheth repentance.

De fide ad Petrum cap.29.

So *Auguſtine* calleth Baptiſme, *Sacramentum fidei, & pœnitentiæ,* the Sacrament of faith, and repentance: what need we then ſeeke for a new Sacrament of repentance, which cannot any where be found in Scripture?

Bellarm. Firſt, *Auguſtine* calleth Baptiſme the Sacrament of faith, and *Penance* which goeth before Baptiſme, not of that, which followeth after. Secondly, *Iohns* Baptiſme is called the Baptiſme of *repentance to remiſſion of ſinnes,* not that it gaue remiſſion of ſinnes, but it wrought repentance, and repentance remiſſion of ſinnes: but Chriſts baptiſme worketh not repentance, but repentance goeth before, *cap.*14.*reſp.ad argum.*3.

Anſw. Firſt, How 1. can baptiſme be the Sacrament of faith and *Penance* before going, ſeeing children, that haue baptiſme, haue as yet neither faith nor repentance? 2. And you contradict your ſelues: for you hold Penance before Baptiſme to be no Sacrament, and yet you ſay that *Auguſtine* calleth Baptiſme the Sacrament of Penance before going. Secondly, 1. Repentance went before *Iohns* baptiſme: for they confeſſed their ſinnes before *they were baptized,* Matth.3.6. but without repentance, there can be no confeſſion. 2. And that *Iohns* baptiſme ſealed remiſſion of ſins vnto them, it is euident, becauſe they did thereby *eſcape the wrath to come,* Luk.3.7. But Gods iudgements cannot be auoided, where ſinne is not firſt remitted.

*Argum.*2. If baptiſme and the vertue thereof cannot bee aboliſhed by ſinne, then there is no neede of another Sacrament of repentance: but the firſt is true, *Ergo* the ſecond.

Bellarmine. The grace of regeneration had in Baptiſme, may afterward be loſt and caſt out by ſinne.

Anſw. Firſt, as touching the grace of election, whereby infants are ſaued in Baptiſme, being taken away in their infancie, it is diuelliſh doctrine to ſay it may be loſt: *for whom Chriſt loueth, he loueth to the end,* Ioh.13.1. Secondly, the grace of regeneration, which is not conferred in Baptiſme, but onely ſealed, and afterward by the worke of the ſpirit effected in the hearts of the faithfull, cannot be loſt where once it is wrought: *for the gifts and calling of God are without repentance,* Rom.11.2. And your owne Canons confirme the ſame: *Diuina clementia dimiſſa peccata vlterius redire in vltionem non patitur:* The diuine clemencie doth not ſuffer ſinnes once remitted to returne againe vnto puniſhment, *Gelaſius cauſ.*33.*qu.*3.*diſtinct.*4.*c.*24.

*Argum.*3. Baptiſme is of no leſſe force and efficacie, than circumciſion: but that was a durable and permanent Sacrament, effectuall through the whole life, being the *ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of faith,* Rom.4.11. But 1. faith ſanctifieth both the firſt and latter repentance: *For without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God,* Hebr.11.6. *Ergo,* euen repentance following depended as then vpon circumciſion, ſo now vpon Baptiſme. 2. And if Baptiſme be the ſeale of righteouſnes; but without finall and continuall repentance there is no righteouſnes, it is therefore the ſeale and Sacrament of all and euery repentance.

*Decret.par.*2.*cauſ.*23.*qu.*1.*c.*40. in the title thus: *In extremo poſitus etiam ab hæretico pœnitentiam accipere valet:* At the point of death a man may receiue penance of an heretike. And in the Canon it ſelfe: *Sine ſancti baptiſmi ſacramento:* Without the holie Sacrament of Baptiſme he would not goe out of his life. Heere Baptiſme is interpreted to bee the ſame thing, that is called before Penance.

Synod Colonienſ. Docendus eſt populus, quod in baptiſmo aboleatur vetus homo, remiſſo omni peccato, atque nouus exoriatur, &c. The people muſt bee taught, that in Baptiſme the old man is aboliſhed, all ſinne being taken away, and the new man beginneth. But to put off the old man with his works, Coloſſ.3.9. is nothing elſe but repentance, which is from dead workes: *Ergo,* Baptiſme is the Sacrament of repentance.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, OF THE ESSENtiall parts of penance.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE MATTER and forme of popiſh penance.

The Papiſts.

45.Error. THe forme of this Sacrament, ſay they, conſiſteth in the words of abſolution, pronounced by the Miniſter, the matter thereof is the contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction of the partie penitent, *Concil. Tridentin. ſeſſ.* 14. *cap.* 3. *Bellar. lib.* 1. *cap.* 15.

Arg. Bellarmine here hath no argument out of Scripture: and as for the popiſh Councels of Florence and Trent alleaged by him, we hold them not worth the anſwering. He only obtrudeth this reaſon: A ſenſible ſigne of iuſtifying grace inſtituted of God is a part of the Sacrament: but the action of the penitent partie, weeping, and confeſſing his ſinnes, is a ſenſible ſigne that hee is iuſtified: *Ergo. Bellarm. cap.* 14.

Anſw. Firſt, a ſenſible ſigne ſufficeth not, it muſt be a viſible element, that is the matter of the Sacrament, as water in Baptiſme, bread and wine in the Euchariſt: but the action of the penitent is no viſible element. 2. Againe, no humane action, ſuch as this of the penitent is, can bee a part of a diuine Sacrament. Thirdly, it is no ſigne of grace, for an hypocrite may doe all this, as *Ahab* did, and not be iuſtified.

The Proteſtants.

NEither is their penance a Sacrament, neither can theſe be parts of a Sacrament.

Argum. 1. In euery Sacrament there are two things required: *res terrena*, and *actio externa*, the earthly thing or element, as is water in Baptiſme; and the externall action: neither doth the element alone, nor the action alone make a Sacrament: as in Baptiſme there is both water, which is the matter; and the waſhing, that is the action. Wherefore ſeeing in their penance there is nothing but the action of the Miniſter, and the action of the receiuer, it can bee no Sacrament.

Argum. 2. The parts of euery Sacrament, as the forme, the matter, muſt be inſtituted of Chriſt: but this are they not able to ſhew for the forme and matter of penance, namely, the inſtitution of Chriſt: *Ergo*, it is no Sacrament. For in theſe words of our Sauiour Chriſt, *Whoſe ſinnes ye remit, &c.* which is the onely place of inſtitution, which they are able to alleage for this their deuiſed Sacrament, though wee ſhould graunt, that the wordes of abſolution may bee picked out of this place, which they ſay containe the forme; yet there is no mention of contrition, confeſſion, ſatisfaction in the partie abſolued, wherein conſiſteth the matter. If *Bellarmine* anſwere, as elſewhere he ſaith, that theſe alſo may be gathered out of this place, becauſe ſinnes muſt not be forgiuen, but to thoſe that confeſſe them; *Bellarm. cap.* 10. We replie againe: 1. That in the inſtitution of a Sacrament there muſt be expreſſe mention of the materiall parts thereof, as it was in the inſtitution of Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper. 2. By the ſame reaſon we will conclude againſt the Ieſuite, that our Sauiour Chriſt abſolued not, but vpon confeſſion going before: for it is not like that he would forgiue ſinnes, where ſinnes were not acknowledged: and thus there being confeſſion and abſolution in the penance that Chriſt preached, it muſt needes bee a Sacrament after their definition, which *Bellarmine* inſtantly denieth.

Argum. 3. Some of the principall Schoolemen are of a contrarie iudgement to *Bellarmine*: one thinketh, namely *Gropperus*, that the action of the Prieſt is the materiall part of this Sacrament, and not the action of the penitent partie, *Enchirid. Colon.* Other, as *Scotus, in* 4. *ſentent. diſtinct.* 14. *qu.* 4. and *Ockam, Ioannes Maior* doe thinke, that the abſolution of the Prieſt is the onely eſſentiall part of penance. They reaſon thus:

Firſt, that is a Sacrament which is conferred by the Miniſter: but onely abſolution is conferred by the Miniſter, not the confeſſion of the penitent: *Ergo*.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the penitent partie is *cooperator miniſtri*, is the helper of the Miniſter.

Contra. 1. Yet dare he not ſay he is the Miniſter: 2. He may as well ſay, that the people, which eateth and drinketh and communicateth in the Euchariſt, is the Miniſters fellow-worker in the Sacrament.

Secondly, that onely is of the eſſence of the Sacrament, which is cauſe of the Sacramentall effect: but abſolution onely is the cauſe of remiſſion: *Ergo*, it is onely of the eſſence.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that as a man conſiſteth of two parts, the ſoule, and bodie, yet he vnderſtandeth onely by the ſoule: ſo the Sacrament conſiſting of two parts, may worke onely by one of them.

Contra. Firſt, if the Sacrament haue two parts, and work only by one of them, then is the other ſuperfluous. Secondly, the ſpirit or ſoule of man onely vnderſtandeth formally; but the matter and obiect of the vnderſtanding is deliuered by the outward ſenſes: ſo likewiſe to the ſacramentall work muſt concurre as well the matter, as the forme thereof. Thus the Papiſts diſagree among themſelues, and each doe confute another: which ſheweth that their Sacrament of Penance is but a new deuice, ſeeing they know not themſelues what certainlie to hold.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS QVESTION, OF the three materiall parts of popiſh penance, contrition, confeſſion, ſatisfaction.

The Papiſts.

46. Error. These three (they ſay) are the true and proper parts of penance, contrition, and painfull ſorrow of the heart, confeſſion to the Prieſt, and ſatisfaction to God for our ſinnes, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 14. can. 4. Rhemiſt: Matth. 3. ſect. 2.*

. *Argum.* 1. Contrition is proued, Pſal. 51. 17. *A contrite heart is a ſacrifice to God.* Confeſſion, Matth. 3. They were baptized in Iordane confeſſing their ſinnes. Satisfaction, Matth. 11. 21. They would haue repented long agoe in ſackcloth and aſhes, *Bellarm. cap.* 19.

Anſw. Firſt, that godly ſorrow and contrition of the heart, is neceſſarie to true repentance, wee neuer will denie: but that this ſorrow is any ſatisfaction to Gods iuſtice, we abhorre it as a monſtrous blaſphemie. Secondly, Confeſſion and acknowledgement of our ſinnes vnto God; and in ſome caſes, where the conſcience is not ſatisfied, to the Miniſter or ſome other faithfull man, wee doe willingly graunt: but that it is neceſſarie to make generall confeſſion of ſinnes to the prieſt, that place prooueth it not: for *Iohn* had had ſhriuing worke enough for many yeeres, to heare euery mans particular confeſſion. Thirdly, that ſitting in ſackcloth and aſhes, was no ſatisfaction for ſinne, but an outward ſigne of true ſorrow for ſinne.

Argum. 2. In *Dauids* repentance, there was contrition: *his heart ſmote him,* when he had numbred the people, 2. Sam. 24. 10. Confeſſion, *I haue ſinned exceedingly.* Satisfaction, by his prayer and offring of ſacrifice, &c. In the Publicane, Luk. 18. there was contrition in that he durſt not lift his eyes to heauen: Confeſſion, *Lord be mercifull to me a ſinner:* Satisfaction, in ſmiting vpon his breaſt, *Bellarm. cap.* 19.

Anſw. Firſt, *contrition* we graunt in both theſe, as a preparation to a further repentance, not as any part of ſatisfaction to Gods iuſtice. Secondly, here is alſo confeſsion, but not auricular, by particular enumeration of ſins. *Dauid* maketh confeſsion but of that one ſin at that time committed, the Publicane confeſſeth in generall, and both confeſſe vnto God; what is this to auricular confeſsion to the Prieſt? Thirdly, *Dauid* offreth ſacrifice onely 1. as a teſtimonie of his thankfulnes vnto God, not by way of ſatisfaction: 2. and it was a ſmall ſatisfaction in the Publicane for all his notorious ſinnes to ſmite vpon his breaſt: 3. Doe you thinke, that oppreſsion, forgerie, extortion, ſuch as the ſinnes of the Publicanes were, Luk. 19. 8. are of ſo ſmall waight, that they may bee done away with a knocke vpon the breaſt? 4. This ſmiting vpon the breaſt was a ſigne of contrition, no part of any ſatisfaction: And ſo *Auguſtine* ſaith; *Tundere pectus quid aliud eſt, quam arguere, quod latet in pectore, &c.* To knocke vpon the breaſt, what is it elſe but to reprooue that, which lieth hid in the breaſt? *in Matth. ſerm.* 8.

The Proteſtants.

We doe make two parts onely of true repentance, according to the Scriptures, that is, the mortifying of the old man with his workes, by dying vnto ſinne: vnto the which belongeth true ſorrow, and contrition of heart for our ſinnes, 2. Corinth. 7. 11. acknowledgement and confeſsion thereof before God, 2. Sam. 12. 13. and a perfect hatred and deteſtation of ſinne, and indignation with our ſelues for the ſame, 2. Corinth. 7. 11. The other part is the renewing and quickening of the new man in vs, which conſiſteth partly in ſetting our conſciences at peace with God, our ſinnes being forgiuen vs, Rom. 5. 1. and working in vs a zeale, ſtudie, care, and deſire of newnes of life, 2. Cor. 7. 11. Theſe two parts onely we finde in Scripture.

Argum. 1. Iſai. 1. 17. Ceaſe to doe euill: Learne to doe good: wee muſt dye vnto ſinne, and walke in newnes of life, Rom. 6. 4. Put off the old man, put on the new, Coloſſ. 3. 9.

Bellarmine anſwereth, 1. *Partes ſunt iuſtitiæ, non pœnitentiæ:* Theſe are parts of righteouſnes, not of repentance: namely, to ceaſe to doe euill, and learne to doe good, *cap.* 20. 2. And againe, *cap.* 19. *propoſ.* 4. Penance is onely from dead workes, and all men need not repentance, Luk. 15. 7. but the mortifying of the fleſh, and to bee renewed in the ſpirit, appertaineth to all. 3. Neither can it bee ſhewed any where in Scripture that it is called repentance to decline from euill, and to doe good.

Contra. Firſt,it followeth not, they are parts of iuſtice or righteouſnes, therefore not of repentance: To make ſatisfaction is a part of repentance,by their own confeſſion, yet is it alſo a worke of righteouſnes; as *Zachaus*,Luk.19.8.reſtoreth what he had wrongfully gotten: And the Apoſtle ſaith,*Being made free from ſinne, ye are made the ſeruants of righteouſnes*,Rom.6.8. Freedome from ſinne,which is nothing elſe *but repentance from dead workes*,Hebr.6.1.is the ſeruice of righteouſnes, which is our ſanctification: for here we ſpeake not of our iuſtice before God in Chriſt, but of iuſtice which is wrought in vs.

Secondly,it is an hereticall poſition,that any are ſo iuſt,which neede no repentance: 1. For if they neede no repentance,they ſhould haue no ſinne:and whoſoeuer ſaith he *hath no ſinne is a liar*, 1.Iohn. 1.8. then it followeth,*if we acknowledge our ſins,he is faithfull to forgiue vs our ſinnes*.The Apoſtle excludeth not any(no not himſelfe)that haue ſinnes, from confeſſion of ſinnes, which is a part of repentance. 2.Our Sauiour ſpeaketh of ſuch iuſt perſons,as in their owne preſumptuous opinion were ſuch: ſo he ſaith, *I came not to call the righteous,but ſinners to repentance*, Matth.9.12. Thinke you that any were ſo iuſt, that Chriſt needed not to haue come into the world for their ſakes, as here he ſaith,*I came not*; then needed he not alſo to haue dyed for them. 3. Againe,heare what was decreed,*Concil. Mileuitan.can*.8.where *Auguſtine* was preſent: *Placuit, vt quicunque verba ipſa,&c.*They which hold, that they which ſay thoſe words of the Lordes prayer, *forgiue vs,&c.* doe rather ſay them in humilitie,than in truth,let them bee accurſed. If euery man truly craueth in the Lords prayer forgiuenes of his ſinnes,then euery man is truly a ſinner,and ſo hath neede of repentance.

Thirdly,it is more boldly than truly, or wiſely ſaid, the Scripture no where doth call it repentance to ceaſe to doe euill,&c. Iſay.58.*Is not this faſting,to looſe the bands of wickednes,&c.* verſ.7.*to deale thy bread to the hungrie?* By faſting here is vnderſtood repentance, as verſ.3.*Wherefore haue wee faſted,&c. and puniſhed our ſelues?* but puniſhment belongeth,euen in their owne ſenſe,to repentance.

*Argum.*2. Remiſſion of ſinnes doth alwaies followe true repentance, Act.3.19. *Repent and turne,that your ſinnes may be put away,when the time of refreſhing ſhall come from the preſence of the Lord:* but remiſsion of ſins doe not alwaies follow contrition,confeſsion, ſatisfaction: as all theſe three were in *Iudas*,and yet he hanged himſelfe: therefore theſe three, contrition, confeſsion, ſatisfaction, are not the parts of true repentance.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, *Iudas* was baptized, and receiued the Euchariſt, and hanged himſelfe,yet were they the right Sacraments. Secondly, *Iudas* had not true contrition, which alwaies is ioyned with hope, neither did he make particular confeſsion of all his ſinnes, nor yet was ſatiſfaction enioyned him by the Prieſt.

Anſw. Firſt,there is difference betweene the Sacraments and repentance: for the Sacrament is one thing, *res ſacramenti*, the vertue of the Sacrament another: the firſt may bee receiued to death, or to life: for they *that receiue vnworthily, are guiltie of the bodie and blood of Chriſt*,1.Corinth.11.27. but the other,is *omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium*, is to life vnto all, not to deſtruction, *Auguſtin.tract.26.in Ioann.*So is true repentance not vnto death vnto any, but vnto life. Secondly,you make contrition a part of repentance,*Non vt in corde ſedem habet:* Not as it is in the heart,but as it is manifeſted by ſignes,*Bellarm.cap*.17.therefore hope is no part of popiſh contrition being in the heart. 2. *Iudas* alſo confeſſed his ſinne in particular,*I haue ſinned in betraying the innocent blood:* he made not a particular confeſsion of all,no more did *Dauid* or the Publicane, alleadged before as examples of repentance. 3. His ſatisfaction was not enioyned by the Prieſt: if he ſhould haue expected their ſentence, they would haue enioyned none at all: and who I pray you enioyned *Dauid* his ſatisfaction,when he offred ſacrifice to God? or the Publicane,when hee ſmote vpon his breaſt,for theſe (you ſay) were their ſatisfactions?

*Argum.*3. *Durand*(one of their owne writers) denieth contrition and ſatisfaction to bee parts of penance: the firſt,becauſe contrition is not ſenſible, but euery part of a Sacrament ſhould bee ſenſible. The ſecond,becauſe ſatisfaction in act is not neceſſarie, but it ſufficeth if it bee in vow and deſire, *Durand.in 4.diſtinct.16.qu.*1. Thus we ſee how well they agree together.

Bellarmine thus anſwereth: firſt, contrition is a part of penance, not as it is in the heart, but as it is manifeſted by ſignes. Secondly,penance may be without ſatisfaction: but then it is as it were maimed,and imperfect.

Contra. Firſt,contrition by ſignes may bee in hypocrites, and ſo diſſembled: ſuch as the Prophet ſpeaketh of,*to bow themſelues like bulruſhes*,Iſay.58.which the Lord denieth to be repentance: *Is this a faſt that I haue choſen? &c.* They ſhewed their contrition by faſting and humbling themſelues,yet the Lord refuſeth it: wherefore ſuch contrition is no part of true repentance, which is acceptable to God.

Secondly,if penance may bee without ſatisfaction, then is it no part of a Sacrament: for a Sacrament can want none of the materiall parts: take water from Baptiſme,or bread and wine from the Euchariſt,and they are no Sacraments at al. Again, repentance may be perfect without actual ſatisfaction, as was the repentance of the theefe vpon the croſſe. But I need not labour to ſtrengthen or fortifie *Durands* arguments, it is ſufficient that the truth hath euidence from the aduerſaries thereof.

Likewiſe for the parts of true repentance,their owne Canons doe witneſſe: *Decret.p.2.cauſ.*33. *diſtinct.*1.*de pœnitent.c.*39.*Pœnitentia eſt mala præterita plangere, & plangenda iterum non committere:* It is repentance to bewaile the ſinnes paſt, and not to commit the ſame againe.

Auguſtine ſaith,*Fructus eſt dignus pœnitentia,tranſacta deflere peccata,& ea iterum non agere:* This is true repentance, to lament for ſinnes paſt, and not to commit the ſame againe: Though this bee no perfect definition of repentance, yet wee ſee that both confeſſion and ſatisfaction are excluded. Serm.66.

*Colonienſ.part.*7.*cap.*39.*Sacerdos mouebit conſitentem,vt quod admiſſum eſt deteſtetur, & ſic deinceps vitam inſtituat,ne in vllum lethale crimen poſtea incidat:* The prieſt muſt moue him that confeſſeth, to deteſt that which is committed,and ſo afterward to frame his life, that hee fall into no deadly ſin. Here alſo are theſe two things required to repentance, to hate ſinne, and embrace righteouſneſſe.

This truth alſo is ſealed: *Iohn Lambert* Martyr, I know none other penance, except it bee renouation of liuing,by caſting away old vice,and taking them to new vertue: *ad artic.*10.*pag.*1106.

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER REpentance goe before faith.

The Papiſts.

47.Error. THeir opinion is,that repentance goeth before iuſtification by faith,and that it is a way rather vnto faith and iuſtification in the remiſſion of ſinnes: *Pœnitentia eſt via ad remiſſionem peccatorum,& prior iuſtificatione,Bellarm.cap.*19.

Argum. Act.2.38. Repent and be baptized in the name of Chriſt for the remiſſion of ſinnes: Remiſſion of ſinnes followeth repentance: *Ergo,* iuſtification alſo and faith follow repentance. Act.8.22.*Repent of this thy wickedneſſe, and pray God, if it be poſſible, the thoughts of thy heart may bee forgiuen thee.* Here forgiuenes followeth repentance.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt this place prooueth not, that remiſſion of ſinnes followeth repentance,becauſe Baptiſme was giuen after repentance: for Baptiſme doth not giue remiſſion of ſinnes, but it is a ſeale onely and confirmation of our faith,in the remiſsion of ſinnes. Secondly, neither is remiſsion of ſinnes obtained before God,by the act of our repentance: but wee are alreadie,being once called,iuſtified before God,by the remiſsion of our ſinnes,and imputation of the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt,Rom.8.30.*Whom he called,he iuſtified:* Iuſtification immediatly followeth our calling: by repentance,and other workes that follow, our calling is made ſure, 2.Pet.1.10. our ſaluation finiſhed,that is,aſſured to our ſelues: Philipp.2.12.*Make an end of your ſaluation by feare and trembling.* So then feare and trembling which worketh repentance, beginneth not our ſaluation,but onely doth aſſure vs of the ſame. So wee muſt diſtinguiſh, as the Apoſtle ſaith,betweene the beginning of faith and iuſtification before God, and the perfection and aſſurance thereof to our ſelues: faith is firſt whereby wee are iuſtified, and our ſinnes remitted before God, then followeth repentance whereby our hearts are aſſured to our ſelues of this remiſsion.

Thirdly, 1. Saint *Peter* ſo ſaith to *Simon* that hypocrite, not that he doubted of remiſsion of ſinnes vpon true repentance, but that hee doubted of *Simons* true repentance, as it followeth verſ.23.*I ſee thou art in the gall of bitternes.* 2. Or he ſo ſaith, to ſhew vnto *Simon* how difficult, or hard a thing remiſsion of ſins was. 3. And though remiſsion of ſinnes be alreadie decreed before God,yet is it not felt in the hart,nor the conſcience aſſured thereof,til after effectual repentance, as *Nathan*,preſently when *Dauid* had ſaid, *I haue ſinned*, ſaith, *the Lord alſo hath put away thy ſinnes,* 2.Sam.12.13. This notwithſtanding *Dauid* yet felt not the comfort thereof in his ſoule, for the which he praieth,Pſalm.51.12. therefore when remiſsion of ſinnes is placed after repentance, it ſheweth the aſſurance thereof made vnto our hearts after repentance, not the firſt decree or graunt thereof with God,which goeth before repentance.

*Argum.*1. Iuſtification goeth before ſanctification: for this is the fruit of the other: but repentance is part of our ſanctification,renouation,or regeneration, being called by S.*Paul, A walking in newnes of life,* Rom.6.4.*Ergo,* it followeth and commeth after our iuſtification. And ſeeing without faith it is impoſsible to pleaſe God,Hebr.11.6: how ſhould our repentance be acceptable to God,vnleſſe it proceeded of faith? Faith then is initiate and begun in vs before repentance,which we denie not,by true repentance and other fruites of ſanctification,to be daily ſtrengthened and encreaſed.

Argum.2. *Bellarmine* himſelfe, forgetting belike his owne poſitions, proueth that Faith goeth before repentance, by the example of the Niniuites, Ion.3.5: *They beleeued God and proclaymed a faſt:* Whereupon he concludeth, that Faith is the cauſe of Repentance. *Bellarm. cap.* 19. *propoſ*.2. And he vnderſtandeth iuſtifying faith, *propoſ*.4. Mortification, *fructus fidei iuſtificantis*, is the fruite of iuſtifying faith, *Ergo*, iuſtifying faith goeth before repentance. The Maſter of the Sentences affirmeth the ſame out of S. *Auguſtine, Non ſatis ſit, quod doleat, ſed ex fide doleat:* Let it not ſuffice, that he is grieued, but let his griefe be of faith, *Lib*.4. *diſtinct*.14. *a*. And *Diſtinct*.15.*c. Immundi ſunt omnes, &c.* They are all vncleane, whom faith cleanſeth not, by faith purifying their hearts: Act.15.9. And in the ſame *Diſtinction, d. Sine charitate non poteſt eſſe vera pœnitentia:* Without charitie there can be no true repentance, and without faith there can be no charitie: Galath.5.6. *Faith working by loue.*

Epiſtol. 105.

Auguſtine ſayth, No man is iuſtified but by the grace of Ieſus Chriſt: *Non ſolum remiſſione peccatorum, ſed priùs ipſius inſpiratione fidei & timoris dei, donec ſanet omnes languores noſtros:* Not onely by remiſſion of ſinnes; but firſt, by inſpiring into vs faith and the feare of God, till he haue cured all our maladies. He ſayth (as wee heare) that faith is inſpired before we haue remiſſion of ſinnes and the feare of God, without the which there is no true repentance.

Iulus.1.*decret*.11. *Fides omnes actus hominis præcedere debet*: Faith muſt goe before all the workes or doings of man: *Ergo*, before repentance.

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF CONTRITION: the firſt part of their Penance.

THere are certaine poynts which we doe agree vpon.

1. We grant, that true contrition and ſorrow of the heart is neceſſarie vnto repentance, and that it ſtandeth very well with the libertie of the Goſpell, and is profitable for Chriſtians. 2.Corinth.7.10. *Godly ſorrow cauſeth repentance to ſaluation.*

2. That true contrition is ioyned both with a full hatred and deteſtation of ſinne committed, 1.Corinth. 11.31. *We muſt iudge and condemne our ſelues*, as alſo with a full purpoſe to amend our liues, Act. 11.23. This point is handled by *Bellarmine* againſt other Papiſts, which denied a formall purpoſe of amendment of life to be requiſite in contrition, *lib*. 2. *cap*. 6. 7.

3. That true contrition before God is ſufficient, before the abſolution of the miniſter, ſo that the partie haue a purpoſe afterward to be reconciled to the congregation: which point *Bellarm.* handleth alſo againſt ſome other of his ſect.

Let vs then now ſee what difference of opinion there is betweene vs concerning contrition.

The Papiſts.

48. Error.

1. THey hold that contrition is neyther wholy of mans free will, nor yet wholy of God: but that man by his free will, holpen of God, is able to repent: ſo that he doth only, *Deo adiuuante, pœnitere*, He is brought to repentance, God only helping and aſſiſting him, *Bellarm. de pœnitent lib*.2 *cap*.3.

Argum. Ioel.2. Rent your hearts: Matth.3. *Agite pœnitentiam*: Repent ye: To what end ſhould God command thoſe things that are not in our owne power: *Ergo*, contrition is in mans power and free will: *Bellarm.cap.2.propoſ*.2.

Super Cantic. Serm. 50.

Anſw. Firſt, it is no rare thing in Scripture to finde, that God commandeth vs impoſſible things: as S. *Paul* ſaith, Rom.8.3. that the precepts of the law are impoſſible: the reaſon thereof is rendred, Galath.3.24. *The law was a ſchoolemaſter to bring vs to Chriſt:* So God commandeth hard things, that we finding no ſtrength in our ſelues to doe them, we ſhould ſeeke for helpe at his hand: as *Bernard* ſaith well, *Non latuit præceptorem præcepti pondus hominum vires excedere, ſed iudicauit vtile ex hoc ipſo ſuæ illos inſufficientiæ admoneri, &c.* Our maſter was not ignorant, that his commandements did exceede our ſtrength, but he thought it good hereby to admoniſh vs of our inſufficiencie. Secondly, another reaſon of theſe precepts, is this: to let vs know, that although the will of man hath of it ſelfe by nature no inclination to that which is good, yet it is otherwiſe then a peece of clay, and God ſpeaketh to men otherwiſe then vnto beaſts, *Conſenſus voluntarius nos diſcernit à beſtijs*, as *Bernard* ſaith, Our voluntarie or free conſent doth diſcerne vs from beaſts. So it is in the power of man, *velle*, to will, that is ſomewhat; but *velle bonum*, to will that which is good, is of God. Thirdly, though God giue repentance, and all other good gifts, yet he worketh them by meanes, as by the preaching of his word, by precepts, exhortations, and ſuch like: whereby wee are ſtirred vp to ſeeke that at Gods hand, which wee finde not to bee in our ſelues. Fourthly, thoſe places doe as well conclude, that it is wholy in mans power to repent, as in part: for to what end ſhould God command, that which is not wholie and fullie in mans power to performe; as the Ieſuite obiecteth.

Argum.2. Contrition is an acceptable ſacrifice to God, Pſalm.51.17. but that which is coact, not voluntarie,is not acceptable: *Ergo*,contrition is voluntarie.*Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. We deny not but that contrition is a voluntarie *and free offering* vnto God, as the Prophet ſaith, Pſalm.119.108. *Accept the free offerings of my mouth.* But as *Auguſtine* ſaith,*Deus ex nolentibus volentes facit:* God of nilling maketh vs willing: ſo then it is made a voluntarie ſacrifice,not by the power of mans will, but by the worke of Gods grace.

The Proteſtants.

TRue contrition of heart, as all other good thoughts in vs, as they are good, come onely of God: our cogitations indeed are our owne, but all the goodnes of them is the meere gift of God, Iam.1.17.

*Argum.*1. 1.Tim.2.25.If at any time God will giue thē repentance:Repentance then is the gift of God.And *Auguſtine* writing vpon theſe very words,ſayth,*Quantumlibet præbeat pœnitentiam,niſi ipſe dederit,quis agit pœnitentiam?* Although he neuer ſo much giue occaſion of repentance, yet vnleſſe,he beſtow vpon vs the full gift of repentance,no man is able to repent.Thus he plainly diſtinguiſheth betweene *præbere pœnitentiam,* to offer occaſion to repent: as he proueth out of S.*Paul*, Rom.2.4.the bountifulnes of God calleth thee to repentance; and *dare pœnitentiā*,to giue or grant repentance.But if God ſhould only helpe our free will,and work together with vs to repentance, and not do al alone himſelfe,he ſhould rather *præbere*,then *dare pœnitentiam:* offer occaſion by ſtirring of vs vp to repentance,then grant vs repentance it ſelfe,which were contrarie to the Apoſtle.

*Argum.*2. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith,*Create in me a cleane heart*,Pſal.51.10. Like as then God in the creation of the world, had no helper, or aſſiſtant, but all was his worke: ſo in the renewing of the heart,to create is onely Gods worke,to inſpire good thoughts,and to make a new heart,is to create, or make a new creature,as S. *Paul* calleth it, 2.Cor.5.17. *Ergo,* it is onely and wholy the worke of God: as S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Gratia tota repellitur, ſi non tota ſuſcipitur:* Grace is wholy refuſed,if it be not wholy receiued: *Epiſtol.*84. *Hieroni. Quodcunque in ſuo riuulo fluit ad fontem refert:* Whatſoeuer floweth in the riuer muſt be referred to the fountaine. *ad Cteſiphont.*

Lib. de libera arbitrio. *Bernard* ſayth: *Non partim gratia,partim liberum arbitrium, ſed totum ſingula peragunt, totum hoc, totum illa, ſed vt totum in illo, ſic totum ex illa:* Not partly grace, partly free will, but each of them wholy worketh,this wholy,and that wholy; wholy indeede in free will,but wholy of grace: ſo he maketh the will of man onely to be as the paſſiue matter,wherein grace worketh: they worke not both together actiuely.

The Maſter of the ſentences agreeth, *Lib.*4. *diſtinct.*20.*a. Opus eſt non hominis, ſed Dei fructifera pœnitentia,inſpirare eam poteſt, quandocunque vult ſua miſericordia:* Fruitfull repentance is not the worke of man,but of God,which he can inſpire,when he will,of his mercy.Repentance then proceedeth altogether from the mercie of God.

*Concil.Arauſican.*2.*can.*7. *Si quis per naturæ vigorem, bonum aliquod,quod ad ſalutem pertinet vitæ æternæ, cogitare, eligere,&c.* If any man ſay that by the ſtrength of nature man can thinke or chuſe any good thing belonging to eternall life, or giue conſent to holeſome preaching, he is deceiued by the ſpirite of hereſie, ſeeing the Lord ſaith, you can doe nothing without me. This Councell leaueth not any ſtrength at all in mans free will.

In defence of this truth dyed *Thomas Spicer, Iohn Denie, Edmund Poole,* that man hath no free will of himſelfe to doe any good thing,pag.1912. articul.7.

The Papiſts.

49.Error. 2. THey affirme,that contrition,which is ioyned with an inward terror of the minde,and proceedeth from the ſight and conſideration of our ſinnes, doth not appertaine to the lawe, but to the Goſpell. *Bellarm.lib.*2.*c.*2. *propoſ.*3.

*Argum.*1. Chriſt preached repentance, to the which contrition belongeth, Matth.4.17.*Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hand:* but Chriſt was a Miniſter of the Goſpell, not of the law. *Bellarmin.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, repentance hath part from the law, part from the Goſpell: from the law it hath the ſight of ſinne and terror of minde for the ſame; from the Goſpell it hath hope and comfort, ſpringing of faith in Chriſt: wherefore this reaſon ſheweth not, that repentance in euery parte thereof is of the Goſpell. Secondly, though the law and Goſpell are in nature and propertie diſtinguiſhed, yet they may be ioyned in vſe: ſo *Moſes* the Miniſter of the law may preach Chriſt, and Chriſt the Miniſter of the Goſpell doth alſo eſtabliſh the law, and by the terrors of the law call men to the knowledge of their ſinne, where repentance beginneth.

*Argum.*2. The law hath no promiſe of grace,contrition hath a promiſe of grace,as Iſay 66.2. *To whom will I looke,but to him that is poore and of a contrite ſpirite: Ergo*,contrition is not of the law. *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, it is true, that the law hath not in it ſelfe, the promiſe of grace annexed,*For grace and trueth commeth by Ieſus Chriſt,Iohn* 1.17. Yet by grace the law is made as a readie way and inſtrument to bring vs to Chriſt, in whom we finde grace,and ſo contrition wrought by the terrors of the lawe, doth prepare a way vnto grace. Secondly, contrition, as it is a worke of the lawe, being but yet begun in terror and feare, obtaineth not the promiſe, but being perfited by faith in Chriſt, and in the comforts of the Goſpell, it findeth grace and mercie: as here in the Prophet, to contrition of heart is ioyned poorenes of ſpirit, which is a deniall of our ſelues, and an apprehenſion of Chriſt by faith.

The Proteſtants.

THat the terrors of a contrite heart, and the ſight of ſinne, where contrition beginneth, commeth by the knowledge of the lawe, the Scripture is plaine.

*Argum.*1. Rom.7.7. *I knew not ſinne, but by the Lawe,* I had not knowne luſt, *Vnleſſe the lawe had ſaid thou ſhalt not luſt:* therefore by the lawe commeth reuelation of ſinne, which is the beginning of true contrition.

*Argum.*2. S. *Paul* calleth the lawe, *the killing letter, and the miniſterie of condemnation,* 2.Cor.3.6,9. But the Goſpell is the *miniſtrie of righteouſnes and life:* Wherefore contrition, as therein is ſet before vs our damnable ſtate by ſinne, and miniſtreth to vs a ſight of condemnation, is of the law. So likewiſe, Galath.4.3. We are in bondage and feare vnder the law, but by the Goſpell we are made ſons, and ſo receiue the ſpirit of the Sonne: *Ibid.ver.*6. *Ergo,* the feare, terrors, and as it were bondage of the ſoule, is of the lawe. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Lex iram operatur, fides gaudium:* The lawe worketh wrath, faith bringeth ioy: *In* 3. *ad Roman. Adhoc data lex vt terrori eſſet,&c.* Therefore was the lawe giuen to be a terror to men, to prouoke them to good life.

The Papiſts.

3. SOme of the Papiſts affirme, that in Contrition it is not neceſſary to haue a *formall,* that is, a *reſolute* and *expreſſe* purpoſe of newneſſe of life, but that this is alwayes included in the deteſting of ſinne; which *implicite* or *incluſiue* purpoſe is ſufficient: So *Iohan.Maior.in* 4. *ſententiar. diſtinct.*14.*qu.*1. *Veg.lib.*13.*in concil.Trident.c.*13. 50.Error.

Argum. Dauid onely confeſſed his ſinne, ſaying; *Lord I haue ſinned:* ſo the Publican; *Lord be mercifull to me a ſinner:* there is no expreſſe purpoſe of amendment of life mentioned. Likewiſe, the thiefe vpon the Croſſe had no ſuch expreſſe purpoſe: *Ergo,* it is not neceſſarie.

Anſw. Firſt, that *Dauid* had a full purpoſe of the heart, euen in that inſtant to turne vnto God, it is euident, Pſal.51.13. *Then ſhall I teach thy wayes to the wicked:* this Pſalme was made by the Prophet, as a teſtimonie of his repentance, for that ſinne, for the which *Nathan* reproued him: and here he profeſſeth, that he will become a new man.

Secondly, the Publicane finding mercie and departing iuſtified, no doubt had alſo an expreſſe purpoſe in himſelfe for euer to forſake his ſinne, for otherwiſe hee could not haue beene iuſtified, nor found remiſſion of ſinnes: for this is the law and perpetuall rule of forgiueneſſe, Ezech.18.21. *If the wicked turne from his ſinnes,&c. and keepe all my ſtatutes: his tranſgreſſions ſhall not be mentioned:* to find remiſſion then, theſe two things are required, *forſaking of ſinne, and doing that which is right:* and this is ſignified in the Publicanes ſmiting vpon his breaſt: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Pectora tundamus, non vt ſuper peccata noſtra pauimentum ſolidemus,&c.* Let vs knocke vpon our breaſts, not to make a pauement, as it were, and beaten floore vpon our ſinnes: for hee that beateth vpon his breaſt and is not corrected, doth harden his ſinnes, he taketh them not away: ſo then the Publicane in this ſmiting vpon his breaſt, was amended and corrected, and thought with himſelfe, neuer to doe the like againe.

De Diſciplin. Chriſtian. cap.1.Tom.9.

Thirdly, 1. The thiefe vpon the croſſe, being in the very agonie of death, and not expecting life, could not in that ſhort time expreſſe euery part of his vnfaigned repentance. 2. Yet there appeareth in him, as that ſhort moment could afford, both a deteſtation of ſinne in condemning himſelfe and his fellow, and a loue of righteouſneſſe, and deſire thereunto, if hee had liued, in commending the innocencie of our Sauiour.

The Proteſtants.

WE hold, that as in true Contrition, there muſt be perfect hatred of ſinne; ſo alſo there is ioyned with it a determinate purpoſe of amendment of life.

*Argum.*1. The place before cited out of *Ezechiel,* proueth it: Ezech.18.21. Likewiſe Iſay.1.16. *Waſh you, make you cleane, ceaſe to do euill, learne to do well:* Act.11.23. *They exhorted all, that with purpoſe of heart, they would turne to the Lord,* Epheſ.4.22. *Caſt off the old man, put on the new,&c.* All theſe places do euidently proue, that in true contrition and repentance, there is required a forſaking or dying vnto ſinne and liuing vnto righteouſneſſe.

*Argum.*2. *Bellarmine* is a notable witneſſe for vs, againſt this error, which hee laboureth to confute, *lib.*2.*de pœnit.ca.*6.7 in two whole Chapters: and herein hee is alſo a witneſſe againſt himſelfe, for *lib.*1.*c.*20. he confuteth the contrary opinion, that to *ceaſe to doe euill,* and *learne to do well,* are not two parts requiſite to repentance, and anſwereth that place by vs alleaged, Iſay 1.16. *Ceaſe to do euill,&c.* But now much forgetting himſelfe, but the trueth preuayling more with him, he produceth this very place, to proue, that in true contrition or repentance, there muſt be a purpoſe of amendment, which is the ſame thing, that we defend, both before *qu.4. part.2.* and in this place. *Auguſtine* vpon theſe wordes of the Prophet *Iſay, Lauamini*, be yee waſhed, &c. *Lauatur itaq; & mundus eſt, qui & præterita plangit, & iterum non admittit:* He is waſhed and is cleane, which doth bewaile his ſinnes paſt, and doth not commit them againe: *de tempor. ſerm.66.*

The Papiſts.

51.Error. 4. THey teach, that Contrition ought to be perfect, becauſe it muſt proceed from the loue of God, which is the moſt perfect kinde of loue, *Catechiſ. Roman. pag.439.* and that the greatneſſe of the griefe ought to be anſwerable to the quantity of the ſinne; ſo they conclude, that a man ſhall neuer know when hee is ſufficiently contrite, *Thomas Aquinas:* for hee muſt bee contrite for euery great ſinne hee hath committed, *Tileman. Heſhuſ. loc.9. de pœnitent. error.25. 27.28.32.*

*Argum.*1. That perfect Contrition is required, *Bellarmine* pretendeth to proue by theſe Scriptures, 1.King.8.48. *If they turne againe vnto thee with all their heart, &c.* Ioel.2. *Turne vnto mee with all your heart, &c. Bellarm.c.10.*

*Anſw.*1. Thoſe places do well proue, that our ſorrow ought to be vnfeigned, and that wee ſhould neither diſſemble, nor be indifferent in our ſorrow: but we muſt giue our whole heart vnto God, that is, not to haue a double heart, and as the wordes are; *a heart and a heart*, Pſal.12.2. 2. So then in our Contrition a godly endeuour, and a diligent care is required, a ſufficiencie in our ſorrow cannot be perfourmed: *No, though our eyes were as fountaines of teares*; as the Prophet wiſheth, Ierem.9.1.

The Proteſtants.

WHat is this elſe but a plaine doctrine of deſperation? for when is a man able ſo perfectly to be contrite, as his loue toward God ought to be perfect? or how can his ſorrow be equiualent to the waight of his ſinnes? or can a man remember all his ſinnes, that hee ſhould be ſory for?

*Argum.*1. The ſorrow of Chriſtians is not infinite or vncertaine, but it is determined and limited. Saint *Paul* ſaith, That he ſhould not be ſwallowed vp of too much heauineſſe, 2.Corinthians 2.7. And againe, *My Epiſtle made you ſorie, though for a ſeaſon*, 2.Corinth.7.8.

Argum 2. Iob.9.2. *We cannot anſwere God one thing of a thouſand:* our greateſt ſorrow is not ſufficient for our leaſt ſinne: therefore there can be no proportion betweene the greatneſſe of our ſinne & the quantitie of our ſorrow: *Peter* committed a great ſinne in denying of his Maſter, and yet vpon his bitter weeping he was receiued to mercie, as *Hierome* ſaith, *Petrum ter negantem amaræ in ſuum locum reſtituere lachrymæ: Peters* bitter teares after thrice deniall reſtored him to his place: Was *Peters* ſorrow any way anſwerable in meaſure or quantitie to his ſinne? We muſt indeed weepe bitterly as *Peter* did, and after we are throughly humbled, we are certaine, that God will looke vpon vs, as he did vpon *Peter:* and the inward feeling of Gods fauour will ſet the boundes and limits of our ſorrow.

Their owne Canons are more equall, which do not enioyne ſo ſtrict penance, and ſuch immeaſurable contrition, as theſe new maſters require: as *decret. Gregor. lib.5. tit.38. c.5. Alexander* 3. concerning certaine that in their confeſſion ſay, that *they cannot abſtaine from thoſe ſinnes:* hee decreeth, *Eorum confeſſionem recipere debes, &c.* You muſt receiue their confeſſion, for though it be no true repentance, yet it is a true confeſſion.

De tempor. natal. Serm.3. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Iſta eſt vera pœnitentia, quando quis ſic conuertitur, vt non reuertatur:* This is true repentance, when a man doth ſo turne vnto God, that he returne not vnto ſinne. When a man therefore hath in this manner repented, he may be ſure that hee hath mourned ſufficiently. It is therefore vntrue, that a man is vncertaine when he hath ſorrowed enough.

Synod. Colonienſ. part.7 cap.19. Quamuis quis peccato mordeatur, ſi tamen pœniteat, vt de cætero peccandi voluntatem nullam habeat, confidens de Domini miſericordia accedat ad Euchariſtiam intrepidus, &c. Although a man be grieued in conſcience for his ſinne, yet if he repent him, ſo that he haue a purpoſe not to ſinne againe, truſting to Gods mercie, let him come without feare to the Communion: If he thus ſorrowing be without feare, it followeth, that God in Chriſt accepteth his ſorrow as ſufficient.

The Papiſts.

52.Error. BEllarmine hath here a certaine fond conceite of his owne, bringing in this deſtinction of ſorrow in contrition: that there is *Dolor ſummus intenſiuè, appreciatiuè:* The greateſt and higheſt ſorrow, intenſiuely, and by way of eſtimation: of this ſort he giueth an example, as a good man may weepe more for the loſſe of his children, then for his ſinnes, yet in his choyce he had rather looſe his children, then offend God: this is that kinde of griefe by way of eſtimation, though intenſiuely he grieue more for his children, yet, when he maketh an eſtimate of the one and the other, he preferreth that in his iudgement, which is the leaſt in his affection: this kinde of griefe when as the affection goeth before the iudgement, hee thinketh is ſufficient for contrition. *Bellarm.cap.*11.

Argum. Ioel.2. *Turne vnto God, with all your heart*: this muſt be vnderſtood of this greateſt kind of griefe, by way of eſtimation, &c.

Anſ. Whereas it is ſaid, 1.King.8.49. *If they turne vnto thee with all their heart and ſoule, &c.* how can they turne with the whole heart and affection, when as they in their affection can ſorrowe more for other things? wherefore as God will haue the whole and entire ſoule, that is the iudgement, ſo the whole heart alſo and affection. As *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Inueni triſtem, &c.* I finde one very heauie, I aske him, Friend, why art thou heauie? ſaith he, I haue loſt my money: *Locus immundus fructus nullus*: This is an vncleane place, there can be no fruite: *De tempor. ſerm.*151.

The Proteſtants.

Though I denie not but a right good man, may ſometime breake out more into affection for ſome temporall loſſe, than for the committing of ſinne, as Matth.2.18. *The women mourne for their children, and would not be comforted*: yet this is not a vertue to be commended, but an infirmitie to be amended, as it was commendable in *Eli*, who hearing patiently the heauie newes of the death of his ſonnes, when mention was made of the taking of the Arke, could hold no longer, but through feeblenes cauſed by ſudden griefe, fell backward and brake his neck, 1.Sam.4.17.

Argum. This hath been the continuall practiſe of the Saints to lament more for ſinne, than for any other temporall loſſe whatſoeuer: as *Dauid* ſaith, Pſalm.6.6. *I cauſe my bed euery night to ſwimme, and water my couch with teares*: Pſalm.119.136. *Mine eyes guſh out with riuers of water, becauſe they keepe not thy law.* Matth.26.75. *Peter went out, and wept bitterly*: No earthly matter could haue drawne from them ſuch plentifull ſtore of teares: wherefore the Saints did euen weepe moſt *intenſiuely*, that is, earneſtly and effectually for ſinne.

Your owne canons are cleere in this point: *Decr.par.2.cauſ.*33.*diſtinct.*3.*c.*42. *Satis durus eſt cuius mentis dolorem, &c.* Hee is very hard whoſe griefe of minde the teares of his bodie cannot declare: but let him know, *ſe culpabiliter durum*, that he is very culpable in his hardnes, which doth lament the loſſes of time, the death of his friend, &c. and doth not ſhew the griefe for ſinne with teares: Let none therefore excuſe themſelues, that they haue not a fountaine of teares, who with teares doe ſhew the griefe of temporall things. This ſentence is rehearſed out of *Auguſtine*, and approued by the Maſter of Sentences, *lib.*4.*diſt.*15.*f.* whereby they are defined to bee culpable, which doe more expreſſe the loſſe of things temporall, by their teares, than of ſpirituall: which is that which *Bellarmine* alloweth as good and commendable.

The Papiſts.

5. Contrition (they ſay) as it is not altogether without hope to obtaine mercie: ſo can it not haue *certitudinem remiſſionis peccatorum*, a certaine or vndoubted aſſurance of remiſſion of ſinnes, *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.*6.*cap.*9.*Bellarm.lib.*2.*cap.*2. 53. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Godly ſorrow and contrition bringeth ioy and comfort to the ſoule in the end, with vndoubted aſſurance of the forgiuenes and remiſſion of ſinnes.

*Argum.*1. Godly ſorrow worketh in the true penitent perſon, a cleering of the minde, 2.Corinth.7.verſ.11. but the ſoule and conſcience cannot be cleered and ſet at reſt, vnleſſe we bee perſwaded that our ſinnes are forgiuen vs: *Ergo.*

*Argum.*2. All hope is certaine, and bringeth vndoubted aſſurance, and therfore it is called the anchor of the ſoule, Hebr.6.19. Wherefore either contrition is voyde of hope altogether, (which they will not graunt) or if it haue any hope, it is ſure and ſtable, and worketh a full perſwaſion and aſſurance of the mercie of God.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Petrus mox à Domino indulgentiam accepit, qui amariſſimè fleuit trina negationis culpam*: *Peter* ſtraightway receiued pardon and indulgence, when hee had moſt bitterly bewayled the ſinne of his three-fold deniall of Chriſt. How could *Peter* immediatly haue felt and receiued the remiſſion of that great ſinne, if the Lord had not aſſured his conſcience thereof? De tempor. ſerm.*66.*

The former Canon of the Cullin Councel ſaith, That when a man hath ſorrowed for his ſinne, purpoſing not to doe the like, *Securus & intrepidus accedat*: Let him draw neere without feare, and be ſecure. He that is ſecure and without feare, doubteth not: *Ergo*, he is aſſured of the forgiuenes of his ſinne.

Bernard alſo ſaith: *Animam pœnitentiæ lachrimis afflictam ſpiritus paracletus libenter conſolatur, frequenter viſitat, & ad veniæ fiduciam plenè reformat*: A ſoule afflicted with penitent ſorrowe, the ſpirit of comfort doth comfort, often viſite, and fully bring it to the truſt of pardon: *de interior.domo.cap.*37. The ſoule then may haue a full and aſſured truſt of forgiuenes.

Their owne Canons are cleere for vs: *Decr.par.2.cauſ.*33.*diſtinct.*1.*cap.*50. *Nemo poteſt bene agere pœnitentiam, niſi qui ſperauerit indulgentiam*: No man can truly do repentance, if he do not hope for indulgence.

Ibid.diſtinct.3.c.39.Leo.Iudam non pœnitentia reuocauit ad Dominum, ſed deſperatio traxit ad laqueum: Repentance did not recall *Iudas* to the Lord, but deſperation brought him to the ſnare. That repentance then is not good nor acceptable, which is not full of aſſurance, and in hope comfortable.

Iohn Huſſe holy Martyr: Vnto a true abſolution, firſt there is required contrition. Secondly, a purpoſe and intent to ſinne no more. Thirdly, true confeſsion. Fourthly, ſtedfaſt hope of forgiuenes: as Chriſt ſaith, *My ſonne, beleeue, and thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee.* pag.616.artic.5.

The Papiſts.

54.Error. 6. THey affirme, that contrition is a neceſſarie meane vnto *iuſtification*, and that a man cannot be iuſtified, till he haue been truly contrite for his ſinnes, *Bellarm.lib.2.de pœnitent.c.*8.

Argum. Luk.13.3. *Except ye repent, ye ſhall likewiſe periſh.* Act.3.19. *Repent, and turne, that your ſinnes may be put away, when the time of refreſhing ſhall come: Ergo,* contrition is neceſſarie to iuſtification, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, it followeth not, without repentance and true contrition there is no iuſtification: *Ergo,* repentance is a meane vnto iuſtification: for faith cannot bee without workes, yet workes are no meane vnto faith: ſo repentance and contrition are the fruits of iuſtification, not a meane thereunto. Secondly, there is difference betweene iuſtification, and ſaluation, or glorification; contrition is a meane and way to ſaluation: by repentance thorough the mercie of God in Chriſt wee are preſerued from *periſhing* and euerlaſting deſtruction: and repentance goeth before our conſummation, and perfect abolition of our ſinnes in the day *of refreſhing* at the comming of Chriſt: But it followeth not, that contrition therefore is a meane vnto iuſtification; for firſt wee are *iuſtified,* then afterward *glorified:* our ſaluation is accompliſhed, Rom.8.30. Thirdly, contrition is a meane to aſſure vs of our iuſtification, but not to iuſtifie vs: as the Apoſtle ſaith, Philip.2.12. *With feare and trembling finiſh your ſaluation.*

The Proteſtants.

THat true contrition is neceſſarie, we willingly graunt, and that without it remiſsion of ſinnes cannot bee had: but wee denie that it is a neceſſarie meane vnto iuſtification: a neceſſarie ſigne, fruite, or worke of iuſtification it is, but not a meane or cauſe.

*Argum.*1. We are iuſtified by faith, Rom.4.5. *To him that beleeueth in him, that iuſtifieth the vngodly, faith is counted for righteouſnes:* But faith goeth before repentance, as *Bellarmine* himſelfe before confeſſed by the example of the Niniuites, who firſt beleeued, and afterward repented, *Bellarm.lib.*1.*cap.*19.*propoſ.*2. *Ergo,* iuſtification is before repentance, and ſo conſequently repentance is no meane vnto it.

*Argum.*2. Good workes are no meane to iuſtification, for then they ſhould goe before iuſtification: but as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Bona opera non pracedunt iuſtificandum, ſed ſequuntur iuſtificatum:* Good workes doe not goe before him that is to bee iuſtified, but they follow him that is alreadie iuſtified.

But contrition is a good worke: confeſſed and proued by *Bellar.lib.2.cap.2.Ergo,* it is no meane vnto iuſtification.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Non vult Apoſtolus nos praſumere de operibus ante fidem, ac ſi merito operum fidei gratiam accepiſſemus, peccatorem enim te fides inuenit:* The Apoſtle would not haue vs preſume of works before faith, as if by the merite of workes wee had receiued faith: for faith found thee a ſinner: *in Pſal.*31. If then good workes goe not before faith, and faith and iuſtification come together, as I haue ſhewed, then contrition, being a good action, precedeth not iuſtification.

The Papiſts.

55.Error. 7. THey make contrition a part of ſatisfaction for our ſinnes, and to be a cauſe of iuſtification and remiſsion of ſinnes, not onely in diſpoſing and preparing of vs thereunto, but in that thereby wee verily obtaine and deſerue remiſsion of our ſins, *Bellarm.lib.2.de pœnitent.cap.*12.

*Argum.*1. Luk.7.47. Many ſinnes are forgiuen her becauſe ſhe loued: Not onely faith, but loue or charitie obtaineth remiſsion of ſinnes, *Bellarm.ibid.Rhemiſt.in hunc locum.*

Anſw. The argument is 1. not from the cauſe to the effect, but from the effect to the cauſe: for Chriſt doth not reaſon thus, ſhe loued much, therefore many ſinnes are forgiuen her: but contrariwiſe, *Many ſinnes are forgiuen her, therefore ſhe loueth much:* As the next wordes declare: *to whom little is remitted, he loueth little.* 2. And our Sauiour ſaith in plaine wordes in the laſt verſe, that *her faith had ſaued her,* whereof her loue was an effect. 3. And further, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Wee know that we are tranſlated from death to life, becauſe we loue the brethren,* 1.Ioh.3.14. he ſaith not, wee are tranſlated, but wee know wee are: ſo this woman by her loue might know or bee aſſured that her ſins were remitted her. And *Bellarmine* hath a ſaying not much vnlike, that theſe words of Chriſt, Many ſinnes are forgiuen her, *confirmant abſolutionem inuiſibiliter datam,* do confirme the abſolution inuiſibly giuen before, *lib.2.c.*14 *reſp.ad obiect.*1. Her loue was a meanes then to confirme her abſolution, which was inuiſiblie giuen before.

Argum.2. *Ezech.*18.27.*When the wicked turneth away from his wickedneſſe he ſhall ſaue his ſoule,&c.*verſ.31.*Make you a new heart and new ſpirit,and caſt away from you all your tranſgreſſions.* The turning then away from ſinne is the cauſe of life and of newnes of ſoule: *Ergo*,of iuſtification, Dan.4. verſ.24.*Redeeme thy ſinnes by thine almes,&c. Ergo*, good charitable workes are the cauſe of the forgiuenes of ſinnes, *Bellar.c.*12.

Anſw. Firſt,the places 1. in *Ezechiel*,if they bee taken in his ſenſe, would prooue, that it is in a mans power to conuert his ſoule, or to renew his owne heart, whereas the Prophet acknowledgeth it wholy to be the Lords worke,Pſal.51.12.*Create in me a new heart:* and Iere.31.*Conuert vs O Lord,and we ſhall be conuerted.* 2.But why the Lord thus ſpeaketh to man,in bidding him conuert,Saint *Auguſtine* rendreth the reaſon: *Quia non ſicut in lapidibus inſenſatis Deus ſalutem noſtram operatur*: Becauſe God worketh our ſaluation in vs,not as in ſenſeleſſe ſtones: *cont.Pelag.lib.*1.*c.*5. Man therefore faueth his ſoule,or maketh his heart new,but as Gods inſtrument;as the axe in the workmans hand:it is Gods ſpirit that maketh man to make his heart new. 3. *Bellarmine* himſelfe helpeth vs with a ſufficient anſwere, that remiſsion of ſinnes is firſt inuiſiblie giuen; and then by our earneſt repentance,it is confirmed and aſſured vnto vs: ſo then repentance is a meane to the aſſurance of forgiuenes, as theſe places prooue; but not to the inuiſible grace or gift of remiſſion.

Secondly, 1. The word in *Daniel* ſignifieth not to redeeme, but to breake off:for ſo is this word פרק *pharak* vſed, Gen.27.40.*Thou ſhalt breake his yoke from thy necke.* 2. By (redeeming) admitting that reading,may be vnderſtood not redemption to be made before God, but recompence to bee made vnto men,whom he had iniuried. 3. Neither doth the Prophet ſpeake of the forgiuenes of his ſinnes, but of *the prolonging of his peace and proſperitie:* for theſe words, *Forſitan ignoſcet Deus:* God perhaps may forgiue your ſins, are not read in the Hebrue. 4. And how could the almes of an vnbeleeuer,ſuch an one as *Nabuchadnezzar* was,be a cauſe of forgiuenes,ſeeing without faith nothing is acceptable to God? 5. Laſtly,the Kings righteous and mercifull dealing ſhould be onely a teſtimonie to his conſcience,that his ſinnes were forgiuen. 6. *Concil.Cabilonenſ.c.*36. It is denied that ſinnes,*de induſtria*, committed willingly, or wittingly,are redeemed by almes: *Sic enim viderentur Deum mercede conducere:* So they ſhould ſeeme to hire God with a reward.

The Proteſtants.

THat contrition of the heart meriteth not,neither is any cauſe of the forgiuenes of ſins, which doth iſſue only out of the fountaine of Gods mercie by faith in Chriſt, the Scriptures doe teſtifie.

*Argum.*1. Rom.3.24.*We are iuſtified freely by grace.* If freely, then is not our iuſtification merited,or cauſed by any worke of ours.

Bellarm. anſwereth: firſt,that we are iuſtified freely,though it be by the merit of contrition,becauſe contrition is the gift of God. Secondly,contrition meriteth not, *ex condigno*, of condignitie or worthines,but *ex congruo*,of congruitie: which kinde of merite is founded not in Gods iuſtice, but in his benignitie and bountie,*Bellarm.cap.*12.

Contra. Firſt,this is the very anſwere 1. of the old Pelagians, who did in like manner affirme, that the good will of man was of God,becauſe it could not be in a man, vnleſſe man were, *vt homo autem ſit,à Deo habet*, but for a man to be,is of God: for if therefore remiſſion of ſinnes bee of grace,and the gift of God,becauſe contrition,whereby it is merited,is the gift of God;then ſay alſo,that wee may bee ſaued by nature, and yet by the gift of God,becauſe the nature of man is the gift and worke of God. 2. But the Apoſtle confuteth this gloſſe, in ſaying further, *We are iuſtified freely,&c.thorough redemption in Chriſt Ieſus:* if thorough redemption, then not thorough contrition. 3. And againe,men firſt muſt be reconciled vnto God,and of enemies bee made friends, before he giue them gifts: as the Apoſtle ſaith,*Chriſt firſt led captiuitie captiue*,that is,ſubdueth and remoueth ſinne that led vs captiue,and then *gaue gifts vnto men*,Epheſ.4.8.Then muſt we firſt bee reconciled vnto God, which conſiſteth in the forgiuenes of our ſinnes,Rom.3.25.before wee can haue the gift of contrition. Wherefore if reconciliation and forgiuenes of ſinnes goe before contrition,it can be no meritorious cauſe of the remiſſion of ſinnes.

Secondly, 1.No merite or worke is of mercie, but of iuſtice,as the Apoſtle ſaith,Rom.4.4. *To him that worketh the wages is not counted by fauour,but by debt:* wherefore the merite of congruitie is no merite, being founded in Gods mercie. 2. Neither is there any congruitie or conſequence at all,that God ſhould reſpect vs being his enemies: but enemies wee are before wee are reconciled by the remiſſion of our ſinnes: wherefore contrition,going before remiſſion of ſinnes,and ſo reconciliation,cannot deſerue ſo much as of *congruitie*,if there were any ſuch merite.

*Argum.*2. That the contrition of the heart is no cauſe of our iuſtification, neither doth merite or deſerue remiſſion of ſins: Saint *Paul* ſheweth,Rom.4.5,6.*To him that beleeueth faith is counted for righteouſnes:* And *Dauid* declareth the bleſſednes of that man,to whom God imputeth righteouſnes without works. It is faith then only that obtaineth remiſſion of ſins: and a man is iuſtified without any reſpect had to his workes. Therefore neither contrition, nor any other worke inward or outward, procureth remiſsion of ſinnes, but faith onely is the meane.

So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Opera ſequuntur iuſtificatum, non præcedunt iuſtificandum:* Workes followe a man alreadie iuſtified, they goe not before to iuſtification, *De fide & operibus, cap.* 14. Therefore the worke of contrition is not auailable to iuſtification.

Interrelig. Cæſarea. cap. 17. *Illa ſatisfactio, quæ culpam & æternam pœnam expiat, ſoli Chriſto tribuenda eſt:* That ſatisfaction, which taketh away the fault and eternall puniſhment, is onely to bee attributed to Chriſt: *Ergo,* contrition doth not ſatisfie for the ſinne.

Laſtly, *Iulius* 1. *Decret.* 11. thus teſtifieth, *Fides omnes actus hominis præcedere debet:* Faith muſt goe before all the acts of men. *Cyrill. Alexand. expoſit. Nycen. ſymbol. Sicut fides abſque operibus mortua, &c.* As faith is dead without workes, ſo we may turne it and ſay, works are dead without faith. Contrition then is either before faith or after; if before, being without faith, it is a dead worke, as is here ſpecified, and ſo cannot merite: if after faith, then it commeth after iuſtification and remiſsion of ſinnes: for by faith are we iuſtified: Rom. 3. 26. *That he might be a iuſtifier of him, that is of the faith of Ieſus.*

We want not the euidence of ſome of their owne ſide: *Capreolus in ſecund. ſenten. diſt.* 40. *Dominicus à Soto lib.* 2. *de natur. & grat. cap.* 4. doe denie that contrition any way either of congruitie, or condignitie meriteth remiſsion.

The Papiſts.

56. Error. 7. CONtrition (they ſay) is not neceſſarie for veniall or ſmall offences, neither is a man bound thereunto, *Scot. lib.* 4. *diſtinct.* 17. *articul.* 3. The Maſter of Sentences thinketh that a generall confeſsion ſufficeth for mortal ſinnes, which a man vnderſtandeth not, *lib.* 4. *diſt.* 21. *e.*

The Proteſtants.

THis aſſertion is cleane contrarie to Scripture: for the Prophet *Dauid* prayeth not only to be kept from preſumptuous ſinnes, Pſalm. 19. 13. but euen to be cleanſed from his ſecret faults, verſ. 12. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, Pſalm. 32. 5. *I acknowledged my ſinne, neither hid I mine iniquitie, and thou forgaueſt, &c.* Wherefore mortall ſinne not vnderſtood, but lying hid, cannot be acknowledged, and ſo conſequently not forgiuen.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Non ſolum propter vitæ huius ignorantiam, ſed etiam propter ipſum puluerem mundi huius, qui pedibus adhæreſcit, quotidianam habere debemus pœnitentiam:* Not onely for the ignorances of this life, but euen for that droſſe and duſt of the world, which hangeth vpon our feete, wee ought daily to repent vs. He meaneth the leſſer and ſmaller ſcapes of our life. And againe, *Homo dum iſto viuit in ſeculo, humanis affectibus veluti pedibus terram calcans ipſa conuerſatione vitæ huius contrahit, vnde dicat: dimitte nobis debita:* Man, as long as he liueth in this world, with his affections, as with feete treading vpon the ground, he gathereth droſſe, for the which he had neede to ſay, forgiue vs our ſins, &c. *in Iohan. tract.* 57.

Decr. par. 2. *cauſ.* 33. *diſtinct.* 3. *c.* 42. *Chriſtus legionem eijciens non reliquit vnum ex omnibus:* Chriſt caſting out a legion, left not one of all: ſhewing, that if wee haue a thouſand ſinnes, we muſt repent them all.

The Papiſts.

57. Error. 8. THere is a kinde of contrition that proceedeth onely from the feare of puniſhment, when a man doth leaue ſinning, not for any loue or delight he hath in God, but onely for feare of damnation: Euen this contrition alſo is good and profitable: yet this ſeruile feare is at length cleane driuen out by charitie. But there remaineth ſtill in the godly an awe and feare of God and his iudgements, with miſtruſt, and feare of hell and damnation: as Matth. 10. *Feare him that can caſt bodie and ſoule into hell: Rhemiſt. Ioh.* 4. *ſect.* 6. And *Bellarmine* ſaith, that if a ſinner, *ſolius pœnæ fugiendæ cauſa, &c.* onely to auoide puniſhment, doe take heede of ſinne, this is a good and profitable feare, *lib.* 2. 17.

Argum. Ierem. 5. 22. *Feare ye not me* (ſaith the Lord) *which haue placed the ſand for the bound of the ſea?* Malach. 1. 6. *If I be a father, where is my honour? if I be a maſter, where is my feare?* Mat. 10. verſ. 28. *Feare him which is able to deſtroy both ſoule and bodie in hell.* Here wee ſee that God exacteth euen the feare of ſeruants, and the feare of hell puniſhment, which is a ſeruile feare, *Bellarmine cap.* 17.

Anſw. Firſt, the Lord in theſe places by his Prophets ſpeaketh vnto the prophane wicked of thoſe times: as Ierem, verſ. 21. *Heare O fooliſh people, and without vnderſtanding:* and Malach. 1. 8. it followeth in the ſame verſe, *O ye Prieſts that deſpiſe my name:* Theſe prophane perſons had neede to be terrified with the feare of Gods iudgements: but it followeth not, that this feare is neceſſarie for the ſeruants of God. Secondly, the Prophet *Malachie* ioyning the honour of ſonnes, and feare of ſeruants together; vnderſtandeth not a ſeruile, miſerable, and ſlauiſh feare, but ſuch as dutifull and obedient ſeruants yeeld vnto their maſters as fathers, which is a commendable feare, and fit alwaies to bee retained. Thirdly, our Sauiour ſpeaketh by way of compariſon: *that* *they ſhould not feare them which kill the bodie, &c.* he preferreth a *ſeruile* feare of God, before this *worldly* feare of men: yet ſo that hee would not haue them ſtay here, or reſt in this feare, for the which he diuers times reproueth them: as Luk.12.32. *Feare not little flocke, it is your fathers will to giue you a kingdome.* Fourthly, we confeſſe that this ſeruile feare is profitable to make a beginning and further entrance: as Prou.1.7. *The feare of God is the beginning of wiſedome:* but afterward loue muſt ſucceede in the place thereof.

The Proteſtants.

First, we acknowledge that the feare of puniſhment is neceſſary in the beginning, to make a way for true loue to enter, as the briſtle or needle (as *Auguſtine* ſaith) maketh roume for the threed to enter. Wee alſo confeſſe, that there is a continuall feare and reuerence of God in the godlie, ſuch as children haue of their parents: but as for any miſtruſt or feare of hell and damnation, after loue be once entred, and we made the children of God, which breedeth terror and anxietie of conſcience, it is cleane expelled, and thruſt out of the doores by loue.

*Argum.*1. So ſaith the Apoſtle, *There is no feare in loue: but perfect loue caſteth out feare, and maketh vs to haue confidence in the day of iudgement,* 1.John 4 17,18. But hee that fears[illegible] damnation and is afraid of the day of iudgement, cannot haue confidence in that day. So *Auguſtine: Quid dicimus de illo, qui cæpit timere diem iudicij? ſi perfecta in illo eſſet charitas, non timeret?* What ſay we to him, that feareth the day of iudgement? if loue were perfect in him, he would not feare it?

*Argum.*2. Matth.25.25. The ſlothfull ſeruant ſaith to his maſter, *I knew thou waſt a hard man, &c. and therefore I was afraid.* This ſeruant was not commended for this feare, but blamed and reproued, and caſt into vtter darknes: for his maſter ſaid, *Thou euill and ſlothfull ſeruant.* And Origen hereof writeth well: *Nec eſt bonus huiuſmodi timor, nec liberat nos talis timor à tenebris exterioribus:* Neither is this feare good, neither doth it deliuer from vtter darknes: *Tract.*33.*in Matth.*

Bellarmine replieth: that to feare God cannot be euill; but they that haue this ſeruile feare, doe notwithſtanding feare God: *Ergo.c.*18.

Contra. Firſt, the diuels feare God and tremble, Iam.2.19. doth hee thinke there is any good feare in diuels? Secondly, neither doe thoſe feare God, but hell: for if there were no hell, they would not feare God at all.

*Argum.*3. God is not to be loued for hope of reward: *Ergo,* neither to bee ſerued for feare of puniſhment.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the reaſon is not alike: for the obiect of loue is good, the obiect of feare is euill: God is good, and therefore to bee loued for himſelfe: but he is not euill, and therefore to be feared for another, *cap.*18.*reſp.ad argum.*6.

Contra. Firſt, the obiect indeede of ſeruile feare is euill, but the obiect of a godly feare is good; as Eccleſ.12.13. *Feare God and keepe his commaundements:* will he ſay that the obiect of this feare is euill? Secondly, if God be onely to be feared for another thing, then all feare ſhall be *ſeruile,* and the *filiall* feare is aboliſhed, when God is feared and reuerenced as a father for himſelfe. Thirdly, *Hierome* ſheweth the reaſon to be alike: *Qui diligit, &c.* He that loueth, keepeth the commaundement, not becauſe he is compelled with feare of puniſhment, or greedines of reward, but becauſe, that which is commaunded is good: *Tom.*4.*de filio prodigo.*

*Synod.Moguntin.cap.*10.*Libertatem Chriſtianam intelligimus, &c. non vt alij homines pœnarum metu & imperio legis compellantur, &c.* We vnderſtand Chriſtian libertie, not that wee ſhould not doe thoſe things which are commaunded, but that we ſhould not as others are, be drawne or enforced to keepe through feare of puniſhment, &c. *Ergo,* there remaineth no feare of puniſhment in the righteous.

We haue moſt cleere teſtimonies beſide: *Ambroſ.epiſt.*84. *Timoris, quo Deus metuitur nulla diſtinctio, &c.* There is no difference in name of that feare, wherewith God is feared, &c. there is feare of puniſhment, here is carefulnes for the reward: Of the ſeruile feare it is ſaid, perfect loue expelleth feare, but of the liberall feare; The feare of the Lord is holie and remaineth for euer. And againe, *epiſtol.*7. *Velle ſapientis, ſeruire inſipientis:* To be willing, is the part of a wiſe man; to ſerue, of a foole: in the Law there is ſeruitude, in the Goſpell libertie, &c. *Seruit peccator formidini:* A ſinner is a ſlaue to his feare.

Hieron.de 42.*Manſionib. Duplicia ſunt in ſcripturis vincula, &c.* There are two ſorts of bands in Scripture, &c. but Chriſts bands are voluntarie, *Et vertuntur in amplexus,* and are turned into embracings.

*Decret.Gregor.lib.*5 *tit.*41.*c.*8. *Qui ex timore facit præceptum, aliter quam debeat facit, & ideo iam non facit:* He that of feare doth the commaundement, doth it otherwiſe then he ſhould, and therefore doth it not at all. By all theſe teſtimonies it is euident, that this ſeruile feare of puniſhment hath no place where the loue of God is.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF AVRICVLAR Confeſſion, the ſecond part of penance.

The Papiſts.

58. Error. NOne can rightly ſeeke for abſolution at the Prieſts hands, vnleſſe they confeſſe particularly at the leaſt all their mortall ſinnes, whether they be committed in minde, heart, will, and cogitation onely, or in word, and worke, with all the neceſſarie circumſtances and differences of the ſame, *Rhemiſt. Ioh.* 20. *ſect.* 5. And this ſacramentall confeſſion, as they call it, muſt be made ſecretly to the Prieſt, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.* 14. *can.* 6.

Argum. 1. This wonderfull power of remitting and retaining of ſins, which was giuen to the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors, Ioh. 20. 22. were giuen them in vaine, if no man were bound to ſeeke for abſolution at their hands: which cannot be had of them without diſtinct vtterance to them of our ſinnes: for they cannot rule the caſes of conſcience, vnleſſe they haue exact knowledge and cogitation of their ſinnes, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. God hath not made his Miniſters in Chriſts ſtead iudges of caſes of conſcience, as though there were in them an actuall power to remit and abſolue ſinnes: but their office is only to declare and ſet forth vnto all penitent perſons, the promiſes of God for remiſſion of ſinnes, and the ſeueritie of Gods iudgement againſt impenitent perſons: which is eſpecially performed in the preaching and applying of the word either publikely or priuately: as Saint *Paul* calleth the Goſpell committed vnto him, *the word of reconciliation*, 2. Cor. 5. 16.

2. A man therefore may by their miniſterie, which are the preachers of reconciliation, finde remiſſion of ſinnes, without a particular declaration thereof: neither is it neceſſarie for them to haue ſo exact a knowledge of our ſinnes, ſeeing they are not abſolute iudges of the conſcience, but the miniſters and ambaſſadours of reconciliation, 2. Cor. 5. 20.

3. And Miniſters are not to ſtay while ſuite is made vnto them for their helpe, but they ought to exhort and deſire men to be reconciled to God by their miniſterie.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Prieſts are truly and properly iudges of mens ſinnes, and haue a iudiciarie power not to declare or teſtifie the forgiuenes of ſins, but truly to binde, or looſe them. Firſt, they are called the *keyes*: which doe verily open and ſhut the doore, not ſignifie the opening and ſhutting: as Chriſt is ſaid to haue the key of *Dauid* to open and ſhut, which power Chriſt communicateth to the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors. Secondly, to *binde* and to *looſe* doe not ſignifie, to *denounce* and declare, but in deede to put on, or take off the bondes; ſo are they ſaid to retaine ſinnes: and what is it elſe to retaine, but *nolle remittere*, not to be minded to remit? Thirdly, the words are, *whoſe ſinnes*, not all mens ſinnes are remitted, but whom the Prieſt ſhall iudge meet: but the word is preached to all, remiſſion of ſins is not giuen to all: therfore this is not vnderſtood of the preaching of the word, but of the iudiciarie power of the keyes. Fourthly, in that Chriſt breathed vpon them, it ſheweth, that as a blaſt doth extinguiſh the fire, and chaſe the clowdes, ſo they had power verily to extinguiſh ſinnes, and not to declare onely: *Bellar. lib.* 3. *c.* 2.

Contra. Firſt, the keyes 1. of the Church doe truly open and ſhut, being executed according to the will and minde of the maſter of the houſe: the ſeruant to whom the keyes are committed, doth open and ſhut, yet but as a ſeruant, and according to his maſters direction: ſo the keyes of the Church are committed to men, but as miniſters of the keyes, not to open and ſhut at their pleaſure, but as Chriſt preſcribeth. 2. But it is not farre from blaſphemie, to ſay that the ſame power of the keyes, which Chriſt hath, is communicated to the miniſters of the Church: for *he openeth, and no man ſhutteth, &c.* Reuel. 3. 8. but man may open to ſome, to whom Chriſt may ſhut, and he ſhut the doore againſt others, to whom Chriſt may open: yea and when the Phariſies had ſaid, *Who can forgiue ſinnes, but God onely?* Mark. 2. 7. Chriſt reproueth them not, but ſheweth, that hee (being both God and man) *had authoritie alſo to forgiue ſinnes.* Chriſt therefore onely properly forgiueth, the Apoſtles forgiue as his miniſters. 3. And that theſe keyes are diſpenſed in preaching the word, and not onely in the diſcipline of the Church; it is euident, Act. 14. 27. a doore of faith is opened *by the preaching of the Apoſtles*, Matth. 23. 13. The Phariſees by not preaching true doctrine are ſaid to ſhut vp the kingdome of heauen. Thus their owne canons teſtifie, *epiſt.* 1. *Clemen. Per ipſum, per verbum Dei, & ſalubre conſilium curetur*: He that is troubled with his ſinne, and confeſſeth to the Miniſter, &c. that by him thorough the word of God, and holeſome counſell he may be cured. Sinnes then are cured and healed by the word of God.

Secondly, the Apoſtles and they which ſucceede them, doe truly binde and looſe, remit and retaine ſinnes, but as miniſters, and ſo long as they execute this authoritie according to Chriſts will: as *Peter* hath the *keyes*, but he is firſt *built vpon the rocke*, Matt. 16. 18. the Apoſtles haue power to bind and looſe, Matth. 18. 18. but they muſt doe it in Chriſts name, verſ. 20. otherwiſe, *a curſe cauſeleſſe ſhall not come*, Pro. 26. 2. And, *though men curſe, God will bleſſe*, Pſal. 109. 28. The blind man was caſt out by the Phariſees, but he was receiued in by Chriſt, Iohn 9.35. S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Dei munus, miniſterium ſacerdotis eſt,&c. Quis tantus eſt,&c.* In giuing the ſpirite, the gift is Gods, the miniſterie the Prieſts, &c. who is ſo great, as to arrogate to himſelfe the beſtowing of this gift? *Lib.1. de ſpirit. ſanct.c.7.*

Thirdly, 1. As the word of God is not to be denied to any, that will receiue it; ſo neither is remiſſion of ſinnes to be withheld from any by the will of man, that doe deſire it: the word is not to be caſt before ſwine and dogges, Matth.7.6. no more is remiſſion of ſinnes to be graunted to the impenitent. 2. If the Miniſter ſhall at his pleaſure denie remiſſion to the penitent, his ſentence bindeth not before God: as *Origene* well ſaith: *Si aliquis non recto iudicio,&c.* If any man by the erroneous iudgement of thoſe, which gouerne the Church be caſt out, if he haue not deſerued to be caſt out, is not any thing by this error of iudgement, &c. *Hom.14.in Leuitic.*

Fourthly, the breathing which Chriſt vſed, betokened the giuing of the holy Ghoſt, which truly and properly doth remit and retaine ſinnes, as the winde chaſeth away the cloudes. This then ſheweth not a iudiciall authoritie in men, that are but the miniſters of the ſpirite, but an abſolute power in the ſpirite: as *Ambroſe* excellently ſaith; *Per ſpiritum ſanctum peccata donantur,&c.* Sinnes are forgiuen by the holy ſpirite: but men to the remiſſion of ſinnes doe exhibite their miniſterie: *Non ius alicuius poteſtatis exercent:* They do not exerciſe any right of power, &c. they pray, God forgiueth; the ſeruice is mans, the munificence is frō a ſuperne power; *lib.3.de ſpirit.c.19.*

Argum.2. As the Prieſts in the law had only authoritie to diſcerne the leproſie of the people, and therefore Chriſt ſendeth the lepers to the Prieſt, Luk.17.14. ſo men muſt reueale the ſpirituall leproſie of ſinne to the Prieſt, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, the leproſie was not healed by the Prieſt, but onely declared to bee healed: ſo ſinnes are declared to be forgiuen by the Prieſt, not properly forgiuen. Secondly, the Prieſt receiued not knowledge of all diſeaſes, but of this, that was contagious: therefore it would not follow hereupon, that all ſinnes are to be confeſſed to the Prieſt; but ſuch as are notorious, where publique confeſſion is by Church diſcipline inioyned: and ſuch confeſſion we denie not. Thirdly, the argument followeth not from the Prieſts of the law, to the Miniſters of the Goſpell: for the Prieſthood of the law is tranſlated wholy vnto Chriſt, who hath all knowledge to diſcerne, and power to heale our ſpirituall diſeaſes.

Argum.3. Act.19.18. *Many that beleeued, came and confeſſed, and ſhewed their workes:* Hence the Ieſuite would inferre the neceſſitie of auricular confeſſion, *Lib.3.de pœnitent.cap.4.Bellarm.*

Anſw. This place ſerueth nothing at all for his purpoſe: Firſt, all that beleeued came not to confeſſe, but ſuch as were pricked in conſcience, with remembrance of ſome eſpeciall ſinnes, as it followeth, ver. 19. they that vſed curious Arts brought their bookes: but the papiſtes inioyne auricular confeſſion of neceſſitie to all. 2. It is not ſaid they made particular rehearſall of al their ſinnes, but generally confeſſed themſelues to be ſinners: as *Daniell* confeſſeth, cap.9.5. *We haue ſinned and done wickedly, &c.* 3. It was no confeſſion made in the eare, but publikely before all the multitude: but auricular confeſſion is made only in the eare of the Prieſt. Fourthly, theſe beleeuers came but once, that we reade of, in the beginning of their conuerſion to confeſſe, and they came willingly without conſtraint: But they exact a yearely confeſſion of the people, and enforce them to it. They muſt ſeeke better grounds for their eare confeſſion then this, or elſe they are like to miſſe of it.

Bellarmine replieth, 1. *That they confeſſed all their ſinnes:* for when the Scripture ſpeaketh abſolutely of ſinnes, all muſt be vnderſtood: as Matth.9.2. *Thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee:* that is, all thy ſinnes. 2. The Epheſians might confeſſe oftner, then this once, though it be not mentioned; for we may ſay as well, they were not baptized, becauſe it is not expreſſed. 3. Neither are all with vs bound to confeſſe, but they which are touched in conſcience. 4. Neither is it expreſſed, whether they confeſſed priuately or publikely. 5. They came willingly to confeſſion, becauſe there was yet no law to enioyne them. *Bellarm.cap.4.*

Cont. Firſt, where 1. mention is made of forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, all muſt be vnderſtood, becauſe there is a neceſſitie, that all be forgiuen: but of confeſſing all ſinnes there is no neceſſitie, 2. And they confeſſed their workes, πράξεις, but the Papiſts exact confeſſion of thoughtes and words. 3. Neither confeſſed they all their workes, but ſuch as were notorious and offenſiue, as it followeth verſ.19. ſuch were the workes of them that exerciſed curious artes.

Secondly, 1. There is no queſtion but they were baptized, becauſe it is Chriſts generall ordinance; ſo is not auricular confeſſion. 2. Neyther could they confeſſe, as they did, to S. *Paul* yeerely, becauſe he was not alwayes with them. 3. Neither afterward could the beleeuers confeſſe ſuch workes, as they did in their infidelitie.

Thirdly, it is vntrue, that you ſay; for you require confeſſion of all whatſoeuer, neither do you giue abſolution, but vpon ſuch confeſſion: but all that ſinne haue neede of abſolution: therefore all muſt confeſſe.

Fourthly, it is euident, that this confeſsion of their workes was publike, as it is expreſſed verſ.19. *They which vſed curious artes, burned their bookes: In conſpectu omnium,* in the ſight of all.

Fiftly, if the Scriptures authorize not any law to enioyne confeſsion, it is great preſumption for you, to lay ſuch a yoke vpon the Lordes people.

Argum 4. 2.Cor.5.19. *He hath committed to vs the word of reconciliation, now wee are embaſſadours for Chriſt,&c.* But how can men be reconciled, vnleſſe they make their caſe knowne, and confeſſe their ſinnes. *Bellarm.cap.4.loc.2.*

Anſw. 1. If thoſe Embaſſadors reconciled to themſelues, it were fit confeſsion ſhould be made to them, but ſeeing *they pray to be reconciled to God,* it ſufficeth to confeſſe to God. 2. The word of reconciliation is committed vnto them: *Ergo,* by the preaching of the word men are reconciled: but confeſſion of ſinnes is not requiſite at euery preaching of the word.

*Argum.*5. Iam.5.16. *Confeſſe your ſinnes one to another, and pray one for another:* that is, the Elders and Prieſtes ſpoken of verſ.14. muſt pray for them, and to them they muſt confeſſe: *Bellarmin. ibid.*

Anſw. This place is very direct againſt them. 1. If to confeſſe one to another, be vnderſtood of the people and the prieſt, then muſt the prieſt confeſſe to the people, as the people doth to him: for ſo the word ἀλλήλων ſignifieth, as 1.Theſſ.4.18. *Comfort your ſelues one another,&c.* 2. The Apoſtle addeth, *The prayer of a righteous man auaileth much*; hee ſaith not, the prayer of a righteous Prieſt, but of any righteous: ſo verſ.19. *If any of you hath erred, and ſome man hath conuerted him,&c.* He ſpeaketh not onely of the Miniſter, but of any other faithfull man.

*Argum.*6. 1.Iohn 1.9. *If we acknowledge our ſinnes, he is faithfull and iuſt to forgiue vs our ſinnes, and to cleanſe vs from all vnrighteouſneſſe:* this is not vnderſtood of confeſſion made to God. 1. For Gods faithfulneſſe is in keeping his promiſe; but there is no promiſe extant in Scripture, of forgiueneſſe to thoſe, that confeſſe to God, but to thoſe, that confeſſe to the Miniſters,&c. 2. And if it ſufficed to confeſſe to God; men would not care to ſeeke for forgiueneſſe at mans hands, and ſo Chriſt had ſaid in vaine, *Whoſe ſinnes ye remit,&c. Bellarm.c.4.*

Anſw. Firſt, it is boldly and vntruely affirmed, that there is *no promiſe, &c.* to them that confeſſe to God: there is 1. nothing more euident in Scripture, as 1.King.8.47. *If they ſinne againſt thee, &c. and returne and pray, ſaying, Wee haue ſinned and done wickedly, then heare thou in heauen, and be mercifull:* here is a direct promiſe of mercie to thoſe that confeſſe to God. 2. Neither is the Miniſtrie to be deſpiſed, but there is great vſe thereof: 1. both by the preaching of the word, in calling vpon the people to repent, and confeſſe their ſinnes to God: 2. And where the griefe of ſin is ſuch, as the ſoule of the penitent cannot wraſtle againſt it, in this caſe he is to reſort to the Miniſter. 3. And it is the Miniſters part, where hee ſeeth euident ſignes of repentance, to declare the mercie of God, and looſing of ſinnes vnto ſuch, though not confeſſed vnto him: *Peter* confeſſed not to Chriſt, but only wept, and was forgiuen: the inceſtuous partie confeſſed not to *Paul*, but by his great ſorrow ſhewed his repentance, yet the Apoſtle forgaue him, 2. Corinth.2.10. 4. Like as then the Leper being firſt cured of Chriſt, was bidde to ſhew himſelfe to the Prieſt, Matth.8.4. according to the law: ſo they, which confeſſing vnto God, do finde remiſſion, muſt notwithſtanding by the miniſtrie of the word labour to be confirmed therein.

Secondly, this place is chiefly to be vnderſtood of confeſſing vnto God. 1. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh generally of all, excluding not himſelfe: but to whom ſhould the Apoſtles confeſſe but vnto God. 2. The Apoſtle ſaith, *to cleanſe vs:* but man can not cleanſe vs, this is onely Gods worke. 3. And God onely cleanſeth *from all vnrighteouſneſſe:* for all our ſinnes cannot be made manifeſt to men, no, not to our owne conſcience: but, *though our owne heart condemne vs not: God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things.* 1.Iohn 3.20.

*Argum.*7. In the laſt place *Bellarmine* produceth many teſtimonies out of the councels and fathers, to proue auricular and particular confeſſion, making them to ſpeake that, which they neuer knew: the places alleaged, I purpoſe not particularly to anſwere, for theſe reaſons. 1. Becauſe my purpoſe is to deale chiefely with places of Scripture. 2. For that I entending chiefly the good and profite of the vnlearned, I would not diſtract them, or hinder them from more profitable knowledge by the curious diſcuſsing of the fathers. 3. This worke would by this meanes haue growen to a greater volume, then was fit for euery mans vſe. 4. I thought it not needfull to handle at large theſe teſtimonies, writing in our owne language, which the aduerſarie, that firſt gaue occaſion vnderſtandeth not. 5. Becauſe ſome other learned men of our Church, with a godly zeale and good ſucceſſe, haue alreadie vndertaken the thorough confutation of all popiſh allegations: to whom I wiſh both all diuine aſsiſtance, and humane encouragement, to proceed in ſo excellent an enterpriſe. 6. The Printer haſtening the worke, which was more then halfe printed, before all was finiſhed, neither time nor leiſure ſerued to deale in the teſtimonies of the fathers.

D.Reynolds.
D.Sutcliffe.

Yet thus much ſhall ſuffice for a generall anſwere at this time: that none of the teſtimonies alleaged, till we come to the yeere 600. and after, when ſuperſtition began to encreaſe (and the teſtimonies of the times following we much regard not) do witneſſe for auricular confeſſion: but all of them, if a ſuruey be taken of them, do ſpeake of one of theſe fiue confeſſions: eyther 1. of confeſſion to be made to God: as *Tertullian*; *Exomologeſis eſt, qua delictum Domino confitemur:* That is confeſſion, whereby wee do confeſſe our ſinne vnto God, *Apologet. cap.* 4. Or els 2. of publike confeſsion made before the whole Church, for ſome publike ſinne; as the ſame *Tertullian*: *Ergo, cùm te ad fratrum genua protendis, Chriſtum exoras*: When thou boweſt thy ſelfe to thy brethrens feete, thou entreateſt Chriſt. Thirdly, they ſpeake of a confeſsion, which they made each to other, *Beda in* 5. *Iacob. Quotidiana leuiaq; peccata alterutrum coæqualibus confiteamur, &c.* Our daily ſinnes let vs confeſſe to our equals, one to another. Fourthly, they commend confeſsion made to the Prieſt, when the conſcience otherwiſe cannot be ſetled: ſo *Origen. hom.* 2. *in Pſal.* 37. *Sicut ij qui habent intus incluſam eſcam indigeſtam, &c.* As they, which haue meate vndigeſted in the ſtomacke, if they do vomite, are eaſed; ſo they that ſinne, while they conceale it, are in a manner choaked, but vomiting of it vp by confeſsion, &c. Fiftly, a generall confeſsion to bee made, with reconciliation before the receiuing of the Communion, *Cyprian* maketh mention of: *Nec ad communicationem venire quis poſſit*: But none might come to the Communion, before hee had confeſſed, &c. *lib.* 3. *epiſt.* 16. All theſe kinds of confeſsions we acknowledge to haue been wel knowne to the fathers, neyther do wee miſlike them: but none of the ancient writers for 600. yeeres after Chriſt do witneſſe for auricular confeſsion, and particular enumeration of ſinnes.

The Proteſtants.

Confeſſion of ſinnes, ſuch as the Scripture alloweth, we doe acknowledge: as namely theſe foure kindes: There are priuate confeſſions, either to God alone, as *Daniel* confeſſeth, 9.4. or for the eaſing of our conſcience, to man alſo, as to him whom we haue offended, Matth. 5.24. or to any other faithfull man, the Miniſter or ſome other, that we may be holpen and comforted by our mutuall prayers, Iam. 5.16.

And herein we thinke and ſay with Biſhop *Ridley* holy Martyr: Confeſſion to the Miniſter, which is able to inſtruct, correct, comfort, and enforme the weake, wounded, and ignorant conſcience, indeed I euer thought might doe much good in Chriſts congregation, and ſo I aſſure you I thinke euen at this day, pag. 1728. *Epiſtol. ad Weſt.*

There are alſo two kinds of publique confeſſion, either of the whole congregation together, Nehe. 9.3. or of ſome one or more, that make publique confeſſion of their ſinne, for the ſatisfying of the congregation, whom they haue offended: which belongeth to Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, 2. Corinth. 2.6. Beſide theſe kindes of confeſſion, it is commendable alſo, which is practized in ſome reformed Churches, that before the receiuing of the Sacrament, particular examination ſhould be had of ſuch as are to communicate, not ſo much to confeſſe ſuch ſinnes to the Miniſter, as doe grieue their conſcience, and ſo to finde eaſe for their griefe; as it is vſed to be done to this day in the reformed Churches of Bohemia. *Harm. ſect.* 8. *c.* 5. *confeſſ. Bohem.* And of Auſpurge, *ſect.* 8. *artic.* 3. and of Saxonie, *ſect.* 14. *confeſſ. Saxon. Neither are any admitted to the Communion, except they be firſt heard and abſolued of the paſtor:* but chieflie that euery one may be particularly examined, tried and made fit concerning their faith, and ſo prepared to come worthilie to the Lordes table: this vſe *Kemnitius* thus writeth of, *in* 2. *part. exam. c.* 5. *de confeſſ. Confeſſionis vſus apud nos ſeruatur, &c.* The vſe of confeſſion is reteyned with vs, &c. In this priuate colloquie, the paſtors doe make triall of their auditors, whether they vnderſtand the doctrine of ſinne, of the degrees of ſinne, of the wages thereof, and of faith in Chriſt, they are brought to a conſideration of their ſinnes, and asked if they doe earneſtly repent for the ſame, if they haue a purpoſe to amend their life, and whether they doe not continue in certaine ſinnes, &c. Maſter *Caluine* alſo approueth this vſe: *Lib.* 3. *inſtitut. cap.* 4. *ſect.* 13. *Interim quia ſiſtant ſe oues paſtori, &c.* That the ſheepe ſhould preſent themſelues to the Paſtor, as often as they receiue the Communion, I am ſo farre from reclayming againſt it, that I would haue it euery where obſerued. And *Epiſtol.* 302. he ſheweth, that the like vſe is retained in Geneua. *That no man may come to the holy table, before it be known to the Miniſter, that he hath profited in religion in ſome meaſure; and once a yeare the Miniſter in euery quarter goeth to euery houſe, to make triall both of their life and faith.* Such confeſsion, triall and examination, as theſe Churches haue receiued, I hold very conuenient and profitable, and the like to be deſired and much wiſhed for in our Church. But this particular confeſsion, yea 1. of all ſinnes, euen of them which are 2. ſecret, 3. and vpon paine of damnation, 4. and to none but the Prieſt, how vnfit ſoeuer; is an Antichriſtian yoake.

Argum. 1. It is not neceſſarie to make confeſſion at all vnto men: the Prophet *Dauid* confeſſeth onely vnto God. Againſt thee O Lord onely haue I ſinned, Pſal. 51.4. *Auguſtine* alſo ſayth, *Quid mihi cum hominibus vt audiant confeſſiones meas, quaſi ipſi ſanaturi ſint languores meos?* What haue men to doe to heare my confeſſions, as though they were able to heale my ſores? *Confeſſion. lib.* 10.3.

*Argum.*2. If a man otherwiſe cannot finde eaſe of conſcience, but will open his ſinnes to men: it is not alwayes neceſſarie he ſhould ſeeke to the Miniſter, though it be moſt conuenient, if hee be a fit man; any other faithfull godly man may ſerue: for ſo the Apoſtle biddeth vs, Acknowledge our faults, not to the prieſt, but one to another, Iam.5.16. Whereupon *Auguſtine* writeth, *Peccata noſtra debemus non ſolum Deo, ſed etiam ſanctis & Deum timentibus confiteri:* We muſt confeſſe our ſinnes not onely to God, but to men alſo that feare God: He ſayth not *Sacerdotibus*, only to the Prieſts, *Homil.*12.

*Argum.*3. Such a particular enumeration of ſinnes is not neceſſarie, neither is it poſſible: It ſufficeth, where our ſinnes are kept from our ſight, to ſay with the Prophet, Cleanſe mee from my ſecret ſinnes, Pſalm.19.12. *Auguſtine* ſayth, *Quot habes in corde compunctiones facinorum, tot babe illic punctiones confeſſionum:* Looke how many ſinnes doe pricke thy conſcience, ſo muſt thy confeſſion be. It is an vncomfortable doctrine to teach men to labour to remember all their ſinnes, and to make a particular catalogue of them: they haue worke enough to be eaſed of thoſe ſinnes that lye heauie on the heart.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that if the enumeration of ſinnes to men be impoſſible, and vncomfortable, ſo is it in our confeſſion to God, to whom alſo wee are to confeſſe, whatſoeuer ſinnes wee know, and remember, and otherwiſe men are not enioyned to confeſſe to the Prieſt. *Bellarmin. lib.*3.*c.*16.

Contra. Firſt, the Lord himſelfe doth not exact ſuch a particular enumeration, as the Popiſh law doth: for Chriſt teaching his Diſciples to pray, taught them to ſay thus, *Forgiue vs our treſpaſſes,&c.* not willing them to make a particular rehearſall of their ſinnes; but the Popiſh Prieſts will accept no confeſſion, if it be not particular. Secondly, in making confeſsion to God, the Lord may bring our ſinnes to remembrance, Pſalm.50.21. *I will ſet them in order before thee*, which the Prieſt cannot doe. Thirdly, there is more comfort in confeſsing to God, becauſe he hath power onely to forgiue, the other is but as Gods miniſter, and it is more comfortable to goe to the Maſter, then to the ſeruant: and we may more boldly open our infirmities to God, which we often are aſhamed to ſhew to men.

*Argum.*4. Chriſt ſaith, *As my father ſent me, ſo ſend I you; and then he ſayd, receiue ye the holy Ghoſt; whoſe ſinnes ye remit, &c.* Here our Sauiour Chriſt giueth authoritie and power to remit ſinnes, to his Apoſtles, as he himſelfe executed the ſame in earth: But Chriſt forgaue ſinnes without any ſuch particular confeſſion, as to the woman, Luk.7. that waſhed his feete with her teares: *Ergo*, remiſſion of ſinnes may be pronounced without auricular confeſsion, whereas by other ſignes the ſorrow of the heart may be made knowen.

Bellarm. The Apoſtles had not the like power to remit ſinnes, as Chriſt himſelfe had: for Chriſt was able to iuſtifie and forgiue ſinnes without a ſacrament: But the Apoſtles did it by meanes: *Bellarm.cap.*18. Neither as yet was the ſacrament of confeſſion inſtituted *cap.* 17.

*Anſw.*1. The difference between Chriſts and his Apoſtles working is this, that Chriſt by his owne power did forgiue ſinnes, the Apoſtles in Chriſts name onely, as his Miniſters and inſtruments: But concerning the outward meanes of ſaluation, Chriſt vſed the ſame which his Apoſtles did: he preached the Goſpell, called for faith, and repentance, as his Apoſtles afterward did: and as Chriſt then forgaue ſinnes without a ſacrament, ſo did hee by the miniſterie of his Apoſtles: *Paul* hath the word of reconciliation committed to him, 2.Cor.5.19. he reconcileth to God by the preaching of the Goſpell, which was no ſacrament. *Concil. Cabilanenſ. can.*33. *Deus ſalutis & ſanitatis author plerunque hanc præbet ſuæ potentiæ inuiſibili adminiſtratione, plerunque medicorum operatione:* God the autor of health and ſaluation, often giueth remiſſion of ſinnes by his inuiſible power, often by the miniſterie of the ſpirituall Phiſitian. Sinnes are euen now forgiuen without the miniſterie of man, and without auricular confeſſion, and conſequently without your popiſh ſacrament of Penance: this therefore maketh no difference betweene Chriſts working, and his Apoſtles working.

2 But be it granted that Chriſts power herein was greater then his Apoſtles to forgiue ſinnes without confeſſion: was alſo the power of the Prophets greater then theirs? I thinke they will not ſay ſo: yet *Nathan* pronounced abſolution of *Dauids* ſinnes, without particular confeſſion, he only ſayd in generall, *I haue ſinned:* therefore the Apoſtles did, and ſo the miniſters of the Goſpell may remit ſinnes without auricular confeſſion.

3 If your Sacrament of confeſsion were not inſtituted by Chriſt (which is the reaſon that you giue, why he vſed it not) then is there no ſuch Sacrament at all: for Chriſt onely inſtituted Sacraments, the Apoſtles inſtituted none, but deliuered to the Church, as they had receiued from Chriſt. 1.Cor.11.23.

*Argum.*5. A notable euidence againſt auricular and priuate confeſsion we haue out of *Sozomen* his ſtorie, *lib.*7.*c.*16. Who thus reporteth, that *Nectarius* Patriarch of Conſtantinople, by reaſon of an adulterous acte committed betweene a Deacon of the Church, and a noble Matron, that came to confeſſe to the penitentiarie Prieſt, depoſed the ſaid Prieſt, and aboliſhed that kinde of confeſsion, *And permitted, that euery man ſhould doe according to his owne conſcience in comming to the ſacred myſteries.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that *Nectarius* diſcontinued publike, not priuate confeſsion, becauſe the woman publikely confeſſing her fault, there followed a tumult among the people: 2. and after *Nectarius* time, priuate confeſsion was vſed in the Greeke Church: *Bellarm.lib.3.cap.*14. 3. Yea, they themſelues allow priuate confeſsion. *Ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, *Nectarius* aboliſhed priuate not publike confeſsion: 1. For the office of the Penitentiarie, was to receiue their confeſsion ſecretly, *Quia graue viſum eſt Epiſcopis in media plebe, velut in theatro, &c.* It ſeemed hard to the Biſhops, that in the middeſt of the people, as in a theater, they ſhould confeſſe their ſinnes: *Nicephor.lib.*12.*c.*28. Further, 2. *Socrates* ſaith, that the woman comming to the Penitentiarie, did *particulatim*, particularly confeſſe her ſinnes: *lib.*5. *cap.*19. 3. The tumult might ariſe not vpon hir publike confeſsion, but the publike notice afterward.

Secondly, priuate confeſsion was not after this vſed in the Greeke Church: 1. *Origene* ſaith, *Hom.*1. *in Pſalm.*36. *Si malorum tibi conſcius, &c.* If thou art guiltie to thy ſelfe of any ſinnes, reueale them by confeſsion to the Lord; truſt in him, and he will heale thee. 2. *Chryſoſtome hom.*2. *in Pſalm.*50. *Si confunderis alicui dicere, &c.* If thou be aſhamed to confeſſe to another, confeſſe thy ſinnes in thine owne ſoule, I ſay not, thou ſhouldeſt confeſſe to thy fellow ſeruant, to caſt thee in the teeth, but to God, &c. 3. *Decr.p.*2.*cauſ.*33. *diſt.*1.*c.*90. *Some doe ſay that we muſt confeſſe only to God, vt Græci,* as the Grecians. *Bellarmine* ſaith, that theſe words, *vt Græci, are like to haue been thruſt into the text.* *Anſw.* So he ſaith, that *Sozomen* the reporter of this ſtorie, *telleth many lies:* Theſe are but groſſe ſhifts. 4. *Thom.Waldenſ.* a Popiſh writer graunteth, that *Nectarius* did ſimplie abrogate confeſsion.

Thirdly, priuate confeſsion with examination and triall of euery mans faith, we acknowledge in ſuch manner as I haue before expreſſed, but a particular enumeration of ſinnes, with a neceſſitie of conſcience, which breedeth ſuperſtition, rather then inſtruction, without any godly conſolation or exhortation at all miniſtred, we refuſe and condemne as Antichriſtian.

We want not here the teſtimony of antiquitie: *Alexander epiſt.*1. *Confeſſio non extorqueri debet, ſed ſponte potius profiteri:* Confeſſion muſt not bee violently extorted, but voluntarily confeſſed: but now in the Popiſh Church euery man is bound of neceſſitie to profeſſe.

*Concil. Cabilonenſ.can.*33. *Et peccata confiteamur Deo, &c.* Let vs both confeſſe our ſinnes vnto God, and ſay with *Dauid*, againſt thee haue I ſinned, or confeſſed my ſinne, and according to the inſtitution of the Apoſtle, let vs confeſſe one to another, that we may pray one for another to be ſaued. As wee muſt pray one for another, ſo we muſt confeſſe our ſinnes one to another: Now the Prieſt only prayeth not for the people, but the people alſo for the Prieſt: *Ergo,* neither muſt they confeſſe their ſinnes onely to the Prieſt.

*Interrelig. Cæſar cap.*17. *Quæ in mentem non veniunt generali confeſſioni recte includuntur, & nihilominus ea remittuntur, quam ſi ea confitendo enumeraſſes:* Thoſe ſinnes which come not to thy minde, muſt be included in a generall confeſſion, and they ſhall notwithſtanding as fully be remitted as if they were particularly numbred. A particular enumeration therefore of ſinnes is it not neceſſarie; as now in the popiſh Church is required.

We haue ſufficient euidence out of their owne decrees. *Decret. part.*2. *cauſ.*33. *diſt.*1. *cap.*1.2. *Non inuenio, quid dixerit Petrus; inuenio quod fleuerit, &c.* I finde not what *Peter* ſaid, I finde he did weepe, &c. *Lachrymæ lauent delictum, &c.* Let teares waſh away the ſinne, which it is a ſhame to confeſſe.

*Ibid.c.*34. *gloſſ. Antequam ſacerdotibus ora noſtra oſtendamus:* Before wee ſhew our face to the Prieſt, that is, confeſſe our ſinnes, we are cleanſed from the leproſie of ſinne. *Cap.*37. *gloſſ. Sicut circumciſio data eſt Abrahamo:* As circumciſion was giuen to *Abraham* as a ſigne of iuſtice, not as a cauſe of iuſtification, ſo confeſſion is offered to the Prieſt, in token of pardon receiued, not as a cauſe of remiſſion to be obtained.

*Magiſt.lib.*4 *diſtinct.*17.*a. Ore tacente interdum veniam conſequimur:* Sometime wee obtaine pardon, the mouth being ſilent: if therefore remiſſion of ſinnes may be had, where there is no confeſsion at all; and, where confeſsion is vſed, it is a ſigne of remiſsion alreadie had, not a cauſe of remiſsion afterward to be obtained, then is not ſuch confeſsion neceſſarie to obtaine remiſsion of ſinnes, as is by the Papiſts affirmed.

This truth alſo hath the ſeale of the holy martyrs: *Leonard Keyſer* of Bauaria burned for denying auricular confeſſion: *yet three kinds of confeſſions be granted: the firſt of faith; which is alwaies neceſſarie: the ſecond of charitie; when a man hath offended his neighbour: the third not to be deſpiſed, which is to aske counſell of the auncient Miniſters of the Church,* pag.885.

Iohn Bradford holy Martyr, ſetteth downe theſe reaſons againſt auricular confeſſion: firſt, they make it meritorious. Secondly, they make it of neceſſitie, taking him for no good Chriſtian, that vſeth it not: Thirdly, it requireth an impoſſibility, that is, the numbring and telling of al our ſins. Fourthly, it alloweth praying to Saints: *Precor ſanctam Mariam*, you muſt ſay, or the Prieſt for you. Fiftly, it is iniurious to the libertie of the Goſpel, &c. pag. 1653.

AN APPENDIX OF OTHER CIRCVMSTANCES of Auricular confeſſion.

The Papiſts.

59. Error. 1. THis order and cuſtome of Confeſſion, they hold to be a diuine ordinance, no humane tradition, *Concil. Trid. ſeſſ.* 14. *can.* 6. 8.

Argum. 1. The antiquitie of confeſſion ſheweth it to be a diuine ordinance, ſeeing it hath bin alway vſed in the Church, euen from the beginning, *Bellarm. lib.* 3. 12.

Anſw. Firſt, It is vntrue, that auricular confeſſion hath been of ancient time vſed in the Church: In *Chryſoſtomes* time it was not: who ſayth, *I require thee not, that thou ſhouldeſt confeſſe thy ſinnes to thy fellow ſeruant: in Pſal.* 30. *homil.* 1. Your owne gloſſe ſayth: *This inſtitution of penance began rather of ſome tradition of the vniuerſall Church, then of any authoritie of the old or new Teſtament: De pœnitent. diſtinct.* 5. *in principio.* Eraſm. in ſchol. in epitaphium Fabiolæ. *Eraſmus* ſaith, *apparet tempore Hieronymi inſtitutam non fuiſſe*: It appeareth, that in the time of *Hierome*, this ſecret confeſſion of ſinnes was not ordained, &c. *But herein our Diuines not aduiſedly conſidering, what the olde Doctors doe ſay, are deceiued: that which they ſay of generall and open confeſſion, they wreſt by and by to this ſecret and priuie kinde of confeſſion.* Secondly, it is apparant, that there was no publike conſtitution for auricular confeſſion before the Laterane Councell, *anno* 1215. held by *Innocentius* 3. ſo that from thence it ſeemeth to take beginning.

Argum. 2. Auricular confeſſion ſeemeth ſo hard and difficult a thing, that it is like the people would neuer haue endured it, if it had not been by ſome diuine authoritie eſtabliſhed: And againe, ſuch is the vtilitie and profit that ariſeth thereby, that God muſt needs be the author thereof. *Bellarm. lib.* 3, *cap.* 12.

The commodities that confeſsion bringeth, he rehearſeth to be theſe. Firſt, Gods mercie appeareth, not in condemning vpon confeſsion (as the iudges of this world doe) but in forgiuing: his iuſtice, in that firſt, men are humbled by confeſsion. Secondly, the Paſtors themſelues are benefited, in knowing by this meanes the diſeaſes of their ſheepe, that they may miniſter the remedies the better, and applie the word againſt ſuch ſinnes. Thirdly, the commonwealth is profited, when as by this meanes men are reconciled, things are reſtored, &c. which things by the earthlie Courts cannot be amended. Fourthly, the parties themſelues doe finde mercie for ſinnes paſt, and ſtrength to reſiſt the like afterward. *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. Auricular confeſſion in deed is a grieuous and hard yoke, which becauſe the people haue borne, it followeth not, it ſhould be of Gods inſtitution: It was 1. an hard thing, that the idolatrous Iſraelites ſhould ſacrifice their children to their idols, that *Baals* Prieſts ſhould launce their fleſh with kniues. The Phariſees 2. alſo did lay heauie burdens and grieuous to be borne vpon the people, Matth. 23. 3. yet none of all theſe were of God. Many things beſide were hard in poperie: as that the Pope ſhould 3. tread vpon Emperors neckes, and make them his vaſſals and ſlaues, that he ſhould with his taxes, annates, Peterpence, rob and pill the people, all theſe were hard yokes: to the which the people were made ſubiect, not wittingly, nor by the working of any diuine power; but as S. *Paul* prophecied: *God ſent them ſtrong deluſions to beleeue lyes*, 2. Theſ. 2. 11. they were beſotted with a ſuperſtitious feare, and ſo became ſlaues to this yoke of confeſſion, and other obſeruances. And 4. againe, in that the Ieſuite ſaith, it is an hard yoke, he hath made an argument againſt himſelfe, for Chriſt ſaith, *my yoke is eaſie*: therefore this yoke being hard, is none of Chriſts.

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Nicephor. lib. 12. cap. 28.

make it meritorious. Secondly, they make it of neceſſitie, taking him for no good Chriſtian, that vſeth it not: Thirdly, it requireth an impoſſibility, that is, the numbring and telling of al our ſins. Fourthly, it alloweth praying to Saints: *Precor ſanctam Mariam*, you muſt ſay, or the Prieſt for you. Fiftly, it is iniurious to the libertie of the Goſpel, &c. pag. 1653.

AN APPENDIX OF OTHER CIRCVMSTANces of Auricular confeſſion.

The Papiſts.

59. Error.

1. THis order and cuſtome of Confeſſion, they hold to be a diuine ordinance, no humane tradition, *Concil. Trid. ſeſſ.* 14. *can.* 6. 8.

Argum. 1. The antiquitie of confeſſion ſheweth it to be a diuine ordinance, ſeeing it hath bin alway vſed in the Church, euen from the beginning, *Bellarm. lib.* 3. 12.

Anſw. Firſt, It is vntrue, that auricular confeſſion hath been of ancient time vſed in the Church: In *Chryſoſtomes* time it was not: who ſayth, *I require thee not, that thou ſhouldeſt confeſſe thy ſinnes to thy fellow ſeruant: in Pſal.* 30. *homil.* 1. Your owne gloſſe ſayth: *This inſtitution of penance began rather of ſome tradition of the vniuerſall Church, then of any authoritie of the old or new Teſtament: De pœnitent. diſtinct.* 5. *in principio. Eraſmus* ſaith, *apparet tempore Hieronymi inſtitutam non fuiſſe:* (Eraſm. in ſchol. in epitaphium Fabiolæ.) It appeareth, that in the time of *Hierome*, this ſecret confeſſion of ſinnes was not ordained, &c. *But herein our Diuines not aduiſedly conſidering, what the olde Doctors doe ſay, are deceiued: that which they ſay of generall and open confeſſion, they wreſt by and by to this ſecret and priuie kinde of confeſſion.* Secondly, it is apparant, that there was no publike conſtitution for auricular confeſſion before the Laterane Councell, *anno* 1215. held by *Innocentius* 3. ſo that from thence it ſeemeth to take beginning.

Argum. 2. Auricular confeſſion ſeemeth ſo hard and difficult a thing, that it is like the people would neuer haue endured it, if it had not been by ſome diuine authoritie eſtabliſhed: And againe, ſuch is the vtilitie and profit that ariſeth thereby, that God muſt needs be the author thereof. *Bellarm. lib.* 3. *cap.* 12.

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Nicephor. lib. 12. cap. 28.

Church: *lib.8.confeſſion.cap.*2. Againe, afterward in the time of *Leo.*1. Biſhop of Rome, *anno.*462. this cuſtome of publike confeſſion was in vſe: which although he ſomewhat reſtraine, leſt ſome for feare, *à pœnitentiæ remedijs arcerentur*, ſhould be driuen from vſing the remedie of penance: yet he concludeth thus: *Plenitudo tamen fidei videtur laudabilis, quæ propter Dei timorem apud homines erubeſcere non veretur.* Yet the fulneſſe of faith is commendable, which for the feare of God, refuſeth not to be aſhamed among men: he commendeth publike confeſſion. It was not then by *Nectarius* abrogated, but continued long after in vſe in the Church: It was therefore priuate confeſſion which he remoued, whereunto *Chryſoſtome* afterward agreed: *Ergo,* it was no diuine conſtitution. The more full anſwere to this, ſee before. *queſt.6.argum.proteſtant.*5.

*Argum.*2. Our Sauiour Chriſt neither by precept nor example, ordained auricular confeſſion, nor yet the Apoſtles afterward required of the people any ſuch particular enumeration of their ſinnes: *Ergo,* it is no diuine ordinance.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt as yet (that is, while he liued) had not inſtituted the Sacrament of confeſsion: inſinuating thereby, that afterward hee did: their Maſter ſaith, *Multa facta ſunt, quæ ſcripta non ſunt:* Many things were done, that are not written: *Lib.4. diſt.17.f. Bellarmin. lib.3.c.17.*

Contra. Firſt, if Chriſt inſtituted not the Sacrament of confeſſion, then is it no Sacrament at all: for 1. he onely had power to inſtitute Sacraments. And 2. it is euident that Chriſt, while he liued vpon the earth, ordained no ſuch thing: as it may appeare by *Peters* repentance, who wept for his ſinnes, but confeſſed not: and 3. their Maſter graunteth, that *Nondum facta erat inſtitutio confeſſionis:* That confeſsion was not yet inſtituted. *Lib.4. diſt.17.f.* 4. If they ſay that Chriſt inſtituted it afterward, *Ioh.*20. when he breathed vpon his Apoſtles, &c. Firſt, that is but a renewing of the power of binding and looſing, and opening and ſhutting, giuen before, *Mat.*16.19. 18.18. For to remit and retaine ſinnes, is the ſame that binding and looſing is. Againe, Chriſt ſaid, *Conſummatum eſt,* That all was finiſhed vpon the croſſe, that was neceſſarie for the ſaluation of man: Therefore confeſſion, if it be neceſſarie, as they affirme, was inſtituted before: how elſe was all finiſhed.

Secondly, though many particular acts of the Apoſtles were done, that are not written; yet nothing concerning the doctrine of the Church, is vnwritten: and I thinke they are not ſo abſurd, as to build Sacraments vpon vnwritten traditions: they muſt find expreſſe Scripture for Sacraments, which they are neuer able to doe for confeſſion.

Laſtly, what the Apoſtolike inſtitution is for confeſſion, their owne Canons teſtifie: *Diſt.*1. *de pœnitent.c.*90. *Apoſtoli inſtitutio nobis ſequenda eſt, vt confiteamur alterutrum peccata noſtra:* The Apoſtles inſtitution muſt be followed, to confeſſe our ſinnes one to another.

Auguſtine alſo ſaith, *Si deeſt Sacerdos, confiteatur proximo:* If a Prieſt cannot be had, let a man
De pœnit.cap. 10. confeſſe to his neighbour: *Ergo,* to confeſſe to a Prieſt, is no certaine ordinance of God: for then might it not be changed.

The Papiſts.

60.Error. 2. IT is neceſſarie that euery man ſhould confeſſe to his owne pariſh Prieſt, *Thom. ex Tileman. Heſhuſ.loc.7.err.*46. And that the acts of penance, as contrition, confeſſion, are meritorious. *Mag.lib.2.diſt.27.Thom.Bonauentur.* with others. *Bellarm.lib.2.de pænitent.c.*12.

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. YEa, but *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Sacerdos, vt perfectus medicus, primùm ſciat curare peccata ſua, & tum detergere aliena:* The Prieſt as a cunning phiſition, muſt firſt know how to cure his owne ſinnes, before he can helpe another, *De ſalutaribus docum. cap.*50. And in another place, *Quærat ſacerdotem ſcientem ligare & ſoluere, ne ambo cadant in foueam:* Let him ſeeke a Prieſt that knoweth how to binde and looſe, leaſt both fall into the ditch, *De pœnitent.diſt.1.c.*88. But ſuch an one cannot be had in euery pariſh: for many times the pariſh Prieſt is worſe then he that commeth to be confeſſed: ſuch an one, *Auguſtine* ſaith, is not to be taken, and therefore men ſhould not in that caſe binde themſelues to their popiſh Prieſt.

Argum. Saint *Iames* ſaith: *Confeſſe you faultes one to another, and pray one for another that you may be healed, for the prayer of the righteous auaileth much, &c.* As we muſt pray one for another, ſo we muſt confeſſe our faultes, but it is not onely the Prieſts part to pray, but euery righteous mans part, (vnleſſe you will ſay, that there are none righteous but Prieſts:) *Ergo,* we may confeſſe to any righteous man, ſooner then to an vnrighteous Prieſt.

*Synod. Colonienſ.part.7.cap.*33. *Magnopere neceſſarium iudicamus, vt Sacerdos, qui à confeſſionibus eſt, ſit integer, eruditus, ſilentij tenax, alioqui diſſipandis, magis quàm paſcendis ouibus videbitur idoneus:* We thinke it requiſite, that the Prieſt which receiueth confeſsions, be vpright, learned, ſilent, otherwiſe he is more like to ſpill the ſheepe, then to fill, or feede them. But euery popiſh pariſh Prieſt is not ſuch: *Ergo,* the people are not bound to confeſſe vnto them.

*Diſt.6. de pœnit.c.*1. *Sacerdoti meliori confiteatur:* Let a man confeſſe to the beſt Prieſt. *C.*3. *Vrbanus* alloweth to confeſſe to another prieſt, *pro ignorantia,* for the ignorance of their owne prieſt. *Sext. decretal. lib.*5. *tit.* 10.*c.*2. *Bonifac.* 8. The Biſhop may giue leaue to his ſubiect, *Idoneum eligere confeſſorem*: To chooſe a fit confeſſor: Therefore it is not neceſſarie to confeſſe to the pariſh prieſt. *Clement.lib.*3.*tit.*3.*c.*2. Licence is graunted to the Friers to heare confeſsions. *Extrauag. commun. lib.*5. *tit.* 3.*c.*2. *Ioan. de Poliaco* did hold, that *Iterum confitendum eſt*: That notwithſtanding confeſsion made to any other, they muſt confeſſe to their owne prieſt, which is by Pope *Iohn* 22. condemned for an error: ſo that they themſelues are euident witneſſes, that it is not neceſſarie to confeſſe to the pariſh prieſt.

That the actes of penance, as contrition, confeſsion, are meritorious; is both contrary to the Scripture: for after *Dauid* had confeſſed his ſinne in the preſence of the Prophet *Nathan,*2.*Sam.* 12.13. yet he prayeth vnto God in this manner, *Haue mercie vpon me according to the multitude of thy mercies:* he aſcribeth all to Gods mercie, nothing to the merite of his confeſsion.

Saint *Ambroſe* witneſſeth the ſame, in 1. *ad Epheſ. Homines ſic benedicit Deus,&c.* God ſo bleſſeth men, that he beſtoweth the gift of grace vpon them, not according to their merits, but according to his mercie.

The Gloſſe vpon their owne Canons, *diſtinct.*1. *de pœnitent. c.* 37. thus teſtifieth, *Fit confeſſio ad oſtenſionem pœnitentiæ, non ad impetrationem veniæ:* Confeſsion is made to ſhew repentance, not to obtaine pardon.

This truth alſo is ſealed: *Richard Colins* troubled for ſaying, That in all thinges wherein he offended God, he ſhould onely ſhriue himſelfe to God; and in which thinges he offended man, he ſhould ſhriue himſelfe to man, *Fox.*pag.832. *Ergo,* not neceſſarie alwayes to be confeſſed to a Prieſt.

The Papiſts.

3. IT is enough for men once a yeare in the time of Lent, to confeſſe themſelues, *Concil.Trid. ſeſſ.*14.*can.*8. 61. Error.

The Proteſtants.

AVguſtine ſaith contrarie, *Non tantum laici ſed etiam ſacerdotes vna die eſſe non debent ſine pœnitentia:* Not onely lay men, but not Prieſts ought to be one day without repentance, *In Apocal.hom.*2. His reaſon is, becauſe they cannot be one day without ſinne.

Againe, the communion is often to be receiued: ſaith our Sauiour, *This doe as oft as ye drinke it in remembrance of me.* S. *Ambroſe: Accipe quotidie, quod tibi quotidie proſit:* Take that euerie day, which may euery day profit thee. He that deſerueth not, or is not fit to receiue euery day, is not fit to receiue after a yeare, *De Sacram.lib.*5.*c.*4. Therefore alſo we are often to examine and confeſſe our ſelues, ſeeing that without triall and examination, we muſt not approch to the Lordes table. 1.*Cor.* 11.28. *Let a man examine himſelfe, &c.*

Mattheus Dymonetus Martyr at Lyons, *anno.*1553. The true confeſsion ought to be made, not to the Prieſt once a yeere, but euery day to God, and vnto ſuch whom we haue offended. *Fox.* pag.908.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION,
of ſatisfaction.

THis queſtion containeth theſe parts: Firſt, whether the ſinne being forgiuen, there remaine any puniſhment.

2 Whether the temporall puniſhment of this life may bee redeemed by good workes.

3 Whether the wrath of God may be ſatisfied for ſinne, and the puniſhment due vnto the ſame.

4 Whether one man may ſatisfie for another: of theſe now in their order.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE PVNISHment remaine, the ſinne being once pardoned.

The Papiſts.

THey doe affirme, that it may ſtand with the iuſtice of God to forgiue the ſinne committed, and yet reſerue the puniſhment, *Concil.Triden.ſeſſ.*14.*can.*14. 62. Error.

Argum. The Lord forgaue vnto *Dauid* the ſinne of adulterie and murder, which he had committed, yet hee puniſhed him in the death of his child, 2.Sam.12.13.14. *Bellarmin. lib.*4. *cap.*2.

Anſw. That Croſſe was laid vpon *Dauid,* not as a puniſhment of his ſinne, but as a fatherly correction or chaſtiſement, to exerciſe him and make him more carefull for the time following: as

De peccat. merit. & remiſſ. lib. 2. 34.

Auguſtine ſaith,writing vpon the ſame example: *Subſecutus eſt illius comminationis effectus, vt pietas hominis in illa humilitate exerceretur,atque probaretur:* The effect of the threatning immediatly followed,that *Dauids* godlines might thereby be tried and proued: Hee ſaith not, that *Dauid* might thereby be puniſhed.

Bellarmine anſwereth: Firſt,but the Scripture ſaith,that *Dauids* ſinne was the cauſe of the death of his child,becauſe by this deede thou haſt cauſed the enemies of God to blaſpheme, the childe that is borne,ſhall dye,2.Sam.12.14.

Anſ. This place rather maketh againſt the Ieſuite: for *Dauid* is not here puniſhed in his childe for the deede which he had done, but becauſe in the deede doing he had giuen offence to the enemies of God,both to ſtop their mouthes,that they ſhould not accuſe Gods iuſtice in ſparing *Dauid*; and to make him more carefull afterward,the Lord ſent this croſſe: as *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, *Hom. de pœnitent. Propter hoc imponit nobis pœnam non de peccatis ſumens ſupplicium, ſed ad futura nos corrigens:* For this cauſe God laieth puniſhment vpon vs, not to reuenge our ſinnes,but to correct vs for afterward.

*Bellarm.*2. Death is the puniſhment of originall ſin,and yet although that ſinne be forgiuen vs, death notwithſtanding followeth: *Ergo*,the puniſhment remaineth after the ſinne remitted.

Anſ. 1. Though death came in firſt by ſin,yet is it not now vnto the children of God a puniſhment of ſin,but an end of their miſerie,and an entrance to a better life: ſinne indeede is a ſting of death,but our ſinnes being forgiuen vs in Chriſt,death hath loſt his ſting,1.Cor.15.55. So death remaineth,but without a ſting, it is no more a puniſhment of ſin to the children of God:ſo then, as the guilt of ſin is taken away,but not the blot or ſtaine therof,ſo the ſting of death,which is the guilt of ſin,is gone,though corruption and mortalitie remaine. Secondly,the cogitation alſo and remẽbrance of death,is a notable meane to withdraw our minds from earthly things,and to prepare vs for the Lord: for this cauſe alſo death remaineth,ſo it is not vnto vs a puniſhment of ſin.

Thus *Auguſtine* excellently ſaith: *Mortem corporis Deus homini,&c.* God inflicted vpon man the death of the bodie for ſinne: but after the remiſſion of ſinne,*propter exercendam iuſtitiam,* he hath not taken it away for the exerciſe of iuſtice: *de peccator.remiſſion.lib.2.c.34.*

*Arg.*2. 1. The Iſraelites were puniſhed for the golden Calfe,and yet God at *Moſes* requeſt had pardoned their ſinne,Exod.32. 2. Likewiſe when the people murmured,Numb.14.God,at the prayer of *Moſes*,forgaue their ſinne,verſ.20. *I haue forgiuen it according to thy requeſt:* yet they all for this ſinne dyed in the wilderneſſe. 3. So *Moſes* and *Aaron* becauſe they did not *glorifie God* at the waters of ſtrife, receiue this puniſhment,that they ſhould not enter into the land of promiſe, Numb.20.12. and yet no man will ſay, but that *Moſes* and *Aaron* after this were reconciled to God. 4. Amongſt the Corinthians diuers were puniſhed with death, for vnworthie receiuing the Sacrament, yet were they reconciled to God: therefore the puniſhment of ſinne oftentimes remaineth,euen after the ſinne is forgiuen,*Bellarm.lib.*4.*de pœnitent.c.*2.

Anſw. Firſt, the two firſt examples haue the ſame anſwere: 1. That in ſome of them who periſhed through vnbeleefe,neither their ſinne was remitted,nor yet the puniſhment: but the temporall plagues were beginnings and forerunners of eternall: as *Auguſtine* ſaith,*Vindicta dei hic incipiet,& ardebit vſque ad extremam damnationem:* The Lords reuenge beginneth here,and burneth to extreame condemnation. Your owne Canons affirme the ſame: *Moſes pro peccatis populi,&c.* *Moſes* entreated for the ſinnes of the people,but yet obtained no pardon,*decr.par.*1.*diſt.*50.*c.*27. 2. Againe,God at *Moſes* requeſt did onely pardon that great puniſhment,which he had determined in the vtter ouerthrow, and deſtruction of that nation: Numb.14. 12. *I will ſmite them, and make thee a greater nation than they.* And thus the Pſalmiſt expoundeth this place,Pſalm.106.23. Therefore *he minded to deſtroy them,had not Moſes his choſen ſtood in the breach,to turne away his wrath, leaſt he ſhould deſtroy them.* 3. And thoſe iudgements were not ſo much puniſhments to that nation,as examples vnto others,both to acknowledge Gods iuſtice and to glorifie him: Numb.14. verſ.20. *I haue forgiuen it according to thy requeſt, notwithſtanding all the earth ſhall be filled with the glorie of the Lord:* as alſo to take heede to offend in the like.1.Cor.10,6. *Theſe are enſamples to vs,to the entent that we ſhould not luſt after euill things,as they luſted.*

Secondly,concerning the examples of *Moſes* and *Aaron*,and of the Corinthians, I doe anſwer, that theſe were not puniſhments of their ſins,(for there is no proportion betweene temporall puniſhment,and the greatnes of ſin) but as *Auguſtine* well ſaith, as he is alſo cited in the Decrees, *diſtinct.*3.*de pœnitent.c.*7. *Vel ad demonſtrationem debitæ miſeriæ, vel ad emendationem labilis vitæ, vel ad exercitationem neceſſariæ patientiæ,&c.* Either to demonſtrate the deſerued miſerie, or for the amendement of our vncertaine life, or the exerciſing of neceſſarie patience, the puniſhment abideth a man temporally, whom the ſinne condemneth not eternally. So God doth chaſtice his children temporally,either to make them more heedfull,& to draw them more effectually to repentance,or to exerciſe their patience,or for the good example of others: but that their correctiõs are properly puniſhments for ſinnes,it is not to be thought; neither doe theſe examples proue it.

Thus *Moſes* was corrected, not puniſhed, both that others might take warning by his example, and that he himſelfe ſhould be more carefull not to offend in the like, and that he might thereby be the better prepared, being depriued of the earthly Canaan, to ſeeke for the heauenly.

The Proteſtants.

THat our ſinnes being once freely forgiuen vs in Chriſt, there remaineth no puniſhment either temporall or eternall, to be by vs for our ſinnes endured: we proue it thus.

*Argum.*1. Chriſt ſaid to the ſick of the palſie, Mark.2.5. *Sonne, thy ſins are forgiuen thee.* Whereby our Sauiour would haue them to vnderſtand, that the ſinne being once forgiuen, the ſickneſſe of the bodie, which was the puniſhment of ſinne, could not continue: for the cauſe being remoued, the effect ceaſeth.

*Arg.*2. Ierem.31.34. The Lord ſaith, *I will forgiue their ſins, and remember their iniquities no more.* Ezech.18.22. *His tranſgreſſions ſhall be mentioned no more vnto him.* Iſay.44.22. *I haue put away thy tranſgreſſions as a clowd.* Mich.7.19. *He will caſt all their ſins into the bottome of the ſea.* Pſal.32.1. *Their ſinne is couered:* but the ſinnes of the righteous being once forgiuen, are not couered, no more remembred, caſt into the bottome of the ſea, if they be againe reuiued by puniſhments: *Ergo,* where ſinne is once freely forgiuen before God, there remaineth no more puniſhment. *arg. Caluin.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that God is ſaid, not to remember ſinne, to couer it, to blot it out, though hee doth temporally puniſh for it, becauſe hee doth not remember it vnto euerlaſting puniſhment.

Contra. Firſt, the Lord ſaith, *I will remember their iniquities,* not for euer, *but no more:* If then our ſins ſhould be remembred againe, how can it be true, they are remembred *no more?* to remember no more, and not to remember for euer, are two diuers things. Secondly, Ezech.18.22. it followeth, *but in his righteouſneſſe, that he hath done, ſhall be liue:* The righteous after his ſinnes are forgiuen, and no more mentioned, *liueth in his righteouſneſſe:* but to bee puniſhed for ſinne, is not to liue in his righteouſneſſe: for ſinne yet liueth, and is reuiued by the puniſhment: *Ergo,* the righteous after forgiuenes obtained, is not puniſhed for ſinne. Thirdly, Iſay.44.22. As a miſt or clowde is chaſed of the Sunne, ſo are our ſinnes: but the miſt is wholy diſperſed and diſſolued that nothing of it remaineth: *Ergo,* ſo are our ſinnes. Fourthly, like as that which caſt into the ſea, and deſcendeth to the bottome, riſeth not againe; as the Egyptians are ſayd to haue ſunke downe to the bottome like a ſtone, Exod.15.5. And Ierem.51.63. the Prophet vſeth this ſigne to ſignifie the finall deſtruction of Babel; he bindeth a ſtone to the booke of the curſes againſt Babel, and throweth it into the midſt of Euphrates, ſaying, *Thus ſhall Babell be drowned, and ſhall not riſe, &c.* Wherefore our ſinnes in this ſenſe being caſt into the bottome of the ſea, when they are freely forgiuen vs in Chriſt, ſhall riſe no more to iudge vs either in this world or the next.

*Argum.*3. The Prophet *Iſay* ſaith, *The chaſtiſement of our peace was vpon him,* 53.5. *And hee hath reconciled vs in the bodie of his fleſh, to make vs vnblameable, &c.* Coloſſ.1.21.22. Therfore Chriſt hath borne all puniſhment due to our ſinne, not onely eternall, but temporall. *He hath borne our infirmities,* Iſay.53.5. *euen all of them, and hath deliuered vs from the whole curſe of the law,* Gal.3.13. *Ergo,* from temporall puniſhments, which are part of our infirmities, and belonging to the curſe.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Chriſt hath immediatly ſatisfied for our ſinne and eternall death: but for temporall puniſhment mediatly onely, giuing vs power by his death to ſatisfie for them: *Lib.4. de pœnitent. cap.15. reſponſ. ad argum.*4.

Anſw. Chriſt hath immediatly in his owne bodie ſatisfied for the whole puniſhment of ſinne. 1. Chriſt hath immediatly taken away the curſe of the law, becauſe he was made a curſe for vs: but temporall puniſhments for ſinne are part of the curſe, which if they remaine ſtill, then are we yet vnder the curſe. 2. Chriſt alſo hath borne our infirmities; but if he giue power onely to vs to beare, then we beare them, and not he. 3. Againe, if any puniſhment for ſin yet remaine, then are we not yet at perfect peace with God, becauſe his wrath is not yet fully ſatisfied: But Chriſt hath vpon the Croſſe ſet vs at peace with God, 1. Coloſſ.1.20. *Ergo.*

The afflictions of this life are the louing corrections of God to admoniſh vs, not plagues to puniſh vs: as *Auguſtine* ſaith well, *Tota miſeria generis humani dolor medicinalis, non ſententia pœnalis:* The miſerie of man is but a medicinall griefe, not a ſentence of puniſhment: *in Pſal.*138. And againe, *Homines cum iſta patiuntur, &c.* Men when they ſuffer theſe things, either as in *Iob* their merits are examined; or as in *Herod,* their ſinnes puniſhed, *epiſt. ad Hieron.* Not the righteous then as *Iob,* but the wicked as *Herod* are puniſhed for their ſinnes.

Let vs ſee what further euidence we haue euen from the lawes of men. Firſt, the Ciuill law thus teſtifieth: *Cod. lib.4. tit.14. leg.6. Seruus liber factus non tenetur, &c.* A ſeruant being made free, can not bee chalenged for any thing committed againſt his maſter before his freedome. *Cod. lib.9. tit.*51. *leg.*1. *Antonin. Reſtitutio à principe conceſſa, &c.* Reſtitution graunted by the Prince, *in integrum reſtituit,* doth reſtore a man fully and wholly. *Leg.4. Ex indulgentia reuerſus ab exilio, &c.* He that by the Princes pardon is returned from exile, is not bound to his former creditors. If then the making free of a ſeruant, doth exempt him from all former daungers and penalties; if the indulgence of the Prince doth reſtore a man fully, and freeth him from all debts and creditors, if this equitie bee in the law of man; how much more ſhall not the true libertie, which wee haue in Chriſt, and the moſt bountifull indulgence of God, together with our reſtitution in Chriſt, diſcharge vs from all debts and puniſhments whatſoeuer belonging to our ſinnes?

The Canon law is a witneſſe alſo for vs: *Diſtinct.3. de pœnitent.c.83. Subſecutum illius comminationis effectum,&c.* That which God threatned to *Dauid*, came to paſſe after his ſinne was forgiuen him, *vt pietas hominis in illa humilitate exerceretur,&c.* that the mans godlines might by humilitie bee exerciſed and tried. It remained not then as a puniſhment, but as a triall and aduertiſement.

The Maſter of the Sentences to the ſame purpoſe: *Lib.4.diſt.4.f. Soluto reatu peccati pœna temporalis manet,&c.* The guilt of ſinne being diſſolued, the temporall puniſhment remaineth, that that life ſhould more ſtudiouſly bee ſought for, which is free from all paine. And yet more euidently: *Diſtinct.15.a. Quinque modis flagella contingunt,&c.* The Lord laieth his ſcourges fiue manner of waies, that by patience their (merite) or vertue may bee encreaſed, as in *Iob: ad cuſtodiam virtutum*, to bee a ſafegard to their vertue, that pride tempt them not, as in *Paul*; to correct their ſinnes, as *Mary* became leprous, *Moſes* ſiſter; or to the glorie of God, as in the man borne blind, Ioh.9. or for the iudgement of puniſhment, as in *Herod*. None of all theſe reaſons wee refuſe: ſo then corrections or chaſticements the righteous taſte of; iudgements and puniſhments for ſinne are proper to the wicked.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THE TEMPORALL puniſhment of this life may be redeemed by good workes.

The Papiſts.

63. Error. THat we may redeeme and buy out as it were the puniſhments due to ſinne in this life by our good workes, ſauing whereas God hath certainly determined to puniſh, as in *Dauids* caſe, it is their generall ſentence. They hold alſo that the temporall paines of Purgatorie may bee in like manner redeemed.

Argum.1. God purpoſed to deſtroy the citie of Niniueh: but that, being pleaſed with their faſting, ſackcloth and prayers, he ſaued the citie. Ierem.18.7. *I will ſpeake ſuddenly againſt a nation to deſtroy it,&c. but if the nation repent of their wickedneſſe, I alſo will repent of the plague.* Wherefore temporall puniſhments may be by good workes redeemed, *Bellar.lib.4.c.3.*

Anſw. Firſt, the argument followeth not: God ſheweth mercie vpon our repentance: *Ergo*, repentance redeemeth the puniſhment due,&c. for if it bee of mercie that God ſpareth vs, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *the bountifulnes of God calleth thee to repentance*, Rom.2.4. then is it not of our works. Secondly, prayer and faſting are but effectuall ſignes of repentance, they are not meritorious cauſes of forgiuenes. *Dauid* faſted and prayed, yet he ſueth vnto Gods mercie, Pſal.51.1. *According to the multitude of thy mercies doe away mine offences.*

Argum.2. *Daniel* ſaid to *Nabuchadnezzar* the King, Redeeme thy ſinnes by righteouſnes, and thine iniquities by ſhewing mercie to the poore, chap.4.24. *Bellarm.cap.3.*

Anſw. The text is rather thus to be read: 1. Breake off thy ſinnes by righteouſneſſe: that is, leaue off to doe euill: as it is by *Tremellius* tranſlated more agreeable to the Hebrue: ſo is the word פרק *parach*, interpreted, Geneſ.27.40. Thou ſhalt breake his yoke from thy necke: 2. For if redemption bee here properly vnderſtood, it would follow that men may redeeme not onely the puniſhment of their ſinnes, but the ſinnes themſelues: for *Daniel* ſaith, redeeme thy ſins, not the puniſhment of thy ſinnes: and ſo take Chriſts office out of his hand. 3. By true and faithfull repentance, and other good workes proceeding of faith, wee may auoide Gods heauie iudgement due to our ſinnes, yet not for the merite or ſatisfaction of any worke, but through the merits onely of Chriſt. See this argument anſwered more fully before, queſt.5.part.6.

The Proteſtants.

COncerning the paines in Purgatorie to be redeemed in this life, we haue prooued before ſufficiently, that this purgatorie place is but a popiſh dreame, and therfore no ſuch paines there to be feared: And for the chaſticements of this life, where God ſeeth they are neceſſarie, he inflicteth them vpon his children; when as he ſeeth other cauſe, he ſpareth vs for his mercie, his iuſtice is not bought out with the price of our workes.

Argum.1. As our ſinnes are forgiuen, ſo is the puniſhment due vnto them: but our ſins are forgiuen vs freely in Chriſt, Ierem.31.34. *Ergo*, ſo is the puniſhment.

S.*Paul* alſo ſaith, We are freely iuſtified by grace, Rom.3.24. by the forgiuenes *of our ſins, through* *the redemption that is in Chriſt: Ergo,*not by the redemption of our owne workes: *argum.Melancth. Caluin.lib.3.inſtitut.c.4.ſect.25.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that it is of grace, that our workes doe redeeme the temporall puniſhment, becauſe they haue this grace and power in Chriſts death: ſo then Chriſt doth freely forgiue our ſinne, and the euerlaſting puniſhment due vnto it, he doth freely forgiue alſo the temporall puniſhment, in giuing vs grace freely to ſatisfie for it, *cap.13.reſponſ.ad 5.argum. c.14 reſp.ad lib.4. de pœnitent.*

Contra. This is an impious diſtinction, and contrarie to the Scriptures. 1. The Apoſtle ſaith freely, thorough the *redemption of Chriſt,*verſ.24.*Ergo,*not by the redemption of our works. 2. Againe, the puniſhment of ſinne is taken away in our reconciliation vnto God: for God puniſheth the wicked and his enemies, not thoſe which are reconciled: But *our reconciliation is by faith in Chriſts blood,*Rom.3:25. *Ergo,* not by workes. 3. Further, *the forgiuenes of our ſinnes* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *thorough the patience of God:* but Gods patience is ſeene in the forbearing the puniſhment of ſinne: So then Gods righteouſnes in forgiuing our ſinnes, and his patience in forbearing or doing away the puniſhment, are here by Saint *Paul* aſcribed to faith in Chriſts blood: *Ergo,* ſatiſfaction is no more made for the puniſhment, than for the ſin it ſelfe. 4. Laſtly, grace and workes cannot ſatisfie or worke together, Rom.11.6. *If it be of worke, it is no more of grace; if of grace, it is no more of worke:* How then is it poſſible that wee ſhould ſatisfie both by grace and worke together?

*Argum.*2. That purgatorie paines are not redeemed by any works of this life, that place ſheweth, Matth.3.8.*Bring forth worthie fruits of repentance:* By theſe workes, teſtifying repentance, men doe flye from *the wrath to come,*verſ.7.and the tree that bringeth not forth *theſe fruits, is caſt into the fire,*verſ.10.This is the euerlaſting wrath of God and fire, which wee doe not ſatisfie for, but preuent by theſe fruits: ſo theſe are workes to bee performed by the liuing, they pertaine not to the dead: they preuent euerlaſting deſtruction through faith in Chriſt, for the which, they themſelues confeſſe, our works doe not ſatisfie.

Againe, there muſt bee ſome proportion betweene the price of redemption, and the thing redeemed: but ſo is there not betweene our good workes, and the puniſhments due to our ſinnes: for as *Iob* ſaith, *We cannot anſwere him one thing of a thouſand,* Iob.9.3. *Bernard* alſo ſaith, *Quis amplius grunniet dicens, nimium laboramus, nimium ieiunamus, cum nec milleſimæ, immo nec minimæ parti debitorum ſuorum valet reſpondere: ſerm.de quadrup.debit.* Who will now murmure and ſay, wee labour too much, faſt too much, when as wee are not able to anſwere the thouſand part, no not the leaſt part of our debt? But how can wee redeeme our puniſhments by our workes, vnleſſe our workes were in waight and number anſwerable vnto them? *Ergo,* wee cannot redeeme them by any ſuch meanes.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER A MAN may truly ſatisfie the wrath of God, for the puniſhment due vnto ſinne.

The Papiſts.

IT is not a ſufficient ſatisfaction, to beleeue that Chriſt hath aboundantly ſatisfied for vs; neither yet is it enough to amend and correct our liues: but God alſo muſt bee ſatisfied for our ſinnes, by the puniſhment and chaſtiſement of our ſelues, as by affliction layd vpon vs by God, or penance inioyned by the Prieſt, or by prayer, faſting, almes-deedes, which we do take vp our ſelues: *Concil.Trid.ſeſſ.14.can.13. Rhemiſt.Matth.11.21.* 64.Error

Bellarmine alſo affirmeth, that Gods grace aſſiſting vs, wee may ſatisfie God for the temporall puniſhment of ſinne, *ex proprijs,* of our own, *ad æqualitatem,* to an equalitie, *ex condigno,* condignly, or worthilie, *cap.8.*

*Argum.*1. Matth.3.8. Bring forth fruits worthie repentance: he preacheth ſatisfaction by doing worthie fruits of penance, as faſting, prayer, almes, and the like, *Rhemiſt. Bellar.c.*8.

Anſw. 1. Fruits worthie of repentance, are no ſatisfaction for ſinne, or the puniſhment thereof, but arguments of true repentance, effects, not any part thereof. 2. Againe, in this place mention is made of euerlaſting deſtruction, verſ.10.*Euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen downe and caſt into the fire:* wherefore if by *worthie workes,* they vnderſtand ſatisfactorie works, then will it follow that ſatisfaction may bee made not onely for temporall, but eternall puniſhment. 3. Further, worthie workes, are *expounded to be good workes,* verſ.10. And *Bellarmine* expoundeth thus, *To doe workes worthie repentance, is ſo to worke, as it beſeemeth him that is penitent: Bellarm.ibid.* This therefore is nothing elſe, but newnes and holines of life, whereby we doe ſhew our effectuall repentance. 4. This place proueth neither *equalitie,* nor *condignitie,* nor a *propertie* of our owne in ſatisfaction; which all three are againſt the Scripture: there is no equalitie, *we cannot anſwere God* *one of a thouſand,*Iob.9.3. No *propertie,*1.Cor.4.7. *If thou haſt receiued it, why reioyceſt thou, as though thou haddeſt not receiued it?* No *condignitie,* Luk.17.10. *When we haue done all that is commanded, wee are but vnprofitable ſeruants.* 5. Neither will this euaſion ſerue, that by grace our workes ſatisfie: for grace and workes are ſo diuers, that they cannot concurre together: Rom.11.6. *If it bee of workes, it is no more of grace,&c.* grace taketh away workes, and workes take away grace, if they bee ioyned as working cauſes together.

*Argum.*2. Iudge your ſelues, that you be not iudged, 1.Cor.11.31. We muſt puniſh our ſelues according to the waight of the ſinnes paſt, *Rhemiſt.* And againe, ſaith the Apoſtle, *What great puniſhment hath it wrought in you?* 2.Cor.7.11. This is nothing elſe but the ſatisfactorie puniſhment for our ſinnes, *Bellarm.lib.*4.*cap.*8.

In Pſal.58.

Anſw. The Apoſtle meaneth nothing elſe, but an heartie and earneſt ſorrowe for our ſinnes, whereby we doe iudge and condemne, and as it were puniſh our ſelues, yet we are farre from making any ſatisfaction hereby for our ſinnes: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Omnis iniquitas puniatur neceſſe eſt, aut à pœnitente homine, aut vindicante Deo: vis non puniat? puni tu: antequam ipſe intendat vt puniat, tu confitendo praueni & puni.* All ſinne muſt needes bee puniſhed either of man himſelfe repenting, or God reuenging: if thou wilt not haue him puniſh, puniſh thou: before he intend to puniſh, preuent him by thy confeſſion, and puniſh thy ſelfe. So then this puniſhment of our ſelues is nothing elſe, but true repentance and confeſſion of our ſinnes.

2. Again, this puniſhment, of which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, was wrought in thẽ, it was not inioyned them by the Prieſt. 3. Beſide, this repentance, whereof this *puniſhment* was an effect, *was to ſaluation,* verſ.10. which was the eſcaping of euerlaſting death: but for euerlaſting puniſhment they themſelues dare preſcribe no ſatisfaction but in Chriſt. 4. The Apoſtle ſheweth the end and vſe of this puniſhment, which was to *cleare* themſelues, and to worke in them a *zeale* and *deſire:* not to ſatisfie.

*Argum.*3. If good workes may merite or deſerue eternall life, much more may they auert and turne away temporall puniſhment: but the firſt is true, Matth.20.verſ.8. the kingdome of God is called wages or rewarde: 2.Timoth.4.verſ.8. it is called *the crowne of iuſtice, which God the iuſt iudge ſhall giue.* So it is a rewarde iuſtly giuen to mens deſerts: *Ergo,* good workes may much more redeeme temporall puniſhment, *Bellarm.cap.*8.*lib.*4.*de pœnitent.*

Anſw. We vtterly denie, that heauen can bee merited with good workes. Firſt, Saint *Paul* hauing firſt ſaid, *the wages of ſinne is death,* addeth further, *the gift of God is eternall life,* Rom.6.23. he calleth it *a gift,* and not wages.

Secondly, it is called in the parable, *a rewarde or wages*; but not in reſpect of the workmans labour, but of Gods couenant and promiſe. For 1. if it were by deſert, then he that laboured twelue houres, had deſerued more, than he that wrought but one. As Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *de vocat.Gentium lib.*1.3. *Hora vndecima intromiſſos in vineam, &c.* They which were ſent into the vineyard at the eleuenth houre, the diuine indulgence made equall to the labourers of the whole day, not paying the wages of their labour, but powring out the riches of his goodneſſe,&c. that they which endured much labour, and receiued no more then the laſt, ſhould vnderſtand, *Se demum gratiæ non operis accepiſſe mercedem:* that they receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of the worke. 2. And the Lord ſaith, verſ.15. *Is it not lawfull for me to doe as I will with mine owne?* but if they had deſerued it, it had been *their owne.* 3. Saint *Paul* alſo directly affirmeth, Rom.4.verſ.4. *that wages is not counted of fauour, but by debt:* let them ſay then if they dare, that to obtaine heauen is not of Gods fauour.

Thirdly, 1. it is a crowne of iuſtice, but not of ours, but of the iuſtice of faith in Chriſt: as the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ.7. *I haue kept the faith.* 2. And it is Gods iuſtice to giue it in reſpect of his promiſe, not of our deſert, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Ex miſericordia promiſſam, ſed iam ex iuſtitia ſoluendam:* Promiſed of mercie, but now in iuſtice to be paied: *ſerm.*2.*de verb. Apoſtoli.*

*Argum.*4. *Bellarmine* bringeth in a great troupe of ancient writers to ſpeake for ſatisfaction, but they are not ſo pregnant to ſerue his turne: our generall anſwere to them all is this:

Firſt, that the moſt of his witneſſes are partiall, and not old enough to bee credited, ſuch as liued in the latter ages of the Church, as *Iſidore, Rabanus, Damianus,* with other.

Secondly, many writings paſſe vnder the names of *Cyprian, Ambroſe, Hierome, Auguſtine,* which were not theirs: as there goeth vnder *Cyprians* name, a booke *De inuentione capitis Baptiſtæ,&c.* Of the inuention of *Iohn Baptiſts* head: In which treatiſe mention is made of *Athanaſius,* and *Theophilus* of *Alexandria,* and *Pipinus,* that were long after *Cyprians* time. The like exception may bee made againſt ſome of the reſt.

Thirdly, the authentike fathers ſpeake of three ſatisfactions: firſt, of ſatisfaction made vnto men, as vnto the whole Church, or to any other ỹ are offended: and in this ſenſe ſpeaketh *Cyprian, epiſtol.*3.*ad Cornelium,* ſpeaking of ſchiſmatikes, *Si cum precibus & ſatisfactionibus veniant, audiantur,&c.* If they come with entreating and ſatisfactions, let them bee heard: *Si minas & maledicta* *ingerunt:* If they threaten or curſe, let them be refuſed: the ſatisfaction is to be made to them, whom they threaten, but they threaten not God, but men: in this ſenſe alſo, the olde tranſlation readeth, Act.24.10. *That Paul ſatisfied, that is anſwered for himſelfe:* and 1.Pet.3.18. *Be readie to ſatisfie euery man, that asketh a reaſon, &c.* this ſatisfaction then is made vnto men.

Secondly, there is a ſatisfaction made vnto a mans owne conſcience, as 2.Cor.7.11. *What clearing of your ſelues,* defence, or ſatisfaction, (as *Eraſmus* readeth, and the old interpreter in other places tranſlateth the word ἀπολογίαν,) *hath it wrought:* ſo *Ambroſe ad virgin.lapſam.c.*8. cited by *Bellarm. Grande, grandem ſatisfactionem:* a great ſinne, requireth great ſatisfaction, that is, great ſorrow, to ſatisfie and ſettle the conſcience.

Thirdly, they ſpeake of ſatisfying God, but eyther in hyperbolicall ſpeech, commending thereby the neceſſitie of repentance, whereby God is, as it were, ſatisfied, the better to ſtirre vp men thereunto: or els, they vnderſtand a ſatisfaction, not of Gods iuſtice, but of Gods commandement and will, in obeying his voyce, by comming to repentance, which God in mercie accepteth of: ſo *Tertullian* ſaith, *Habes cui ſatisfacias, & quidem volentem:* You haue one, who is willing to be ſatisfied: *lib.de pœnitent.*

The Proteſtants.

That Satisfaction ought to be made vnto men, either by reſtitution, as *Zacheus* reſtored that which he had wrongfully gotten; or by reconciling our ſelues to thoſe, whom we haue offended, as Matth.5.24. we do willingly grant: but that the wrath of God may be appeaſed and ſatisfied for our ſinnes, or the puniſhment due vnto the ſame by any worke of ours, it is a great blaſphemie, and cleane contrary to the courſe of Scripture.

*Argum.*1. That it is ſufficient to returne vnto God by true repentance and amendment of life, without any ſatisfaction, either for our ſinne, or the puniſhment of ſinne: the Prophet *Ezechiel* ſheweth, where ſpeaking of the conuerſion of a wicked man, he ſaith, His iniquities ſhal no more be mentioned, or laid to his charge, chap.18,22. But if after the ſinne remitted, there ſhould remaine ſome puniſhment behind, his ſinnes ſhould ſtill be remembred and mentioned: there is therefore no ſatisfaction for the puniſhment of ſinne, becauſe none remaineth.

Bellarmine anſwereth, God remembreth no more their ſinnes, in that he doth not puniſh them by eternall death, *cap.*15.*reſponſ.ad argum.*1.

Anſw. When the righteous ſuffer temporall chaſtiſements, hath God their ſinnes then in remembrance, or hath he not? If he haue, then the Prophet ſhould ſpeake vntruely, who ſaith, *their iniquities are not mentioned:* if hee haue not, it commeth to our ſaying, that God doth chaſtiſe his children without reſpect had to their ſinnes, or remembrance thereof. I ſuppoſe this *Dilemma* will put the Ieſuite to ſome buſineſſe before it be well anſwered.

2. Againe, verſ.20. the Prophet ſaith, *The righteouſneſſe of the righteous ſhall be vpon him, and the wickedneſſe of the wicked ſhall be vpon him:* but now if the righteous be puniſhed for his ſinne paſt, the wickedneſſe ſhall be vpon the righteous man, which is contrary to the ſaying of the Prophet.

3. Further, Ezech.33.12. *Impietas impij non nocebit ei:* The wickedneſſe of the wicked ſhall not hurt him, in that day he turneth from his wickedneſſe: but if he be puniſhed for his wickedneſſe, after he be returned, then doth his wickednes hurt him. *Bellarmine* anſwereth as before, that his wickedneſſe doth not hurt him, or hinder him from euerlaſting life, *lib.*4.*c.*11. *Cont.* 1. Chaſtiſements and corrections, which God layeth vpon his children, to make them more careful and circumſpect, are profitable, and not hurtfull at all, as the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, Pſal.119.verſ.71. *It is good for me, that I haue beene afflicted:* But puniſhments and iudgements for ſinne, how are they not hurtfull, and a wound vnto the ſoule? 2. So then, as *the righteouſneſſe of the righteous ſhall not deliuer him* in the day of his tranſgreſſion; ſo the *wickedneſſe of the wicked ſhall not hurt him.* verſ.12. but the former righteouſneſſe ſhall not deliuer a man, no not from temporall iudgements: *Ergo,* the former wickedneſſe of a man ſhall not hurt him, but deliuer him from temporall puniſhments. 3. Further, verſ.17. *The way of the Lord is equall, the way of man vnequall:* man many time puniſheth, where he forgiueth; but Gods way is not like vnto mans: wherefore God puniſheth not after forgiueneſſe. See a further anſwere to *Bellarmines* exception before, in the ſecond argument of the firſt part of this Queſtion.

*Argum.*2. Our Sauiour Chriſt required no ſatisfaction to be made vnto God, for her ſinnes that was accuſed of adulterie; but ſaith onely to her, *Goe, ſinne no more,* Iohn 8.11. *Ergo,* no ſatiſfaction for ſinne is required by the Scripture, *argum.Lutheri.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, 1. That Chriſt doth not abſolue her from her ſinne, but onely from the puniſhment, which was to be ſtoned to death. 2. Or he might ſee ſo great contrition in her, that it was a ſufficient ſatisfaction; as we reade of *Marie Magdalene.* 3. And Chriſt might by his authoritie at once pardon the fault and the puniſhment, but Miniſters muſt keepe themſelues to the Law, &c. *Bellarmin.c.*11.*reſp.ad* 2.*argum.*

Cont. Firſt, that Chriſt did pardon her ſinne, it 1. appeareth, in that hee ſaith, *Goe, ſinne no* *more:* for though ſhe ſinned no more, if this were not pardoned, it was ſufficient to condemne her before God. 2. As for the outward puniſhment of death, Chriſt doth not deale in it, it belonging to worldly gouernours: he refuſed to be Iudge of an inheritance, Luke 12.14. which is leſſe than to be Iudge of life and death.

Secondly, 1. It is like there was not ſuch an extraordinarie contrition in this woman, being immediately before deprehended in adulterie. 2. And if there had beene ſuch a perfect change, which cannot be without a full purpoſe of amendment; why doth our Sauiour ſay vnto her, *Goe, ſinne no more?* 3. *Maries* teares did not ſatisfie for her ſinne, *ſhee was ſaued by her faith:* her teares declared her loue, Luke 7.47.50.

Thirdly, though Chriſt had all power in himſelfe, and was aboue his law, yet he came to fulfill *all righteouſneſſe:* Matth.3.15. and as he ſent the Leper being cleanſed to the Prieſt, to offer according to the Law, Matth.8. ſo healing the ſpirituall leproſie of this woman, hee would not haue omitted the law of ſatisfaction, being as neceſſarie in this ſpirituall caſe (if any ſuch thing were required) as the reſorting of the Leper to the Prieſt.

*Argum.*3. Iſai.43.25. *I am he that putteth away thine iniquities for mine owne ſake.* Likewiſe 53. verſ.4. *He hath borne our infirmities, and caried our ſorrowes: the chaſtiſement of our peace was vpon him, and with his ſtripes are we healed.* God of his free mercie doth forgiue our ſin: Chriſt alſo hath fully ſatisfied for vs: *Ergo,* there is no ſatisfaction in vs: we are made whole by his ſtripes, and not our owne.

Likewiſe the Apoſtle ſaith, that Chriſt is the propitiation for our ſinnes, 1.Iohn 2.2. *Behold the Lambe of God, that taketh away the ſinnes of the world,* Iohn 1.29. *Chriſt his owne ſelfe bare our ſinnes in his bodie on the tree,* 1.Pet.2,24. *Ergo,* Chriſts death fully and wholy redeemeth vs, there neede no other ſatisfaction.

Bellarm. Firſt, we grant, that Chriſts death is ſufficient to redeeme all the ſinnes of the world, but Chriſts death profiteth not, vnleſſe it be applyed by faith, the ſacraments, and other applicatorie meanes and inſtruments, among the which, ſatisfaction is one, for the expiation of temporall puniſhment. Secondly, it is true, that by Chriſts merite we are only iuſtified and reconciled, yet this letteth not, but that we may ſatisfie alſo by the vertue of Chriſts death for temporall puniſhment. *Bellarmin.c.*14.

Contra. Firſt, there 1. is no other meanes appointed for the application of the fruits of Chriſts death, but faith: Rom.3.26. *He is a iuſtifier of him, that is of the faith of Ieſus:* verſ.22. *The righteouſneſſe of God by the faith of Ieſus:* verſ.25. *To be a reconciliation through faith in his blood:* If through faith wee are reconciled, iuſtified wee haue righteouſneſſe; all other meanes of application are vnneceſſarie and ſuperfluous. 2. Againe, no workes of ours can applie Chriſts death, no, not good workes, Epheſ.2.8.9. *Yee are ſaued by grace through faith, not of workes, yea of good workes:* verſ.10. *Which God hath ordayned:* 3 That which applieth Chriſts death, *applieth his righteouſneſſe for remiſſion of ſinnes:* Rom.3.25. but ſatisfaction applieth not Chriſts death for remiſſion of ſins, but onely to remoue the puniſhment: *Ergo* it applieth it not at all.

Secondly, 1. If we be reconciled and iuſtified by Chriſts death, then are wee at peace with God, Rom.5.1. but God doth not puniſh thoſe for their ſinnes, with whom he is at peace. 2. Againe, Rom.8.33. *God with Chriſt hath giuen vs all things beſide: Ergo,* not remiſsion of ſinne only, but the puniſhment alſo. 3. Verſ.33. *Who ſhall accuſe the choſen of God, it is God that iuſtifieth: Ergo,* ſinne is not laid to the charge of them that are iuſtified, and ſo conſequently, they are not for the ſame iudged or puniſhed, ſeeing they are not for the ſame accuſed.

*Argum.*4. If men ſhould ſatisfie by their owne workes, both Chriſts honor is 1. empayred, ſeeing the whole worke is not left to him; our conſcience 2. cannot be quieted, depending vpon our owne ſatisfaction. 3. And beſide it is impoſſible, ſeeing that man ſinneth euery day, and euery houre, and how can he ſatisfie for ſinnes paſt, continually multiplying new? *argum. Caluin. lib.*3.*inſtit.c.*4. *ſect.*27.

Bellarmine anſwereth, 1. Chriſts honor is more encreaſed, in that he himſelfe doth not onely ſatisfie for our ſinnes, but giueth power to his members in ſome ſort to ſatisfie likewiſe. 2. The conſcience may be ſecure and at peace being aſſured of the remiſſion of ſins, though ſome temporall puniſhment remaine. 3. One act of contrition euen in a moment of time may ſatisfie for many mortall ſinnes, how much more one houre, one day of contrition, &c. *Bellarmin.c.*14.

Contra. Firſt, he may as well ſay, it had been for Chriſts honor, to haue taken vp to him vpon the croſſe ſome one of his members, and to haue giuen him power by his death to ſatisfie: but the Scripture ſaith contrary, Iſay.48.11. *I will not giue my glory to another:* Pſal.115.1. *Not vnto vs, but vnto thy Name giue the prayſe.* Secondly, the Prophet ſaith, *There is no reſt in my bones becauſe of thine anger, and of my ſinne, and I roare for the griefe of my heart.* Pſal.38.3,8. As long as he was chaſtiſed for his ſinne, he could find no reſt, neither in bodie, nor ſoule: how then can the conſcience be at quiet, being vnder the puniſhment of ſinne. Thirdly, it 1. ſeemeth, you thinke it an eaſie matter to ſatisfie for ſinne, being not aſhamed to ſay, that it may be done in a moment: ye know not what true repentance or true contrition is: it worketh in vs, 1. care, 2. clearing of our ſelues, 3. indignation, 4. feare, 5. deſire, 6. zeale, 7. puniſhment, 2. Cor. 7. 11. Can all theſe be wrought in a moment? 2. And ſeeing that continually a righteous man falleth, *euen ſeuen times a day, and riſeth againe*, by repentance, Prou. 24. 16. he hath enough to doe ſtill to wreſtle againſt preſent ſinnes: and being alwaies in tranſgreſſion, how can he ſatisfie God for his tranſgreſſion? for *if thou ſtreightly markeſt iniquities*, ſaith the Pſalme, *quis ſuſtinebit? who is able to ſuſtaine it?* Pſal. 130. 3. Therefore man being compaſſed alwaies with ſinne, cannot ſuſtaine Gods wrath, much leſſe ſatisfie or appeaſe it.

Argum. 5. The Prophet Iſay ſaith, chap. 1. 17, 18. *Ceaſe to doe euill, learne to doe well, &c. Though your ſinnes be as crimſin, I will make them white as ſnow.* Here is no ſatisfaction required. Likewiſe, Ierem. 50. verſ. 20. *In thoſe daies the iniquitie of Iacob ſhall be ſought for, and there ſhall none be found.* Ezech. 36. 22. *I doe not this for your ſakes, O houſe of Iſrael, but for mine owne holie name ſake, &c.* The people did not ſatisfie God for their temporall deliuerance out of captiuitie, but it proceeded of Gods mercie: *arg. Caluin.*

Bellarm. Firſt, the Prophet *Iſay* promiſeth the perfect remiſſion of ſinne to thoſe that did *cleanſe* and *waſh* themſelues by contrition, repentance, and other good deedes, which are their ſatisfaction: this place rather maketh for ſatisfaction, than againſt it. Secondly, the Prophet *Ezechiel* ſpeaketh there of the grace of the new Teſtament, which is not aſcribed to the merits of the Iſraelites: and if it bee vnderſtood of their temporall deliuerance, wee graunt that the temporall puniſhments of the next world is alwaies redeemed by ſatisfaction, but not the temporall puniſhment of this life: this maketh not therefore againſt ſatisfaction, *Bellar. cap. 15. reſp. ad arg. 3. & 6.*

Contra. Firſt, by making of their ſinnes as *white as ſnow or wooll*, is vnderſtood the perfect remiſſion of ſinne: and the condition required before, is to *ceaſe to doe euill*, to *learne to doe well*, to *waſh them, &c.* If theſe be ſatisfactorie workes, and goe before remiſſion, then will it follow, that not the puniſhment onely, but the ſinne it ſelfe is by theſe workes redeemed: if they come after, what puniſhment can remaine to bee ſatisfied for, ſeeing there is no rednes, or bloodines remaining, (whereby the puniſhment of ſinne is ſignified) but all is as white as ſnow?

Secondly, 1. It is euident, that the Prophet ſpeaketh directly of their temporall deliuerance, verſ. 24. *I will take you from among the heathen*, though vnder this temporall benefite is included alſo the promiſe of ſpirituall grace. 2. Neither is the queſtion, whether the temporall puniſhment of this life be alwaies redeemed, but whether, when it is remoued, it be by ſatisfactorie workes redeemed. This place euidently ſheweth, that this deliuerance of the Iſraelites (though they endured ſeuentie yeeres captiuitie, with much affliction, which were as like to ſatisfie, as any painfull workes that can bee ſuffered) is not attributed to their merits, but to the bountifull mercie of God. 3. And if ſatisfaction may be made for Purgatorie penance, much more ſhould it be auaileable againſt the iudgements of this life: But ſeeing your ſatisfaction faileth in the leſſe, which wee daily haue experience of, and you ſend vs to finde the force thereof, in a greater puniſhment, which no man euer did ſee, you giue iuſt occaſion to them, which are not wilfully blind, both to ſuſpect your deuiſe of Purgatorie, and to reiect your ſandie foundation of ſatisfaction.

Argum. 6. In the Law there were no ſatisfactorie 1. workes appointed for the expiation of ſinne, but onely the ſacrifice, 2. which were not counted as the 3. workes of men, but did depend of the onely ſacrifice of Chriſt, whereof they were ſhadowes: 4. yet in the Law all rites of expiation were diligently preſcribed: *argum. Caluin.*

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, the ſacrifices of the law were appointed as ſatisfactions for the temporall puniſhments of ſinne: for they did neither take away the ſinne it ſelfe, nor the eternall puniſhment: Pſal. 51. 16. *Thou deſireſt no ſacrifice, the ſacrifice of God is a contrite heart.* Secondly, neither did the ſacrifice ſerue for all ſinnes: for blaſphemie, homicide, adulterie, idolatrie, no ſacrifices were appointed, but aſhes and ſackcloth, &c. Thirdly, God hath not in the law exactly ſet down all the rites of expiation. Fourthly, the ſacrifices, as they were diuine workes being inſtituted of God, ſo were they alſo the laborious workes of men, and conſequently ſatisfactorie, in that they were an hindrance to their ſubſtance, and depended vpon the faith of the offerers, *cap. 15. reſponſ. ad argum. 5.*

Contra. Firſt, the ſacrifices of the law were appointed for the *forgiuenes* of the ſinne it ſelfe, Leuitic. 6. 7. *The Prieſt ſhall make attonement for him, and it ſhall be forgiuen him.* 1. How could attonement or reconciliation be made, without remiſſion of ſinne? 2. If ſacrifices were not to that end, then had they no meanes at all to aſſure them of remiſſion of ſin. 3. Yet in themſelues thoſe ſacrifices could not *purge the conſcience*, Heb. 9. 9. *but did onely purifie as touching the fleſh*, verſ. 13. that is, take away the legall and outward vncleannes: but they did alſo ſanctifie inwardly, being offered by faith, as they were types and ſhadowes of Chriſts ſacrifice, which is that *Dauid* affirmeth Pſal. 51. 16.

Secondly, 1. The ſinnes of homicide, adulterie, idolatrie, blaſphemie, were ſinnes puniſhable by death, and therefore no ſuch expiation by ſacrifice was appointed for them, as for other ſinnes: *Blood could not be expiated, or purged, but by blood.* 2. *Dauid* notwithſtanding after he had committed two of thoſe ſinnes, hauing firſt ſacrificed a contrite heart vnto God, did afterward finde comfort and further aſſurance of remiſſion, in offring the ſacrifices *of righteouſneſſe*, Pſal. 51. 19. that is, right and lawfull ſacrifices applied to the right end, which is to teſtifie their faith and repentance. 3. But aſhes and ſackcloth were no ſatisfactions for ſuch ſinnes. 1. For *Bellarmine* himſelfe ſaith, that ſinne cannot be ſatisfied for, but the puniſhment onely. 2. And *Dauid* hauing repented thoroughly for his ſinne, yet pretendeth no ſatisfaction, but ſueth for mercie, Pſal. 51. 1. 4. Wherefore either the ſacrifices of *righteouſnes* and faith, were the propitiation for ſuch ſins, as they were Sacraments of Chriſts death, or elſe they had no meanes of expiation at all, which is not to be admitted.

Thirdly, it is a great vntruth, that the Lord by *Moſes* did not exactly ſet downe all manner of expiations fit for that time, ſeeing the Scripture ſaith, that *Moſes was faithfull in all the Lords houſe.* Heb. 3. 2.

Fourthly, ſeeing he graunteth that the ſacrifices depended of the faith in the offerer, and faith is the gift of God, and is founded in Chriſts death; he hath made a good argument againſt himſelfe, that the ſacrifices were not ſatisfactions, but workes of faith, applying the vertue of Chriſts death: the ſacrifices then of the law were applicatorie, not ſatisfactorie.

Argum. 7. Hoſh. 14. 2. *Take away all iniquitie, and receiue vs graciouſly, ſo will we render the calues of our lips.* If all iniquitie be taken away, then none remaineth to bee ſatisfied for: if after forgiuenes, nothing but thankſgiuing be required, then no ſatisfaction is to bee performed: *argum. Caluin. ibid.*

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, iniquitie may bee remoued, though the puniſhment doe remaine. Secondly, after forgiuenes, though wee bee not acquited of the temporall puniſhment, wee are to giue thanks. Thirdly, if God ſometime do ſo forgiue, that he require no ſatisfaction but of praiſe, it followeth not that he ſhould doe ſo alwaies, *Bellarm. c. 15. reſp. ad argum. 6.*

Contra. Firſt, how 1. can *all iniquitie* bee remoued, when as the puniſhment yet remaineth? there muſt be ſome ſinne to be puniſhed, or elſe God puniſhing without ſinne ſhould bee vniuſt. 2. Againe, the Prophet ſpeaketh directly of remouing the puniſhment alſo, verſ. 1. *They ſhall fall by the ſword*, verſ. 2. *Thou haſt fallen by thine iniquitie:* But now verſ. 3. vpon their repentance the Prophet ſheweth, that they ſhall fall ſo no more: all iniquitie, both the ſinne and the paine ſhall be remoued. 3. Againe, verſ. 5. *Mine anger is turned away:* but when God puniſheth for ſinne, he is angrie.

Secondly, thankſgiuing followeth after 1. full remiſſion had, and all iniquitie remoued: but where ſatisfaction is to be done, there is not yet full remiſsion: for *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, that *Plena remiſſio, quoad omnem pœnæ reatum:* Full remiſſion is in reſpect the guilt of all puniſhment remoued, *cap. 15. reſp. ad loc.* 3. Therfore the calues of the lips could not yet be offred, when as ſomewhat remaineth to be ſatisfied. 2. Reioycing and giuing of thankes cannot bee without comfort and perfect aſſurance of remiſſion: but where God yet iudgeth for ſinne, and the puniſhment remaineth to be ſatisfied for, there can be no ſuch aſſurance.

Thirdly, this courſe here preſcribed by the Prophet, is perpetuall, and generall for all the faithfull of God: he ſpeaketh to all Iſrael, verſ. 2. yea vnto all the faithfull ſeruants of God, verſ. 10. *who is wiſe, and he ſhall vnderſtand theſe things.* And the Prophet *Dauid* ſaying, *What ſhall I render to the Lorde for all his benefits to me? I will take the cuppe of ſaluation, and call vpon the name of the Lorde:* Pſalm. 116. 13. 14. ſheweth, that God requireth no other ſatisfaction at our hands, but giuing of thankes.

Argum. 8. The Publicane vpon his repentance was iuſtified, and no ſatisfaction required: ſo likewiſe *Peter* was forgiuen, without any ſatisfaction: So to the man ſicke of the palſie, Chriſt ſaid, *Ariſe, thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee*, Mark. 2. 9. Neither is the contrarie to bee ſeene in the reſt of the examples in Scripture of remiſſion of ſinnes, but they were forgiuen freely without any ſatisfaction required: *argum. Caluin. ibid.*

Bellarm. Firſt, the Publicane was not iuſtified without ſatisfaction, as ſmiting vpon his breaſt, confeſſing his ſinne. Secondly, *Peter* alſo ſatisfied by his teares. Thirdly, 1. Chriſt forgiueth to the ſicke man his ſinne, but not the temporall puniſhment. 2. His long ſickneſſe might ſatisfie God for his ſinnes. 3. Chriſt might at his pleaſure together pardon both the ſin and the puniſhment; but his miniſters cannot doe ſo, *cap. 16. reſp. ad argum. 2.*

Contra. Firſt, the 1. ſmiting of the breaſt in the Publicane was a ſigne of his contrition, no part of ſatisfaction. 2. He ſaith, *God be mercifull to me a ſinner:* here he could not ſatisfie, becauſe he crieth onely for mercie. 3. And was the Publicanes ſinne ſo ſmall, thinke you, that he could ſatisfie for it, with knocking vpon the breaſt? 4. But this his contrition went before, he was iuſtified afterward: but ſatisfaction goeth not before iuſtification, no not in the popiſh doctrine: for they ſay ſinnes are firſt remitted, and then afterward the puniſhment is ſatisfied for.

Secondly, 1. Doe you thinke, that *Peters* deniall of Chriſt, was ſo ſmall an offence, that he could ſatisfie with his teares? 2. *Peter* wept before he found forgiuenes, as *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Verecundæ lachrymæ ſine horrore culpam loquuntur:* Shamefaſt teares without horror doe confeſſe the fault. But ſatisfaction followeth forgiuenes, wherefore *Peter* did not ſatisfie by his teares. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Lachrymæ veniam non poſtulant, ſed merentur:* Teares doe not aske pardon, but they are worthie or fit to be pardoned. *Peter* then was not as yet pardoned, weeping for his ſinnes, *Ambroſ. in Luc.22.*

Thirdly, 1. The ſicke man had not onely his ſinne forgiuen, but his temporall puniſhment releaſed: for Chriſt ſaid to him, *Ariſe, take vp thy bed and walke.* 2. Neither did his ſicknes ſatisfie for his ſinne, it was then faith that healed him, verſ. 5. neither was there any place for ſatisfaction, his ſinne being not yet forgiuen. 3. And that Chriſt did not this by his extraordinarie authoritie, but by the ſame power which he hath committed to his Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors, the Rhemiſts directly affirme, in their annotations vpon this place: neither was this extraordinarie: for in all the examples alleaged, Chriſt tooke the ſame courſe in forgiuing ſinne without any ſatisfaction.

Laſtly, we haue plentifull euidence from the Fathers, Councels, and their owne decrees, againſt this ſuperſtitious doctrine of ſatisfaction.

Cyprian. lib. 3. ad Quirinum, cap. 42. Fidem tantum prodeſſe, & tantum nos poſſe, quantum credimus, Marc. 9. Omnia poſſibilia credenti: That faith onely profiteth, and we are able to doe as much as we beleeue: as Mark. 9. *All things are poſſible to him that beleeueth.* If faith onely profiteth, what neede is there of ſatisfaction?

Ambroſ. lib. 2. de pœnitent. cap. 8. Veniam tanquam ex fide ſperemus, non tanquam ex debito: Let vs hope for forgiuenes, as of faith, not of debt. But ſatisfaction is of debt.

Hieronym. ad Marcellam. Tantam in nobis fidei ſtabilitatem eſſe dominus deſiderat, &c. God requireth ſuch ſtabilitie of faith in vs, *vt certius eſſe, quod credimus, quam quod patimur iudicemus:* That we ſhould iudge that more certaine, which wee beleeue, then that which wee ſuffer. But the Papiſts contrarie, doe hold no certaintie of remiſſion of ſinnes by faith, without ſuffering by ſatisfactorie workes.

Concil. Arauſican. 1. decret. ex Gratian. Authoritate Dei, &c. By the authoritie of God, and the iudgement of his ſpirit, we doe thruſt them out of the boſome of the Church: *quouſque reſipiſcunt & eccleſiæ Dei ſatisfaciunt:* till they repent and ſatisfie the Church of God. Here are two things required, repentance toward God, and ſatisfaction to his Church, not to God.

Diſtinct. de pœnitent. 1. c. 1. Non inuenio quid dixerit, &c. I finde not what *Peter* ſaid, I finde that he wept: *Lachrymas lego, ſatisfactionem non lego:* I reade his teares, I reade no ſatisfaction.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that by *ſatisfaction*, here is vnderſtood excuſe or defence of his ſinne, as it followeth, *Quod defendi non poteſt, &c.* That which cannot be defended, may be waſhed.

Cont. Firſt, the Maſter of the Sentences vnderſtandeth it otherwiſe for true ſatisfaction, and maketh this anſwere, That *Peter* might ſatisfie, though it be not expreſſed, or that confeſſion was not yet inſtituted, *lib. 4. diſt. 17. f.* Secondly, *Gratian* alſo doth ſo vnderſtand it, alleaging to the like purpoſe a ſaying of *Chryſoſtome, ibid. c. 2. Lachrymæ lauent delictum, &c.* Let teares waſh away the ſinnes, which it is a ſhame to confeſſe: And proueth hereby, that contrition may ſuffice without *confeſſion:* to ſpeake of excuſe or defence had bin impertinent. Thirdly, S. *Ambroſe* expoundeth himſelfe: *Inuenio cur tacuit, &c.* I ſee the reaſon why *Peter* held his peace, leaſt that the crauing of pardon ſo ſoone might offend. *Peter* was farre from excuſing his ſinne, or *Ambroſe* from ſo imagining.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Peccaſti in fratrem? fac ſatis, & ſanatus es:* Haſt thou offended thy brother? ſatiſfie him, and thou art healed. *Qui multos offendit peccando, placare multos debet ſatisfaciendo:* Hee that hath offended many in ſinning, muſt appeaſe many by ſatisfying them. Theſe kinds of ſatiſfaction both publikely and priuately wee acknowledge: but ſatisfaction to God, neither hee, nor we acknowledge.

In Mat. ſer. 16.
de pœnit. c. 10.

Interrelig. cap. 3. Qui precioſo Chriſti ſanguine redimitur, & cui meritum paſſionis Chriſti applicatur, is continuò iuſtificatur, &c. He that is redeemed by the precious blood of Chriſt, and to whom the merit of Chriſts paſſion is applied, he is ſtraightway iuſtified. And S. *Paul* ſaith, *Whom he iuſtifieth, he glorifieth,* Rom. 8. 30. Satisfaction therefore to be performed by man is ſuperfluous, ſeeing Chriſts death bringeth iuſtification, and glorification.

This truth is ſealed: Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr thus witneſſeth: Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends making to him, whom wee haue offended, which recompence wee are able to make one to another, and are bound ſo to doe: but to God none can make any mends or recompence, but onely Gods owne ſonne Chriſt Ieſus our Sauiour: *Fox* pag. 1249. col. 2. artic. 1.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER ONE man may ſatisfie for another.

The Papiſts.

65.Error SAtisfactorie workes are not only profitable to the ſufferers themſelues, but alſo for other their fellow members in Chriſt, and one may beare the burthen, and diſcharge the debt of another: *Rhemiſt. Coloſſ. 1. ſect.* 4.

Argum. The paſſions of the Saints are ſuffered for the common good of the whole bodie, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Now I reioyce in my ſufferings for you, and fulfill that which is behinde of the afflictions of Chriſt for his bodies ſake, which is the Church*, Coloſſ. 1. 24. Here S. *Pauls* afflictions are meritorious and ſatisfactorie for the Coloſſians, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſ. 1. The Apoſtles ſufferings were for the glorie of God, and the confirmation of their faith: and in this ſenſe he ſaith, his afflictions were for Chriſts bodie, that is, his Church ſake: but therefore it followeth not, that they were meritorious, either for himſelfe, or others. 2. His ſufferings are ſaid to be Chriſts, who ſuffereth in his members, not that they receiue any force from Chriſt to be ſatisfactorie, but becauſe he was made like and conformable by his ſufferings vnto Chriſt, Rom. 8. 17. *Auguſtine* alſo thus expoundeth the place: *Non dixit, preſſurarum mearum, ſed Chriſti, quia membrum erat Chriſti*: He ſaith not, of my ſufferings, but of Chriſts, becauſe he was a member of Chriſt. They are not then the ſufferings of Chriſt, as though they receiued a ſatisfactorie power from Chriſt: but becauſe he was a member of Chriſt, who ſuffered together in and with his members. Thus alſo anſwereth Sir *Iohn Borthwick* holy confeſſor: That where Saint *Paul* ſaith, *(for the Church)* he doth not vnderſtand thereby, the redemption, ſatisfaction, or expiation of the Church, but for the edifying and profiting of the ſame: And by the afflictions of Chriſt, he vnderſtandeth thoſe which he now ſuffereth in his members: And ſo he concludeth, and ſealeth this doctrine, *that if the Scripture teach vs, that no man can worke his owne ſaluation, but when wee haue done all that is commaunded, wee ſhall be found but vnprofitable ſeruants: much leſſe can any man worke anothers ſaluation: Fox* pag. 1261.

The Proteſtants.

NOne can merite or ſatisfie for themſelues, much leſſe for others: neither can one man beare the burthen, or pay the debt of another mans ſinne.

Arg. 1. The Scripture ſaith, *The ſoule that ſinneth, the ſame ſhall die*, Ezech. 18. 20. *Euery man ſhall beare his owne burthen*, Galat. 6. 5. *None can redeeme his brother, or giue a price to God for him*, Pſal 49. 8.

Auguſtine vpon thoſe words, Ioh. 16. 23. *What ſoeuer ye ſhall aske in my name, he will giue it you: Exaudiuntur quippe omnes ſancti pro ſeipſis: non autem exaudiuntur pro omnibus, vel amicis, vel inimicis, &c.* The Saints are heard praying for themſelues: but they are not heard praying for all their friends or enemies, becauſe it is not ſaid ſimply, *he will giue*, but, *he will giue to you: Ergo*, much leſſe can they ſatisfie for others, if their prayers be not heard alwaies for others.

Leo epiſtol. 81. *De fortitudine fidelium exempla nata ſunt patientiæ, &c.* From the fortitude of the faithfull wee haue examples of patience, not gifts of righteouſneſſe: their deaths were onely for themſelues, neither did they thereby pay any others debt, Chriſt our Lord only is he, in whom all men are dead and crucified.

Argum. 2. We cannot doe for our ſelues all that which is required at our hands: *But when wee haue done all, wee muſt ſay, wee are vnprofitable ſeruants, wee haue done that which was our dutie to doe*, Luk. 17. 10. *Ergo*, it is not in any mans power to ſatisfie for another. So *Ambroſe* writeth vpon this place: *Quis tanta ſalutis beneficia, digno poſſit æquare ſeruitio?* Who can with his ſeruice anſwere in equalitie ſo great benefits of ſaluation? *Quis poteſt ſoluere, quod accepit?* Who can pay that he hath receiued? *ſerm.* 16. *in Pſal.* 119.

Bernard alſo ſaith, writing vpon theſe words of the fiue fooliſh virgins; *Giue vs of your oyle: Stulta petitio, vix iuſtus ſaluabitur, &c.* A fooliſh requeſt, the iuſt man ſhall hardly be ſaued: the oyle of Ezech. 14. 16. the Saints doth ſcant ſuffice themſelues, how much leſſe ſufficeth it themſelues and others: *Noe, Daniel, Iob*, ſhall not deliuer, no not their children, but as the ſoule that hath ſinned ſhall dye; ſo the ſoule that hath done righteouſly ſhall onely liue. Here are three notable arguments included: firſt, mens righteouſneſſe ſufficeth not themſelues, much leſſe others. Secondly, by the teſtimonie of the Prophet, that thoſe holie men there named, ſhould but ſaue themſelues. Thirdly, from the like: as wicked men do only by their owne ſinne condemne themſelues, ſo the righteous only liue by their owne righteouſnes.

But here they will come in with a ſtale diſtinction, that, *Si iuſtitiæ rigorem ſpectamus*: If wee reſpect the rigor of Gods iuſtice, no mans iuſtice is ſufficient for himſelfe, *ſed ex Dei miſericordia & liberalitate, &c.* But of Gods mercie and liberalitie, they may profit themſelues and others: *Inter. relig. Cæſar. cap.* 23.

Anſ. Gods mercie in Chriſt, and the workes of ſupererogation cannot ſtand together, Rom.11. verſ.6. *If of grace, then not of workes.* And *Paul* counteth all things doung, in reſpect of Chriſt, Philip.3.8. The Pſalme alſo ſaith, that *no man can redeeme his brother*, Pſal.49.7. And Chriſt onely hath workes to ſupererogate to others, *Of his fulnes we haue all receiued, &c.* Ioh.1.16.

Diſtinct. 1.*de pœnitent. Non alium ſtatuatis nuntium, &c.* Appoint not another meſſenger, who ſhould offer your gift for you: *Per vos peccaſtis, per vos erubeſcatis:* Ye haue ſinned by your ſelues, by your ſelues be aſhamed. Euery man muſt repent for himſelfe.

*Magiſt.ſentent.lib.*1.*diſtinct.*48.*e. Nullius paſſione redempti ſumus, niſi Chriſti:* We are not redeemed by any mans paſſion, but Chriſts: The paſſions of the Saints did profite thoſe, which endured them, and they are profitable alſo to others, (that is for example) but they are not our redemption. *Lib* 3.*diſtinct.*18.*e. Vix vnicuique ſua virtus ſufficiebat, &c.* Euery mans vertue doth ſcarſe ſuffice himſelfe: much leſſe then is he able to ſatisfie for another.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF INDVLGENCES and penall iniunctions.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER PENAL and painfull workes are neceſſarie vnto repentance.

The Papiſts.

67. Error.

NOt onely amendement, and ceaſing to ſinne, or repentance in heart before God is alwaies enough to obtaine full reconcilement, but there muſt be outward penaltie, correction, and chaſtiſement beſide, *Rhemiſt.*2.*Corinth.*2.*ſect.*2.

Argum. The inceſtuous perſon was rebuked of many, 2.Cor.2.6. which word implieth, beſide his inward repentance, outward correction and chaſtiſement.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. WE acknowledge, that in notorious ſinnes, and offenſiue to the Church, as this of the young mans was, inward repentance is not ſufficient, but that after ſharpe diſcipline, by the outward teſtification of ſorrow, and publike confeſſion, ſatisfaction muſt be made to the Church: but it followeth not that this courſe ſhould bee taken for all ſinnes, which a man repenteth him of. And yet wee graunt that outward ſignes of our ſorrow are alwaies neceſſarie in true repentance, not as ſatisfactorie meanes to redeeme our ſinnes, but onely as infallible tokens and effects of our repentance. As *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Satis durus eſt, cuius mentis dolorem oculi carnis nequeunt declarare:* He is hard hearted, the griefe of whoſe minde, the eyes of his fleſh doe not ſhew forth: *de pœnitent.cap.*9.

Argum. 1. There are but two eſſentiall parts of repentance and true conuerſion vnto God: To turne from our ſinnes, and leade an holy life. So ſaith the Lord by the Prophet, *If the wicked will returne from his ſinnes and keepe all my ſtatutes*, Ezech.18.21. This is all God requireth, without any other penall workes: wherefore ceaſing from ſinne and amendment of life, which neceſſarily include the true ſorrow and conuerſion of the heart, are ſufficient for repentance.

*Argum.*2. *Peter* was receiued to mercie without any ſatisfaction; ſo was the Publican, Luc. 18. Likewiſe Chriſt ſaid to the ſicke of the palſie, *Ariſe, thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee*, without any penall iniunction: *Ergo*, ſuch penall workes are not neceſſarie. See more of this argument before, *qu.*7.*part.*3.*argum. proteſtant.*8. and all the other arguments concluding againſt ſatisfaction, may be applyed againſt the neceſſitie of penall and ſatisfactorie workes.

Auguſtine. Conſcientiam bonam faciunt, præteritorum malorum condigna ſatisfactio, & inſtantium malorum cauta prouidaque declinatio: condigna ſatisfactio eſt malefacta corrigere, & correcta non reiterare: De interior.dom.procem. The worthie ſatisfaction for euils paſt, and a warie declining of euils preſent, doe make a good conſcience: Worthie ſatisfaction is this, to correct that is euill, and being amended, not to fall into the ſame againe. Here ſatisfaction is nothing elſe but true repentance, and no other workes of ſatisfaction but to ceaſe from euill, and doe good, which are the parts of true repentance.

THE SECOND PART, WHICH BE THE Penall Satisfactorie workes.

The Papiſts.

68. Error.

PRayer, faſting, almes, are thoſe ſatisfactorie workes, whereby we doe ſatisfie God for the temporall puniſhment due vnto ſinne: and beſide theſe, there are other, *opera indebita:* workes which we are not bound vnto, as whipping and beating of the body, and ſuch like : *Bellarmin. lib.* 4. *de pœnitent.c.6.*

68.Error. *Argum.* Firſt, that prayer,faſting, and ſuch other workes commaunded are ſatisfactions,the Scripture teſtifieth, Pſalm. 50.15. *Call vpon me in the day of trouble, I will deliuer thee,&c.* Ioel.2.17. *Turne vnto me with all your heart, with faſting, weeping, and mourning : who knoweth if he will returne and repent,&c. Ergo,* with prayer and faſting God is ſatisfied : *Bellarm.c.6.*

Contra. Firſt, prayer is a fruit of faith,Rom.10.14. *How ſhall they call on him, vpon whom they haue not beleeued:* and faſting is a meanes to make our repentance more effectuall, being ioyned with weeping and mourning : all theſe are fruits and effects of faith, by the which God is reconciled to vs, and his wrath appeaſed, and we at peace with God, Rom.3.24.& 5.1. Secondly, it is not then the prayer which ſatisfieth or is auaileable before God, but faith, Iam.5.15. *The prayer of faith ſhall ſaue the ſicke.* Thirdly, and this is euident by the circumſtance of theſe places, Pſalm. 50.15. *And thou ſhalt glorifie me :* if God haue the glorie of our deliuerance, it is to be aſcribed to his mercie, not to our ſatisfaction : and Ioel.2.13. *The Lord is mercifull,gracious, &c.* but if faſting doe ſatisfie Gods iuſtice, what need they flee to his mercie?

69.Error. *Argum.* 2. Saint *Paul* whipped and beate himſelfe, 1.Cor.9.27. *I beat downe my bodie :* for ſo the word ſignifieth, to beat till the bodie be blew. The Publicane beat vpon his breaſt : *Iohn Baptiſt* was apparelled in Camels haire,&c. *Ergo,* painefull and laborious workes not preſcribed or commaunded, are acceptable to God, and ſatisfactorie : *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, it is a vaine ſurmiſe, that Saint *Paul* ſcourged or beate his owne bodie, as your Friers Flagellants vſe to do : 1. the Apoſtle taketh his ſimilitude from champions that vſe to fight, and one beat another, which the word ὑπωπιάζω ſignifieth ; and ſo continuing the metaphore,ſaith, *I doe beat downe,&c.* 2. The ſame word is vſed, Luc. 18.5. *I will doe her right,leaſt ſhe come and make me wearie:Obtundat me,*it were abſurd to ſay,*leaſt ſhe beat me.* 3. The Apoſtle ſheweth,how de doth beat his bodie,*by bringing it into ſubiection,* which may be done otherwiſe than by beating : 4. the the Apoſtles doctrine is contrarie, Epheſ. 5.29. *No man hateth his owne fleſh , but nouriſheth and cheriſheth it.*

Secondly, the beating vpon the Publicanes breaſt,was a ſigne of his great ſorrow, and of the diſpleaſure taken againſt his ſinne ; hee did not in ſo doing wound or offer violence to his bodie. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Tundere pectus, quid aliud eſt, quam arguere quod latet in pectore,&c.* To knocke vpon the breaſt, what is it elſe, but to checke or to reprooue ſinne lying hid in the breaſt, *In Matth. Serm.* 8.

Thirdly, all theſe workes are commended in Scripture : as to mortifie and ſubdue the fleſh, which Saint *Paul* did, Coloſſ. 4.5. *Mortifie your earthly members :* to teſtifie ſorrow by the ſmiting of the ioynts and parts together, as the Publicane is warranted, Nahum. 2.10. *The heart melteth, the knees ſmite togither. Iohns* auſtere life and conuerſation was agreeable to his calling, which was to be *a cryer in the wilderneſſe,* Matth.3.2. and our Sauiour commendeth him for his ſtrict life, Matth.11.7,18. Wherefore theſe examples ſerue not at all to warrant laborious workes, not preſcribed nor commaunded.

Fourthly, admit theſe workes to be laborious and painefull, yet were they not ſatisfactorie. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *he was crucified with Chriſt,* he had mortified and ſubdued his fleſh ; yet he challengeth no ſatisfaction thereby, but ſaith, *I liue by the faith in the ſonne of God,* Galat.2.20. The Publicane maketh ſuite for mercie, *Lord be mercifull to me a ſinner,* therefore intended no ſatisfaction : and *Iohn* was ſo farre from ſeeking any merit or ſatisfaction by his life, that he confeſſeth, *he was not worthie to beare Chriſts ſhooes,* Matth. 3.11. Wherefore by theſe places, no ſatisfactorie penall workes can be warranted or perſwaded.

The Proteſtants.

First, prayer, faſting, almes, are the liuely fruits and effects of faith, neceſſarie to be done, and through Chriſt acceptable vnto God, but there is no merit or ſatisfaction in them.

Argum. No workes which are commaunded,and wherein we are indebted vnto God, are able to ſatisfie, becauſe wee haue done no more, *then was our dutie to doe,* Luk.17.10. Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Nemo in operibus glorietur,&c.* Let no man glorie in his works, becauſe of right we owe obedience to the Lord,&c. *Nec in te patitur dominus vnius vſum eſſe operis, aut laboris,&c.* God doth not ſuffer thee to haue the vſe of any one worke or labour, becauſe while we liue, we muſt be alwayes working, *Ambroſ in 17. Luc.* But prayer, faſting, almes are commaunded, and ſo our due debt vnto God : *Ergo,* they are not ſatisfactorie.

Hierome ſaith, *Caue,ne ſi ieiunare cœperis, te putes eſſe iam ſanctam,&c.* Take heed leaſt thou thinke thy ſelfe holy, when thou beginneſt to faſt ; for this vertue is but an helpe, it is not the perfection of holineſſe, *ad Cœlant.* but ſatisfaction is the very perfection of workes.

This is alſo the opinion of ſome of the Popiſh writers, *Non ſatisfieri per opera aliàs debita :* That we cannot ſatisfie by workes that are due, or debted : *Thomas, Durandus, Paludanus in 4. diſt.15.*

Wherefore prayer, almes, and other workes being commaunded, and ſo our due debt vnto God, cannot ſatisfie.

Secondly, neither is God ſo much as pleaſed with voluntarie puniſhments inflicted vpon the bodie, much leſſe doe they worke any ſatisfaction.

Argum. Coloſſ. 2. The Apoſtle calleth it, *a ſhew of wiſdome in voluntarie religion, in not ſparing the body, &c.* is no true wiſdome, but a ſhew of wiſdome; not religion preſcribed, but voluntarie: like as *Baals* prieſts did lance and cut themſelues with kniues, being therefore derided of the Prophet, 1. Reg. 18. Such are the painefull workes which monkes and heremites doe afflict their bodies with: God requireth no ſuch things at their hands.

Bellar. S. *Paul* reprooueth thoſe, that of ſuperſtition afflict their body, not for the health of their ſoule: *lib. 14. de pœnitent. c. 4.*

Contra. Firſt, thoſe alſo pretended by afflicting of the body to humble the ſoule, *in humblenes of mind, and not ſparing the body:* Secondly, all voluntarie or will-worſhip, ἐθελοθρησκεία (which *Hierome* tranſlateth, *falſa religio*, falſe religion, or falſe worſhip, *Algaſiæ. qu.* 10. *tom.* 4.) is ſuperſtitious: wherefore the Papiſts that offer vnto God workes not commaunded, euen of their owne deuiſing, to be ſatisfactions for them, are alſo guiltie of ſuperſtition.

Bellarmine alſo is a witneſſe for vs againſt himſelfe: *Satisfactoria opera non in obſeruationibus ab hominibus excogitatis, &c.* We doe not place ſatisfactorie workes in obſeruations inuented of men, but in faſting, almes, prayer, which in the Scriptures haue precepts, examples, and large promiſes, *lib. 4. c. 13. reſp. ad arg.* 7. a more euident teſtimonie againſt voluntarie ſatisfactions cannot be produced.

Laſtly, *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Qui tundit pectus, & non corrigitur, ſolidat peccata non tollit*: He that beateth his breaſt, and is not corrected, doth harden or conſolidate his ſinnes; he taketh them not away: *Tom. 9. de diſciplin. Chriſtian. c.* 10. *Ergo*, beating of the fleſh, being not a mollifying of the heart, doth worke no ſatisfaction.

THE SECOND PART, BY WHOM PENALL workes are to be inflicted.

Three waies, they ſay, God is ſatisfied: 1. by bearing patiently the puniſhment that God layeth vpon vs: 2. by aſſuming voluntarily the laborious and painefull workes of penance: 3. and in willing vndergoing the ſentence of the prieſt in his penall iniunctions. Of the firſt, there is no queſtion betweene vs, that we are patiently to endure the Lords croſſe, though thereby wee neither merit, nor ſatisfie: the other two they would prooue thus.

First, that penall workes may voluntarily be vndertaken, theſe examples ſhew it: *Iob* ſaith, *I doe reprehend my ſelfe, and repent in duſt and aſhes*: Iob. 42. 6. *Dauid*, of himſelfe faſted and praied, 2. Sam. 12. he was not enioyned to doe it. So likewiſe *Ahab* humbled himſelfe with faſting and ſackcloth, 1. King. 21. he was not bid ſo to doe; yet God was well pleaſed with it: *Bellar. l. 4. c. 4.* 70. Error.

Contra. Firſt, theſe were not voluntarie workes, to humble themſelues with faſting and ſackecloth, but ſuch as God called for, and were by the Prophets preſcribed to the people, when they by repentance did turne vnto God: Ioel. 2. 12. *Turne vnto the Lord with faſting and weeping, &c.* Wherefore by theſe examples they haue not prooued, that voluntarie and vnbidden puniſhments, as whipping and ſcourging of the bodie, and ſuch like, are of our ſelues to be inflicted. Secondly, none of theſe were penall or ſatisfactorie workes of penance, but liuely and euident ſignes of true repentance. Thirdly, it is very abſurd, that *Ahab* a wicked hypocrite, is matched here with *Iob* and *Dauid*, the faithfull ſeruants of God, in the exerciſe of true repentance: that God ſpared *Ahab*, it was not of his ſatisfaction, but of Gods mercie, remitting temporall puniſhment for temporall repentance: for how could *Ahab* ſatisfie God, that did ſell himſelfe to worke wickedneſſe. And they themſelues graunt, that a man being in deadly ſinne, cannot ſatisfie: *Bellarm. c. 13. reſp. ad argum.* 7.

Secondly, the Prieſts haue power to enioyne workes of penance, as affliction of bodie, mulct, penaltie, correction, by almes-deeds, faſting, abſtinence, and ſuch like, *Conc. Trid. ſeſſ.* 14. *can.* 15. *Rhemiſt.* 2. *Corinth.* 2. *ſect.* 2. 71. Error.

Argum. To them is giuen authoritie to bind and looſe: *Ergo*, to enioyne penance: As they looſe their ſinnes, ſo they bind them vnto the penall workes of penance: and as they haue power to remit ſinnes, in reſpect of the fault and euerlaſting puniſhment; ſo to retaine ſinnes, for the temporall puniſhment: *Bellar. lib. 4. c. 5.*

Anſ. 1. Some kind of mulcts, Church diſcipline is not to deale withall: as bodily puniſhment, and pecuniarie fines, which are to be impoſed at the diſcretion of the Magiſtrate: *Synod. Mogunt. cap. 77. Archidiaconus mulcta pecuniaria punire non præſumat*: The Archdeacon ſhall not preſume to puniſh with pecuniarie mulct. Secondly, wee graunt an holſome vſe of the keyes in Church

diſcipline,

diſcipline, in puniſhing and cleanſing of notorious offenders in the open face of the congregation: but priuatly to enioyne men penance for their ſecret ſinnes, is an Antichriſtian yoke. Thirdly, yet publike penance enioyned notorious offenders, is no part of their ſatisfaction to Godward, but a ſigne of their reconciliation to the Church, which they haue offended; and it is profitable for the example of others, that they by ſuch publike ſhame may be terrified from the like offending. Fourthly, binding and looſing are contrarie actes, when the miniſters by the word of God bind, they looſe not; when they looſe, they bind not: but the popiſh prieſt doth both looſe and binde together; looſe the ſinne, binde the puniſhment: and the authoritie which Chriſt giueth, is to remit and retaine ſinne: As for remitting or retaining of the puniſhment, it belongeth to the iudge of the world, Chriſt himſelfe.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, for a man to lay any voluntary or deuiſed puniſhment vpon himſelfe to be a ſatisfaction for his ſinne; it is contrarie to the Scripture.

*Argum.*1. Mark.7.7. ***In vaine do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the commandements of men:*** but the inflicting vpon the bodie ſuch puniſhments, as in whipping, ſcourging, beating of the fleſh, is the doctrine and commandement of men: *Ergo*, it is a vaine worſhip. ***Bellarm.*** *Anſw.*1. Obedience to men diſpleaſeth not God, but when they commaund things contrarie to God. 2. It is the commandement of God, that we ſhould repent with faſting, ſackcloth, &c. *lib*.4.*c*.4.

Contra. Firſt, nothing can be more contrary to Gods word, then to teach men by their owne puniſhment, to ſatisfie the wrath of God: for the Scripture teacheth, ***that Chriſt is our peace; that he hath reconciled vs to God by his croſſe, and ſlaine hatred thereby***, that was before betweene God and vs, Epheſ.2.14.16. there remaineth therefore nothing to be ſatisfied for, by vs. Secondly, to repent with faſting; to make our ſorrow more effectuall, which they alſo ſhewed in thoſe times by aſhes and ſackcloth, was the commandement of God, and the practiſe of the Saintes: but to make bald the head, to cut and afflict the fleſh, was the vſe of idolatrous prieſts, 1.King.18. neither liked nor allowed of God.

*Argum.*2. The Apoſtle ſaith, Heb.12.9. ***We haue had the fathers of our bodies, which corrected vs, &c. ſhould we not much rather be in ſubiection to the Father of ſpirits, that we might liue?*** And verſ.10. *They chaſtened vs after their owne pleaſure, but he for our profite, &c.* Here the Apoſtle maketh two ſorts of Correctors, man for the body, God for the ſoule: and two kinds of corrections, inflicted either by earthly parents, or by the Father of ſpirites: From whence I conclude, that all corrections tending to the life of the ſoule, are applied by ***the Father of ſpirites:*** therefore as children are chaſtened of their fathers for offences toward them, they do not chaſtiſe themſelues; ſo our heauenly Father correcteth his children, they do not puniſh themſelues.

Origen ſaith in 14. Matth. *Si quando, &c.* If at any time wee fall into the neceſſitie of temptation, let vs remember, ***Quòd Ieſus nos compulit ingredi nauem illam:*** That Ieſus conſtrayned vs to go into the ſhippe: as the Apoſtles went not into the ſhippe of themſelues to ſaile on the troubleſome ſea, but Ieſus compelled them, Matth.14.22. ſo no man is willingly to runne into any affliction, but when he is thereto appointed of God.

Secondly, penall iniunctions impoſed for ſatisfaction by Prieſts, are not warranted by the word of God.

*Argum.*1. Such workes as God requireth neceſſarie to repentance, cannot be refuſed without ſinne, as ſuch, whereof the Prophet ſpeaketh, Iſay.1.17. ***Learne to do well, ſeeke iudgement, &c.*** But the iniunctions of the Prieſts may be refuſed without ſinne, as ſome of their popiſh diuines hold: as ***Scotus, Gabriel***, and this *Bellarmine* denieth not, though the reſt he ſaith be of another minde, *lib*.4.*c*.13. therefore the Prieſts penall iniunctions are not thoſe, which the Lord requireth in his word. ***argum. Philipp. apolog. confeſſ. Auguſten.***

*Argum.*2. The Indulgences of men may diſpenſe with the ſatisfactions enioyned by the Prieſt, but they cannot free them from thoſe precepts, ***Bring forth fruits worthie of repentance: Ergo***, ſuch ſatisfactions are not preſcribed or commanded of God.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Indulgences of men, do not free any from Gods precepts, but onely from the paines, and puniſhments: as it is the Apoſtles precept, ***to pay tribute to whom tribute belongeth:*** Rom.13. Yet the Prince may pardon the tribute, but for all this hee freeth not any from the Apoſtles precept. *Bellarm. lib*.4.*c*.13.

Contra. Firſt, the reaſon is not alike, man may remit a debt or dutie vnto man: *Ergo*, man may diſpenſe with a debt due vnto God: nay, ſeeing one man cannot remit the debt of another, how vnreaſonable is it, that any ſhould preſume to remit any thing due vnto God. Secondly, the argument is not anſwered, neither do I thinke that father ***Robert*** doth well vnderſtand himſelfe in his anſwere: for if penal ſatisfactions be comprehended in this commandement, ***Bring forth worthie fruites, &c.*** as they pretend they are; this being a precept of Scripture, if they can diſpenſe with this, then do they diſpenſe with Gods precepts: wherfore they muſt either confeſſe, that their ſatisfactions are not theſe ***worthie fruites***;and ſo they haue no ground in Scripture : or if they be, they haue no power to diſpenſe with them.

Argum.3. True repentance is a free worke, not of compulſion, or coaction: Saint Paul exhorteth men to iudge themſelues, that they be not iudged, 1.Cor.11.31. But now when penance is layd vpon a man, and not voluntarily taken of himſelfe, he is iudged rather of another, he doth not iudge himſelfe. ***Auguſtine*** ſaith, ***Quem pœnitet, punit ſeipſum, prorſus aut punis, aut punit Deus,vt ille non puniat, puni tu:*** He that repenteth, puniſheth himſelfe: either thou puniſheſt, or God : if thou wilt not haue God to do it, puniſh thy ſelfe. A man therefore muſt puniſh himſelfe, he muſt not be puniſhed of another in his repentance to Godward : for of outward chaſtiſement to the world, now is not the queſtion.

Auguſtine ſaith, ***de temp.ſerm.***181.***c.***16. ***Nunquam ſpernit pœnitentiam, &c.*** God neuer deſpiſeth repentance, if it be ſimply & ſyncerely offered vnto him : ***Etiamſi quis explere non poterit omnem ſatisfaciendi ordinem:*** Though a man cannot fulfill all the order of ſatisfaction ? Here wee ſee repentance, without ſatisfaction preſcibed and enioyned,is ſufficient. Likewiſe ***ad fratres in eremo. ſermon.***11. ***O Monache, fac vt mens tua ſit liber, quem vidit,&c.*** O thou ſolitarie fellow (Monke) let thy minde be that booke, which ***Ezechiel*** ſaw, wherein were written Lamentations : ***Ad has Lamentationes te conuertas:*** Turne thee to theſe Lamentations:Here are no outward Satisfactions enioyned, but inward Lamentations.

Decret.Gregor.lib.5.***tit.***38.***c.***1. ***Manifeſta peccata non ſunt occulta correctione purganda:*** Manifeſt ſinnes muſt not be purged with ſecret correction. But popiſh prieſts many times enioyne ſecret penance for great ſinnes, wherein they do contrarie to their owne Canons.

THE THIRD PART, OF PARdons and Indulgences.

The Papiſts.

1. THe principal Magiſtrates of the Church are no leſſe authorized to pardon, then to puniſh, and to remit the temporall puniſhment due to ſinners , the offence being firſt forgiuen, which we call an Indulgence or pardon, ***Rhemiſt.2.Cor.2.4.Concil.Trid.ſeſſ.25.*** 72.Error.

Argum. To whom you forgiue any thing,I forgiue alſo, 2.Cor.2.10. Here the Apoſtle forgiueth the young man a piece of his puniſhment,when he might haue kept him longer in penance for his offence, ***Rhemiſt.ibid.***

Anſ. 1. We denie not, but that the Church may releaſe ſuch publike exerciſe of humiliation, which is inioyned offenders for triall of their repentance,and ſome ſatisfaction of the Church, when it ſeeth that they are ſufficiently humbled. But it followeth not, that the Church therefore may diſpence with any neceſſary part of repentance towards God. 2. Whereas you ſay , the Apoſtle, notwithſtanding his rebuke was ſufficient, might haue kept the young man ſtill in temporall puniſhment : it is cleane contrary to the Apoſtles owne rule, who perſwadeth the Corinthians to forgiue him, leaſt he ſhould be ouercome of too much heauineſſe , verſ.7. The Apoſtle therefore would neither forgiue nor releaſe him, before they had forgiuen him , and he had ſatiſfied the whole Church, verſ.10. Neither would he keepe him longer in puniſhment, hauing once ſorrowed ſufficiently, verſ.6. The Apoſtle therefore did neither binde nor releaſe him at his owne pleaſure, but as he ſaw repentance to be wrought in the offender.

The Proteſtants.

THe power which the Pope and popiſh Biſhops do challenge vnto themſelues , in giuing Pardons and Indulgences, is moſt blaſphemous.

1 They doe take vpon them to releaſe both the puniſhment of this life,and the paines of Purgatorie alſo : and ſay,that their pardons profite both the dead and the liuing,***Bull.Leon.***10.

1. Contrarie to their owne Canons, ***par.2.cauſ.24.qu.2.c.2.Gelaſius : Eccleſia viuentes poteſt ligare,vel ſoluere,non mortuos :*** The Church may looſe or binde thoſe which are liuing, but not the dead. And it is grounded vpon that ſaying of our Sauiour,***Whatſoeuer you binde in earth,&c.Super terram (inquit)*** He ſaith vpon the earth : for hee that dieth being bound,***nuſquam dicit abſolui,*** hee ſaith no where,is abſolued. And ***Clemens*** 5.reproueth certaine pardoners, and decreeth againſt them,which made them beleeue,that gaue them almes, ***Quòd animas eorum(vt mendaciter aſſerunt) de purgatorio extrahant :*** That they drew out of Purgatorie their friends ſoules,as they lyingly ſaid: ***Clement.lib.5.tit.9.c.2.***

2 They pardon not onely the puniſhment, but the ſinne both paſt, and to come, for dayes, yeeres,hundreds,thouſands of yeeres : howſoeuer the Rhemiſts would beare vs in hand, that an indulgence is a releaſe but of the puniſhment. Such was the firſt Iubile pardon graunted by ***Boniface*** 8.***anno*** 1300. And another by ***Leo*** the 10.***anno*** 1513.

Clemens 6.in his bull of the Iubile yeere, ſaith thus, ***Mandamus Angelis quatenus animam omnium***

nium accedentium,&c. We command the Angels,to carrie all the ſoules of thoſe that come to Rome this yeere, out of Purgatorie into Paradiſe: *Et concedimus cruce ſignatis, vt ad eorum vota, duas vel tres animas,quas vellent,è Purgatorio liberarent:* And we graunt to all thoſe, that haue taken vpon them the holy Croſſe,to deliuer two or three ſoules at their pleaſure out of Purgatorie. See what monſtrous blaſphemies here are. See alſo the Boſton pardons graunted by Pope *Innocent*, Pope *Iulie*,Pope *Clement*,which gaue them releaſe of all their ſins for fiue hundred yeeres,*Fox.p.*1178.

2. Contrarie to their owne Canons: *Clem.lib.*5*.tit.*9*.c.*2. Certain Pardoners,and Queſtors are condemned,*quia à pœna & culpa abſoluant:* which tooke vpon them to abſolue both from the fault and puniſhment.

3. They giue indulgences for temporal ſeruices; as for giuing towards Subſidies for the maintenance of warre,for building of bridges,and ſuch like: for the which the Councell of Baſil is reprehended,*epiſtol.ſynod.*7. But the Apoſtle graunteth indulgence to the inceſtuous perſon onely becauſe of his true ſorrow,which teſtified his repentance,2.Cor.2.7.

4. They tooke vpon them to grant plenarie and general indulgences,as to all that do ſuch and ſuch things: as in the yeere of Iubile,to all,that viſite Rome. So the Councel of Baſil gaue plenarie indulgence to all reſiant in the Councell, *ſeſſ.*45. Thus did not *Iohn Baptiſt*, who miniſtred Baptiſme of repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes,(which is the true indulgence) not to all indifferently, but to thoſe which confeſſed their ſinnes, Matth.3.6. the reſt hee rebuked,and threatned with Gods iudgements. Yea their owne Decrees teſtifie: *Diſtinct.*50.27. *Satis temerarius eſt,qui cunctis remiſſionem peccatorum ſe dare poſſe putet:* He is very raſh,that thinketh he is able to giue remiſſion of ſinnes to all.

5. They graunt indulgences to many that are abſent, and vnknowne, not examining their contrition and repentance: ſo did not our Sauiour, who vſed to heale thoſe onely in whom hee ſaw faith, Mark.5.34. *Thy faith hath made thee whole*, Mark.9.23.Luk.7.50. Yea and their owne Canons ſay, *Peccati venia non datur niſi correcto:* Pardon of ſinne is not granted,but to thoſe which are amended: *ſext.decretal.regul.iur.*5.

6. Their indulgences were reſtrained to ſeuerall limits and circuites: *Decret.Greg.lib.*5*.tit.*38. *c.*4. *Indulgentiæ non proſunt non ſubditis:* Indulgences doe not profite thoſe which are not ſubiects to the Biſhop,that is of his dioceſſe. But Chriſts indulgence is generall to all,Ioh.3.15. *Whoſoeuer beleeueth in him,ſhall not periſh.*

7. They giue indulgence not for the time paſt only,but for the time to come,giuing as it were thereby a libertie to ſin. Chriſt doth otherwiſe: after he had freed the adulterous woman, Ioh.8. he ſaith, *Goe and ſinne no more:* he doth not abſolue her for the time to come,but onely giueth her an admonition: See the Canon of *Gelaſius* following.

8. Their indulgences did flye in euery corner like flyes in the ayre,or moates in the Sunne: whereof there hath been an ancient complaint: *Fiunt hodie tot indulgentiæ,&c.* There are ſo many indulgences now adaies,that they grow into contempt, *opuſc.tripart.lib.*3*.c.*9. But the Scriptures make not ſaluation ſo eaſie or common a thing, but that euen the righteous doe finde it through much difficultie obtained,1.Pet.4.18.

9. By their indulgences they could giue power to other to deliuer ſoules,as before in the bull of *Clemens* 6.but Chriſt gaue power only vnto the Apoſtles and Miniſters to remit or retaine ſins, to binde,or looſe: they can haue no committies on this behalfe.

Fox.p.844. 10. And that which filled vp the meaſure of iniquitie,they ſet their pardons to ſale: as in Pope *Leo* his time,his pardoners for ten ſhillings would giue to any man power,to deliuer one ſoule at his pleaſure out of Purgatorie.

Argum. The Scripture ſaith,that God onely forgiueth ſinnes,Mark.2.7. And that Chriſt no otherwiſe,then as God,forgaue ſinnes, verſ.10. His Apoſtles only as his Miniſters and Ambaſſadors,in his name, declare and pronounce remiſſion of ſinnes,2.Corinth.5.19. Wherefore there is no ſuch power giuen vnto men,at their pleaſure to binde or looſe.

De Baptiſm. lib.3.cap.18. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Non ſecundum arbitrium hominum tenentur, aut ſoluuntur peccata, ſed ad arbitrium Dei,& orationes ſanctorum:* Sinnes are not looſed, or retained at the pleaſure of men, but according to the will of God, and prayers of his Church.

Gelaſius epiſtol.ad Sanct. Auditum ſub iſto cœlo non legitur, quod eorum voce depromitur: date nobis veniam, dum tamen nos in errore duremus: Neſcio inter quæ mundi prodigia hoc poſſit admitti: Remitti culpa de præterito poteſt, correctione ſine dubio ſubſequente,&c. It was neuer heard of in the world (as they ſay,) giue vs pardon, but let vs continue in error ſtill: this may bee well counted a monſtrous thing: the fault that is paſt,may be forgiuen,if amendement of life follow after. This learned Biſhop counteth it a monſtrous thing, to forgiue ſinnes to come, men ſtill continuing in ſin: but this is an vſuall practiſe in the Popes Conſiſtorie at Rome, to forgiue ſinnes for many yeeres to come.

This doctrine alſo hath beene ſealed: *Thomas Clarke* perſecuted for ſaying the Pope hath no authoritie to giue pardon, and to releaſe any mans ſoule from ſinne, and ſo from paine, *Fox.* pag.830.

Iohn Fortune Martyr, being asked if he did not beleeue, that the Pope had power to forgiue ſins, anſwered; The Pope is but a man, and the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, *No man can deliuer his brother, nor make agreement for him vnto God*, Pſal.49. *Fox* pag.1918.

Here alſo may be remembred, how one *William Button* appoſed a pardoner with this queſtion: *Whether the holy father the Pope could deliuer ſoules out of Purgatorie? There is no doubt of that ſaid the other: Why doth hee not then (quoth Button) of charitie deliuer all ſoules from thence?* For this ſpeech the good man was troubled, *Fox* pag.1230.

This alſo was Maſter *Latimers* queſtion: *Why the Pope, who could with a word of his mouth (as they ſay) haue ſpoyled all Purgatorie; doth ſuffer notwithſtanding ſo much money to be beſtowed that way, and to depriue vs of ſo many Patrones in heauen, as he might deliuer out of Purgatorie.* pag.1748.col.1.

The Papiſts.

2. THe ſatisfactorie and meritorious workes of the Saints which doe abound, being communicable, and applicable to the faithfull that want, are the very ground of the indulgences and pardons of the Church, and the very treaſure thereof, and to be diſpenſed according to euerie mans neede by the paſtors of Church, 2.*Corinth.*2.*ſect.*5.*Coloſſ.*1.*ſect.*4.*Rhemiſt.* 73.Error

The Proteſtants.

HEre are many blaſphemies and vntruths couched together.

1 That a mans penalties may exceede and be greater than his ſinnes, and ſo his abounding may ſupplie another mans want. For thus the Rhemiſts ſay: *Which cannot ſtand with the iuſtice of God, to puniſh a man more then he hath deſerued.* And it is contrarie to the Scriptures: *Enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruant: for in thy ſight ſhall none that liueth be iuſtified*, Pſal.143.2. And *Iob* ſaith, If the Lord ſhould call him to account, he ſhould not anſwere one to a thouſand, 9.3.

2 How can the Church-gouernours diſpenſe the merites of one to another? Who made them ſtewards of another mans good? Ye ſay alſo the contrarie your ſelues, That the abounding paſſions of the Saints are applicable to others by the ſufferers intention, *Rhem.*1.*Coloſſ.*2.2. Then not by the Churches diſpenſation.

3 It is a great blaſphemie, that one may be holpen by another mans merits, and it doth derogate from the death of Chriſt, whoſe only merits are the treaſure and ſtore-houſe of the Church: The moſt righteous man that euer was, can but ſaue his owne ſoule, Ezech.14.14. And that onely by Chriſt.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Vnuſquiſque pro ſe rationem reddet, nec alieno teſtimonio quiſquam adiuuatur apud* In Matth.
Deum, & vix ſibi quiſque ſufficit, &c. Euery man ſhall giue account for himſelfe, before God no man ſerm.22.
is holpen by the teſtimonie of another: the teſtimonie of his owne conſcience doth hardly ſuffice for himſelfe.

The Papiſts.

3. THe diſpenſing of pardons and indulgences, is onely committed, they ſay, to the chiefe Magiſtrates the Popes and Biſhops: and as the Biſhops in their Dioceſſe haue eſpeciall caſes reſerued to themſelues, wherein inferiour Prieſts are not to deale; ſo the Pope hath alſo his proper reſeruations, wherein other Prelates are not to meddle, *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.*14.*cap.*7. The caſes reſerued to the Pope are 51.in number, *Fox* pag.785. The Biſhop of Paris, *ann.*1515. reſerued theſe caſes to himſelfe, to diſpenſe in murder, witchcraft, ſacriledge, hereſie, ſimonie, adulterie, *ex Tileman.Heſhuſ.loc.*9.*de pœnitent.err.*63. Likewiſe the yeeres of their pardons are limited: Biſhops may not exceede 40.daies pardon: the Pope may be lauiſh in his hundreds and thouſands: yea, and this reſeruation of caſes, ſtandeth not onely with the externall policie of the Church, but is of force euen before God, *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.*14.*cap.*7. 74.Error.

The Proteſtants.

WE will not much contend with them about reſeruation of caſes, for we acknowledge no ſuch power to giue pardons, or indulgences, either in ſuperiour or inferiour Prieſts: yet we will ſhew how this deuice of theirs ſtandeth not with their owne doctrine.

*Argum.*1. It is a greater power to remit the ſinne, than to releaſe the puniſhment: but euery Prieſt hath the greater power, as they ſay, to remit ſinnes, yea as fully as hath the Pope himſelfe: *Allen* in his booke of pardons, *cap.*2. *Ergo*, why haue they not the leſſe power, which is by indulgence to diſpenſe with the puniſhment? And that of theſe two, the remiſſion of ſinnes is the greater, it is confeſſed by the *Rhemiſt.*2.*Cor.*2.*ſect.*6.

*Argum.*2. In the point of death, the reſeruation of caſes hath no place: but at that time euery Prieſt may abſolue from all manner ſinnes and puniſhment, *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.*14.*cap.*7. But euerie houre is with ſome, and ought to be with all, the point of death: becauſe wee are vncertaine when it commeth, and therefore ought alwaies to be in a readines. Therefore euen by their owne rule euery Prieſt hath at all times authoritie to abſolue in all caſes.

Againe, if theſe wordes of Chriſt bee ſpoken to all Miniſters and Preachers of the Goſpell, Ioh.20.22.*Whoſe ſinnes ye retaine,&c.* (which cannot be denied) to them all then is committed equally that power of binding and looſing, which is exerciſed by the preaching of the word.

Their owne Canons doe giue authoritie to euery Prieſt to enioyne penance: ***Decr. Greg.lib.*5. *tit.*38.*c.*12.** and they do bind euery man, ***iniunctam ſibi pœnitentiam adimplere,*** to fulfill the penance inioyned; or els, ***viuens ab eccleſiæ ingreſſu arceatur:*** He that refuſeth muſt be kept out of the church as long as he liueth, and want Chriſtian buriall, when he is dead. If euery Prieſt then by their law hath power to inioyne penance; why not alſo to releaſe penance? Wherefore herein they doe their Prieſts wrong.

And ſeeing we are entred to ſpeake of the abuſe and vſurpation of the keyes in the popiſh Church, as in reſeruation of caſes, and ſuch like, I will briefly touch other notable abuſes and corruptions among them in the diſpenſation of the keyes, and eſpecially concerning excommunication: wherein they apparantly tranſgreſſe their owne canons.

ABVSES IN THE POPISH CHVRCH, IN THE administration of the Keyes, and namely about Excommunication.

1. THe ancient Canons forbid, that the dead ſhould be anathematized, or excommunicate: *Anaſtaſ.decr.*2. *Monente nos Apoſtolo, &c.* The Apoſtle admoniſhing vs, &c. leaſt any offence might riſe in the Church, while we goe about to iudge of them, which are paſſed out of this life, &c. *Whether we liue or die, we are the Lords: Why doeſt thou iudge another mans ſeruant?* And to the ſame effect ***Paulianus*** thus anſwereth ***Iuſtinian*** the Emperour: ***Quibus recitabitur ſententia damnationis noſtræ, &c.*** To whome ſhall the ſentence of our condemnation be recited? To what end ſhould we warre with the dead? &c. But nothing is more common with Papiſts, than to excommunicate the dead.

2. Excommunication in time paſt in the purer ages of the Church, was not vſed to be denounced againſt Kings: *Epiſtol. Leodienſ. cont. Paſchal.* 2. *Si quis vetus & nouum teſtamentum, &c.* If any man turne ouer the old and new teſtament, he ſhall euidently find, ***quod aut minimè, aut difficilè poſſunt***, that kings and princes may hardly or not at all be excommunicate; they may be admoniſhed, reprooued, &c. Behold Pope ***Hildebrand*** was the firſt, ***qui leuauit ſacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regum***, that lift vp the prieſtly weapon againſt the crown of Princes. But now they take vpon them at their pleaſure to excommunicate princes, and it hath been the practiſe of the Popes a long time.

3. They did not vſe of auncient time to excommunicate vpon diſpleaſure, but for ſome notable ſinne: *Origen.tract.*24.*in Matth. Eſt videre multos doctores, &c.* Wee may ſee many doctors and teachers, that ſuffer not to enter into the Church, &c. *Non propter peccata, &c.* They doe not excommunicate for ſinne, but of diſpleaſure and contention; and they are better many times than themſelues, &c. But this was vſuall in Poperie, to excommunicate men vpon diſpleaſure, as ***Arundell*** Archbiſhop of Canterburie ſuſpended all the Churches in London, that did not ring their belles at his comming: ***Fox.p.***554.

4. The vſe hath been, that none for light or ſmall offences ſhould be excommunicate. ***Concil. Aurel.*5.*can.*2. *Nullus ſacerdotum quenquam rectæ fidei hominem, &c.*** That no prieſt for light cauſes or matters, ſuſpend any man from the communion: But the contrarie is practiſed among them; as ***Courtney*** Archbiſhop of Canterburie ſuſpended certaine poore men, becauſe they brought litter for his horſe in ſackes. ***Fox.p.***555.

5. It hath been decreed, ***Diem peremptorium ad primam citationem non ſtatuendum, maximè cum de rebus Eccleſiaſticis agitur:*** That a peremptorie day ſhould not be ſet vpon the firſt citation, eſpecially in Eccleſiaſticall matters, but that the partie ſhould be further expected: ***Lateranenſ. ſub Alexand.*3.*part.*2.*c.*9.** The contrarie is with them practiſed, vpon the firſt citation to excommunicate.

6. Likewiſe it was decreed, ***Penitùs interdicimus, vt cauſa cupiditatis nullus, &c.*** We do inhibite, that none vpon couetouſnes doe excommunicate, or abſolue, eſpecially where the cuſtome is, that the excommunicate partie when he is abſolued, ſhould pay money. ***Lateranen.ſub Innocent.*3.*c.*49.** But they vſe to excommunicate for want of their fees.

7. Another fault before this time complained of, ***quod tot hodie fiunt excommunicationes per officiales***: That there are now ſo many excommunications by officials, that they are contemned and turned to laughter: ***Opuſc. tripart.lib.*3.*c.*9. *Senonenſ. concil. decret. mor.*31.** We ſtraightly charge, ***vt caueant ab earum multiplicatione, &c.*** That they take heed of multiplying excommunications, ***ne in vilipendium deducantur***, that they be not made nought worth. But nothing is more common with them, than for popiſh curſes and excommunications to flye abroad.

8. *Lateranenſ. ſub Alexand.3.part.1.c.3.Niſi admonitione canonica præmiſſa,&c.* That the prelates ſhould not pronounce the ſentence of excommunication, but vpon canonicall admonition going before; ſo alſo was it decreed, *Concil. Oxonienſ. ſub Stephano:* But it is their vſe, to excommunicate at the firſt, without any other admonition.

9. It hath been the vſe, that for publicke and notorious ſinnes, men ſhould be excommunicate: *Concil, Cabilon. ſub Carol. c.25. Si quis publicè peccat, &c.* If any man ſinne publikely, *ſecundum ordinem canonum pro merito ſuo excommunicetur,&c.* let him according to the canons be excommunicated for his demerite, and ſo be reconciled: But it is a rare thing with them to excommunicate for adulterie, blaſphemie, vſurie, and ſuch like, but to enioyne a little popiſh penance, and ſo to reconcile them.

10. *Carthag.4.c.84. Epiſcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi Eccleſiam,&c.* Let the biſhop forbid none to enter into the Church, and to heare the word, whether a Gentile, Iewe, or hereticke, vntill the Maſſe, &c. which was then nothing elſe, but the communion: But with them excommunicate perſons are excluded from hearing the word at all, wherby they might be brought to repentance for their ſinne.

11. None in the purer times of the Church were excommunicate, before their cauſe was heard: *Epiſtol. Leodienſ. Nec à Papa Romano nos excommunicatos credimus,&c.* Neither doe we beleeue, that we are excommunicate of the Pope, for we know he is not ignorant, what *Nicodemus* ſaith; our lawe condemneth no man, vnleſſe it heare him firſt: But they vſe to excommunicate without preſence of the partie, or hearing of the cauſe.

12. It is their law, that *excommunicatus non poteſt excommunicare,* that they which are excommunicate, cannot excommunicate others. *Cauſ.24.qu.1.c.4.* But the Papiſts ſtand *ipſo facto* excommunicate, as all heretickes and idolators doe: and Maſter *Beza* ſaith, he told them to their face at Piſſiacum, that there was none of all the popiſh hierarchie, which by the pure and auncient canons of the Church is not *ipſo facto* to be pronounced excommunicate. *Epiſtol.1 p.18.*

13. Their owne canons make two kinds of excommunications: the greater, which is *à communione fidelium,* from the communion of the faithfull; and the leſſe, *à perceptione ſacramentorum,* from the receiuing of the Sacraments: *Decr.Greg.lib.5.tit.39.c.59.* And the greater excommunication is not to be vſed, but vpon great offences: *Synod.Colonienſ part.13.cap.5. Cum excommunicatio pœna ſit, quæ nulla maior in Eccleſia:* Seeing excommunication is a puniſhment, then the which there is no greater in the Church, let no man be excommunicate, *niſi pro peccato lethali,* but for deadly ſinne. Now the contrarie is practiſed with them, which draw out euen the greater excommunication vpon euery ſmall occaſion, neuer vſing the leſſe at all: And that it is the greater excommunication, both their practiſe ſheweth, in ſeparating not from the communion only, but from the entrance into the Church; and the Canon likewiſe witneſſeth, *excommunicatio ſimpliciter lata:* an excommunication ſimply pronounced, without any condition, is vnderſtood of the greater: *Decr.Greg.lib.5.tit.39.c.59.*

14. By the auncient Canons, it is not lawfull to haue any fellowſhip with excommunicate perſons: they all ſtand excommunicate, *qui cibo, potu, oſculo, &c.* which doe communicate with them in meate or drinke, &c. *Cauſ.11.q.3.c.3. Nicolaus. Sine ſpe ſit reconciliationis,* He is without hope to be reconciled, that doth companie with the excommunicate. *C.7. Martin. Non palam vel ſecretè cum eis loquendum:* They muſt not openly or ſecretly talke with them. *C.18. Iſidor.* It is not lawfull to go to the houſe of one excommunicate. *C.26. Communicare non licet ijs:* It is not lawfull to communicate with thoſe, that keepe companie with the excommunicate. *C.25.Greg.* Now then the Canons beeing thus ſtrict, that not onely they that keepe companie with the excommunicate, but they which communicate with the companions of the excommunicate, that doe eate, drinke, and talke with them, doe ſtand alſo excommunicate: by this meanes, thouſands of people (excommunications being ſo common as they are) ſhall ſtand ſubiect at once to the ſentence of excommunication.

15. Becauſe excommunication was counted ſo heauie a ſentence: *anathema, æterna mortis damnatio:* It is the damnation of eternall death, to be anathematized or excommunicate. *Cauſ.11.qu.3.c.41.* In the ſame place it is decreed, that the ſentence of excommunication, *non ferenda ſine conſcientia Epiſcopi,* ſhould not be giuen without the knowledge of the biſhop or Archbiſhop himſelfe. But the contrarie is practiſed amongſt them; euery officiall, deputie, or ſurrogate, hath as great power to excommunicate as the biſhop himſelfe.

16. Beſide, excommunicate perſons (by the Canons and Imperiall conſtitutions) are depriued of ciuill priuiledges and immunities: *Excommunicandus non audiendus in iudicio:* An excommunicate perſon is not to be heard in iudgement, *decret.Greg.lib.1.tit.29.c.21. Non ſunt homicidæ.&c.* They are not guiltie of murder, that take armes againſt the excommunicate: *Cauſ.23.qu.5.c.47. Vrban. In nullum teſtimonium recipiendi:* They muſt not be receiued as witneſſes in any cauſe: *Calixt.epiſt.2.* They are ſubiect *Banno imperiali* to the imperiall outlawrie, if they ſtand one

yeere excommunicate: *Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*6.*leg.*13.*Frederic.* Who ſeeth not, what inconueniences wil enſue, that thouſands being wrapped in the ſentence of excommunication at once, as I ſhewed *artic.*14. ſhall alſo incurre the penaltie and danger of the Princes lawes.

17 It is prohibited by the Canons, that any man ſhould excommunicate in his owne cauſe, *Pro vindicta propriæ iniuriæ, quod ſacris regulis prohibetur:* to be reuenged for any iniurie done to himſelfe, which is forbidden by the ſacred rules: *cauſ.*23.*qu.*4.*c.*27.*Gregor.* The contrary is practiſed by popiſh Prelates: as ſee an example before *artic.*4.

18. *Nicen.*2.*can.*4. It is decreed, that no man, *Propter auri exactionem vel alicuius alius ſpeciei, venerandum templum claudere:* Should for the exacting of gold or ſiluer, or ſuch like ſhut vp the Church doores, that is, interdict it, that the diuine myſteries be not ſolemnized in it: The popiſh practiſe is contrary, who for the omiſſion of the leaſt dutie, or fee, belonging to them, and vpon other ſmall occaſions, do interdict Churches; an example hereof ſee in *Arundell artic.*3.

19. By the old Canons, he that was excommunicate, was ſolemnely reconciled to the Church, *Terræ proſtratus veniam poſtulat:* Falling downe to the ground, he muſt aske forgiuenes: and publike prayer was to be made for him in this manner: *Præſta quæſumus Domine huic famulo tuo &c.* Graunt Lord, we pray thee to this thy ſeruant worthie fruite of repentance, that he may be reſtored to the holie Church, from whoſe integritie hee hath erred by ſinning, *cauſ.*11.*qu.*3.*c.*108. But now among them abſolution is done in ſecret, without any notice giuen, or ſubmiſſion made before the congregation.

20. Laſtly, to end where I began, in time paſt the Presbyters were ioyned with the Biſhop, in the adminiſtration of the keyes of the Church, as in binding, and looſing: but the Pope & popiſh prelates were the firſt that brought in reſeruation of caſes, and appropriated al to themſelues, excluding the reſt, as it may appeare by this reſeruation of caſes: and for the truth of antiquitie in this behalfe, theſe authorities I had at hand.

1. *Cauſ.*11.*qu.*3.*c.*106.*Debent* 12.*ſacerdotes epiſcopum circumſtare, &c.* Twelue other Prieſts muſt ſtand by the Biſhop, when hee pronounceth excommunication, &c. *C.*108. Likewiſe, when the penitent partie was to be reconciled, the Biſhop muſt be aſſiſted with as many.

2. *Cauſ.*12.*qu.*2.*c.*51.*Nec epiſcopi ſine preſbyteris, nec preſbyteri ſine epiſcopo res eccleſiæ vendant, &c.* Neither the Biſhop without the Presbyters, nor the Presbyters without the Biſhop muſt ſell the goods of the Church. If they were ioyned together in diſpenſing of the temporall goods of the Church, much more in the ſpirituall.

3. They were ioyned together in deciding and ending of controuerſies of the Church. *Cauſ.*15.*qu.*7.*c.*2.*Præſentibus ſenioribus epiſcopus, &c.* The Biſhop ſhall heare the cauſes of the Clergie, the Seniors or Elders being preſent. *C.*6.*Nullius cauſam audiat epiſcopus, &c.* Let the Biſhop heare no mans cauſe without the preſence of the Clergie. *Decret.Gregor.lib.*5.*tit.*7.*c.*9. *Lucius* 3. *Epiſcopi cum conſilio Clericorum, &c.* The Biſhops with the counſell of the Clergie muſt iudge of heretikes.

4. *Innocentius* 3. decreed, that *omnis vtriuſq; ſexus, &c.* that euery one of both ſexes vpon paine of excommunication, ſhould confeſſe *proprio ſacerdoti*, to their owne Prieſt, and ſhould fulfill *iniunctam pœnitentiam*, penance inioyned by him, *decret.Greg.lib.tit.*38.*c.*12.

5. *Synod. Auguſt.c.*19.*Poteſt quilibet confeſſor pro peccatorum magnitudine, ex cauſa, quæ ſibi iuſta videbitur, ad tempus communione interdicere:* Euery confeſſor may according to the greatnes of the ſinnes, as he ſhall ſee iuſt cauſe, for a time to interdict from the Communion. If then the Prieſt haue power to binde, why hath he not power to looſe? and if to looſe, then alſo to binde? Their owne Canons allow them to inioyne penance, to interdict the Communion; why not alſo to giue indulgence.

6 *Origen* ſaith: *Epiſcopi & preſbyteri, quibus ſunt creditæ cathedræ, qui tradunt eccleſias, quibus non oportet, &c.* Biſhops and Presbyters, to whom the chaires or ſeates of the Church are committed, which doe deliuer Churches to thoſe, whom they ſhould not, are they that ſell Doues, &c. Hee ſaith, that to both of them the chaire of the Church is committed: *Origen.tract.*15.*in Matth.*

7. *Ambroſe* thus witneſſeth: *Lib.*2.*de Cain & Abel.c.*4. *Remittuntur peccata per Dei verbum, cuius Leuites interpres & executor eſt, Leuites igitur miniſter remiſſionis eſt:* Sinnes are remitted by the word of God, whereof the Leuite is the interpreter, and executor, the Leuite then is the miniſter of remiſſion.

8. To this agreeth our Engliſh confeſſion, *Harm.ſect.*11. Seeing one manner of word is giuen to all, and one onely key belongeth to all, we ſay, there is but one onely power of all Miniſters, as concerning opening and ſhutting.

9. To this accordeth a reuerent learned man of our Church, writing thus: After Biſhops were appointed, &c. at length by cuſtome Presbyters were vtterly excluded from all aduice and counſell, whereof *Ambroſe* complaineth, and Biſhops onely entermedled with the regiment of the Church. This manner of ſubiection in Presbyters, and prelation in Biſhops, grew onely in conti-

nuance of time, and not by any ordinance of Chriſt or his Apoſtles: B.*Bilſon. Of the regiment of the Church.p.237.* Whereby this reuerend author inſinuateth, as the truth is, that at the beginning, Presbyters were ioyned with Biſhops in the regiment of the Church and diſpenſation of the keyes, howſoeuer it is come to paſſe, that they are now vtterly excluded.

We haue the teſtimonie of the holy Martyrs: *Richard Feurus* holy Martyr, In preaching of the word is all the power contained of binding and looſing, *Fox* p.913.col.2.

Iames Bainham Martyr: He that preacheth the word of God, and liueth thereafter, hath the key that bindeth and looſeth both in heauen and earth: the which key is the ſame Scripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other key to binde or looſe, but the key of Scripture, *Fox* p.1029. col.2.

THE NINTH QVESTION, OF THE CEREmonies and circumſtances of penance.

The Papiſts.

1. THey inioyne their penitent Clients to poll their heads, and their women to weare a vaile, to goe in blacke, to put on ſackcloth, to looke ſowrely: and ſuch like preſumptions they haue concerning the habite of thoſe that doe penance, *Bellarm.lib.1.de pœnitent.cap.22.* 75.Error.

The Proteſtants.

OVr Sauiour cleane contrarie biddeth his Diſciples, not to looke ſowrely, nor to disfigure themſelues, when they faſt and repent, or to ſhew any other outward token of their ſorrow, but to doe it ſecretly betweene themſelues and God, to waſh their face, to annoynt themſelues with oyle, that it appeare not to men that they faſt, Matth.6.16.17.

Auguſtine alſo anſwering a certaine obiection, that yong men newly maried might make: How can I ſhaue my head or chaunge my habite? ſaith thus, *Vera conuerſio ſufficit tibi, ſine veſtimentorum commutatione:* The true conuerſion of the heart may ſuffice thee without changing of thy veſture. De tempor. ſerm.67.

The Papiſts.

2. THey inioyned them to faſt bread and water certaine daies in the weeke, to lie hard, to abſtaine from mariage, or to doe ſome great almes-deedes to ſatisfie for their ſinne, *Bellarm. ibid.* to goe a pilgrimage, and ſuch like workes of penance were preſcribed them. 76.Error.

The Proteſtants.

TRue repentance conſiſteth not in ſuch outward exerciſe of the bodie, but is a conuerſion rather of the heart. It was the manner of hypocrites, idolators and ſuperſtitious men, to ſeeke to appeaſe their gods with afflicting of their fleſh, as the Gentiles did cut their haire, Deut.14.1. *Baals* prieſts did launce their fleſh.1.King.18.28.

Argum. What is to bee thought of ſuch puniſhing of the carkaſſe, Saint *Paul* ſheweth, Coloſſ.2.23. He calleth it voluntarie religion or ſuperſtition in not ſparing the bodie: when men do not vſe ſuch outward exerciſes of faſting and abſtinence for the chaſtiſement of the fleſh, to ſubdue it to the ſpirit, but with an opinion of meriting thereby, preferring them before the faith and conuerſion of the heart, as the Papiſts doe.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Non ſit ſatis, quòd doleat, ſed ex fide doleat, & non ſemper doluiſſe, doleat:* Let it not ſuffice to be ſorrowfull, but let his ſorrow proceede of faith, and let it grieue him, that hee is not alwaies grieued for his ſin. So then true repentance is eſpecially an inward work of faith, rather then an exerciſe of the bodie, and it ought alwaies to continue. Wherefore it conſiſteth not in ſuch laborious workes, which if a man ſhould long endure, he ſhould end his life ſooner than repentance. De pœnit. cap. 13.

Their owne Canons thus teſtifie: *Cauſ.33 qu.2.c.13.14.Leo, Coniugia poſt pœnitentiam legitimam non negentur:* Let not mariage bee denied after due penance. Concerning the interdicting of meate, the Councell of *Cabilon.c.35.Quidam, quibus in pœnitentia vini & carniũ vſus, &c.* Some, to whom in penance the vſe of wine and fleſh is interdicted, they not changing their mind but their meate, doe liue more delicately of other things. *Spiritualis autem pœnitentia maxime in pœnitentibus vigere debet:* But ſpirituall repentance ought moſt of all to flouriſh in penitent perſons.

And againſt this heauie yoke of penance in preſcribing ſo many ſuperſtitious obſeruations, thus it ſtandeth in the Canon: *Cauſ.26.qu.7.c.12. Homini, cui graue pondus pœnitentiæ imponis, &c. neceſſe eſt, &c.* The man, vpon whom you impoſe ſo heauie a yoke of penance, muſt either of neceſſitie reiect your penance, or receiuing it, and being not able to beare it, hee muſt be more ſcandalized or offended.

The Papiſts.

3. THey meaſure their penance by number of yeeres and daies: They haue their *quadragenas,* fortie daies penance: *ſeptenas,* ſeuen yeeres penance: *Ex Tileman.Heſhuſ.loc.9.de pœnitent.* 78.Error.

Err.83. And they lengthen or cut ſhort the time of penance at their pleaſure, to continue three, ſeuen, or ten yeeres, yea ſometime more, *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de pœnitent.c.*22.

The Proteſtants.

THat true repentance is not to be meaſured by the time, but by the right ſorrow and contrition of the offender, Saint *Paul* teacheth vs, who writeth for the young man to be releaſed, becauſe of his great and ſufficient heauines for his fault, 2.Cor.2.7.

De tempor. ſerm.66. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Pœnitentia vera, non annorum numero, ſed amaritudine animi cenſetur: pœnitentia quamuis ſit exigui temporis, &c.* True repentance is not meaſured by number of yeeres, but by the bitternes of the ſoule: though it be but for a ſhort time, yet it is not deſpiſed before that iudge which regardeth the heart.

*Synod. Cabilonenſ. ſub Carolo.cap.*34.*Non penſanda eſt pœnitentia quantitate temporis, ſed ardore mentis:* Repentance muſt not be weighed by the quantitie of time, but feruencie of minde.

*Can.*35.*Multi, quod ſine dolore dicendum non eſt, in pœnitentia non tam peccati remiſſionem, quam temporis conſtituti expectant expletionem:* Many, which wee ſay not without griefe, in repentance reſpect not ſo much the remitting of their ſinne, as the fulfilling of the ſet or appointed time of penance.

*Decret. par.*2.*cauſ.*26.*qu.*6.*c.*12. *Iulius: Deus inſpector cordis, non temporis:* God is a beholder of the heart, not of the time. *C.*13.*Celeſtin. Vera conuerſio mente æſtimanda, non tempore:* True conuerſion is to be meaſured by the minde, not the time. *Diſtinct.*1.*de pœnitent.c.*84. *Non tam conſideranda menſura temporis, quam doloris:* The meaſure of the time is not ſo much to be conſidered, as of the griefe of the heart.

THE FIFTEENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE,

OF MATRIMONIE.

THe ſeuerall queſtions belonging to this Controuerſie are theſe:

1 Whether Matrimonie be a Sacrament properly ſo called.

2 Of Polygamie, that is, the marying of many wiues either ſucceſſiuelie, or at once.

3 Of the cauſes of diuorce, and whether it be lawfull to marrie after diuorce.

4 Of the degrees in mariage: Firſt, the manner of ſupputation or accounting of degrees. Secondly, whether the degrees forbidden, Leuit.18. may be diſpenſed with. Thirdly, whether any other degrees may be by humane law prohibited.

5 Of the impediments of mariage, of two ſorts: firſt, of thoſe that may hinder the contract of mariage onely. Secondly, of ſuch impediments as may both diſſolue the contract and the mariage alſo conſummate.

6 The compariſon of mariage and virginitie, whether either be preferred before the other before God.

7 Of the times of mariage prohibited.

8 Of the ceremonies and rites of Mariage.

Of theſe in their order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER Matrimonie be a Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

76. Error. THat it is properly and rightly a Sacrament inſtituted of God, and not deuiſed of men, *Concil.Trid.ſeſſ.*24.*can.*1.

*Argum.*1. Epheſ.5.32. This is a great Sacrament: Matrimonie is here a ſigne of an holy thing, repreſenting the coniunction of Chriſt, and his Church: *Ergo*, a ſacrament.

Anſw. Firſt, the words are thus to be read rather, *This is a great myſterie*. Or if wee reade ſacrament,

ment,they haue no great aduantage, ſeeing they are not ignorant, that the originall word *myſterie*, which they tranſlate ſacrament,is attributed to other things then ſacraments: as 1.Timoth.3. verſ.16.*Myſterie of godlines*: Apocal.17.5. *A myſterie great Babylon*. Neither doe they themſelues much vrge this argument. Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith not, that Matrimonie is a myſterie, but I ſpeake of Chriſt and his Church, verſ.32. Thirdly, Matrimonie wee confeſſe to be inſtituted of God, and to be a ſigne of a holie thing: yet no ſacrament: for ſo was the Sabboth ordained of God,and ſignified the reſt in Chriſt,Heb.4.8.yet was it no ſacrament. Wherefore all ſignificatiue and myſticall ſignes are not ſacraments.

Bellarmine replyeth, that this myſterie whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, is to be applyed vnto marriage,as it is a ſigne of the coniunction of Chriſt and his Church. Firſt, *Hierome* and *Chryſoſtome* ſo expound it; and *Nazianzene* likewiſe. Secondly, this Pronoune demonſtratiue, *hoc*, muſt be referred to that which went before, where he ſpake of marriage. Thirdly, the argument of the whole chapter ſheweth it, for by the example of Chriſt and his Church,the Apoſtle exhorteth men to loue their wiues;but if this myſterie appertained nothing at all to marriage,the Apoſtles argument faileth. Fourthly, the Apoſtle ſaith εἰς Χριστὸν, not ἐν Χριστῷ: not *in Chriſt*, but *to Chriſt*: ſhewing hereby,that the myſterie in marriage is referred to Chriſt. *Bellar.de Matrim.c.*2.

Contra. Firſt, *Hierom* ſpeaketh onely of the marriage of *Adam* and *Eue*. *Adam Chriſtum, &c.* *Adam* prefigured Chriſt; *Eue* the Church: this maketh nothing for marriage now: for that marriage was before ſinne in the ſtate of innocencie, and before the time of grace: it followeth not it was a figure then, and therefore a ſigne now. *Chryſoſtome* onely ſaith, *Magnum myſterium, relicto eo,qui genuit,&c.* This is a great myſterie, that woman forſaking him that begat her, ſhould cleaue to her husband,&c. he ſpeaketh not of any myſterie in marriage referred to Chriſt. *Nazianzene* rather maketh againſt them: *Scio, quia locus iſte,&c.* I know,that this place is full of Sacraments; but thinke it to be vnderſtood of Chriſt and his Church: he ſaith no more than the Apoſtle doth,making no mention of marriage.

Secondly, this demonſtratiue τοῦτο,is in Scripture referred to that which followeth, as well as to that which goeth before: as Mark.16.17.*Theſe ſignes*, ταῦτα, *ſhall follow them that beleeue*: and then the ſignes are rehearſed.

Thirdly, it followeth not, becauſe the Apoſtle draweth his exhortation from the loue of Chriſt to his Church, that whatſoeuer hee ſpeaketh of Chriſt and his Church, ſhould be repreſented in marriage: as verſ.26. *He gaue himſelfe for it, that he might ſanctifie it,and cleanſe it,&c.* Can he ſhew any ſuch myſterie in marriage?

Fourthly, he ſheweth his ignorance in the Greeke tongue: for εἰς is often times taken for ἐν, *in*: as εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καθεζόμενοι, To ſit in the Church: *Aeſchin.* εἰς στήλην γράφειν, To write in a pillar, *Demoſt.* So that in this place εἰς, *to*, may very well be taken for, ἐν, *in*.

Laſtly, *Ambroſe* vpon this place, *Myſterium ſacramentum grande, &c.* This myſterie is a great Sacrament,in the vnity of the man and woman: *nec hoc prodit,&c.* yet he bringeth not forth this, but rendreth another cauſe of the Church and the Sauiour.

Argum. 2. Matrimonie giueth grace of ſanctification to the parties married. Shee ſhall be ſaued in bearing of children, if they continue in faith and loue, 1.Timoth. 2.15. Theſe are the graces giuen by matrimonie: *Ergo*,a Sacrament.

Anſ. Firſt, we denie that any ſacraments giue or conferre grace, they are inſtruments onely of grace. Secondly, wee alſo graunt, that by matrimonie God giueth to the faithfull this ſpeciall grace, To liue in holines and pureneſſe, from the filthie pollution of the fleſh: but the ſacraments are ſeales of ſpirituall graces,and ſerue for the encreaſe of faith: it is not ſufficient to be a meanes of any common gift,but of the ſpirituall and iuſtifying grace to make a ſacrament. Thirdly, wherefore if by faith and loue here they vnderſtand onely the fidelitie and dutie of wedlocke, they are not thoſe ſpirituall graces, whereof ſacraments are ſeales: if wee take them for the true faith and loue, which are the common graces of the faithfull, as the very meaning is, they are as well to be had out of wedlocke, as in it. Laſtly, if they will receiue *Hieromes* expoſition of this place(which I doe not greatly vrge) they can haue no colour at all out of this place: for this ſentence *Si permanſerint*, If they continue, he referreth to the children: *Si illos erudierint in fide,&c.* If they bring them vp in faith and loue,&c. And this ſeemeth to be more agreeable to the letter, becauſe here the Apoſtle chaungeth the number,ſpeaking in the plurall, *If they continue*: but before in the ſingular, *Shee ſhall be ſaued, &c.* And where it is obiected, That then the ſaluation of the mothers ſhould depend vpon the faith of their children: the anſwer is,That the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the cauſes of ſaluation,but of remoouing the impediments, that women notwithſtanding bearing of children in ſorrow, which was laid vpon them for a puniſhment ſhall be ſaued: their bearing of children ſhall be no impediment vnto their ſaluation,if they haue a care to bring them vp well. If therefore *Hieromes* interpretation beare any credite with them, *aduerſ. Iouinian.* the graces here named, doe appertaine to the children, not to the women.

The Proteſtants.

THat matrimonie is no ſacrament of the Goſpell, ſpeaking now properly, and vnderſtanding a ſacrament, for the ſeale of the grace of God in the remiſſion of our ſinnes by Chriſt, it is thus prooued:

Argum. 1. Matrimonie was inſtituted by God, before ſinne in Paradiſe, therefore it can be no ſacrament of the Goſpell.

Matrimonie alſo may be betweene Infidels, who are not capable of the ſacraments of the Church: *Ergo, Argum. Luther. Caluin.*

Bellarm. anſwereth: 1. the ioyning together of *Adam* and *Eue*, had no promiſe of grace, or ſpirituall benediction, but onely a corporall: *Increaſe and multiply:* and therefore there is great difference betweene that marriage, and ours now: *Bellarm.*

Contra. 1. Looke what promiſe of grace the marriage of Chriſtians now hath, the ſame had matrimonie in Paradiſe: as marriage hath now a promiſe of fœcunditie and mutuall comfort, and to be a remedie againſt vncleanneſſe: the two firſt were promiſed in Paradiſe: *Fœcunditie*, Gen. 1. 28. mutuall helpe and comfort, 2. 20. the third was not then needfull, ſinne as yet not being knowne in the world. Secondly, S. *Paul* ſpeaking of the marriage of the faithfull, Epheſ. 5. 31. vſeth the ſame forme of wordes which *Adam* did at the very firſt inſtitution, *Therefore ſhall a man leaue father and mother, &c.* hereby ſhewing the inſtitution and ſubſtance of that matrimonie, and ours, to be all one. Thirdly, the maſter of the Sentences ſaith. *Lib. 4. diſt. 2. b. Coniugium ante peccatum inſtitutum eſt ad ſacramentum:* Marriage was inſtituted before ſinne, to be a ſacrament. *Diſtinct. 22. c. Sacramentum pœnitentiæ, ſicut & coniugij ante tempus gratiæ à primordio humani generis fuit:* The ſacrament of penance, as likewiſe the ſacrament of marriage, were from the beginning of mankind before the time of grace: then it followeth, that matrimonie is no ſacrament of the Goſpell, being inſtituted before.

Bellarm. 2. The matrimonie betweene Infidels is but a ciuill contract to performe the duty of nature: but the marriage of Chriſtians is more, *Bellar. lib. 1. de Matrimon. cap. 5.*

Contra. Though Chriſtians know, how better to vſe marriage, than Infidels; yet the end and ſcope of them both is all one, as for mutuall comfort, for propagation, and to auoid fornication: theſe be the chiefe ends of marriage, which in ſome ſort are to be found among Infidels: and therfore it is no ſacrament.

Argum. 2. Our aduerſaries are contrarie to themſelues: for they call matrimonie a prophanation of Orders, *Martin. ſect. 15. cap. 11.* And they ſay it is more tollerable for a Prieſt to keepe many concubines, than to marrie; *Pighius ex Tileman. Heſhuſ. loc. 21. Err. 2.* Doe theſe fellowes meane in good ſooth, that matrimonie is a ſacrament, which they make ſo vile, polluted, and vncleane a thing?

Pope *Siricius* alſo applyeth this ſaying of S. *Paul*, againſt marriage of Miniſters, *They that are in the fleſh, cannot pleaſe God, Epiſt. ad Himerium Tarraconenſ.* But if matrimonie were a ſacrament, why ſhould it not agree with Orders, one ſacrament with another?

Bellarm. anſwereth, that *Siricius* condemneth not marriage, but ſacriledge, that is, the vnlawfull marriage of miniſters. Secondly, it cannot be denyed, but that in the act of matrimonie there is vncleanneſſe, *& turpitudo*, filthineſſe: for why elſe ſhould the prieſt ſay to *Dauid, Are ye cleane from women?* 1. Sam. 21. And what elſe is the cauſe, why men are aſhamed to exerciſe this act before others: and the Apoſtle ſaith, *That the virgine careth for the things of the Lord, &c. that ſhe may be holy both in bodie and ſpirit*, 1. Cor. 7. 34. *Ergo*, they haue an holineſſe in bodie, which the married haue not: and therefore in ſome ſenſe it may be ſaid of marriage: They that are in the fleſh, cannot pleaſe God: *reſp. ad arg. 4.*

Contra. Firſt, 1. the mariage of miniſters is commendable, and allowable by the word of God, as I haue ſhewed before in that controuerſie: and the Scripture ſaith, Hebr. 13. 4. *Marriage is honourable among all men:* 2. againe, that place Rom. 8. 8. They that are in the fleſh, is egregiouſly abuſed: for the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not there of marriage, but of the ſinfull workes of the fleſh: 3. *they that are in the fleſh, are not ſubiect to the law of God, neither can be*, v. 7. *they are not Chriſts*, v. 9. ſay thus if ye dare of married perſons: 4. the Apoſtle alſo ſpeaking to ſuch as were married men, as to *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, whome he greeteth by name, Rom. 16. 3. ſaith, v. 9. *Yee are not in the fleſh but in the ſpirit.*

Secondly, 1. how far is this fellow from the hereſie of the Marcionites & Tatianites; they counted mariage vnlawfull, & he calleth it vnclean: 2. the prieſt ſpeaketh of a legal kind of cleanlines, as in that reſpect the virgine *Mary* was to be purified, Luc. 2. 22. will ye therefore iudge her vnclean? 3. neither is euery thing done in ſecret, vnclean: Chriſt biddeth vs to pray in ſecret, Mat. 6. and a man is oft aſhamed, that his humble behauiour ſhould be ſeene in praier; is it therefore vncleane? modeſtie alſo teacheth man to couer the vncomely parts, 1. Cor. 12. 23. will ye ſay therefore, that any of the parts of the body are vncleane? *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Nuptia ſinuntur exercere* *quod decet, vt non negligant occultare, quod dedecet:* Marriage is ſuffered to exerciſe that which is lawfull, ſo that it hide that which is vncomely ; he ſaith not, vncleane : *Lib.2. de grat.c.7.* 4. The virgine is ſaid to take care to pleaſe God, and to be holy, &c. not becauſe the maried are vnholy : for the Apoſtle ſaith the contrarie, *If their children be holy*, 1.Cor.7.14. how are they vnholy : but it is ſpoken comparatiuely, becauſe the vnmarried haue better helpes, and are void of thoſe impediments which accompanie marriage. 5. Laſtly, the Apoſtle ſaith, *the marriage bed is vndefiled:* Heb.13.2. how dare he ſay it is defiled; wee ſpeake not of the abuſe, but of the right vſe of marriage. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Copula nuptialis, non quaſi culpa vitanda, &c.* The marriage copulation, is not to be ſhunned as a fault. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Libidinis voluptas non propter nuptias cadit in culpam, ſed propter nuptias accipit veniam* : The pleaſure of luſt is not culpable becauſe of marriage, but pardonable : *De nupt.& concup. lib.*1. *c.*14

Secondly *Bellar.* anſwereth, That matrimonie is forbidden thoſe that take orders, not as it is a ſacrament, but becauſe it bringeth worldly cares and other impediments.

Contra. Nay they prohibite marriage to ſuch, as it is a ſacrament : for a principall part of this their ſacrament conſiſteth in the matrimoniall act and copulation : which although *Bellarmine* inſtantly denie, is prooued thus euen by his owne confeſſion : he graunteth that matrimonie is a myſticall ſigne of the ſpirituall coniunction of Chriſt and his Church, *cap.*2. but this is repreſented in the matrimoniall coniunction : *They two ſhall be one fleſh, this is a great ſecret* : *Ergo*, herein conſiſteth the ſacrament ; and this act of matrimonie (they ſay) is a pollution of orders : and thus one ſacrament is polluted by another.

Bellarmine replyeth, that the act of copulation, or carnall act in Matrimonie, is no eſſentiall part of the Sacrament. Secondly, it is not abſurd, that they which haue one Sacrament, ſhould be without another ; as the Apoſtles refuſed the miniſterie of Deacons : Act.6. *Bellarm.reſponſ. ad argum.6.*

Firſt, the Canon of *Leo* is directly contrary : *Cum ſocietas nuptiarum à principio ita ſit inſtituta, &c.* Seeing the ſocietie of mariage was ſo inſtituted at the firſt, *Vt præter coniunctionem ſexuum, non habeant in ſe nuptiæ:* That beſide the coniunction of ſexe, Mariage hath not the Sacrament of coniunction of Chriſt and his Church, it is not to be doubted, but that the woman doth not appertaine to marriage, with the which there hath beene no matrimoniall act or miniſterie. This Canon ſaith directly, that the ſacrament of mariage is in the matrimoniall copulation.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Canon muſt be read without the negatiue, *Vt præter, &c. habeant, &c.* that beſide the coniunction, mariage hath the Sacrament, &c.

Contra. Firſt, if the negatiue be taken away, there is no ſenſe in the Canon : for a woman not carnally knowne, is proued to be no wife, becauſe the Sacrament of mariage onely conſiſteth in the carnall act. Secondly, the Maſter of ſentences rehearſeth this Canon with a negatiue, *lib.*4. *diſtinct.*26.*g.* *Bellarmine* thinketh moſt abſurdly, that the Maſter muſt be read without a negatiue, whereas he alleageth the Canon to proue *Illam mulierem, &c.* That a woman pertaineth not to mariage, that is not carnally knowne, which this Canon proueth not, if the negatiue be omitted. Thirdly, other Canons do agree, *ibid.c.*18.*Benedict. Non poſſe fieri vnam carnem, &c.* They cannot be one fleſh, but by carnall copulation: but the myſterie is in being made one fleſh, as S. *Ambroſe* calleth it *Myſterium vnitatis*, the myſterie of vnitie. Fourthly, *Bellarmine* himſelfe granteth, that when the contract is made onely *per verba de futuro*, by words of the future time, then the carnall copulation is an eſſentiall part, and that then *ex opere operato*, by the worke wrought, the coniugall act doth conferre grace : *Bellarm.ibid.* Where by the way let it be remembred, that the carnall acte, which before he proued to be vncleane, is now affirmed to be ſo holy, that it doth conferre grace.

Secondly, 1. He is neuer able to proue, that he which hath one Sacrament of Chriſtian religion, is ſimply to be denied the other, as they denie Miniſters that haue orders, to be maried, which both are ſacraments in their religion : but the true Sacraments of the Church, as Baptiſme, and the Euchariſt, are general and free for all, that are fitte for them. 2. The Apoſtles refuſed not the office of Deacons as vnlawfull, but as inconuenient : neyther is this any Sacrament, and the Apoſtles did execute the office of Deacons at the firſt themſelues. 3. Though it ſhould be granted, that the Sacraments may be diuided, in reſpect of perſons, that ſome may haue one and not another ; yet it is not to be endured, that one Sacrament polluteth another, as they ſay, Matrimonie is a defiling of Orders : wherefore they themſelues denie it to be a Sacrament : for Sacraments to all are holy, but mariage in Miniſters they make vnholy and vncleane.

*Argum.*3. In euery Sacrament there ought to be an externall ſenſible element, as the matter, and a ſanctifying worde, as the forme : But in Matrimonie there is neither : *Ergo*, it is no Sacrament. *argum. Kemnitij, Caluin.*

Bellarm. The forme, are the words pronounced by the parties themſelues, when they contract Matrimony : *I do take thee, &c.* They alſo themſelues are the matter: yea, and the Miniſters of the Sacrament too: For the Ieſuite holdeth, that it is a Sacrament in the very contract and giuing of mutuall conſent, before it be ſolemnized in the Church, *De matrim.cap.6.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Sacrament is one thing, and the receiuers another: therefore the married parties cannot be the ſacramentall matter, being the receiuers. Secondly, it is not euery worde that ſanctifyeth, but the word of God, 1.Tim.4.5.but theſe words, *I take thee*, are no part of the word: *Ergo*, they want alſo the forme of a Sacrament. Thirdly, the Miniſters of Chriſt, and preachers of the word are only the diſpenſers of the myſteries and Sacraments of the Church, 1.Corinth.4.1. Wherefore the parties themſelues could not be Miniſters of Matrimonie, if it were a Sacrament.

Fourthly, I will adioyne the reaſons of ſome of the Papiſts: *Eſpenſaus de clandeſtin.matrim.c.*14. *Ad huius Sacramenti rationem, patres verbum fidei requiſiuerunt in lege,&c.* The fathers in the law required the word of faith to this Sacrament, how much more in the Goſpell: but this, *I take thee*, is not the word of faith: *cap.*15.*ex Groppero: Vt venerabilem Euchariſtiam idem et porrigat & capiat, cætera non item Sacramenta:* The Euchariſt, one and the ſame man may giue and receiue, but it is not ſo in other Sacraments: no man doth baptize or confirme himſelfe: and ſo conſequently, if priuate Matrimonie were a Sacrament, no man could marrie himſelfe.

*Arg.*4. We haue plentifull teſtimonie of the Papiſts themſelues, ſome affirme Matrimonie a ſacrament of the old Teſtament, not of the new: as *Alphonſus à caſtro, lib.*11.*cont.hæreſes.hæreſ.*3.*Petrus a Soto, lect.*2.*de Matrim.* Some hold it no Sacrament at all, as *Durandus*, whoſe reaſons do here follow: other denie priuate Matrimonie to be a Sacrament, being contracted onely, not ſolemnized, as *Canus*, whom *Bellarmine* confuteth, *cap.*8. Of the ſame opinion is *Gropperus* before alleaged: *Catharinus* alſo affirmeth, priuate contract of mariage, without the conſent of the parents to be no Sacrament, becauſe it is no mariage: *ex Eſpenſ.de clandeſtin.matrim.c.*15.

Now *Durand* his reaſons, to proue mariage properly no Sacrament, are theſe.

Firſt, in euery Sacrament, there is ſome ſpirituall thing ſignified, that exceedeth naturall reaſon; as in baptiſme by the waſhing of water, the remiſſion of ſinnes is ſhewed forth: but in marriage, when two are preſented to be ioyned together, a naturall man may comprehend why they are coupled together. It may be anſwered, that the ſpirituall thing in mariage, is the coniunction of Chriſt and his Church. *Contra.* Sacraments doe effect that, which they ſignifie; but matrimonie doth not effect the vnion of Chriſt and his Church, but onely the vnion of the male and female: *Ergo*, that is not the principall ſignification of marriage.

Bellar. anſwereth, that not the vnion onely, but ſuch an vnion as is inſoluble; and as well the vnion of their ſoules and bodies is ſignified in marriage, which exceedeth naturall reaſon.

Contra. Firſt, the vnion of the married parties to be inſoluble, is naturall; for both among the Gentiles, as the Romanes a long time, there was no diuorce in marriage knowne or heard of: the Turtle Doues by nature are taught to keepe themſelues inſeparably one to the other: therefore this exceedeth not humane reaſon. Secondly, the vnion of the mind is no eſſentiall part of marriage, for the marriage holdeth in the vnion of the bodie, though there be no vniting of the affections: *they two ſhall be one fleſh*, it is not ſaid, *one ſoule*.

Secondly, *Durand.* in a ſacrament, there muſt be ſome holy thing applyed to the receiuer by the miniſter: as in baptiſme, water; in matrimonie it is not ſo: there is neither any outward holy ſigne, nor no miniſter neceſſarie beſide the parties, nor yet any receiuer need be preſent, for matrimonie may be ſolemnized by a Proctor betweene parties that are abſent: *Ergo*, it is no Sacrament.

Bellar. anſwereth: The reaſon why matrimonie is vnlike other Sacraments in theſe points, is, for that it is of the nature of a contract: now in a contract, the parties themſelues ſuffice; and it may be done in their abſence, *Bellar.c.*5.*reſp.ad argum.*11.

Contra. In humane contracts it is ſo, as he affirmeth, no ſuch things are required; but in diuine contracts it is otherwiſe; of which nature all ſacraments are: for as it is ſaid of circumciſion, it was *a ſigne of the couenant*, or contract betweene God and his people, Geneſ. 17.11. ſo all ſacraments are badges of our profeſſion, and the cogniſance of our obedience promiſed vnto God: ſo that in this behalfe there is no difference betweene one ſacrament and another; they being all ſolemne contracts and couenants made betweene God and vs.

Thirdly, Sacraments giue grace, as the Papiſts affirme; they are ſeales and pledges of grace, as the Proteſtants hold: but matrimonie neither conferreth nor ſealeth grace; not the firſt grace, which is remiſſion of ſinnes; nor the ſecond, which is encreaſe of grace. The maſter of the Sentences ſaith, that ſome ſacraments doe conferre grace as baptiſme, ſome in *remedium tantum ſunt*, are onely appointed for a remedie, as matrimonie: *Lib.*4.*diſt.*2.*a.Durand.*

Bellar. anſwereth, that the meaning of the Maſter is, that matrimonie was not principally ordained to this end, for remiſſion of ſinnes; and yet it doth after a ſort remit ſinnes, as the Euchariſt and the Sacrament of order: *reſp.ad argum.*12.

Contra. Firſt, the Maſter ſaith, that matrimonie is *tantum in remedium*, is onely for a remedie: if onely, then it ſerueth not chiefly, but altogether to that end. Secondly, we deny any ſacrament of order: the Euchariſt properly ſerueth to aſſure our faith of the remiſſion of ſinnes, becauſe it is a ſhewing forth of the Lords death: and our Sauiour ſaith, *which was ſhed for you, for remiſſion of ſinnes:* but there is no ſuch promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes annexed to matrimonie. Thirdly, *Bellarmine* affirmed before, *reſp. ad arg.* 7. that ſome ſacraments (as matrimonie) are not inſtituted for remiſſion of ſinnes; and now (forgetting himſelfe) he ſaith, it ſerueth for remiſſion of ſinnes: ſo well he agreeth with himſelfe. Fourthly, the Church cannot alter or appoint the eſſentials of any ſacrament, the Church doth appoint the eſſentials of matrimonie, as in determining what perſons are to be married, and in what degrees: *Ergo*, it is no ſacrament, *Durand.*

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, that the ordinance of the Church is of the neceſſitie of the ſacrament, as in penance it is no abſolution that is giuen to one of another dioceſſe. Secondly, the materiall part of Matrimonie, is not ſimply the ioyning together of man and woman, but of ſuch perſons as are lawfull: for otherwiſe the ſacrament of Matrimonie might be betweene the father and the daughter, and ſuch like neare degrees.

Contra. Firſt, as for Penance, this ſheweth ſufficiently that it is no ſacrament, becauſe it dependeth of the ordination of the Church: ſo doe not true ſacraments which onely depend of Chriſts inſtitution: as the Apoſtle deliuered no other thing as touching the Sacraments, but, that which he had receiued of the Lord, 1. Corinth. 11. 23. Secondly, ſuch degrees in Mariage, as the Scripture prohibiteth, are neceſſarie to bee obſerued, as betweene the father and daughter, &c. But the Church of Rome preſuming to forbid other degrees, and to make more perſons illegitimate for mariage, then the Scripture doth, taketh vpon her to alter and chaunge the materiall part of Matrimonie: which no Church hath power to doe in true Sacraments.

Fiftly, without Baptiſme none are capable of any Sacrament: but a man before Baptiſme is capable of Matrimonie: *Ergo*, it is no ſacrament. *Durand.*

Bellarm. Though it be Matrimonie afore Baptiſme, it is no ſacrament: but after they are conuerted to the faith, it beginneth to be ſacrament.

Contra. The Matrimonie before Baptiſme, muſt either be contracted anew, or elſe it remaineth the ſame ſtill: but a new contract is not to be made: for if God haue ioyned them together before, no man muſt *put them aſunder*, Matth. 19. 6. to be contracted and conioyned againe: if they were not ioyned of God, then was it no Matrimonie. Againe, what if but one of the parties be conuerted, the other remaineth an Infidell, and ſo refuſeth to be contracted againe: yet is this Matrimonie holie, and the iſſue thereof holie, 1. Cor. 7. 14. though there be no new contract. If the ſame Matrimonie remaine ſtill without alteration, how is it more a ſacrament after Baptiſme then before, ſeeing the ſame eſſentials, both the matter and forme were in the Matrimonie before? Of the firſt opinion are *Capreolus, Eckius*, that a new contract is needfull: of the other, *Thomas de Argentine, Paludanus:* ſo well they agree together. And thus are *Durands* arguments fortified againſt this ſacrament.

Auguſtine thus writeth: *Ne quis iſtam magnitudinem ſacramenti in ſingulis quibuſque hominibus vxores habentibus intelligeret, ego autem dico, inquit, &c.* Leaſt any man ſhould thinke when the Apoſtle had ſaid, *this is a great ſacrament*, that this great ſacrament is to be vnderſtood of all married perſons, the Apoſtle addeth, *but I ſpeake of Chriſt and his Church.* But if ſo be Matrimonie were a ſacrament, why is it not to be found in all maried folke?

Tract. in Ioh. 8

Concil. Florent in. in fine: Sacramenta tribus perficiuntur, rebus tanquam materia, verbis vt forma, & perſona miniſtri conferentis ſacramentum: quarum ſi aliquid deſit, non perficitur ſacramentum: The ſacraments are perfited of three things, the things or elements as the matter, the words as the forme, and the perſon of the miniſter conferring the ſacrament; if any of theſe be wanting, the ſacraments are not perfect. According to this rule Matrimonie is no ſacrament: for in the contract, when it ſhould begin to be a ſacrament, there want both the matter and the element, which can not be the parties themſelues, and the Miniſter which ſhould conferre the ſacrament: neither haue they words of inſtitution to be found in Scripture.

The holie Martyrs haue ſealed this truth: *Richard Woodman:* There neede not be a ſigne of an holie thing, where the holie thing is it ſelfe: Matrimonie is an holie thing it ſelfe, and is ended outwardly: *Ergo*, it is no ſacrament, *Fox* pag. 1990. col. 2.

Maſter *Benbridge* Martyr, he denieth Matrimonie to be a ſacrament, but confeſſeth it to be a ſacrate order, &c. and gaue his life in defence hereof. pag. 2046. artic. 10.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF POLYGAMIE, of the mariage of diuers ſucceſſiuely. Part.1.

The Papiſts.

80.Error. THeir decrees ſeeme vtterly to condemne and exclude ſecond mariage. *Cauſ.*31.*c.*8.Penance is inioyned ſecond mariage, and a Miniſter is forbidden to be preſent at the celebration of them. *C.*9.Second marriage is called,***honeſta fornicatio,*** honeſt fornication. Theſe Canons ***Bellarmine*** is aſhamed of, and refuſeth them : why then doe they ſuffer them to ſtand among the reſt of the decrees collected by ***Gratian?*** But yet ***Bellarmine*** cannot ſo ſhift off the matter: for it appeareth that they haue a very baſe conceite of ſecond marriage, ſeeing they barre all ſuch from orders, as haue been twice married : as in their owne decrees, *C.*31.*c.*10. this reaſon is giuen : ***Quam ſancta ſit digamia hinc oſtenditur,&c.*** How holy a thing it is to be twice married, it appeareth by this, that ſuch are not choſen to the Clergie. And againe, they denie publike bleſſing vnto ſecond mariage. ***Bellarmine*** would ſalue vp the matter thus, becauſe the bleſſing giuen in the firſt marriage contiueth ſtill,***cap.9.***

The Proteſtants.

COncerning the denying of orders to them that are twice married, I haue entreated elſewhere in the generall Controuerſie of the Clergie : that publike benediction is to be vſed in ſecond marriage as well as in the firſt, we proue it thus:

Firſt, I reaſon thus from their owne principles : Euery Sacrament at the celebration thereof muſt be bleſſed : for, ***Euery thing is ſanctified by the word and prayer,*** 1.Timoth.4.5. But ſecond marriage with them is a ſacrament : ***Ergo,*** publikely to be bleſſed. And whereas it is alleaged, that the former bleſſing remaineth. I anſwere : firſt, the firſt Matrimonie remaineth not : ***Ergo,*** neither the benediction. For the firſt couples being parted by death, and ſo the mariage knot diſſolued, how can that bleſſing remaine, which was pronounced ouer them but while they liued ? Againe, Matrimoniall benediction is no more effectuall, than the benediction in the Euchariſt : but that is often renewed : ***Ergo,*** ſo may the other.

Secondly, ***Raguel*** bleſſed the marriage of young ***Tobie*** and ***Sara,*** which was giuen in marriage to ſeuen men before, ***Tobie*** 7.11,13. ***Ergo,*** ſecond marriage may be bleſſed. This booke is Scripture with them, and therefore concludeth againſt them ſtrongly.

Further, where God bleſſeth, there man ought to bleſſe much more : but Gods bleſſing is vpon the married couple being fit for procreation, though it be in their ſecond, or third marriage, ***Encreaſe and multiplie*** : ***Ergo,*** the Miniſters bleſſing is to be adioyned.

Laſtly, ***Leo*** ſaith, ***Epiſtol.9.c.4. Ancillam à toro abijcere, & vxorem certæ ingenuitatis accipere, non duplicatio coniugij, ſed profectus honeſtatis eſt*** : For a man to reiect his maide, or concubine from his bed, and to marrie a wife that is a freewoman, is not a doubling of marriage, but a profiting in honeſtie. I reaſon thus : Marriage after fornication doth receiue publike benediction, becauſe it is not the ſecond, but the firſt marriage : ***Ergo,*** much more ſhall marriage after lawfull marriage be publikely bleſſed : vnleſſe they will make marriage worſe than fornication.

THE SECOND PART OF POLYGAMIE, which is the marriage of diuers wiues at once.

The Papiſts.

81.Error. IT is their opinion, that it was lawfull not onely for the Patriarches of the Hebrues, but for the Gentiles alſo by way of diſpenſation to haue many wiues.

Argum.1. Sara gaue conſent to ***Abraham*** to take him another wife, which ſhe would not haue done, if it had been vnlawfull : ſo ***Iacobs*** wiues offered vnto him two other wiues: ***Bellarm.cap.11. propoſ.4.***

Contra. Firſt, from the infirmities of holy men, or women, the argument followeth not, to proue the thing lawfull. ***Sara*** twice diſſembled, and in affirming to be ***Abrahams*** ſiſter, conſequently denied to be his wife : ſo did ***Rebecca*** once : it followeth not, that it is therefore lawfull. Secondly, thoſe were ***Abrahams*** and ***Iacobs*** concubines, not their wiues : they may as well inferre, that they had a diſpenſation alſo to haue concubines beſide their wiues : that ***Hagar*** was not ***Abrahams*** wife, while ***Sara*** liued, whatſoeuer ſhe was afterward (for ſome think, that ***Keturah*** his ſecond wife was ***Hagar***) it appeareth : 1. Becauſe ſhe is ſtill called ***Saraes*** maide, and vnder her correction, Geneſ.16.6. 2. And the Angel biddeth her humble her ſelfe to her dame, verſ.9. 3. At the length, ſhe is caſt out with her ſonne, Geneſ.21. 4. She is alſo ſtill called a ***bondwoman,*** Geneſ.21.10. But if ſhe had been ***Abrahams*** wife, ſhe ſhould haue been free.

Argum.2. That it was lawfull alſo for the Gentiles by diſpenſation to haue many wiues, he proueth by the example of *Laban*, who was an idolater, and gaue to *Iacob* two wiues: *Eſau* alſo, who belonged not to the people of God, had many wiues, imitating therein, as it is like, the example of *Abraham*: *Bellarm.c.*11.*propoſ.*5.

Anſw. Firſt, neither *Laban*, nor *Eſau* were altogether ſtraungers from the people of God, and therfore are not well brought forth, as example of the Gentiles: for if *Laban* had bin a meere Gentile, *Iacob* had not been ſent to take his wife from thence: and *Eſau* when he tooke his two wiues, was yet in his fathers houſe, Geneſ.26.35. and ſo one of the familie. Secondly, the fact of theſe proueth no more the lawfulnes of many wiues, than *Labans* Images doe warrant the worſhip of many Gods. Thirdly, it is not like that *Eſau* herein imitated *Abraham*: 1. for *Sara* was dead before *Eſau* was borne, and therefore in *Eſaus* remembrance hee had not two wiues. 2. And his father *Iſaacks* example was neerer to him to be imitated, who had but one wife. 3. If he had reſpected the imitation of *Abraham*, hee would not haue married out of the Hittites, to grieue his parents. Laſtly, *Auguſtine* ſaith of the Patriarches, *Coniugio vſi ſunt propter dei populum propagandum*: They vſed mariage for the propagation of the people of God: Their Polygamie he thinketh was tolerated for the encreaſing of the Church. But the Church among the Gentiles was not encreaſed: *Ergo*, there was no reaſon of any ſuch toleration amongſt them. *Auguſt. de Virginit.cap.*20.

The Proteſtants.

Concerning Polygamie, or the hauing of diuers wiues at once, our ſentence is this: firſt, that it was neuer lawfull, being either a tranſgreſſion, of, or at the leaſt a digreſſion from the firſt inſtitution in the creation. Secondly, yet in the Patriarches wee denie not, before there was yet any law written, in reſpect of the neceſſitie of thoſe times, it was by vſe and cuſtome tolerated, though not by any diſpenſation authorized. Thirdly, among the Gentiles, where there was not the like reaſon or occaſion, it was neither lawfull, nor tolerable. Fourthly, after *Moſes* law written, and the Church in them encreaſed, we doubt not but that the multitude of wiues was a ſinne and corruption.

Firſt, the Prophet *Malachie* ſaith, chap.2.15. *Did he not make one, yet had he abundance of ſpirit? and wherefore one? becauſe he ſought a godly ſeede.* Here the Prophet ſheweth, that the firſt inſtitution in the creation, was of one wife: So our Sauiour, Matth.19.8. doth ſend vs to the firſt inſtitution, *From the beginning it was not ſo*, verſ.4. At the beginning God made *them male and female*: one male, and one female: and *they two ſhall be one fleſh*, not three, or foure, but only two are made in one: therefore Polygamie is a breach and tranſgreſſion of the firſt inſtitution.

Secondly, that there was neuer any diſpenſation graunted to make it lawfull, it is euident. 1. Chriſt ſaith, *Moſes for the hardnes of your harts, &c.* verſ.8. wee reade of no diſpenſation, but a toleration in *Moſes*, and by reaſon of the hardnes of the Iewes hearts. 2. A diſpenſation muſt be of as high a nature as the inſtitution: but the firſt inſtitution was giuen in the creation, and deliuered by tradition, though it were not written, not onely by *inſpiration* (as he ſuppoſeth) the like tradition muſt be ſhewed for the diſpenſation. 3. If there had been any ſuch diſpenſation, why did not the righteous firſt take benefite of it, to whom it was ſpecially graunted, but wicked *Lamech* was the firſt that tooke two wiues. 4. And the diſpenſation being generall, for the procreation of the righteous ſeede, they ſhould haue offended, that vſed not that libertie being for a common good: as *Iſaack*, that had onely *Rebecca*, and by her but one birth. 5. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Nullam legitur Iacob petiſſe præter vnam, &c. neque hoc faceret, niſi vxores flagitaſſent*: *Iacob* deſired but one, neither would hee haue vſed more, if his wiues had not requeſted it: *lib.*14. *de Ciuitat. cap.*38. If there had been any ſuch diſpenſation, why ſhould he haue deſired one rather than two? and what needed he to haue the conſent of his wiues? it was then a permiſſion onely, no diſpenſation.

Thirdly, Polygamie among the Gentiles was altogether vnlawfull: firſt, they ſerued not for the propagation of the Church, for the which Polygamie was tolerated. Secondly, the fathers are excuſed, *Quia caſtius habebant plures, quàm nunc vnam*: Becauſe they vſed many wiues more chaſtly, than now one, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: But the Gentiles had no knowledge, how to poſſeſſe their veſſels in holineſſe, *but in the luſt of concupiſcence*, 1.Theſſ.4.5. They could not vſe one wife chaſtly, much leſſe many.

Fourthly, after the law of *Moſes* written, Polygamie was a corruption and tranſgreſsion: firſt, there was then no neceſſitie of propagation, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Cum copia ſpiritualis cognationis exuberet*: When there was plentie of the ſpirituall kindred: *de Virgin.cap.*10. Secondly, it was contrarie to the law: Deut.25.17. *The King ſhall not take many wiues, leaſt his heart turne away.* The author of the queſtions vpon Deuteron. vnder *Auguſtines* name, *cap.*27. ſaith, that *Dauid* did not tranſgreſſe this lawe but *Salomon*, *Quia habuit paucas, non multas*: *Dauid* had a few wiues, not many.

Anſw. 1. *Dauid* had not ſo many as *Salomon*, and therefore was not ſo deepe in tranſgreſſion: but yet he had with *Michol* and *Bathſheba* eight wiues, 2. Sam. 3. which are many: yea any number aboue two with the Hebrues maketh a *pluralitie*. 2. The reaſon of the law is, *leaſt his heart turne away*. This fruite of Polygamie was in *Dauid*; for his heart was turned away from iuſtice by the loue of women, as appeareth in the ſtorie of *Vriah*. 3. The Prophet *Malachie* calleth it *godlie ſeede*, which commeth of ſingle marriage after Gods inſtitution: and therefore *Dauid* tranſgreſſing herein, was chaſtiſed with vngodly children.

Laſtly, thus their own decrees teſtifie: *Cauſ.* 31. *c.* 10. *Primus Lamech homicida vnam carnem diuiſit in duas vxores; fratricidium & digamiam eadem cataclyſmi deleuit pœna, &c. Lamech* the murderer was the firſt that diuided one fleſh into two wiues: fratricide and digamie, the ſame puniſhment of the flood tooke away: *Quantum diſtas in numero, tantum in crimine*: As thou exceedeſt in number, ſo likewiſe in ſinne.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE CAVSES OF diuorce in mariage, and whether it be lawfull to marrie after diuorce.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THERE may be more cauſes of diuorce, than fornication onely.

The Papiſts.

82. Error. Diuorce, as *Bellarmine* defineth it, is either from the duties of mariage, as from bed and boord, as wee ſay, which is properly called *diuortium*, or it is a diſſoluing of the knot and bond of marriage, which is called *repudium*.

Firſt then, they affirme, that the very bond and knot may be diſſolued in the marriage of Infidels, if one of them after marriage become a Chriſtian: his reaſon is, becauſe marriage contracted in Infidelitie is no ſacrament, and therefore may be diſſolued, *Bellarm. cap.* 12. So hee affirmeth thoſe three things: firſt, that if the Infidell refuſe to dwell with the beleeuing partie, the partie refuſed and forſaken, may marrie againe. Secondly, that though the Infidell be content to dwell together, the other is at his or her libertie to refuſe, and may marrie againe. Thirdly, if the Infidell be content to dwell with the beleeuer, but yet ſo, that he is alwaies entiſing & prouoking to idolatrie and infidelitie, the beleeuing partie may depart. The firſt of theſe is not by vs gainſaid; the other two *Bellarmine* proueth thus.

Argum. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *If the Infidell partie will depart, let him depart, a brother or ſiſter is not in ſubiection in ſuch a caſe*, 1. Cor. 7. 15.

Anſw. Firſt, Saint *Paul* giueth not libertie to the one partie at their pleaſure vtterly to renounce the other, as though they were no longer man and wife: for Saint *Paul* had ſaid before, that if the *Infidell partie be content to dwell with the other, he or ſhe is not to be put away*. But his meaning is, that if one partie wilfully depart, the other is no longer bound, nor in ſubiection for the performance of the mutuall duties of mariage. Secondly, though the Infidell partie be yet froward and obſtinate, if he be content to dwell with the other, *let her not forſake him*, ſaith the Apoſtle: and he giueth a reaſon thereof, verſ. 16. *What knoweſt thou O wife, whether thou ſhalt ſaue thy huſband? &c.* Though he or ſhe be yet froward, or obſtinate, yet in time they may be conuerted.

The Papiſts.

83. Error. Secondly, ſeparation from bed and boord may be admitted, they ſay, for diuers cauſes, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.* 24. *can.* 8. *Bellarmine* nameth three: Fornication, according to Chriſts rule, Mat. 5. Hereſie, Tit. 3. An heretike muſt be auoyded. Thirdly, when one is a continuall offence to another and a prouocation to ſinne: *If thine eye offend thee, pull it out*, Matth. 5. 29. *Bellar. cap.* 14.

Anſw. 1. Fornication wee admit is a iuſt cauſe of ſeparation and diuorce, but not hereſie: for Saint *Paul* would not haue a woman to forſake an Infidell, 1. Cor. 7. 13. therfore not an heretike. 2. We muſt auoyde ſuch, that is, take heede of their poyſoned opinions, and ſhun their companie alſo, where wee are not otherwiſe bound. 3. Neither is the eye to be cut off, where there is any hope: but who knoweth whether the offenſiue partie may returne to grace? 4. And this place proueth as well a finall cutting off of mariage, as a ſeparation or diſiunction.

The Proteſtants.

Firſt, that there is no cauſe of vtter diſſolution of mariage by way of diuorce, neither that it is lawfull to diſmiſſe or put away the wife, but onely for adulterie and fornication: it is plaine by our Sauiour Chriſts words, Matth. 5. 32. and 19. 9. where neither infidelitie nor any cauſe beſide is excepted, but onely fornication: *Whoſoeuer ſhall put away his wife*, (ſaith our Sauiour) *except it be for fornication, &c.*

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, our Sauiour ſpeaketh of marriage 1. betweene the faithfull: ſo that this rule bindeth not, if either partie be an Infidell. 2. And againe, ſuch ſeparation is here ſpoken of, as is by way of ſome crime, not when it tendeth to greater perfection, and where there is 3. feare of adulterie; as in the ſeparation of Infidels there is not, when the partie forſaken may marrie againe. Secondly, he anſwereth, our Sauiour only mentioneth the proper cauſe of ſeparation in marriage, which is fornication; the other for hereſie, and inducement to ſinne he leaueth as generall to all ſocieties: for theſe cauſes the ſonne may leaue the father, the ſeruant the maſter, and the wife likewiſe the husband.

Thirdly hee anſwereth, that Chriſt in this place ſpeaketh of ſuch a dimiſſion onely, or putting away, as is to continue for euer during their liues: but the other dimiſſions are to endure but for a time: of the firſt kinde of dimiſſion there can be no cauſe but fornication, *Bellarm.cap.14.reſp. ad obiect.2.*

Contra. Firſt, 1. The words of our Sauiour are generall: *Whoſoeuer ſhall put away his wife*, verſ.9. And 2. he ſpeaketh to the Iewes, that were not baptized, therefore hee meaneth euen marriage before Baptiſme. 3. And our Sauiour reaſoneth from the firſt inſtitution of marriage in the creation: but the law of the creation bindeth all both Infidels and beleeuers. 2. Againe, when any departeth for hereſie, or infidelitie, it is a departure for a crime. 3. And when the beleeuing party departeth not being forſaken, but voluntarily (for where there is deſertion, the caſe is otherwiſe, as ſhall be afterward ſhewed) how can it be without feare of adulterie, when in this caſe, the marriage is not diſſolued betweene them?

Secondly, 1. It is a falſe poſition, that a ſonne is to forſake his father, or a ſeruant to denie ſeruice to his maſter for hereſie, or infidelitie, the Apoſtle teacheth the contrarie: 1.Timoth.6.1. *Let as many ſeruants, as are vnder the yoke, count their maſters* (hee meaneth Infidels) *worthie all honour.* 2. And againe, if any other cauſes of dimiſſion might be pretended, though generall, then were not the rule giuen here by Chriſt ſufficient, nor vniuerſally true: *except for fornication,&c.* if for other things, they might be diſmiſſed.

Thirdly, it ſhall ſoone appeare how inſufficient his third anſwere is: firſt, *Bellarmine* is contrarie to himſelfe: for here he maketh fornication the onely cauſe of perpetuall dimiſſion, much forgetting himſelfe: for he affirmeth likewiſe, that the married parties by mutuall conſent may ſeparate themſelues, and vow continencie: and after their vow thus made, it is not lawfull for them to come together againe: here then is another kind of perpetuall ſeparation. Secondly, neither is diuorce or ſeparation for fornication neceſſarily to continue, during their life time: they may be reconciled: and ſo both *Bellarmine* and the Rhemiſts thinke, expounding that place, 1.Cor.7. *Let her remaine vnmarried, or be reconciled:* of ſuch as are diuorced for fornication. So *Leo epiſtol.77. cap.1.* determineth thus: *Quod debent fœminæ, quæ captis viris nupſerant alijs, regreſſis de captiuitate viris, prioribus copulari:* That women, which marrie to others, their husbands being taken captiues, ſhould be reſtored to their husbands after their returne. Here women falling into adulterie muſt returne to their husbands. Againe, the Scripture ſpeaketh for vs: that as God after ſpirituall fornication is readie vpon their repentance to receiue his people againe, Ierem.3.1. *Thou haſt played the harlot, yet returne vnto me* (ſaith the Lorde:) ſo Chriſtian charitie requireth, that if it be poſſible, reconciliation ſhould be made betweene man and wife, vpon humble ſubmiſſion for the fault committed. Thus we ſee, that euen in caſe of fornication the way is not ſhut vp againſt compaſſion: therefore the Ieſuite hath anſwered nothing.

Argum. What God hath ioyned together, let no man put aſunder: Matth.19.6. But the Papiſts, in deuiſing ſo many ſeparations from bedde and boord, do put aſunder thoſe, whom God hath coupled: for where the duties of mariage are broken off, there mariage it ſelfe is alſo diſſolued: if the man and wife be no longer bound to render the carnall debt one to another, and other ſeruices of loue, the bond of mariage it ſelfe is looſed betweene them: this then is but a friuolous diſtinction, that there are two ſeparations of mariage: *Quoad thorum, quoad vinculum:* One from the bed, another from the bond of mariage: they then making ſo many ſeparations from the one, do alſo diſſolue the other: and ſo man diuideth, where God hath coupled. *argum.Kemnitij.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the bond of marriage is one thing, the debt or dutie of mariage another: for otherwiſe, when the maried parties are abſent by ſome diſtance of place, and ſo the debt not payed, the bond alſo ſhould preſently be diſſolued, and they ceaſe to be man and wife: *cap.14. reſp.ad obiect.5.*

Contra. Firſt *Bellarmine* granteth, that theſe words, *Whom God hath coupled,&c.* are vnderſtood of the bond of mariage, not of the carnall debt, communion of bedde and boord: *ex conceſſis*, I reaſon thus: That whereby they are coupled and made one fleſh, is the bond of mariage, but the carnall debt maketh them one fleſh; *They twaine ſhall be one fleſh*, Matth.19.5. therefore the carnall debt is the very bond of mariage: the propoſition is proued by the words of our Sauiour, verſ.6. wherefore *they are no more twaine, but one fleſh: Let no man therefore put aſunder, that which God hath* *coupled together:* here the making of two one fleſh, is ſaid to be the very coupling, wherewith God ioyneth them together.

Secondly, S. *Paul* vſeth all theſe words indifferently, for one and the ſame thing, debt or dutie, 1. Cor. 7. 3. to be in ſeruice or ſubiection, verſ. 15. to be bound to a wife, verſ. 27. So then ὀφειλὴ, debt, δουλεία, ſeruice, δέσις, bond: are with the Apoſtls all one: where then the debt of the fleſh is not due, nor the ſeruice of the bodie, there alſo the bond is looſed.

Thirdly, that in mariage the *debitum*, debt, and *vinculum*, bond, are all one: and that *relaxatio debiti*, the releaſing of the debt, is *ſolutio vinculi*, the diſſoluing of the bond: beſide that the Apoſtle ſaith, 1. Cor. 7. 27. *Art thou bound to a wife, ſeeke not to be looſed*; where he ſpeaketh vnto beleeuers of the diſſoluing of mariage; but they allow no diſſolution of mariage, but onely in the caſe of infidelitie: S. *Ambroſe* alſo ſaith, ſpeaking of the diſſoluing of marriage, *Non debetur reuerentia coniugij ei, &c.* the reuerence of marriage is not due to him, which abhorreth the author of mariage. *in 7. 1. ad Corinth.* The diſſoluing of mariage, and not paying the debt, with him are all one: *Cauſ. 28. q. 2. c. 2. Non eſt ei fides ſeruanda coniugy, &c.* The faith of marriage is not to be kept to him, which departeth becauſe he would not heare Chriſt: not to keepe the faith or debt of marriage, and to diſſolue marriage are the ſame.

Cauſ 32. qu. 7. c. 18. Si mulier non valeat debitum reddere: If the woman be not able to render her debt, or due to her husband, he may marrie another: *Ergo,* where the debt is not payed, the marriage bond is diſſolued.

Fourthly, when the parties are abſent vpon neceſſarie occaſion, or by conſent, here is neyther refuſal, nor acquitall of the carnall debt, as there is in forced ſeparations; but in affection and deſire, they remayne ſtill ſubiect one to the other: therefore the reaſon is not alike: ſo then I conclude, that they ſeparating, where God alloweth no ſeparation, do contrarie to the Scripture, put aſunder, where God hath ioyned together.

We haue alſo the full conſent of antiquitie, that no dimiſſion of mariage is to be admitted, but for fornication: *Concil. Anglican. an. 670. can. 10. Nullus coniugem propriam niſi vt ſanctum euangelium docet, fornicationis cauſa relinquat:* That no man put away his wife, but as the Goſpell teacheth, for fornication.

Toletan. 12. can. 8. Præceptum domini eſt, vt excepta cauſa fornicationis vxor à viro dimitti non debeat, &c. It is the commandement of the Lord, that except for fornication, the wife ſhould not be diſmiſſed from her husband: and therefore whoſoeuer vpon any other occaſion, except the former crime, doth diſmiſſe his wife; becauſe he ſeparateth that, which God hath ioyned, let him be put from the Communion, ſo long, till he receiue his wife againe.

Nicholaus 1. de matrimon. can. 6. Quicquid mulier contra te cogitauerit, non eſt excepta cauſa fornicationis reijcienda: Whatſoeuer thy woman doth practiſe againſt thee, ſhe muſt not be caſt off but for fornication. What greater euidence of antiquitie can any man require? This Canon is rehearſed, *cauſ. 32. qu. 5 c. 22.*

We haue further euidence: *Cod. lib. 3. tit. 38. leg. 11. Conſtant. Quis ferat, liberos à parentibus, à viris coniuges ſeparari?* Who can endure, that children from parents, wiues ſhould be ſeparated from their husbands? Yet I denie not, but that ſome Imperiall lawes allow other cauſes of ſeparation, beſide adulterie, as homicide, ſacriledge, robberie, manſtealing, *Cod. lib. 5. tit. 17. leg.* 8. and impotencie or imbecillitie of nature, *ibid. leg.* 10. yet the Canons of the Church haue otherwiſe decreed: as here I haue ſet them downe.

Cauſ. 29 qu. 7. c. 19. Gregor. Excepta cauſa fornicationis: It is not lawfull for any man to diſmiſſe his wife, except it be for fornication: ſo likewiſe *Zachar. cauſ. 29. qu. 2. c. 2. Cauſ 32. qu. 5. c. 18. Quicquid excepta cauſa fornicationis cogitari poteſt horribile, ſuſtineat maritus:* What horrible thing ſoeuer may be imagined, except the cauſe of fornication, the husband muſt ſuſtaine *c. 21. Communione priuetur, &c.* Let him be depriued of the Communion, *Qui citra culpam fornicationis vxorem quacunque occaſione dimiſerit*, which beſide the fault of fornication vpon any occaſion doth diſmiſſe his wife.

Now concerning the marriage of Infidels, *Auguſtine* ſometime was of opinion, that the wife might bee diſmiſſed for Infidelitie: but hee reuoketh and retracteth that opinion, *Lib. retract. 1. cap. 19.* For elſewhere hee flatly concludeth thus: *A viro non fornicante non licere omnino diſcedere:* That it is not lawfull for a woman at all to leaue her husband, if he commit not fornication, *De adult. coniug. 1. 7.*

And yet further, to make this matter more plaine, we acknowledge no other cauſe of lawfull diuorce in mariage but that onely, which is preſcribed in the Goſpell, namely, for adulterie or fornication, Matth. 5. 32. and 19. 9. There is notwithſtanding another cauſe whereby the marriage knot may be diſſolued, though not for fornication: as when one of the parties doth wilfully renounce, leaue and forſake the other vpon no iuſt cauſe, but either of lightneſſe or for diuers religion, as when an Infidell forſaketh a Chriſtian; a Papiſt, a Proteſtant; an heretike, a true profeſſor; or vpon any other vnlawfull or vniuſt cauſe: for the Apoſtle ſaith plainely, *A brother or ſiſter is not in ſubiection in ſuch things*, 1.Cor.7.15. that is, is freed from the yoke or bond of marriage.

Firſt, it is plaine that the Apoſtle is ſo to be vnderſtood in this place: for the word which hee vſeth is, οὐ δεδούλωται, is no longer a ſeruant, or in ſubiection: which is to be taken in the ſame ſenſe, as if he ſhould ſay, οὐ δέδεται, hee or ſhee is no longer bound or tyed: which word the Apoſtle vſeth verſ.39. And againe the Apoſtle hath relation here to the fourth verſe, where he ſaith, *The wife*, οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει, *hath no power of her owne bodie*, and the husband likewiſe: But now, ſaith he, the Infidell partie hauing wilfully ſeparated himſelfe, οὐ δεδούλωται, the innocent partie is no longer in ſubiection, that is, ἐξουσιάζει, hath now power ouer his owne bodie: and is now become, ἐλευθέρα, free, exempt from the marriage knot or bond, in which ſenſe the Apoſtle vſeth the word, verſ.39.

Secondly wee muſt know, what kind of deſertion it is, that cauſeth a diſſolution of marriage, and in what manner. Firſt, it muſt be *malitioſa deſertio*, a malitious departure without any iuſt cauſe: But when as the husband is abſent by conſent about neceſſarie affaires, as the Merchant beyond the ſeas: or is employed in ſome weightie buſineſſe, as in warfare, in ambaſſage, or ſuch like: or is violently deteined in priſon or captiuitie, amongſt the Turkes, or elſewhere: In theſe and the like caſes the wife is bound to wait and expect the returne of her husband, vnleſſe ſhe be otherwiſe aduertiſed of his death: According to the decree of the Trullane Synode, *can* 93. *Militum vxores quæ non expectant viri peregrinantis reditum, ſed alteri nupſerint, antequam certæ ſint de morte, mœchantur:* Souldiours wiues, which doe not expect their husbands returne, being in trauell, but doe marrie others, before they be certaine of their death, doe commit adulterie. Secondly, the innocent partie muſt vſe all means to reconcile, reclaime, and bring home againe the wilfull and obſtinate partie ſo departing, if it be poſſible. Thirdly, if he continue in his obſtinacie, and depart, hauing no purpoſe to returne, the matter muſt be brought before the Iudge or Magiſtrate in ſuch caſes: who after publike citation of the obſtinate partie, and certaine knowledge that he refuſeth wilfully to appeare being cited, and is not otherwiſe letted to come, may with mature deliberation pronounce the innocent partie free and at libertie to marry, according to S. *Pauls* rule, *A brother or ſiſter is not bound in ſuch things.*

Thirdly, neither is Saint *Paul* contrarie to our Sauiour Chriſt, who alloweth no diuorce but onely for fornication: for that is a diuers caſe from this, whereof S. *Paul* treateth: And there is great difference betweene lawfull diuorce, and vnlawfull and wilfull deſertion: for there the innocent partie firſt claimeth the priuiledge of ſeparation: here the guiltie partie firſt ſeparateth himſelfe; there diuorce is ſued and required: here the innocent partie ſeeketh no diuorce, but ſeeketh all meanes of reconciliation: So that properly the ſetting free the innocent partie in this caſe, cannot be called a diuorce. Chriſt therefore ſpeaketh of lawfull diuorce, not of euery diſſolution of marriage: for then mention ſhould haue been made in that place of naturall death and departure, which is confeſſed by all to be a diſſolution and breaking off of marriage.

Thus haue I ſhewed mine opinion with *Beza* and others concerning this point: herein further as in all the reſt, referring my ſelfe to the determination of our Church, and the iudgement of our learned brethren, *Beza.* 1.*Cor.*7.*verſ.*15. *Hemingius. Tileman. Heſhuſ. Luther. de captiu. Babylon. cap. de Matrimon. Melanct. loc. theolog. tit. de coniug. Caluin. in* 19. *Matth.*

We haue alſo the conſent of Antiquitie: *Concil. Lateranenſ. part.*50. *cap.* 23. wee finde this decree: A certaine man for the ſpace of ten yeeres was abſent from his wife, the woman came and complained, that ſhee could no longer expect his returne; then it followeth thus: *Epiſcopus ſicut vir prouidus, parentibus ſuis mandauit, vt pro eo mitterent, & ipſum ad propria reuocarent. Cumque elapſo longo temporis ſpatio, vir ad propria non remearet: Epiſcopus in conſpectu Eccleſiæ inter eos diuortij ſententiam promulgauit, & mulieri, vt alium virum duceret plenariam facultatem indulſit:* The Biſhop as a prouident man, did enioyne their parents to ſend for him and call him home: And after a long time, when he came not, the Biſhop in the ſight of the congregation did pronounce the ſentence of diuorce betweene them, and gaue the woman libertie to marrie another. Which ſentence of the Biſhop was approoued of the whole Councell. The ſame Canon, ſee *decret. Gregor. lib.*4.*tit.* 17.*c.*8.

Further euidence alſo we haue for marriage in the caſe of wilfull deſertion: *Ambroſ. in* 7.1. *ad Corinth.* vpon theſe words, *a brother or ſiſter is not in ſubiection, &c. Non debetur reuerentia coniugij ei, qui horret authorem coniugij, &c.* The reuerence of marriage is not due to him, which abhorreth the author of marriage, &c. *Ac per hoc non eſt peccatum ei qui dimittitur propter deum, &c.* And ſo it is no ſinne vnto him, which is diſmiſſed for Gods cauſe, if he marrie another.

Cod. lib. 5.*tit.* 1.*leg.*2. *Conſtant. Sponſa poſt biennium, &c.* The ſpouſe after two yeere expecting the returne of her husband, may marrie another: *Tit.*27.*leg.*2. *Poſt triennium*, after three yeeres ſhe may marrie: *leg.*7. *Poſt quadriennium*, after foure yeeres, if ſhe heare no newes of her husband. If the lawe giue this libertie, when the husband is abſent vpon other occaſion, and ſuppoſed to be dead, much more in the caſe of voluntarie deſertion.

Likewiſe decreeth the Canon lawe, *Cauſ.* 28. *qu.* 1. *c.*4. *Vxor ſine vlla culpa relinquitur, &c.* The wife is left without any fault at all, if ſhe refuſe to dwell with a Chriſtian husband.

*Ibid. qu.*2.*c.*2. *Greg. Infidelis diſcedens, &c.* An infidell departing ſinneth againſt God, and the faith of matrimonie is not to be kept with him.

*Decret. Greg. lib.*4. *tit.*19.*c.*7. *Qui relinquitur ad ſecunda ſi voluerit, vota tranſibit:* He or ſhee that is forſaken, may if ſhee will, goe vnto ſecond marriage.

The Papiſts themſelues allow the partie forſaken, to marrie againe; but the difference betweene vs is this: firſt, they affirme, that where the one partie is an Infidell, the marriage is diſſolued, whether the vnbeleeuing partie will remaine or not; contrary to the Apoſtle, 1.*Cor.* 7.13. *If hee be content to dwell with her, let her not forſake him.* Secondly, they hold this to be deſertion onely, where the one partie is an Infidell: and in this caſe of infidelitie only matrimonie vpon deſertion to be diſſolued: whereas if there be a wilfull deſertion of the one partie, the caſe is all one, whether he be a profeſſed Infidell or not: for he that is careleſſe of his wife and family, by Saint *Pauls* rule, *is worſe than an infidell*, 1. Timoth.5.8.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER IT BE LAWfull to marrie after diuorcement for adulterie.

The Papiſts.

84.Error. FOr adulterie one may diſmiſſe another, but neither partie can marrie againe for any cauſe during life, *Rhemiſt. Matth.*19.*ſect.*4. no, not the innocent partie may marrie againe: for the marriage knot is not diſſolued becauſe of adulterie, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.*24.*can.*7.

Argum. 1. Mark. 10.11. *Whoſoeuer ſhall put away his wife and marrie another, committeth adulterie againſt her.* Likewiſe, Luk.16.18. *Ergo*, it is not lawfull to marrie againe at all after the wife be put away, *Bellar. c.*16.*argum.*2.

Anſ. Saint *Marke* and *Luke* muſt be expounded by Saint *Matthew*, who ſaith, *Whoſoeuer ſhall put away his wife except it be for fornication, and marrie another, committeth adulterie:* whereupon it followeth, that not euery one which putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adulterie: wherefore the other Euangeliſts muſt be vnderſtood to ſpeake of other ordinarie and common occaſions, ſuch as were vſuall among the Iewes, for the which men did vſe to put away their wiues, and not to include in their generall ſentence, this exception of fornication; for then the Euangeliſts ſhould be contrarie each to other.

Bellar. 1. When *Marke* did write his Goſpell at Rome, is it like that he would ſend the Romanes to *Matthew* for an expoſition thereof. 2. It followeth not, *whoſoeuer putteth away, &c. except for fornication, and marrieth againe, committeth adulterie: Ergo*, he that putteth his wife away for fornication, &c. doth not commit adulterie: and that for diuers reaſons, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts liuing, who did write and preach the Goſpell, they needed not to ſend one to another to know the ſenſe, themſelues being directed of the ſpirit: but now, the beſt direction we haue, is to expound the Scripture by it ſelfe, and to make it accord together. Secondly, this exception εἰ μὴ, *vnleſſe*, or *except*, doth alwayes inferre the contrarie to that which is affirmed: as Luk.17.18. *There are none found to returne to giue God praiſe, ſaue this ſtraunger: Ergo*, this ſtraunger did returne to praiſe God: Likewiſe Matth.5.20. *Except your righteouſnes exceed the righteouſnes of the Scribes, &c. ye ſhall not enter into the kingdome of heauen: Ergo*, if it did exceed, &c. they ſhould enter: After the ſame manner, If whoſoeuer doe put away his wife, &c. except for fornication, do commit adulterie; then he that for fornication doth put away and marrie againe, doth not, &c. As for the reaſons alledged to the contrarie, they ſhall be examined in the anſweres to our arguments. Thirdly, if they vnderſtand *Marke* and *Luke* thus generally without exception, then it ſhall not be lawfull at all to *diſmiſſe for fornication. Bellarm.* anſwereth, that this may be prooued out of Saint Matth. c.5.v.32. *whoſoeuer ſhall put away his wife, except for fornication: Ergo*, for fornication it is lawfull to diſmiſſe. *Contra.* 1. Doth not he now ſend vs for the vnderſtanding of *Marke* and *Luke*, to *Matthew*? 2. And doth not he himſelfe conclude the contrarie vpon the exception? thus he offendeth againſt his owne rules, and alloweth that in his owne argument, which he miſliketh in ours.

Argum. 2. Matth.5.32. *Whoſoeuer ſhall marrie her that is diuorced, committeth adulterie:* This muſt be vnderſtood generally, without the exception of fornication; for if it be lawfull to marry an adultereſſe that is diuorced for adulterie, and not the innocent partie, that is diſmiſſed, but not for adulterie, then ſhould the caſe of the adultereſſe be better then of the other: *Bellar. c.*16.*arg.*1.

Anſ. The adultereſſe is not ſtraightway to be admitted to ſecond marriage, but it is fit that ſome reſtraint ſhould be made in the diſcretion of the magiſtrate, leaſt it might be made an vſuall practiſe for incontinent perſons to get them new mates: therefore in this behalfe the adultereſſe caſe is not ſo good. 2. The innocent perſons caſe is much better, becauſe ſhe is free from ſo great a ſinne as the adultereſſe is guiltie of. 3. The innocent partie may be reconciled to her firſt husband: 1.Cor.7.11. which is better than to haue a new husband. 4. If ſhe cannot be reconciled, if the froward partie fall into the ſinne of incontinencie, as hee is moſt like in this caſe (refuſing the companie of an honeſt wife) to be giuen ouer, then hath the innocent partie the ſame remedie, with much better conditions, than the other. 5. Neither doth the argument follow, as it may appeare by this inſtance: Your penance you call the ſecond table after ſhipwracke: ſhe that ſinneth not need not this remedie, the adultereſſe is admitted to it; is the adultereſſe therfore the better becauſe of this ſecond table? no more is ſhe for her ſecond husband. 6. Wherefore the exception in the firſt clauſe of the ſentence, *except it be for fornication*, muſt be ſupplyed alſo in the latter, as it is euident Matth. 19.5. where the exception is ioyned to both members of the ſentence, both of *diſmiſſion*, and *marrying againe*.

Argum. 3. Rom. 7.2. The woman is bound by the law to her husband, ſo long as he liueth: nothing but death diſſolueth the bond betweene man and wife: therefore not lawfull to marrie againe after diuorce, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſ. 1. Saint *Paul* muſt be expounded by our Sauiour Chriſt, who maketh exception of fornication, Matth.5.

2 Neither doth Saint *Paul* denie, that marriage may be diſſolued, while they liue, without breaking of wedlocke: but that although the knot hold during their life, yet by death it is diſſolued. Againe, Saint *Paul* hauing no occaſion to intreat of diuorce, ſpeaketh of marriage as it ſtandeth whole and ſound by the ordinance of God, that if a woman ioyne her ſelfe to another man, her former wedlocke being not lawfully diſſolued, ſhe is a wedlocke breaker.

3 Therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, *Quæ ſub viro eſt mulier*, the woman that is in ſubiection to the man: But ſo is not a woman diuorced and ſeparated, any longer in ſubiection to her husband: therefore of ſuch an one the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not.

4 Laſtly, we muſt conſider the ſcope of the place, and how the Apoſtle applyeth this ſimilitude: As verſ. 4. he ſaith, that the lawe being dead by the comming of Chriſt, we are freed from it, from henceforth to liue vnto him; as the woman is free after the death of her husband to marrie to another: ſo that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the continuance of the bond of wedlocke vntill death, but of the diſſolution thereof after death: which onely ſerueth for his preſent purpoſe. And thus alſo is that other place to be expounded, 1.Cor.7.39. where the Apoſtle ſheweth, that although marriage remaine firme and ſure vntill death, yet then it is diſſolued: To this effect alſo anſwereth *Caietanus* a learned Papiſt.

Argum. 4. 1.Cor.7.11. If ſhe depart, let her remaine vnmarried, or be reconciled: *Ergo*, the parties ſeparated for fornication may not marrie againe, *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of other ſeparations, which are cauſed by diſſentions in marriage, and not of diuorce for adulterie: for he ſaith, 1. *If ſhe depart*; not, *If ſhe be put away*: 2. neither was it ſo vſuall a thing for reconciliation to be ſought after ſolemne diuorce. 3. Againe, hee ſaith, *Let not the woman depart*, as being in her choice, whether ſhe would depart or not: but in the caſe of fornication, ſhe was to depart, or rather be put away, whether ſhe would or not. Neither would Saint *Paul* haue ſaid in caſe of diuorce, *let her not depart*, ſeeing the Goſpell graunteth a ſeparation to be made betweene the man and wife in ſuch caſes.

Bellarm. anſwereth, 1. That the Apoſtle in the firſt place, v.10. *Let not the wife depart from her husband*, ſpeaketh of vnlawfull and vniuſt departure. In the next v.11. *but if ſhee depart, let her remaine vnmarried*, or be reconciled, he ſpeaketh of lawfull departure for fornication. 2. If the Apoſtle had ſpoken of any vnlawfull or vniuſt departure, he would not haue put it to the womans choice, whether to be reconciled or not; but ſimply haue enioyned her to be reconciled: *c.16.reſp. ad arg.4.*

Contra. Firſt, the ſame kind of departure is vnderſtood in both places: 1. becauſe they make but one full ſentence, and theſe wordes, ἐὰν δὲ, *quod ſi*, but if, haue relation to the other, and ſhewe a coherence of the ſenſe: 2. and againe, the ſame worde χωρίζω is vſed in both verſes, ſhewing one and the ſame kind of ſeparation.

Secondly, 1. the Apoſtle doth not put it to the womans choiſe to be reconciled or not, but by this meanes denying libertie of marriage, doth driue her to ſeeke reconciliation; and ſaith thus much in effect: that, if ſhe did not reconcile her ſelfe, ſhee ſhould remaine vnmarried; 2. For otherwiſe it was not in the caſe of diſmiſſion for adulterie in the offenders power to be reconciled, but in the innocent partie to receiue her to reconciliation: but here it is in the power of the guiltie partie to reconcile her ſelfe: therefore it was for other offences beſide fornication.

Argum. 5. If marriage ſhould be graunted after diuorce, theſe inconueniences would follow. Firſt, the children ſhould be euill prouided for, that are conſtrained to liue vnder a ſtepfather, or ſtepmother. Secondly, by this meanes, the married parties being diſcontented, would ſeeke occaſions and picke quarrels one to the other, that they may be diuorced and marry againe.

Thirdly, if the marriage be vtterly diſſolued, then the guiltie partie is either to marrie againe, or not to marrie: if the firſt, they of purpoſe may commit adulterie, that they may marry where they liſt: if the ſecond, what reaſon is there to reſtraine the weaker partie of the remedie? *Bellar. c. 16.*

Contra. Firſt, 1. The ſame daunger will be to the children, vpon ſecond marriage after death, as well as after diuorce, to endure ſtepfathers or ſtepmothers; ſhall therefore all ſecond marriage for this be reſtrained? 2. If the innocent partie hauing not the gift of continencie, ſhould be forced to keepe an adultereſſe ſtill, there would enſue a greater inconuenience, the father being vncertaine of his children.

Secondly, 1. As it may be feared, leaſt diuorces ſhould be procured and ſought, where a way is open to ſecond mariage; ſo if the way were ſhut vp, a greater matter would be feared; leſt where by diuorce they cannot helpe themſelues to new wiues, they ſhould practiſe by other meanes one to take away another. 2. Againe, where diuorce is by pretence or conſent, to pleaſe their owne luſt, the magiſtrate in his diſcretion hath power to moderate and ouerrule ſuch inordinate practiſes. 3. But where Chriſt hath graunted a libertie, the wiſdome of man muſt not controull it, but leaue the ſucceſſe to Gods prouidence.

Thirdly, 1. As the guiltie partie by *Moſes* lawe was to die for adulterie, ſo now alſo; if ſome grieuous mulct be laid vpon the offender, according to the nature of the offence, they would haue ſmall liſt to practiſe by adulterie. 2. The guiltie partie doth not ſue for diuorce, but the partie grieued; and therefore if there be offence willingly committed, yet the innocent partie may expect amendment and reconciliation; without whoſe conſent and liking, diuorce is not to be granted. 3. Some haue thought, that the guiltie partie ſhould not take benefite at all of ſecond marriage, as *Luther, Eraſmus:* ſome otherwiſe, as *Melanct. in annot. ad c. 5. Matth.* Howſoeuer, he is not ſo eaſily to be admitted to it, but with due puniſhment and rebuke before, and the mature aduiſe and diſcretion of the Magiſtrate.

The Proteſtants.

FOr no other cauſe in the world, but onely for fornication, may there be either a finall ſeparation, or cleane diſſolution of mariage, by way of diuorce: But for that cauſe our Sauiour hath graunted libertie, both to diſſolue matrimonie, and to marry againe.

Argum. Matth. 5. 32. ***Whoſoeuer putteth away his wife (except it be for fornication) committeth adulterie: Ergo,*** for fornication it is lawfull for a man to diſmiſſe his wife. Likewiſe Matth. 19. 9. ***Whoſoeuer ſhall put away his wife, except it be for whoredome, and marrie another, committeth adulterie: Ergo,*** for adulterie it is lawfull for the man both to put away and renounce his wife; and the wife likewiſe her husband (for there is the like reaſon for both) and for them to marrie againe. This libertie graunted by our Sauiour Chriſt, by no humane lawe can be reſtrained or cut off.

This place troubleth our aduerſaries very ſore, and therefore they haue found out many ſtarting holes; but all to ſmall purpoſe.

1. ***Durand*** a cunning Papiſt thus anſwereth: That when Chriſt vttered theſe words, the lawe of the Iewes was, that the adulterous woman ſhould be put to death, and ſo the husband might haue libertie to marrie againe.

Contra. Bellarmine ouerthroweth this anſwer, 1. Becauſe Chriſt here giueth a rule not onely to the Iewes, but to all Chriſtians, not being ignorant, how that in euery nation, that lawe of putting the adultereſſe to death, ſhould not be in force. 2. Chriſt might as well haue excepted other crimes that were puniſhed by death, as murder, and the like, that in thoſe caſes they might marry againe, becauſe by the lawe their wiues were to die, as well as in the caſe of fornication. 3. Chriſt ſpeaketh of diſmiſſion: but properly the wife is not ſaid to be diſmiſſed, when ſhee is put to death: Chriſt therefore is not ſo to be vnderſtood.

2. ***Bellarmine*** therefore approoueth this expoſition: ***Whoſoeuer ſhall put away his wife (except it be for fornication) and marrie another:*** hee would haue the exception reſtrained to the firſt clauſe, in this ſenſe: hee that putteth away his wife, which it is not lawfull to doe but for fornication: ſo that the crime of fornication maketh it lawfull to diſmiſſe, but not after diſmiſſion to marrie againe.

Contra 1. This expoſition is contrarie to the Ieſuite, for he alloweth a ſeparation of matrimony in other caſes, as of hereſie, infidelitie, vow of continencie: but here he ſaith, that only ſeparation and diſmiſſion is to be made in the caſe of fornication. 2. This anſwer of Chriſt had not been ſufficient, if he had ſpoken only of diuorce, and not of liberty to marry againe: for the Phariſies mooued the queſtion concerning the manner of diuorce permitted by ***Moſes*** law, after the which it was lawfull for them to marry againe: And therefore it was expected that our Sauiour ſhould anſwer to both theſe points; both in what caſes they might diſmiſſe their wiues, and marrie againe. 3. The ſentence cannot ſtand in any good ſenſe, vnleſſe it be read wholy together; vnleſſe you will ſay, that he which putteth away his wife only, committeth adulterie: he may cauſe her to commit adulterie, as the Euangeliſt hath in another place, Matth. 5. 32. but commit adultery he doth not, vnleſſe he marrie another : ſo that this muſt needs be the ſenſe, he that putteth away his wife and marrieth another, vnleſſe it be in the caſe of fornication, committeth adulterie.

3. *Bellarmine* further anſwereth with *Auguſtine*, that theſe words (*except it be for fornication*) are onely negatiuely to be taken in this ſenſe : that hee which putteth away his wife, and marrieth, where there is no fornication, ſinneth : but he determineth not of the affirmatiue part, where there is fornication, whether the partie in marrying againe ſinne or not : ſo that it followeth not, he that marrieth againe, his wife being put away without fornication, ſinneth : *Ergo*, he that marrieth, his wife being diſmiſſed for fornication, ſinneth not : it may be a leſſe ſinne, or not ſo grieuous a kind of adulterie, but it followeth not, that it is not at all : *Bellar.cap.*17. *reſp.ad obiect*.3.

*Cont.*1. This anſwere had been more ſufficient than the other : for Chriſt in not determining their queſtion ſhould haue left them in ſuſpence, and vncertaine what to do : whereas Chriſts anſweres vſe to be moſt full. 2. If as well he committeth adulterie, that marrieth vpon diuorce for fornication, as he that marrieth where there is no fornication, then our Sauiour Chriſts exception is needleſſe : he might haue ſaid in general termes, that whoſoeuer putteth away his wife, and marieth another, excepting no cauſe, committeth adulterie. And ſo indeed S. *Marke* and S. *Luke* ſet downe this ſpeech in generall words : who are to be expounded by *Matthew*, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme contrary one to the other. But farre be it from vs to thinke, that Chriſt vſed any needleſſe or vnneceſſary word. 3. This word of exception, εἰ μὴ, *niſi*, vnleſſe, or except, in Scripture is vſed to ſignifie a contrary diſpoſition in that, which is excepted to that which is ſet downe, ſo that if the one be affirmed, the other is denied : as 1.King.3.18. *None was in the houſe, except we twaine:* they two therefore were, other were not : Luk.13.3. *Except yee repent, yee ſhall periſh : Ergo*, if you do repent, you ſhall not periſh : Luk.17.18. *None are found to returne to praiſe God*, εἰ μὴ, *except this ſtranger :* therefore this ſtranger did returne. So where Chriſt ſaith, *Who ſo putteth away his wife, except it be for fornication, and marrieth another, committeth adulterie* ; wee inferre negatiuely, that he doth not commit adulterie, who putteth away, and marrieth, where there is fornication. Thus for all their ſhifting euaſions, the trueth cannot be obſcured.

*Argum.*2. S. *Paul* ſaith, *Let euery man haue his wife, and euery woman her husband, for auoyding of fornication, and it is better to marrie, then to burne.* Wherefore it is lawfull, the firſt mariage according to the word of God being broken, both for men and women to vſe the remedie againſt incontinencie, and to be married againe : for he ſpeaketh generally of all. To this purpoſe *Hierom* thus excuſeth the mariage of *Fabiola, Repudiato marito, &c.* Her firſt husband being refuſed : *Melius eſt (inquit Apoſtolus) nubere, quàm vri :* The Apoſtle ſaith, It is better to marrie then burne : ſhe was young, and could not keepe her widowhood, and therefore thought it beter to confeſſe her infirmitie, and to enter into a ſhadow of mariage, then vnder the ſhew of ſingle life to play the harlot : *ad Oceanum.*

*Argum.*3. If after diuorce for adulterie no mariage ſhould be lawfull, then the innocent partie ſhould be puniſhed without his fault : and beſide, he not hauing the gift of continencie, and being denied the remedie, eyther ſhall liue in continuall burning, or elſe be tempted to fall into adulterie : ſo it had been better for no diuorce at all to be granted, then vpon diuorce no mariage : *obiect. Kemnitij.*

Bellarm. 1. The guiltie partie may be reconciled againe, and ſo be reteined ſtill. 2. Or if that be not expedient, the remedie of continencie is readie for all thoſe, that will ſue for it, and aske it at Gods hands. 3 And in this caſe the innocent partie muſt endeuour to containe, as in the long abſence, or ſickeneſſe of the wife : *B.c.*17.*reſponſ.ad obiect.*2.

Cont. 1. For the partie that offendeth, vpon his or her repentance to be receiued againe ; we denie not, but to be a very charitable, and ſimply the beſt courſe : but all the matter is, when as there is no hope of amendment, ſhall a man retaine a ſerpent ſtill in his boſome? 2. The gift of Continencie is not giuen to euery man : for 1. our Sauiour ſaith, Mat.19.11. *All can not receiue this thing ſaue they to whom it is giuen:* It is not then giuen to all, for then all might receiue it, which is here denied. 2. And the Apoſtle ſaith further, 1.Cor.7.7. *Euery man hath his proper gift of God, one after this maner, another after that.* But if euery man may haue the gift of cõtinencie, it is no proper but a common gift. 3. Where Gods hand is vpon either partie, as by long ſicknes, or by neceſſitie of inuoluntarie abſence, as in captiuitie, there being no other remedie left, God will not deny the neceſſary gift : but where there is an ordinary remedie by mariage, we muſt not flie to the extraordinarie gift, which were to tempt God : as *Peter* leaped out of the ſhip, to walke vpon the water, and began to ſinke ; ſo they which leaue the ordinarie meane, truſting to extraordinarie helpe, may be deceiued. 4. If continencie were ſuch an eaſie and vſuall remedie vpon diuorce ; why did Pope *Gregorie* 3. giue this libertie, *Cauſ.*32.*qu.*7.*c.*18. that if a woman, by reaſon of her infirmitie, be not able to render her due, the man, *qui ſe continere non poterit, nubat*, which cannot containe himſelfe, may marrie? And *ibid.c.*24. If a man lie with his ſtepmother, *Vir eius poteſt aliam accipere, ſi ſe continere non poteſt :* Her husband may take another, if he cannot containe. It is euident

dent by theſe Canons, that euery man cannot containe, and that mariage after lawfull diuorce, is the next and beſt remedie againſt incontinencie.

*Argum.*4. If vpon lawfull diuorce marriage were not lawfull, then the law of diuorce ſhould be altogether ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie; neither ſhould Chriſt haue prouided as good a remedie in this caſe, as *Moſes* did, by whoſe law the adultereſſe was to die, and ſo the innocent partie at libertie to marrie againe. But none of Chriſts precepts are vnneceſſarie or ſuperfluous: *Ergo.*

Bellarm. Yes, diuorce is to great purpoſe, though it be not free to marrie afterward: for otherwiſe the innocent partie ſhould be conſtrained to the great daunger of his ſoule, ſometime to liue with an heretike, &c. *Bellarm.c.*17.*reſp.ad obiect.*2.

Contra. 1. Separation for hereſie is not lawfull, but onely for adulterie, and therefore this inſtance is impertinent. 2. The innocent partie may ſequeſter or ſeparate himſelfe of his owne accord from the guiltie partie, though there were no publike law of diuorce, as *Bellarm.* confeſſeth, *Diuortium quoad thorum propria authoritate fieri poſſe:* That diuorce from the bed may be done by a mans owne authoritie: *c.*14. *obſeruat.*2. and by this priuate ſeparation, all thoſe pretended daungers may be auoided.

*Argum.*5. This obiection was made in *Auguſtines* time, *lib.*2. *de adulter.coniug.c.*17. *Cogentur mariti adulteras occidere, &c.* If marriage after diuorce be adulterie, then the husbands ſhall be vrged to conſpire againſt their wiues, to take them out of the way, that they may marry againe.

Auguſtine anſwereth: 1. The ſame inconuenience may follow, when as the wife is ſeparated for any other cauſe than adulterie, that ſome may practiſe againſt the life of their husbands in this caſe alſo, to marrie their wiues. 2. Another inconuenience may be feared on the other ſide, that men will firſt diſmiſſe their wiues to cauſe them to fall into adultery, that they may haue new. *Auguſtin. ibid.*

Contra. 1. No ſeparation is to be graunted but for adulterie, and therefore in ſuch vnlawfull ſeparations, no ſuch daunger can be feared, but when the ſeparation is lawfull and marriage vnlawfull. 2. To practiſe againſt a womans chaſtitie, is not ſo great a ſinne, as to practiſe againſt her life: This may follow vpon the denying of marriage, the other vpon graunting. *Auguſtine* ſaith, as he is alledged, *cauſ.*33. *qu.*2.*c.*9. *Si facturus eſt, quod non licet, iam faciat adulterium, & non faciat homicidium, &c.* If a man muſt needs doe that which is not lawfull, let him commit adulterie rather than murder, and marrie another while his wife liueth, rather than ſhed blood: this inconuenience then is worſe than the other. 3. Where inconueniences are like to enſue on both ſides, the leſſe is to be taken, as rather that rule to be followed which is more conſonant to the Goſpell, as this is to marrie after lawfull diuorce.

De fide & oper.cap.19.

Auguſtine ſaith, that he which putteth away his wife for adulterie, and marrieth another, *Non eſt æquandus ei,* is not in the ſame caſe with him, which for any other cauſe putteth away and marrieth againe. But if it be as lawfull for other cauſes to be diuorced, as for hereſie and infidelitie, as the Ieſuite telleth vs, there ſhould be no difference made betweene the ſecond mariage of the one and the other. *Auguſtine* in the ſame place, though he be elſewhere reſolute againſt marriage after diuorce, yet graunteth that it is not plaine out of Scripture, whether he be an adulterer, that marrieth againe after diuorce for adulterie: *Sed quantum exiſtimo, venialiter ibi quiſque fallitur:* But as I thinke, we are euery one of vs herein deceiued: And, *de fide & operib.c.*20. he doubteth, whether he be an adulterer which marrieth another wife, the firſt being put away for adulterie.

I end this point, better allowing *Pollentius* iudgement for this matter, than *Auguſtines*, betweene whome there is much diſcourſed of both ſides: *Si mulier à viro non fornicante diſceſſerit, non ei licere alteri nubere propter præceptum: ſi autem à fornicante, non ei expedire propter opprobrium:* If a woman depart from her husband being no adulterer, it is not lawfull to marrie another becauſe of the commaundement: but if he be an adulterer, it is lawfull to marry, but not expedient alwaies, becauſe of the ſhame and reproch, *Ad Pollent. lib.*1.*c.*6.

We haue alſo further euidence of antiquitie: *Venetic. Concil. can.*2. *Eos qui relictis vxoribus ſuis, ſicut in Euangelio dicitur, excepta cauſa fornicationis, ſeu adulterij probatione, alias duxerint, ſtatuimus à communione arcendos:* They, which leauing their wiues, vnleſſe it be for fornication, and adultery manifeſtly prooued, and marrie other, we decree, to be put from the Communion. It followeth then, that if adultery be prooued, they may relinquiſh their wiues, and marry other.

Concil. Vormatienſ. can. 63. *Si quis cum matre & filia in adulterio manſit, & poſtea ille vir mulierem acceperit, dimittat eam, &c. illa vero mulier, quam reliquerit, accipiat virum:* If any hath continued in adultery with the mother and the daughter, and after hee taketh a wife, let him diſmiſſe her, and haue no wife ſo long as hee liueth, but the woman ſo diſmiſſed may take an husband: Likewiſe if the mother and daughter did commit this ſinne ignorantly, they may keepe their husbands: if wittingly, one knowing of another, *dimittant maritos,* they ſhall diſmiſſe their husbands, *illarum verò viri accipiant mulieres:* but their husbands may take other women to their wiues. This Councell giueth libertie to the innocent partie to marry after diuorce. But *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, *Libertatem diuortium faciendi ob crimen, parem eſſe viro & vxori*: That the libertie to make diuorce for adulterie, is alike to the man and wife: *De matrimon.lib.*1.*c.*14. *Ergo,* they may both marrie after diuorce for adulterie.

Lateranenſ. part. 50.*cap.*46. *Mulieres licita aliqua cauſa à viris ſeparatæ poſt annum expletum accipiant alium virum, ſimiliter vir vxorem:* Women ſeparate from their husbands lawfully, after a yeare may take other husbands, and their husbands other wiues.

*Lateranenſ.part.*6.*cap.*21. *Vrbanus* decreed thus: *Si quis pendente lite matrimoniali aliam acceperit, & poſtea inter ipſum & primam diuortium fuerit celebratum, poterit cum ſecunda remanere:* If any man, while the ſuite dependeth about marriage betweene him and his wife, doe marry another, and afterward ſentence of diuorce be pronounced betweene him and the firſt, he may vpon ſufficient penance remaine with the ſecond. *Synod.Florentin. ſeſſ.* 25. *Græci matrimonia ſeparant, in quo diſſident à Latinis:* The Grecians doe vſe to ſeparate matrimonie, wherein they diſſent from the Latines: but the Latines ſeparate marriage onely, *quoad thorum*, not *quoad vinculum*, they diſſolue the vſe of marriage, not the bond: *Ergo,* the Greeke Church diſſenting from them, diſſolueth the whole, both the vſe of mariage and the knot. And thus farre of this queſtion of marriage after diuorce: which we ſee hath been practiſed in times paſt of the Church, and approued of antiquitie.

Yet we haue further euidence, S. *Ambroſe in* 7.1. *ad Corinth.* thus writeth, the Apoſtle ſaying, *Let not the man put away his wife,* doth not adde as before of the woman, *let him ſo remaine*, *Quia viro licet ducere vxorem, ſi dimiſerit vxorem peccantem:* Becauſe it is lawfull for the man to marrie a wife, hauing diſmiſſed the firſt for her offence: here the man in *Ambroſe* iudgement is permitted to marrie after diuorce: but there is the ſame reaſon and libertie both of the man and wife in this caſe: *Ergo,* it is lawfull for both.

*Cod.lib.*5.*tit.*17.*leg.*8.*Theodoſ. Vxorem ſi velit, ſtatim ducere definimus:* We do define, that he may ſtraightway marrie a wife, which putteth away the firſt, for cauſes there expreſſed.

*Lib.*9.*tit.*9.*leg.*2. *Crimen lenocinij incurrunt, &c.* They incurre the crime of Bawdes, that retaine a wife ſtill in marriage deprehended in adulterie: and *leg.*3. *Diſſolutio matrimonij:* Vtter diſſolution of marriage is granted vpon the detecting of that crime.

Likewiſe their owne Canons thus teſtifie: *cauſ.*31.*qu.*1.*c.*6. *Licet vxorem inſidiaturam dimittere, & ſi voluerit, aliam ducere:* It is lawfull for a man to diſmiſſe a wife, laying awaite for her husbands life, and if he will, to marrie another.

*Cauſ.*29.*qu.*2.*c.*4. *Qui ancillam duxerit vxorem, &c.* Hee that hath married a bond-woman, *Si voluerit, aliam accipiat:* After he knoweth her to be a bond-woman, let him take another.

*Cauſ.*32.*qu.*7.*c.*17. *Viro licet ducere aliam:* The man may marrie another: *ibid.c.*18. *Gregor.* 3. alloweth a man to marrie againe: *Si mulier infirmitate correpta non valet debitum reddere*: If the woman taken with ſickeneſſe cannot render her debt or due to her husband, *ibid.c.*19. *Illi, cuius vxor ſtuprata cum viri fratre, licita coniugia non negentur:* lawfull mariage is not to be denied to him, whoſe wife committed adulterie with his brother.

*Ibid.c.*24. *Si quis cum nouerca*; If any man hath lyen with his mother in law, *Vir eius poteſt aliam accipere,* the man may take another, if he cannot containe.

*Cauſ.*33.*qu.*1.*c.*1. *Licet mulieri alteri nubere, ob frigiditatem viri:* The woman may marrie another for the weakeneſſe of her husband. *c.*2. *Videtur mulierem ſecundas nuptias contrahere poſſe*: It ſeemeth that the woman may marrie againe, ſpeaking of the ſame caſe. *c.*33.*qu.*2.*c.*9. *Potius vxore viuente aliam ducat, quàm humanum ſanguinem fundat*: Let a man rather marrie another wife, the firſt yet liuing, then ſhedde mans blood.

Thus it is euident, how by their owne law and Canons, mariage is lawfull after diuorce: yea, we ſee that ſome of their Popes haue granted ſecond mariage vpon diuorce, for other cauſes then adulterie, wherein, as they preſumed, exceeding the rule limited in the Goſpel, ſo now they offend in abridging the libertie graunted.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE DEgrees in marriage prohibited.

FIrſt, of the ſupputation of degrees. Secondly, whether the degrees forbidden, Leuit.18. may be diſpenſed with. Thirdly, whether any other degrees may by humane law be prohibited beſide thoſe.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE SVPPVtation and account of degrees.

THe degrees are either of conſanguinitie, which is of diuers perſons comming of the ſame ſtocke and bloud: or of affinitie, which ariſeth of marriage, as when the kinſmen of either partie that is married, are by marriage allied to the other, though not of his blood, as *Laban* the brother of *Rebecca* was allied by marriage, as alſo by blood vnto *Iſaac*, though not ſo neerely.

In both theſe kindes of kinred there is a right line both vpward and aſcending: as in conſanguinitie, the Father or Mother, Grandfather, Grandmother, and ſo forth: in affinitie, the father in law, and mother in law, the ſtepfather, or ſtepmother: as alſo deſcending, as the ſonne, the ſonnes ſonne, the ſonne in law, or daughter in law, and their ſonnes and daughters. There is alſo a collaterall line in conſanguinitie, as brother and ſiſter, brother and ſiſters children, vncle or aunt: in affinitie, the brothers wife, ſiſters husband, the vncles wife, or aunts husband. Now our aduerſaries ſet downe theſe rules to know the degrees by.

The Papiſts.

85.Error. 1. IN the right line there are ſo many degrees as perſons, except the firſt, from the which we begin the account: as in this example, *Iacob* is in the ſecond degree from *Abraham*. The firſt is excepted, becauſe it is no degree of diſtance, but the beginning of the diſtance of the reſt: *Bellar.cap.26.*

Abraham.
Iſaac. 1.
Iacob. 2.

Anſw. We ſee no reaſon, why the firſt ſhould be left out: for, 1. looke how many generations, ſo many degrees: but euery perſon is a generation. 2. And this is the manner of account in Scripture: as Matth. 1. there are 14. generations reckoned from *Abraham*, whereof *Abraham* maketh one, Iude 14. *Enoch* the ſeuenth from *Adam*, *Adam* being the firſt himſelfe in that number. Thus the Scripture numbreth *incluſiue*, not *excluſiue*, incluſiuely comprehending alſo the number, from whom the account beginneth. And thus *Abraham* muſt be counted the firſt degree, and *Iacob*, not in the ſecond, but the third from him. The vſe of Scripture for this matter will perſwade more, than any reaſon the Ieſuite can bring. And we ſee that in Scripture not the ſpace betweene the perſons, but the perſons themſelues are counted the degrees.

Thus the Ciuill law accounteth: *Cod.lib.6.tit.16.leg.2.Diocletian. Frater auiæ*: The grandmothers brother is in the fourth degree, from the grandchildren. *Filius fratris auiæ*: The ſonne of the grandmothers brother, *eſt quinto gradu conſtitutus*, is ſet in the fift degree: as by this example it may be made plaine: *Abraham* is grandfather to *Iacob*: *Iacob* then is in the fourth degree from *Haran Abrahams* brother, and in the fift from *Lot Harans* ſonne: ſo by this account of the Ciuill law, euery perſon ſtandeth for a degree: *Iacob* 1. *Iſaac* 2. *Abraham* 3. *Haran* 4. *Lot* 5.

This manner of account is allowed alſo by the Canon law: *Cauſ.35.qu.3.c.2.Calixtus: Eos conſanguineos dicimus, quos diuinæ & imperatorum leges conſanguineos dicunt, &c.* We call thoſe kinſmen, or of one blood and conſanguinitie, whom the diuine lawes, and the lawes of the Emperors doe ſo call.

Ibid.qu.5.c.2. Alexander. Quia hæreditates nequeunt deferri, &c. Becauſe inheritances cannot be conueied but from one perſon to another, the ſecular Emperour hath prouided, *in ſingulis perſonis ſingulos præſidere gradus*, that in euery perſon there ſhould be a degree: but becauſe mariage can not be without two perſons, therefore the ſacred Canons haue appointed two perſons in euery degree: but it is manifeſt that both theſe kindes of computations, are of one ſentence, and come both to the ſame effect.

Ibid.c.6.declarat.arbor.conſanguinitat. In computatione aſcendentium, deſcendentium concordat vtrunque ius, &c. In the computation of thoſe that aſcend and deſcend both lawes doe accord: for one perſon added to another maketh a degree. Thus we ſee that the computation of the Ciuill lawe is confirmed by their owne Canons.

The Papiſts.

86.Error. 2. IN the collaterall line, if the parties be equally diſtant from the roote or ſtocke of the generation, looke how many degrees diſtant they are from the ſtocke, ſo is the diſtance betweene themſelues: *Iacob* and *Rachel* are in the ſecond degree, becauſe each of them is remoued from *Bathuel*, in the ſecond degree: neither haue they any relation one to the other, but as they are ioyned in the ſtocke, *Bellarm.cap.26.*

Bathuel.	
Rebecca 1.	*Laban* 1.
Iacob 2.	*Rachel* 2.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. NEither doe we allow this rule: but rather follow the account of the Ciuill law, which in the collaterall line maketh ſo many degrees as perſons, excepting the ſtocke, which is not to be counted in collaterall degrees, becauſe we begin not to number there. Wherefore according to the rule aforeſaid, how many generations, ſo many degrees. According then to the account of the Ciuill law, which wee here follow, *Iacob* and *Rachel* are not in the ſecond, but the fourth degree each from other: *Rachel*, 1. *Laban*, 2. *Rebecca*, 3. *Iacob*, 4. For in collaterall degrees, we count not the diſtance from the roote or ſtocke, but the mutuall diſtance from themſelues.

2. And by this rule one brother ſhould be as neere another, as they are both to their father: the which nature it ſelfe confuteth: ſeeing there is greater loue and affection, and ſo a neerer coniunction betweene the father and the ſonne, than betweene brethren.

3. By this reaſon alſo, if Coſin germanes be but in the ſecond degree, there ſhould be no degree beyond the ſecond forbidden, Leuit. 18. for there is no degree forbidden beyond this: neither is this by name, and directly forbidden.

Bellarm. Firſt, *à fratre ad fratrem non tranſitur per patrem, &c.* Wee doe not paſſe from brother to brother by the father: for one brother proceedeth not from another, either mediatly or immediatly: One brother hath no coniunction with another, but conſidered in the father; and therefore from him we muſt ſeeke for the diſtance of brethren. Secondly, in the ſame equal diſtance, there may be notwithſtanding a greater coniunction, as betweene the father and the ſonne, the coniunction is greater, than betweene brethren, yet the diſtance is alike.

Contra. Firſt, in the 1. collaterall line, the computation doth not follow the carnall proceſſion or generation, as in the right line: and therefore, though one brother proceede not in generation from another, yet the computation may proceede from one to the other. 2. And he reaſoneth abſurdly; brethren are conioyned in the father, therefore from him the diſtance muſt be deriued: for coniunction and diſtance are two diuers things: and the contrary rather is inferred, that becauſe their coniunction is conſidered in the father, the diſtance alſo and diſiunction cannot be taken from thence. 3. And reaſon it ſelfe ſheweth, that from one brother wee cannot account to another, but paſſing by the father in computation.

Secondly, it cannot be that in an equall diſtance, there ſhould be an vnequall coniunction: for the neerenes and farneſſe of the blood, maketh the greater or leſſe coniunction: wherefore if brethren bee as neere each the other in blood as to the father, the coniunction and affection ſhould be as great: like as in a tree, the neerer the roote the more ſappe; ſo in conſanguinitie, the neerer the roote, the more affection.

The Ciuill law in the collaterall line maketh as many degrees as perſons, the ſtocke onely excepted: *Cod. lib.5. tit.57. leg.3. Decius: Soror in ſecundo gradu, &c.* The ſiſter in the ſecond degree, the brothers ſonne in the third. *Leg.7. Patruus & matertera:* The vncle and aunt in the third degree. *Tit.58. leg.5. Diocletian. Fratres vterini, &c.* Whole brothers are in the ſecond degree. *Leg.6. Auunculus:* The vncle by marriage in the third degree: *Conſobrinus,* The coſin germane in the fourth. In all theſe examples, there are ſo many degrees as perſons, beſide the ſtocke. This kinde of computation hath alſo the approbation of the Canons: *Cauſ.35. qu.5. c.2. Alexander. 2. Vtraque computatio vno fine concluditur, &c.* Both the computations haue the ſame end: for two degrees legall, make but one degree canonicall: as brothers that are by the ſecular lawes in the ſecond degree, are by the Canons in the firſt.

Ibid. qu.5. c.6. declarat. arbor. conſanguinitat. Theſe two rules of the Ciuill computation in the collaterall line are commended: firſt, *Quoto gradu quis diſtat à ſtipite, in linea æquali toto duplicato diſtant inter ſe, &c.* In what degree any are diſtant from the ſtocke, double ſo much are they diſtant from themſelues: as *Iacob* and *Rachel* are in the ſecond degree from the ſtock (which is not counted for a degree in the collaterall line) and therefore they are diſtant each from the other in the fourth degree. Secondly, another rule is this, in the equall line of collaterals, whether the line be, *paris numeri, vel diſparis:* Of euen number or odde, the degree is alwaies euen. As the firſt line is od, the ſecond euen, &c. yet *Rebecca* and *Laban* being in the firſt line from *Bathuel,* are in the ſecond degree, which is an euen number. It is otherwiſe in the Canonicall computation: for in an odde line, they haue an odde degree: as in the firſt line, where *Rebecca* and *Laban* ſtand, they haue the firſt degree: yet the firſt computation is commended in theſe words, *Bene dicitur ſecundum leges, &c.* It is well ſaid according to the lawes, &c.

I will here laſtly adde the teſtimonie of S. *Ambroſe,* that it may appeare how degrees were accounted in his time: *Ad paternum patrueles fratres ſibi quarto gradu ſociantur, &c.* Brothers children are ioyned in the fourth degree: *hic autem gradus tertius eſt:* but this degree is the third, namely, betweene the vncle and his niece.

The Papiſts.

3. THeir third rule is this: In callaterall degrees vnequall, that is, when both are not alike diſtant from the ſtocke, they ſhall differ in that degree, in the which the further of them is remoued from the ſtock: as in this example, *Ioſeph* is diſtant foure degrees from the ſtocke, and as many from *Nachor,* likewiſe from *Bathuel* and *Laban: Bellarm. ibid.* 87. Error.

Thare.	
Abraham 1.	*Nachor* 1.
Iſaac 2.	*Bathuel* 2.
Iacob 3.	*Laban* 3.
Ioſeph 4.	

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. NEither is this rule perfect: for by this reaſon, he that is indeede a degree further off, ſhal be in the ſame degree: as *Ioſeph* ſhall be as neere to *Laban* as hee is to *Nachor,* who is three degrees from *Laban:* but this is againſt common ſenſe, that *Ioſeph* ſhould be as neere the furtheſt off, as to him that is neerer by three degrees.

Bellarmine anſwereth: The reaſon is, becauſe the perſons that are of the one ſide, *Non habent* *habitudinem ad eos, qui ſunt in altero, niſi ratione ſtipitis:* Haue no relation or diſpoſition to the perſons on the other ſide, but in reſpect of the ſtocke wherein they are all ioyned. And therefore looke how farre *Ioſeph* is diſtant from the ſtocke, ſo farre hee is from each of the other ſide.

Contra. If this rule hold in *Ioſeph*, who is the fourth degree from the ſtocke, why ſhall it not hold in *Abraham* of the ſame ſide, who is in the firſt degree from the ſtocke, that as *Ioſeph* is in the fourth degree from *Nachor, Bathuel, Laban*, becauſe hee is in the fourth degree from *Thare*, ſo *Abraham* ſhould be in the firſt degree from *Nachor, Bathuel, Laban*, becauſe hee is ſo from *Thare?* But this is not ſo: for you ſay *Abraham* is but one degree from *Nachor*, two from *Bathuel*, three from *Laban*.

Bellarmine ſaith the reaſon is this; becauſe that if *Abraham* ſhould be no further diſtant from the collaterall perſons, than he is from the ſtocke, as but one degree from *Laban*, becauſe he is but one degree from *Thare*, it would followe, that *Laban* ſhould be neerer to *Abraham*, than to the ſtocke, from the which he is remoued three degrees, which is impoſſible.

Contra. 1. Yet by the Ieſuites reaſon alleaged before for *Ioſephs* account, it muſt bee ſo for *Abraham:* becauſe the collaterall perſons haue no relation or diſpoſition together, but as they meet and are vnited to the ſtocke: why ſhould not then *Abrahams* account be directed by his diſtance from the ſtocke, as *Ioſephs* is?

2. As this way there falleth out an impoſſibilitie for *Abraham*, that *Laban* ſhould be neerer him than the ſtocke: ſo on the other ſide for *Ioſeph*, that *Laban* ſhould bee as neere him, as *Nachor* is, who is three degrees from *Laban*, and muſt needs be ſo much neerer *Ioſeph*. This account therefore and meaſuring of degrees according to their blind Canons, is found to be muſt doubtfull and vncertaine: as it may further appeare thus: The Canon law ſaith, *Perſona addita perſonæ vſque ad lineam æqualitatis non creſcit gradus:* That one perſon being added to another, till the line be equal, the degree is not encreaſed; as in the former example, *Laban* is added to *Bathuel*, yet both in the ſame degree from *Ioſeph: cauſ.35.qu.5.c.6.declarat.arbor.conſanguinitat.*

Contra. 1. It is abſurd and vnreaſonable that they ſhould be in the ſame degree of conſanguinitie, and that the addition of a perſon or generation ſhould not make a degree: for what elſe is a degree of conſanguinitie, but a generation? ſo that ſo many generations as there are, ſo many degrees there ſhould be.

2. In the degrees of affinitie the rule holdeth well: *Perſona addita perſonæ per carnis copulam non mutat gradum ſed genus:* One perſon comming or being added to another by carnall copulation, the degree is not chaunged but the kinde: *Ibid.declarat.arbor.affinitat.* As the brothers wife, marrying another husband, the ſecond husband is in the ſame degree of affinitie with the brothers wife, though in another kinde: but it is otherwiſe in the line of conſanguinitie.

3. If this were a good rule, that when two differ vnequally from the ſtocke, one two degrees, another foure, they ſhall differ one from another in that degree, which is fartheſt off, that is the fourth: then it would follow very well, they being diſtant in the ſame degree one from another, that *if I cannot marrie thy daughter, then thou canſt not marrie mine*, and ſo alſo affirmatiuely: but this is denied by their Canon: *For he that is in the third degree may contract with his daughter that is in the fourth: ſed non è conuerſo*, but not contrariwiſe: *declarat.arbor.affinit.* But if they were in the ſame degree of diſtance, according to their rule one from the other, why ſhould it not follow both affirmatiuely, and negatiuely.

4. *Celeſtinus* 3. decreeth contrarie to this rule: *Decret.Gregor.lib.4.tit.14.c.3.* That whereas there was a certaine indulgence or libertie to marrie in the ſixt degree: and ſo conſequently, hee that was in the ſixt degree on the one ſide, might marrie into the ſecond or third degree on the other: *Quod videtur poſſe fieri ſecundum regulam, &c.* Which it ſeemeth (ſaith *Celeſtinus*) might bee done according to the rule: which is, that how many degrees one is diſtant from the ſtocke hee is diſtant from euery one deſcending from the ſtocke on the other line. And ſo one in the ſixt degree, and another in the ſecond or third in another line, differ from themſelues in the ſixt degree, and conſequently by this indulgence might marrie: yet *Celeſtinus* determineth, that they muſt not be vnderſtood to be in the ſixt degree, vnleſſe both of them were diſtant from the ſtocke in the ſixt degree: and ſo hee apparantly croſſeth the Canon, by the which they are ſaid to differ in the ſixt degree, if one of them onely bee remoued from the ſtocke in that degree.

Wherefore in collaterals we preferre the Ciuill account of degrees: that is, ſo many perſons, the ſtocke of the kinred excepted, ſo many degrees. Theſe then are the rules for the degrees of marriage.

The rules for the degrees of Conſanguinitie.

1. IN the right line aſcending and deſcending all degrees are forbidden; as aſcending, the *father, mother, Grandfather, Grandmother*, Leuitic. 18.7. Deſcending; the *ſonne or daughter, the ſonnes daughter, or daughters daughter*, Leuit. 18.10. and ſo of the reſt.

2. In the collaterall line of conſanguinitie the prohibition reacheth expreſly to the third degree: as it is not lawfull to marrie the Vncle or Aunte, Leuit. 18.12. and by way of conſequence to the fourth degree; as to the Vncle or Auntes ſonne or daughter.

3. The ſame degrees are forbidden by way of Analogie, both to the man and woman: as it is not lawfull for the Nephew to marrie the Aunte, Leuitic. 18.14. So by the ſame reaſon, not for the Niece to marrie her Vncle. And theſe are the rules for the limitation of the degrees of conſanguinitie: The directions alſo for the computation are theſe.

4. In the right line there are ſo many degrees as perſons: as the ciuill law ſaith: *Generata perſona ſemper adijcit gradum:* The generation of euery perſon maketh a degree: as before I haue ſhewed, *Err.* 85.

5. In the collaterall line equall, or vnequall, there are ſo many degrees as perſons, not counting the ſtocke: See before *Err.* 86.87.

Of the degrees of Affinitie.

FIrſt of the Computation of the degrees; then of the limitation: the rules for the Computation are theſe.

1. The firſt rule of the Canon law is this: *Inter virum & mulierem non contrahitur affinitas, ſed ipſi ſunt affinitatis cauſa:* Affinitie is not betweene the man and the woman, but they are the cauſe of affinitie: for affinitie is defined *Perſonarum proximitas ex coitu proueniens*: The neereneſſe of perſons proceeding of carnall coniunction.

2. Hereupon it followeth, that the neereſt affinitie is in the ſecond or third degree: for if the man and wife be counted as one degree, the firſt affinitie is in the ſecond; if they be reckoned for two, the firſt affinitie is in the third, as the *wiues or husbands, father, brother, daughter, &c.*

3. *Quoto gradu quis tibi conſanguineus, toto mulier affinis:* In what degree thy kinſman is of conſanguinitie, in the ſame degree of affinitie is his wife. The law giueth this reaſon, *becauſe they are one fleſh: cauſ.* 35. *qu.* 5. *c.* 3. And this rule ſeemeth to be grounded vpon the Scripture: Leuit. 18.14. *Thou ſhalt not vncouer the ſhame of thy fathers brother, thou ſhalt not goe into his wife, for ſhe is thy aunt.* Here the vncles wife is called the aunt, as being in the ſame degree of kinred: hee of conſanguinitie, ſhe of affinitie. By this rule the brother being in the ſecond degree of conſanguinitie, his wife ſhall be in the ſecond degree of affinitie. I am not ignorant that ſome doe account alwaies the affinitie in a degree further than the conſanguinitie by the which it commeth in; as they place the vncles wife in the fourth degree of affinitie, the vncle being in the third of conſanguinitie, *Iun. Annot. in* 18. *Leuitic.* And this account I followed in the other edition: the matter is not great, whether way wee make our computation: but the firſt ſeemeth to me to be more probable, and according to the rule of the Ciuill law: *Generata perſona adijcit gradum, &c.* The generation of a perſon maketh a degree: where then there is no generation, but a copulation onely or coniunction, there is no new degree.

4. *Perſona addita perſonæ per carnis copulam mutat genus, non gradum:* One perſon comming to another by carnall copulation, chaungeth not the degree, but *the kinde of affinitie:* as the brothers wife is of affinitie in the ſecond degree and firſt kind: if ſhe marrie a ſecond husband, he is of affinitie in the ſame degree, but in the ſecond kinde: if he marrie another wife, ſhe is of affinitie in the ſecond degree ſtill, but in the third kind.

5. By this rule of the Canon law may another be collected: *Perſona addita perſonæ per generationem, mutat gradum, ſed non genus, &c.* A perſon added to a perſon by generation, doth chaunge the degree of affinitie, not the kind. As we haue an example, Leuit. 18.17. The wiues daughter is in the ſecond degree of affinitie to the husband and the firſt kinde: her daughters daughter is in the third degree and firſt kinde. And theſe are the rules of the computation of the degrees of affinitie.

The rules for the limitation of the degrees of Affinitie.

1. INter affines aſcendentes, deſcendentes, prohibitio extenditur in infinitum:* In aſcending or deſcending, affinitie is prohibited infinitely, that is, without any limitation: as Leuitic. 18.17. It is not lawfull to marrie the wiues *daughter, nor daughters daughter*, and ſo downward: and likewiſe aſcending, not the wiues father, or fathers father, &c.

2. *Affinitatis perpetuum eſt impedimentum, quod durat, mortua perſona, qua mediante contrahitur:* Affinitie is a perpetuall impediment, and it holdeth, though the perſon be dead, by whom it was contracted: *cauſ.35.qu.10.c.2.* As, though the wife be dead, yet her kinred is of affinitie ſtill with her husband remaining aliue.

3. *Affinitas non habet prohibitionem niſi in primo genere:* Affinitie is not forbidden, but in the firſt kind: *declar.arbor.affinit.* Affinitie in the firſt kind continueth, till it be changed, by a new coniunction in marriage: as the brothers wife is of affinitie in the firſt kind, but if ſhe marrie againe, her ſecond husband is of affinitie in the ſecond kind, and with him mariage is not prohibited.

4. In collaterall affinitie mariage is inhibited till the third degree, counting the man and wife for one, or to the fourth, making them two degrees, Leuitic.18.14. the *Vncles wife is of affinitie* in the third degree, the vncle being in the ſame degree of conſanguinitie.

5. *Inter conſanguineos viri & conſanguineos vxoris, nulla affinitas:* Betweene the kinred of blood on the mans ſide, and the kinred of blood on the womans ſide there is no affinitie? and therefore two brothers may marrie with two ſiſters; the father and the ſonne, with the mother and the daughter.

6. In conſanguinitie it followeth, the father is my kinſman, therefore his ſonne, but not in affinitie: for the father marrying my ſiſter, and hauing a ſonne by her, he is of conſanguinitie, but not of affinitie vnto me, if he haue a ſonne by another wife: though the father be my kinſman in affinitie by his firſt mariage, yet the ſonne is neyther of affinitie nor conſanguinitie.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER ANY OF the Degrees prohibited in the law may be diſpenſed withall.

The Papiſts.

88. Error. THey ſay not that the Pope may diſpenſe with all, but with ſome of them, *Concil.Trident. ſeſſ.24.can.3.* As they tooke vpon them to diſpenſe with King *Henry* the 8. mariage with his brothers wife: their reaſon is, becauſe ſome of thoſe prohibitions were only iudiciall and poſitiue conſtitutions, not grounded vpon the law of nature.

*Argum.*1. If it be the law of Nature not to marrie within thoſe degrees, it ſhould haue been in force before the law was made: but ſo was it not: for *Abraham* married his brothers daughter, and *Iacob* two ſiſters, *Bellarm.cap.27.*

Anſw. 1. As *Auguſtine* ſaith of the mariage and copulation of *Adams* children, brothers and ſiſters together: *Factum eſt compellente neceſſitate:* It was for neceſſitie ſake, becauſe there were then no more women: ſo alſo may it be in ſome ſort true of thoſe Patriarkes, that hauing a neceſſitie to marrie amongſt their owne kinred, and not with the Gentiles; there was no choiſe to be had of women of their owne kinred further off in degree.

2. Although this example of theirs, both in marrying many wiues and ſo neere of kinne, cannot be altogether excuſed or iuſtified in them: yet becauſe the law of nature was not yet ſo clearely knowne, as afterward by the giuing of the law, which is nothing elſe but an expoſition of the law of nature; the offence was not ſo great in them, but might better be tollerated: becauſe as *Auguſtine* ſaith, it was neither *Contra morem illorum temporum, nec contra præceptum:* Neither againſt the cuſtome of thoſe times, nor againſt any flat precept. And to conclude, although thoſe holy men had their imperfections, yet we muſt not iudge them in theſe things according to the euill and corrupt diſpoſition of men in theſe dayes, which might vſe this great libertie in mariage, better then many vſe lawfull mariage now: as *Auguſtine* ſayth, *Caſtiùs habebant plures, quàm nunc multi vnam:* They vſed many wiues more chaſtely, then many now liue with one, *De bon.coniug. cap.10.*

Bellarmine replieth: Firſt, hee denieth that *Iacobs* mariage and the reſt, were *facta diſpenſante Deo*, were diſpenſed with of God: for it appeareth, Geneſ.28. 2. that it was the cuſtome of the place, to giue two ſiſters to one man: neyther would *Iacob* haue ſo eaſily 3. yeelded to it, if it had been an vnwonted thing: 4. and beſide there was no neceſſitie in it, that they ſhould marrie their kinſwomen.

Secondly, if they had ſinned in theſe mariages, 1. then ſhould they haue continued all their life in ſinne, which the ſeruants of God do not: 2. and by this meanes their children ſhould haue been baſtards, being borne in vnlawfull Matrimonie: *Bellarm.c.27.reſponſ.ad probat.2.*

Contra. Firſt, *Bellar.* is 1. contrarie to himſelfe in denying that the marriages of the Patriarkes were diſpenſed with: for he affirmed before, *c.11.propoſ.4. Diſpenſatio circa polygamiam eſt indicata patribus,&c.* The diſpenſation concerning polygamie, or multitude of wiues, was declared to the Fathers by God,&c. Their Canons affirme the ſame, *Decret. Gregor. lib.4. tit.19.c.4. Nulli licuit ſimul plures vxores habere, niſi cui fuit diuina reuelatione conceſſum,&c.* It was lawfull for none to haue many wiues at once, but to whome it was graunted by diuine reuelation, &c. that as *Iacob* from lying, the Iſraelites from theft, *Sampſon* from murder; ſo they are excuſed from adultery: and as in taking many wiues, ſo alſo in marrying in their neare kinred, it was by the ſame toleration permitted, though not by diſpenſation authorized or warranted.

2. Geneſ.29. There 1. appeareth no ſuch cuſtome, to giue two ſiſters to one man, but the manner was not to marrie the younger before the elder, v. 26. 2. Though there had been ſuch a cuſtome, it was in an idolatrous countrey, and therefore could not make it lawfull.

3. *Iacob* 1. deſired but one, and had a purpoſe onely to marrie *Rachel*; but being deceiued, hee was driuen to this ſtraite, that he muſt either take both, or els be depriued of her whome he chiefly loued. 2. *Iacobs* affection herein is no excuſe of his infirmitie. 3. And the vnlawfulnes of ſuch marriage, there being yet no poſitiue law, was not ſo fully reuealed vnto them. 4. Wherfore that which *Iacob* might doe either of infirmitie, or ignorance, maketh not the thing lawfull.

4. Their neceſſitie was ſuch, that they muſt either marrie their kinſwomen, or elſe the daughters of Canaan, which was vnlawfull and forbidden, Geneſ.28.6.

Secondly, 1. Gods ſeruants doe not continue in any ſinne which they know, without repentance, but a ſinne of ignorance or infirmitie may remaine in them: for how ſhould they correct that which they knew not: it was a weakneſſe in *Abraham* to cauſe *Sara* to diſſemble, as though ſhee were not his wife; yet did not *Abraham* know it, but continued in it; for he committed the ſame error twice: and *Iſaac* his ſonne by his example did the like. 2. Neither can it be denyed, but that there was baſtardie in ſome of their ſeed: ſuch were the two ſonnes of *Thamar* which ſhe had by *Iudah* her father in law: But we deny, that though thoſe marriages in themſelues were vnlawfull, that therefore all their ſeed was illegitimate; both 1. becauſe the poſitiue law was not yet giuen, which iudgeth of baſtardie: 2. And beſide, they married not for luſt, but for procreation and propagation of the Church: 3. As alſo the vnlawfulnes of theſe marriages was tolerated in reſpect of the neceſſitie and condition of thoſe times. 4. And by lawfull marriage ſucceeding, in continuance of time, the firſt ſtaine and blot was extinct and worne out.

*Argum.*2. Deuteron. 25.5. The law giueth this libertie, that if a brother die without iſſue, his brother ſhould take his wife, and raiſe vp ſeed to his brother. This lawe commaundeth nothing againſt nature, becauſe God is the author of nature, who made this law, and doth nothing againſt nature: therefore that is no naturall lawe, Leuitic. 18. that a man ſhould not marry his brothers wife; neither is it ſimply euill ſo to doe, for then God would not haue commaunded the contrary: but it is onely a iudiciall law, afterward abrogate by Chriſt: *Bellar.cap.*27.

Anſw. 1. That the law, Leuit. 18. was grounded vpon nature, and endured euen after Chriſts comming, it appeareth, in that *Iohn Baptiſt* (Chriſt being then come, and entred into his office) reprooued *Herod* for marrying his brothers wife. 2. That libertie graunted, Deut. 25. is an exception from the other law, which ſerued onely for thoſe times, for the continuance of carnall kinred, and maintenance of their tribes and families, which were to hold till the comming of the Meſſia: but now the cauſe of that exception ceaſing, the libertie alſo is taken away. 3. Neither doth it follow, that if the other law, Leuit. 18.16. be grounded vpon nature, that this exception ſhould be againſt nature: for not ſimply the marrying of the brothers wife, but the vncleane affection in vncouering the brothers ſhame by ſo doing, maketh it vnnaturall, as it is in the lawe expreſſed: but in marrying the brothers wife in this caſe onely, to raiſe vp ſeed to him, and onely at that time during the ſtate of that people, was not to vncouer but to recouer his ſhame, and raiſe vp his name and honour in Iſrael, wherefore it was not vnnaturall. 4. God is aboue nature, and aboue the law: and who may better expound the law than the lawgiuer: and by the ſame right might the Lord in this caſe onely graunt libertie to marry the brothers wife, notwithſtanding the other generall law, as *Phinehes* did ſlay the adulterer and adultereſſe, and *Samuel* the King of Amalek, notwithſtanding the law, *Thou ſhalt not kill.* Neither doth it follow, that becauſe God did in that one caſe diſpenſe with his law: *Ergo,* man hath authoritie to doe the ſame. 5. Laſtly, if it be anſwered, that in this exception, Deut. 25.5. the next kinſman who might marrie the widowe by law, not the brother, is to be vnderſtood: for neither doth the word in that place ſignifie a brother properly: and we ſee the practiſe accordingly, Ruth. 4. where not the brother but the kinſman performeth this duty. This anſwer might ſuffice to remooue the Ieſuites force: but we rather receiue the former.

Bellarm. replyeth: Firſt, this exception ſheweth, that to marry the brothers wife, is not ſimply euill of it ſelfe, for then it could not be made good and lawfull by any circumſtance. Secondly, he denieth it to be an exception; for not God, that knoweth all things, doth vſe to make exceptions after a law made, but men, when they ſee the law cannot otherwiſe be kept. Thirdly, neither is it a diſpenſation, for a diſpenſation is no lawe, but onely a qualifying of the law in ſome particular caſe. Fourthly, this kinde of marriage is againſt the lawe of nature, no otherwiſe than killing is, which by ſome circumſtance may be made lawfull, and ſo may the other. *Bellar. c.*27.

Contra. Firſt, to marrie the brothers wife of a fleſhly mind, and carnall luſt, is ſimply euill, and cannot be made lawfull by any circumſtance: but to marry her according to the lawe, onely to raiſe vp ſeed to the brother, for the continuance of the tribes and families, which were then Gods people, was not euill, not proceeding of any ſuch carnall deſire to the brothers wife, but of obedience to the law: like as to kill a man in malice is ſimply euill, and is neuer made lawfull, yet *Phinehes* killing not in malice, but in the zeale of Gods glory, was commended.

Secondly, as man may make exceptions againſt mans lawe, ſo to God onely it belongeth to take exception againſt his owne law: for who dare preſume to adde any thing to Gods law, but himſelfe? neither doth God giue exceptions againſt his law for want of foreſight, but for the profite and vtilitie of men, as this exception was for the commoditie of the Iewes.

Thirdly, neither was this a perpetuall lawe, but onely for that nation and for that time, and therefore hath the right nature of a diſpenſation.

Fourthly, 1. As killing with a malitious mind and of priuate reuenge, is againſt nature, and cannot be made lawfull; ſo is the marrying of the brothers wife with an vncleane affection: but to kill to the glory of God, is diſpenſed with in the worde: ſo is this marriage done onely in obedience to the law, and vtilitie of the people of God. 2. Againe, as the lawfull kind of killing (as by publike authoritie) is allowed by the ſame lawgiuer; ſo alſo the caſes and exceptions that allow the marriage of the brothers wife, muſt be warranted by Gods word. 3. Wherefore *Bellarm.* graunting that this kind of mariage is as much againſt nature as killing is, doth confeſſe as much as we doe deſire: neither hath he gained any thing but loſt; ſeeing that as no man hath power to diſpenſe with killing but God, ſo neither is this marriage lawfull, but in caſes limited and appointed by God: ſo that neither the Pope nor any other mortall man hath power to diſpenſe in this caſe.

The Proteſtants.

WE affirme, that it is vtterly vnlawfull for any Chriſtian to marry within the degrees prohibited: neither can any humane power diſpenſe with ſuch marriages: but the equitie of that law being grounded vpon nature, is in force for euer. Wherefore the Pope of Rome ſheweth himſelfe plainly to be Antichriſt, in diſpenſing againſt the law of God.

Argum. 1. Leuit. 18.24. The reaſon of that law is giuen concerning the forbidden degrees: They ſhould not defile themſelues in any one of thoſe things, becauſe the Gentiles defiled themſelues thereby, and were caſt out before them for it. Wherefore it is a naturall and perpetuall law, otherwiſe the Gentiles had not been bound vnto it.

Bellar. anſwereth: Firſt, the Gentiles were puniſhed for other greater ſinnes, as idolatrie, adulterie, mentioned before; v. 21. 22. and not onely for theſe marriages. Secondly, the Gentiles did marry in their kinred without any reſpect, and no circumſtances conſidered, and therefore offended againſt the law of nature: for the Patriarkes married within the degrees prohibited, as *Abraham*, yet were not puniſhed, ***Bell. c. 27. reſp. ad argum. 1. proteſtant.***

Contra. Firſt, the words are, ***In all theſe the nations are defiled:*** therefore theſe vnlawfull marriages are comprehended among the reſt: and although they had other ſinnes, for the which they were puniſhed; yet theſe alſo raigned among them, and conſequently were vnnaturall. Secondly, the marriages here forbidden are ſimply propounded without any circumſtance, and therefore no circumſtance of mans deuiſe, not allowed in the law, can diſpenſe with the vnlawfulneſſe of theſe marriages. Thirdly, the ſinnes of the Gentiles are noted, wherewith they did then pollute themſelues: the marriages of the Patriarkes were before the law, and in reſpect of the neceſſitie of thoſe times, their chaſtitie and fidelitie tolerated.

Argum. 2. Mark. 6.18. ***Iohn*** ſaith to ***Herode***, It is not lawfull for thee to haue thy brothers wife: ***Ergo***, the law was not abrogate, being in force in our Sauiour Chriſts time. Neither are they to alledge, that ***Herodes*** brother was yet liuing, or that he had a child by ***Herodias***, and therefore it was not lawfull for him to marrie her: for all this being graunted, which cannot be prooued, yet it is plaine out of the text, that ***Iohn*** reprooueth him in no other name, but becauſe hee married his brothers wife.

Argum. 3. Saint ***Paul*** reprooueth the inceſtuous young man that had his fathers wife, 1. Cor. 5.1. and excommunicateth him for it: but this is not forbidden any where in the newe Teſtament, but onely by vertue of ***Moſes*** law: ***Ergo***, that law concerning degrees of kinred continued in force ſtill. Neither is it a good anſwer to ſay, as ***Bellarmine*** doth, that in ſome degrees that lawe holdeth, and not in other; ſeeing that all the degrees there named, Leuitic. 18. are with the like ſtrictneſſe, and in the ſame forme of words prohibited: neither can the Ieſuite ſhewe, where any part of that law is reuerſed. The words are, v. 24. ***Ye ſhall not defile your ſelues in any of theſe things:*** ſo then all the degrees there expreſſed are forbidden. Neither doth it helpe him to ſay, that this inceſtuous perſon did keepe his fathers wife while his father liued: which is vncertaine, for as it is by ſome affirmed, ſo it is by other denyed, as ***Theodoret:*** howſoeuer it were, the Apoſtle deſcribeth his ſinne to be this, *that he had his fathers wiſe* : ſo that we ſee, that the Leuiticall prohibition was perpetuall, and in force vnder the Goſpell.

Auguſtine is againſt them, who ſpeaking of the marriage of Conſobrines or Coſin germanes, De ciuitat. Dei lib. 15. cap. 16. which had been ſometime in vſe, *Quia id nec diuina prohibuit, & nondum prohibuerat lex humana:* It was as yet thought lawfull, becauſe neither the diuine law forbad it, neither was it yet prohibited by mans lawe. If that then be thought lawfull, which Gods law manifeſtly forbiddeth not, that ſure is vnlawfull which it plainely forbiddeth. Wherefore to marrie within any of the degrees directly forbidden, Leuit. 18. is vtterly vnlawfull.

We haue the full conſent of antiquitie, *Concil. Agathenſ.* 61. *Hos inceſtus cenſemus eſſe, ſi quis relictam fratris, aut germanam vxorem duxerit, &c.* Theſe we count inceſts, if a man marrie his brothers wife, or his owne ſiſter, his mother in law, his Aunt, &c. as it followeth in *Moſes* law.

Synod. Epannenſ. can. 30. *Aurelianenſ.* 3. *cap.* 10. *Arelatenſ.* ſ*ub Carolo can.* 11. *Gregor.* 3. *decret.* 5. *Neoceſar. can.* 2. In all theſe Councels it is in flat termes decreed, that it ſhall not be lawfull for any man to marrie his brothers wife.

Concil. Parrhiſienſ. can. 4. *Nullus illicita coniugia contra praeceptum Domini ſortiri praeſumat, vt fratris relictam, nouercam, &c.* Let no man preſume to make any vnlawfull mariage contrary to the commandement of God, as to marrie his brothers widow, his mother in law, &c.

And that it is not lawfull for the Pope to diſpenſe in this caſe with the mariage of the brothers wife; heare the determination of the Pope himſelfe: *Zacharie* of that name thus writing to *Bonifacius*, who required his aduiſe concerning one that had married his vncles wife, who affirmed that he was diſpenſed with by *Gregorie* the 3. his Predeceſſor; Pope *Zacharie* maketh this anſwere: *Abſit hoc, vt praedeceſſor noſter ita praeciperet, nec enim ab Apoſtolica ſede illa diriguntur, quae contraria canonum ſtatutis eſſe perhibentur* : Farre be it from my predeceſſor to make any ſuch law, for the Apoſtolike ſea hath no authoritie to decree any thing contrary to the auncient Canons, *Epiſtol. ad Bonifacium*. But for a man to marrie his brothers wife, is contrarie to the Canons, as we haue ſeene: *Ergo*, in this caſe the Pope cannot diſpenſe.

We haue the approbation of the Imperiall lawes, *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 5. *leg.* 4. 5. *Valent. Theodoſ. Fratris vxorem ducendi, vel duabus ſororibus coniungendi penitùs licentiam ſubmouemus, &c.* We do denie licence to marrie the brothers wife, or to be ioyned to two ſiſters: *ibid. leg.* 9. *Anaſtaſius: Reſcripta omnia viribus carere decreuimus, &c.* We decree, that all diſpenſations, licences of the Prince, &c. ſhall be voide, which do giue leaue to marrie the brothers wife. Wherefore ſeeing the lawes of Princes do concurre with the law of God, in the prohibition of ſuch mariages, it followeth that they are meere morall precepts, and agreeable to the law of nature.

Their owne Canons alſo are euident, *Cauſ.* 27. *qu.* 2. *c.* 11. *& decret. Gregor. lib.* 4. *tit.* 1. *c.* 4. *Sponſam fratris frater habere non poteſt:* The brother cannot haue to wife his brothers ſpouſe: how much more cannot he haue his brothers wife, that was not eſpouſed onely, but married to him.

Cauſ. 35. *qu.* 3. *c.* 8. *Non relictam fratris:* It is not lawful to marrie the brothers widow, *c.* 12. *Nec relictam fratris vxoris*: Nor the wiues brothers widow.

Qu. 5. *c.* 3. *Vxorem propinqui mei ita me oportet attendere, &c.* I muſt ſo regard my kinſmans wife, of what degree ſoeuer, as though ſhe were in the ſame degree of mine owne kinred. By this rule it is no more lawfull for a man to marrie his brothers wife, then his owne ſiſter. And the Canon goeth further, *Qui aliter ſentiunt Antichriſti ſunt*, they that thinke otherwiſe, are Antichriſts: ſo conſequently the Pope is by their owne Canons an Antichriſt, for allowing ſuch inceſtuous marriages.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER ANY OTHER degrees may be by humane law prohibited, beſide thoſe directly forbidden in the law.

The Papiſts.

1. THey affirme, that by the law of *Moſes*, thoſe degrees only are vnlawful to marrie in, which 89. Error. are directly and by name ſet downe: and therefore it is not vnlawfull, by *Moſes* law, for the Vncle or Aunts husband to marrie his niece, becauſe it is not by name prohibited: as *Abraham* married his brother *Arams* daughter: for *Sara* was his niece. The mariage alſo of Coſin germanes was lawfull by *Moſes* law, and practiſed, Numb. 36. The daughters of *Zelophehad* married their Vncles ſonnes. Therefore by *Moſes* law no degrees are forbidden, which are not directly named, *Bellarm. cap.* 27.

The Proteſtants.

1. COncerning *Abrahams* mariage what is to be thought, we haue ſhewed before, *reſponſ. ad argum.* 1. that although this mariage of *Abraham* is neyther commended, nor ſimply allowed in Scripture: yet it was tollerated both in reſpect of the neceſſitie 1. of thoſe times, when

as they could not marrie in further degrees of kinred, vnleſſe they would haue taken them wiues from the idolatrous heathen. 2. Likewiſe the libertie then was greater, there being then no lawe to the contrarie. 3. And their chaſtitie and ſobrietie did ſomewhat beare them out, who as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Non laſciuiendi, ſed gignendi cauſa illis fœminis vtebantur:* They did not vſe thoſe women for luſt, but for generation ſake: *de bon. coniug. c.* 25. but this example of *Abraham* notwithſtanding, now after the law giuen, it is a plaine caſe, that the vncle is no more to marry his neece, than the nephew his Aunt: and this being by name prohibited, Leuit. 18.14. 20.2. the other alſo is neceſſarily included: for the ſame rules for degrees of kinred, doe proportionably hold both in men and women: wherefore ſuch marriage is vnlawfull, neither to be contracted; and if it be, to be diſſolued.

The like iudgement is to be giuen, of the marriage of two ſiſters; that as the brother is forbidden to marrie his brothers wife, ſo the ſiſter not to ioyne her ſelfe to the ſiſters husband. And whereas *Bellarmine* vrgeth that place, Leuiticus 18.18. *Thou ſhalt not take a wife with her ſiſter, to vexe her during her life:* thereby proouing, that the lawe onely forbiddeth to marrie two ſiſters together, not ſucceſſiuely one after another. I anſwere, that the text is rather to be read thus, Thou ſhalt not take a *woman* to her *ſiſter*, that is, one woman to another: Firſt, the worde אשה, ſignifieth a woman, as well as a wife: as in the next verſe following 19. and in many other places. Secondly, the true reading is, *to a ſiſter*, not, *with a ſiſter*; ſo the prepoſition אל ſignifieth: Then thus to reade, Thou ſhalt not take *a wife to her ſiſter*, hath no ſenſe: to take *the ſiſter to thy wife*, by inuerting the wordes, were to better ſenſe. Thirdly, the phraſe is ſo taken in Scripture, Geneſ. 26.31. *They did ſweare, vir fratri, a man to his brother*, that is, one to another: for otherwiſe, *Iſaak* and *Abimelech* were not brethren. Likewiſe Ezech. 1.10. Their wings were ioyned, *fœmina ad ſororem, the woman to her ſiſter*, that is, one to another: where the verie ſame wordes in the verie ſame conſtruction are vſed: ſo then in this Text, not the marriage of two ſiſters together, but Polygamie or Bigamie, the hauing of two wiues or women together, is forbidden.

Now then, that by the ſame analogie, the prohibition giuen to one ſexe, doth bind the other, it may thus appeare: Firſt, becauſe all the rules of prohibited degrees are preſcribed namely to the male; ſo that if the other ſexe were not included alſo, none of the prohibitions ſhould concerne them. Secondly, to giue an inſtance, Leuiticus 18.11. *Thou ſhalt not diſcouer the ſhame of thy fathers wiues daughter:* If the analogie did not hold in the other ſexe, then it might be lawfull to marrie the fathers wiues ſonne. Thirdly, concerning theſe degrees which are in queſtion; firſt, to marrie with the vncle, is forbidden in direct wordes, *Thou ſhalt not vncouer the ſhame of thy fathers brother*, verſ. 14. Secondly, for the marrying of ſiſters, ſeeing degrees further off in affinitie are forbidden, as to marrie the wiues daughters daughter, the nearer cannot be lawfull: now the wiues ſiſter is nearer than the wiues daughters daughter.

Further, concerning marriage betweene the vncle and his neece, I will adioyne the moſt excellent teſtimonie of *Ambroſe*, who writeth hereof at large to one *Paternus*, *Epiſtol. 66. Tu copulare paras filium, &c.* You would ioyne together your ſonne, and his ſiſters daughter. 1. *Non ipſe te reuocat ſonus nominum, &c.* Doth not the very ſound of the names call you backe? for thus you ſhall be both a grandfather, and a father in lawe. 2. The diuine lawe doth forbid brothers children to marrie which are in the fourth degree, &c. but theſe are in the third. 3. But you will pretend, that it is permitted by the diuine lawe, becauſe it is not forbidden: *Ego autem & prohibitum aſſero*, but I ſay it is forbidden, becauſe lighter matters are forbidden, *de patruelibus fratribus*, of brothers children, &c. Neither doe you finde it forbidden, that a man ſhould marrie his daughter, *quia interdictum eſt lege naturæ*, becauſe it is forbidden by the law of nature. 4. What is ſo common, as for the vncle to kiſſe his neece? *Hoc inoffenſæ pietatis oſculum ſuſpectum facies:* You will make ſuch kiſſes of loue to be ſuſpicious, if ſuch be admitted to marriage. 5. But if you regarde not the diuine lawe, yet the Emperours law might mooue you. *Theodoſius* forbiddeth, that couſin germanes ſhould come together in marriage. Thus much Saint *Ambroſe*.

2. Concerning the marriage of brothers and ſiſters children, there is a greater queſtion. Firſt, it cannot be proued that *Zelophehads* fiue daughters married their vncles ſonnes, that is, their Coſin germanes: for the Hebrues call the nephewes, ſonnes: as *Iethros* daughters are called the daughters of *Raguel* their Grandfather, Exod. 2.17. So it is very like that their husbands were their vncles ſonnes ſonnes, as in the 12. verſe it may be gathered, where the text ſaith, They were married into the families of the ſonnes of *Manaſſes*: therefore not into one familie. But as touching the queſtion in hand, the marriage of Coſin germanes ſeemeth alſo by ſome analogie to be forbidden by *Moſes* law: for if the degrees of affinitie be limited to the third or fourth degree; as it is not lawfull for a man to marrie his wiues daughters daughter, Leuitic. 18.17. why ſhould not the line of conſanguinitie hold to the fourth degree likewiſe? And ſo neither the ſonne to marrie

his fathers brothers daughter, or the daughter the ſonne: for here are alſo foure degrees: the ſonne, one: the father, two: the fathers brother, three: the brothers ſonne, foure. Againe, the vncles ſonne is as neere as the vncles wife, the one being of affinitie, the other of conſanguinitie: and therefore the firſt being forbidden, Leuit. 18.14. why not the other alſo? Yet this we graunt, that this analogie or proportion is not ſo ſtrong, nor doth conclude ſo neceſſarilie as the other. Wherefore we thus determine of this matter, that it is well that the marriages of Coſin germanes are reſtrained by humane law, and ſo they ought to be: which kinde of marriages may lawfully be hindered, and the contract looſed: but the marriage being conſummate and finiſhed, it is not for this cauſe to be diſſolued.

So was it decreed, *Concil. Lateranenſ. part. 6. cap. 30. Matrimonium in quarto gradu conſanguinitatis iam conſummatum non debet diſſolui:* Marriage in the fourth degree of conſanguinitie (ſuch as the marriage of Coſin germanes is) being conſummate and finiſhed, muſt not be diſſolued.

Auguſtine alſo writeth very well of this matter: *Quis dubitet, honeſtiùs hoc tempore conſobrinarum prohibita eſſe coniugia, etiamſi id diuina lex non prohibeat: cuius enim debet cauſa propinquitatis verecundum honorem, ab ea contineat quamuis generatricem libidinem?* Who doubteth, but that the marriage of Coſin germanes is honeſtly forbidden, though the diuine law doe not prohibite it? for to whom a man oweth a ſhamefaſt reuerence for kinred ſake, he ought to refraine his luſt.

De ciuitate Dei. lib. 15. cap. 16.

Let vs ſee the conſent of antiquitie: *Gregor. 3. decr. 6. Si quis neptim, nurum, nouercam duxerit, &c. anathema:* If any man marrie his niece, his daughter in law, or mother in law, accurſed be he. As then it is vnlawfull for the Nephew to marrie his Aunt, ſo is it for the vncle to marrie his niece.

As for the marriage of Coſin germanes, the Canons euery where forbid it: *Agathenſ. can. 61. Epannenſ. can. 30. Aurelianenſ. 3. cap. 10.* it is decreed, that no man ſhall marrie *conſobrinam*, his Coſin germane.

Antiſiodorenſ. can. 31. Non licet conſobrinam, hoc eſt, quæ de duabus ſororibus, aut duobus fratribus procreantur, in coniugium accipere: It is not lawfull to marrie a coſin germane, which commeth of two brothers, or two ſiſters.

Arelatenſ. can. 11. Ne quis conſobrinam, vel filiam auunculi ducat: That no man marrie his coſin germane, or vncles daughter. Thus we ſee how that our aduerſaries, that make ſhew of antiquitie, are the onely enemies to antiquitie.

Now further I will ſhew the conſent both of the Ciuill and Canon law for the vnlawfulnes of mariage: firſt, with the vncle: ſecondly, the wiues ſiſter: thirdly, the vncles daughter.

Cod. lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 17. Diocletian. Nemini matrimonium contrahere liceat cum ſororis filia: No man muſt contract Matrimonie with his ſiſters daughter, that is, his niece.

Cod. lib. 6. tit. 20. leg. 19. Iuſtinian. Whereas in the conferring of dowries and other gifts, ſome ſeemed to make a difference betweene vncles and aunts: *Aſſerebant in perſonis auunculorum, non etiam patruorum, materterarum, vel amitarum locum habere:* They affirmed that it tooke place in the perſons of the vncles by the mothers ſide, not of the vncles by the fathers ſide, or of the aunts: the law proceedeth, *Talem ſubtilem dubitationem amputantes:* Wee cutting off this ſubtiltie and doubt: and ſo maketh the condition of vncles and aunts to be alike: As then in this caſe, there was no difference betweene vncles and aunts, ſo why not alſo in marriage?

Decret. par. 2. cauſ. 27. qu. 2. c. 12. Gregorie decreeth againſt one, *qui deſponſatam nepotis virginem duxit*, which married one eſpouſed to his nephew: how much more doe the Canons forbid the marriage of the niece by blood?

Cauſ. 35. qu. 3. c. 8. Si quis relictæ, vel filiæ auunculi: It is not lawfull to marrie the vncles wife or daughter: how much more vnlawfull is it to marrie the vncle himſelfe?

Secondly, the marriage of two ſiſters is contrarie to the Imperiall lawes: *Cod. lib. 5. leg. 5. Valent. Theodoſ. Duabus ſororib. cõiungẽdi, &c.* We giue no licẽce to marrie the brothers wife, or two ſiſters.

Thirdly, concerning the vnlawfull marriage of Coſin germanes, that is brothers or ſiſters children, I finde not the like ſtrict prohibition in the Imperiall lawes: for by the law of *Antoninus: Cod. lib. 6. tit. 25. leg. 2.* and the conſtitution of *Arcadius, lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 19.* the marriage of conſobrines, and coſin germanes is made lawfull: Yet degrees as farre off are inhibited; as *lib. 5. tit. 4. leg. 17. Nemini liceat:* No man is to contract Matrimonie with the brothers daughter, *vel ex ea nepte*, or his daughters daughter. *Theodoſius* alſo made a law againſt the marriage of coſin germanes, as before out of *Ambroſe:* yea and the Canon law is very ſtrict againſt ſuch mariages: *Cauſ. 35. qu. 3. c. 20.* and *Cauſ. 32. qu. 7. c. 20.* Brothers and ſiſters children are inhibited to marrie.

Decr. Greg. lib. 4. tit. 2. c. 12. Non debet cum conſobrina propter publicæ honeſtatis iuſtitiam permanere: He muſt not remaine or dwell with his Coſin germane for publike honeſtie ſake, whether he hath knowne her, or not.

Thus we ſee: firſt, that the two firſt degrees are euen by the law of the Gentiles inhibited, as being vnnaturall, that is the marriage with the vncle, or with the wiues ſiſter. Secondly, a difference we finde betweene theſe, and the marriage of coſin germanes, which though it be not conuenient, yet is not ſo vnnaturall, nor prohibited by the Imperiall lawes. Thirdly, the Canon law ſeparateth Coſin germanes after carnall knowledge: but that is too hard a ſentence: it is ſufficient to hinder marriage contracted, but not conſummate by carnall coniunction, as I haue ſhewed before.

The Papiſts.

90. Error. 2. IT is lawfull for the Church to reſtraine other degrees of affinitie and conſanguinitie, beſides
thoſe preſcribed by *Moſes*, and that the decrees of the Church in ſuch caſes do binde in con-
ſcience, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.* 24. *can.* 3. As to prohibite marriage vnto the ſeuenth degree in natu-
91. Error. rall kinred, and afterward to the fourth. 2. Alſo their Canons do make a ſpirituall kinred, that
commeth in by Baptiſme and Confirmation: and ſuffer not the godfather to marry the godchild,
92. Error. or the godfather the godmother. 3. Likewiſe they haue found out an affinitie that commeth in
by eſpouſals onely of Matrimonie, which bindeth (ſay they) in the firſt degree by the Canon law,
which is the firſt and ſecond by the Ciuill law: as that it is not lawfull for the brother to marrie
her which was eſpouſed to his brother. 4. Alſo another kinred and affinitie, by fornication and
vnlawfull fleſhly knowledge, which bindeth in the ſecond degree Canonicall, which is the third
and fourth Ciuill: as it is not lawfull for the ſonne to marrie his fathers baſtard, *Bellarm. cap.* 24.
cap. 30.

Bellarmine thus reaſoneth for the reſtraint of conſanguinitie and affinitie: firſt, to the ſeuenth degree, and afterward to the fourth.

Argum. 1. There is a peculiar ſhamefaſtnes and reuerence of nature due to kinſmen, which is violated in marriage. 2. If kinſmen might marrie together, they could not vſe cohabitation, or any familiaritie together without ſuſpition: but whereas marriage is interdicted betweene kinſmen, there is no daunger. 3. For the propagation of loue and charitie vnto others, marriage is forbidden in theſe degrees, wherein their affinitie or conſanguinitie is a ſufficient bond of loue, without marriage. 4. If kinſmen ſhould marrie together, their loue would be too inordinate, the loue of marriage being ioyned to the naturall loue of kinred, *Bellarm. cap.* 29.

Contra. Firſt, the wiſedome of man is not to controule the ordinance of God: if the Lord hath not thought good to make a reſtraint of marriage ſo farre, it is preſumption in man to doe it: ſhall it be thought, that God had not reſpect to the reuerence of nature, propagation of loue, familiaritie of kinred, ſobrietie in marriage, in ſetting downe the marriage law?

Secondly, none of theſe inconueniences neede to be feared in degrees ſo farre off: for whereas the fourth degree in the Canons, is the eight Ciuill degree: and by the Canons, brethren are in the firſt degree, brethrens children in the ſecond, their childrens children in the third, and their children in the fourth: what kinred can there be now betweene Coſin germanes twice remoued? and there being little or no kinred, there is neither 1. reuerence of nature due as to the kinred of the fleſh: 2. nor familiaritie to be admitted without ſuſpition, otherwiſe than betweene ſtraungers: 3. nor yet ſhall the propagation of loue be hindred, there being no ſuch ſure bond alreadie out of marriage: 4. and conſequently inordinate loue in the marriage of ſuch is not to be feared, the naturall affection by ſuch long deſcent being extinguiſhed.

The Proteſtants.

1. TO forbid more degrees in marriage, than are either directly or by neceſſarie conſequence prohibited in the lawe, is a meere Antichriſtian yoke laid vpon the people of God: for the Lord (the author of that law) beſt did know, both what perſons were fit for mariage, and how farre the line of mariage was to extend.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the law of the degrees of marriage was peculiar to the people of the Iewes, vnto whom the marriage of their kinred was not ſo much reſtrained: firſt, becauſe they were but few. Secondly, for the preſeruation of the Tribes and families. Thirdly, that being ſuffered to marrie in their kinred, they ſhould not ſo eaſily put away their wiues. Fourthly, as they were permitted to put away their wiues, and to haue many at once; ſo in like manner to marrie within certaine degrees of kinred, *Bellarm. c.* 29. *reſp. ad argum.* 2.

Contra. Firſt, theſe reaſons are not ſufficient to proue the law of degrees in mariage peculiar to the Iewes: 1. They were a great and populous nation: in *Dauids* time there were 13. hundred thouſand fighting men in Iſrael and Iuda, 2. Sam. 24. In the raigne of *Iehoſaphat*, Iudah onely was able to make 11. hundred thouſand men of warre, 2. Chron. 17. 14. to 19. therefore in reſpect of their ſmall number, there was no reaſon to allow them to marrie with their kinred. 2. For the preſeruation of their families there was a ſpeciall prouiſo in the law, that the brother might take the brothers wife to raiſe ſeede to his brother, Deuter. 25. 3. *Moſes* permitted them (notwithſtanding this law of degrees) to giue vnto their wiues bils of diuorcement: and it is ſeene by experience, that the neerer in degree the married couples are, for the moſt part greater contention falleth out. 4. To put away their wiues was but a toleration: but the law concerning degrees was a commandement, and the tranſgreſſion thereof puniſhed with death, Leuit. 20. The hauing of many wiues was directly contrary to the law, Leuit. 18. 18. Deuter. 17. 17.

Secondly, that this was not a law peculiar to the Iewes, but generall, to bind the people of God vnder the Goſpell: it appeareth both by *Iohn Baptiſts* reprehenſion of *Herode* for marrying his brothers wife; and Saint *Paules* cenſuring of the inceſtuous perſon that tooke his fathers wife: which are the very degrees forbidden in Leuiticus. 2. Neither can they ſhew any diſpenſation or reuocation in the new teſtament contrarie to that law.

This prohibition of marriage to the fourth degree Canonicall, that is, the eight Ciuill, is contrary both to the Imperiall and Canonicall lawes.

*Cod.lib.*5.*tit.* 4. *leg.*17. *Dioclet.* In collaterals both of affinitie and conſanguinitie, the prohibition goeth not beyond the fourth degree: *Nemini liceat*, a man muſt not contract matrimonie with his Aunt, ſiſters daughter, or Neece, that is her daughters daughter; with his brothers daughter or Neece: and in affinitie, with his wiues daughter, wiues mother, ſonnes wife, fathers wife, &c. none of theſe exceed the fourth degree Ciuill. The Canon law thus teſtifieth, *Cauſ.*35. *qu.*3.*c.*3. *Fabianus: In quarta generatione ſi contracti fuerint, non ſeparentur:* They which are maried in the fourth generation, let them not be ſeparated: *ibid. c.*12. *Iulius, Vſque in tertiam progeniem, &c.* No man muſt marry a wife to the third degree: Theſe Canons inhibite not marriage in the third and fourth degree Canonicall, much leſſe to the ſeuenth.

Lateranenſ. part. 50. 29. *Cognati non ſunt ſeparandi niſi in primo vel ſecundo gradu conſanguinitatis ſint coniuncti:* Coſins muſt not be diuorced, vnleſſe they marry in the firſt or ſecond degree of conſanguinitie: the ſecond degree by the Canon law, is the fourth degree by the Ciuill law, and after our account: after the fourth degree then marriage is lawfull: it is not then reſtrained till the ſeuenth.

Secondly, the inuention of ſpirituall kinred is but a popiſh tricke, to get the more money for their diſpenſations: for by this reaſon no Chriſtians ought to marrie together, becauſe they are all of one ſpirituall kinred in Chriſt.

Their owne Canons are againſt them, *Cauſ.*30.*qu.*3.*c.*4.*Vrban. Poſt compaternitatem geniti, &c.* Godfathers children may marrie: *Qu.*4.*c.*5. *Paſchal. Vxorem compatris ducere licet:* A man may marrie his Godfathers wife: *Decr.Greg. lib.*4.*tit.*11.*c.*1. *Alexander. Filij duorum compatrum licitè contrahant:* Godfathers children may contract matrimonie.

Thirdly, the new affinitie that commeth by eſpouſals, is alſo but an humane inuention: for the law ſpeaketh onely of the kinred of the fleſh, which ariſeth of carnall knowledge and copulation, not an intent or purpoſe onely of marriage, Leuit. 18.6.

We haue the conſent of a generall Councell, *Lateranenſ. part.* 6. *can.* 27. Pope *Benedictus* decreeth thus: *Qui vnam ſororem deſponſauerit, ſi eam non cognouerit, poteſt aliam ſororem ſibi matrimonio copulare: apparet enim virum & mulierem non poſſe fieri vnam carnem, niſi carnali copula ſibi adhæreant:* He that eſpouſeth one ſiſter, not hauing knowne her, may marrie her ſiſter: for man and wife are not made one fleſh, but by carnall copulation. Therefore by the eſpouſall words they are not made one fleſh: *Propinquitas ſanguinis verbis dicitur, non verbis efficitur:* Propinquitie of blood by words is ſaid, by words it is not made. *Cur ergo prohibeamus, quod prohibitum nunquam ſcriptura declarauit?* Why therefore ſhould wee forbid that, which is no where in ſcripture forbidden? To this agreeth alſo the decree of Pope *Alexander, Lateranenſ. part.* 45. *can.* 5. *Non ſunt vna caro vir & mulier, niſi carnali, copula cohæſerint:* Man and wife are not one fleſh but by carnall copulation.

Thus alſo the Ciuile law teſtifieth: *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *leg.* 24. *Iuſtinian. Conditio nuptiarum impletur per actum, non habitum, aut potentiam:* The condition of marriage is accompliſhed by the acte, not by the habite or poſſibilitie.

Their Canons alſo are euident, *Cauſ.*27.*qu.*2.*c.*17. *Iulius: Mulier præter commixtionem ſexuum non pertinet ad matrimonium:* A woman without the copulation of the ſexe, belongeth not to matrimonie. *C.* 18. *Benedict. Per nuda ſponſionis verba non poſſunt vna caro fieri:* They cannot be made one fleſh onely by the words of eſpouſall. The reſt of this Canon is recited before.

The Maiter of Sentences maketh this anſwere, That thoſe Canons are vnderſtood of eſpouſals which are made, *per verba de futuro*, by wordes not of the preſent, but of the time to come; when there is not, *conſenſus de præſenti, ſed ſponſio futuri:* not a conſent for the preſent, but a promiſe for afterward.

Contra. Firſt, that diſtinction of the Canon law is but an humane deuice, that there is *fidespactionis, fides conſenſus:* That faith of marriage is made by couenant and promiſe, or by conſent: the firſt holdeth not, the ſecond is firme euen after carnall ſocietie with another: *Cauſ.*27.*qu.*2.*c.*51. For we ſee the Scripture maketh no difference betweene the couenant of marriage, and conſent: Geneſ. 24.57, 58. *We will call the maid and aske her conſent, &c. Wilt thou goe with this man? and ſhee ſaid, I will goe.* Her promiſe by theſe words of the future, *I will goe*, are called her conſent. So *David* ſent to *Abigail, vt accipiat in vxorem*, to take her to his wife: he ſaid not, I do take thee to my wife: 1. Sam. 25.40. Wherefore that ſimple and well meaning age, knewe no ſuch difference in contractes.

Secondly, the Canons exclude all eſpouſals whatſoeuer from the computation of the degrees of marriage: *Propinquitas ſanguinis verbis dicitur, non verbis efficitur:* Propinquitie of blood is ſayd by words, not made. He ſpeaketh generally of all words of eſpouſall or contract whatſoeuer: *Benedict.cauſ.*27.*qu.*2.*c.*18. And the queſtion is of a maide that was *ſimplicibus verbis deſponſata, &c.* eſpouſed by ſimple, that is, plaine and direct words, to a young man: the maide eſpouſed dieth, he is licenſed to marrie her ſiſter, and by warrant of Scripture; becauſe man and woman are not made one fleſh, *niſi carnali copula,* but by carnall copulation: as the Scripture ſaith, *They two ſhall be one fleſh.*

Fourthly, the laſt we admit, for the ſonne of the father begotten out of marriage, is of his fleſhly kinred, though not lawfully: and therefore in marriage matters there is reſpect alſo to be had euen of this kinred of the fleſh: as *Ruben* is curſed of his father becauſe he lay with his concubine, Gene.49.4. which notwithſtanding was not his fathers wife. So alſo the Ciuill law, *Cod.lib.*5.*tit.*4. *leg.*4. *Alexander. Concubina patris non debet eſſe vxor filij:* The fathers concubine cannot be the ſonnes wife.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, OF OTHER impediments of marriage.

THere are ſome impediments which may hinder and diſſolue the contract of marriage, before it be conſummate, but not after: ſome, which both may hinder the contract, and diſſolue the matrimonie euen after carnall knowledge.

The Papiſts.

93.Error. 1. BEllarmine reckoneth vp diuers impediments of both kinds, which may diſanull the contract of marriage, and diſſolue the Matrimonie it ſelfe: but hee maketh no mention of the conſent of the parents. And indeede it is their opinion, that it is not a neceſſarie thing to be reſpected in marriage: nor of the eſſence thereof, neither can ſuch marriage, as hath the conſent of the children only, either by the parents, or Magiſtrate be diſſolued, *Bellarm.c.*19.

Argum. Eſau married without his fathers conſent, yet was not his marriage diſſolued: *Iacob* alſo had not his fathers conſent to the marriage of *Lea,* and of his two handmaides: *Ergo,* the parents conſent is not neceſſarie, *Bellarm.cap.*19.

Anſw. Firſt, concerning *Eſau* his marriage, we ſay he did very euill in marrying without his fathers conſent, and it was a great griefe to his parents: yet the marriage being once conſummate, wee ſay not, that then it ought to be diſſolued, for want of the parents conſent, but the contract and eſpouſals onely. Secondly, for *Iacob,* his maides were not his wiues, and *Lea* was thruſt vpon him againſt his will: no marueile if he had not his fathers conſent, when his owne was wanting: but to marrie one of his fathers kinred, as he made choyce of *Rachel,* he had his fathers full conſent.

*Argum.*2. In the marriage of children without conſent of the parents, the conſent of the parties is preſent, which is ſufficient: for *conſenſus facit matrimonium,* conſent maketh Matrimonie. And if the marriage of ſeruants againſt the will of their maſters be notwithſtanding firme and ſure, much more the marriage of children, &c. *Bellarm.cap.*19.

Anſw. Firſt, one of your owne writers ſhall make you an anſwere: *Conſenſus facit nuptias, ſed eorum, qui ſui iuris ſunt, &c.* Conſent maketh marriage, but of ſuch, as are in their owne power: ſo are not children, and therefore their conſent is not ſufficient: *Eſpenc.de clandeſt.in matrim.cap.*11. Secondly, where the maſters are in ſtead of parents, there they haue the ſame right and power to approue or diſſolue the contracts of their ſeruants, which fathers haue: but where ſeruants haue fathers beſide, they are to depend vpon their fathers conſent, and not the maſters: and in this caſe the argument followeth not, for fathers haue greater power in the marriage of their children, than maſters ouer their ſeruants.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, wee doe not ſay, that the want of the parents conſent may diſſolue marriage conſummate after mutuall coniunction: but that it may breake off the contract and eſpouſals. Secondly, neither haue the parents power to beſtow their children in marriage without their conſent, Geneſis 24.57. And this is agreeable to the law of nature: according to the conſtitution of the Heathen Romane Emperours: *Cod.lib.*5.*tit.*4.*leg.*12.*Diocletian. Nec filiumfamilias inuitum ad vxorem ducendam cogi, &c.* The diſcipline of the lawes doe not permit, that the ſonne ſhould be compelled againſt his will to take a wife. Thirdly, neither muſt the parents exerciſe a tyrannicall power ouer their children in forbidding them marriage, but muſt alway haue reſpect vnto their neede. And thus doing their conſent is neceſſarie, and without it the contract hath no validitie, 1.Corinth.7. 37.38. The parent hath power to giue in marriage or not to giue.

Argum. Exod.22.16. The law is this, *That if a man lie with a maide not betrothed, and her father* *refuſe to giue her vnto him to wife, he ſhall pay money.* Here the full authoritie of giuing or not giuing the daughter in marriage, is committed to the father.

Bellarmine anſwereth: That this is in ſuch caſes where there is no contract: but the law ſayth not, that the father may refuſe after the contract made.

Contra. 1. As though their mutuall carnall knowledge be not as forcible to ioyne them, as a bare contract, this being but in word, the other in deede. Secondly, Numb.30.4. The father may breake his daughters vow made vnto God: *Ergo*, much more her promiſe and contract made to man.

Bellarm. It is to be vnderſtood of ſuch an one, as is in *ætate puellari*, yet vnder age, a young maiden, which is not yet fit for marriage.

Contra. 1. In this chapter there be three eſtates or degrees of women ſet downe: a maide, a wife, a widow: of theſe three only the widow hath power to make a vow: ſhe that is not a widow, is either vnder her husband, if ſhe be married, or vnder her father, if ſhe be not: So then the law meaneth all maides vnmarried, vnleſſe you can finde out a fourth kinde, that is neither of maides, wiues, nor widowes. 2. Againe, here are to be vnderſtood rather maides of yeeres and diſcretion, to make a vow, than of tender and young yeeres, who knew not what a vow meaneth. 3. And beſides, the worde here vſed, verſ.4. אשה ſignifieth a woman, not a girle or young maide. 4. Laſtly, a writer of their owne thus concludeth vpon this place: *Ergo vota à filiabus Deo nuncupata poterant parentes diſſoluere, ſponſalia, &c.* Therefore might the parents diſſolue vowes made by their daughters vnto God, and could they not retract eſpouſals made to men? *Eſpenſ.c.1.de clandeſtin.matrimon.*

Argum.2. Deuter.7.3. *Ye ſhall not make marriages with the Heathen, thou ſhalt not giue thy daughter to his ſonne, &c.* Hence the ſame author concludeth thus: *Eam legem fruſtra laturus, &c.* This law had been made in vaine, if marriages had been free for the children without the fathers conſent. Againe, whereas the Iſraelites had ſworne, that they would not giue their daughters to the Beniamites to wife, Iudg.21.1. and therefore were very much perlexed & grieued for that tribe, ſaying, verſ.7. *How ſhall wee doe for wiues to them that remaine?* The daughters might haue helped their parents in this perplexitie, if notwithſtanding their parents oth, they might haue married of themſelues. Thus much *Eſpenſ.* and much more, *libr.de clandeſtin.matrimon.c.1.2.*

We haue alſo the conſent of antiquitie: to omit thoſe ancient Canons, which are very many, which doe inioyne that children ſhould not be married without their parents conſent: vnto the which *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that ſo much hee graunteth, yet it followeth not, that the contract ſhould for that defect and want be diſſolued: we will therefore bring forth ſuch Canons, as annihilate and diſanull the contract, where the parents conſent is not.

Euariſtus epiſtol.1. Non fit coniugium niſi ab his &c. There is no marriage made, but by them that haue power ouer the woman: let the wife be demaunded of her keepers and tutors, and eſpouſed by her parents, and the neereſt of her kinred: as it is adulterie rather and whoredome, than lawfull marriage.

Celeſtin.decret.4. Quod parentes, fratres, &c. ita vt ſi non interſint, & conſenſum non adhibuerint, ſecundum leges nullum fiat matrimonium: That the parents, brethren, kinsfolkes of both ſexes be admitted to teſtifie their conſent for their ſonne or daughter, and ſo to eſtabliſh or breake off their marriage: who if they be not preſent, neither giue conſent, according to the law, let it be counted no marriage. What plainer euidence can we haue for this matter?

Cod.lib.5.tit.4.leg.7 Gordian. Minus legitima coniunctio, ceſſante patris voluntate, &c. It is no lawfull coniunction, the fathers will being wanting, *leg.12. Diocletian. Sociare, &c.* Thou art not hindred to aſſociate thy ſelfe to what marriage thou wilt, *vt contrahendis nuptijs patris conſenſus accedat*, ſo that thy fathers conſent be to the contracting of mariage: *leg.18. Valent. Theodoſ. Viduæ intra vigeſimum quintum, &c.* Widowes vnder 25. yeeres, *in ſecundas nuptias ſine patris ſententia non conueniant*, muſt not enter into ſecond mariage without the ſentence of their father: *tit.6.leg.6.* If a man marrie an orphane or pupill, whoſe father is dead, being vnder 25. yeeres of age, *nec matrimonium habuiſſe*, it is to be counted no matrimonie, nor they children, that are borne in ſuch mariage, vnleſſe the father dying willed it.

Likewiſe the Canons: *Cauſ.32.qu.2.c.13. Conſulitur puella non de ſponſalibus, &c.* The maiden is not asked concerning the eſpouſals; for therein ſhe expected the iudgement of her parents, but ſhe is conſulted with about the day and time of her iourney: This is ſpoken of *Rebecca:* The ſame Canon alleageth *Euripides*, thus ſpeaking in the perſon of the woman, νυμφευμάτων, *Sponſalium meorum pater meus curam ſubibit, &c.* For my eſpouſals my father ſhal take care, it appertaineth not to me. Thus we ſee that it is agreeable to the law of nature, that the mariage of children ſhould not be attempted without the conſent of the parents.

Cauſ.36.qu.2.c.11.gloſſ. This law is alleaged out of the Digeſts, *tit.de nuptiar.ritu, leg.2. Conſiſtere non poſſunt nuptiæ, &c.* Mariages cannot ſtand, vnleſſe they conſent, in whoſe power they are.

Diuers of the learned Papiſts condemne ſuch marriages, as are enterpriſed without the conſent of the parents: *Gropperus, in inſtitut. Colonienſ. Gentianus,* in his booke ſet forth of this matter, alleageth a certaine Greeke canon to this effect: *Quæ ſine ys, qui habent poteſtatem matrimonia fiunt, fornicationes ſunt:* They are fornications, no mariages, which are done without them that haue the power, &c. Likewiſe *Catharinus, Irrita eſſe velim, nec vera eſſe matrimonia, &c.* I iudge them to be no true, but void mariages: *Eſpenc. lib. de clandeſtin. matrim. c.* 15.

There are notwithſtanding certaine caſes excepted by the law, wherein the ſonne or daughter haue free libertie to marrie without conſent.

1. *Si vtroq; orba parente:* If both the parents be dead. *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *leg.* 20. *Honor.*

2. *Cod. lib.* 3. *tit.* 28. *leg.* 19. *Poſt viginti quinq; &c.* After 25. yeeres children might marrie without the parents conſent.

3. *Ibid. leg.* 20. *Poſt matris pœnitentiam, &c.* If the mother ſhall giue conſent, the father being dead, and afterward repent her, yet the marriage ſhall be good.

4. *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *leg.* 25. *Filij furioſi. &c.* The ſonnes of madde men may marrie without conſent.

Other caſes there are beſide, as when the ſonne is ***manumitted***, that is, ſet free by his father, or hath borne any publike office of Magiſtracie or gouernement, *Eſpenc. c.* 16. *de clandeſtin. matrim.* But theſe irregular and extraordinarie caſes excepted, the power of parents is not to be infringed, but their conſent to be expected in the eſpouſals of their children.

This trueth alſo is ſealed: Maſter *Tindall* holy Martyr; Let parents prouide mariages for their children in ſeaſon, teaching them alſo to know, that ſhe is not his wife whom the ſonne taketh, nor her husband whom the daughter taketh, without the conſent or good will of their Elders, or them that haue authoritie ouer them: if their friends will not marrie them, then are they not too blame if they marrie themſelues: let not the fathers and mothers alwayes take the vttermoſt of their authoritie of their children, but beare their weakeneſſe, &c. *pag.* 1249. *col.* 2. *artic.* 2.

There are alſo other cauſes which may diſſolue contracts and eſpouſals made: as if the honeſt and lawfull condition propounded in the contract be not kept: or if there be an error in the perſon, hee heareth afterward of her diſhoneſtie, whom hee tooke for an honeſt woman: both theſe may make void the contract, but not the mariage, if they be once ioyned together.

The Papiſts.

2. THey ſet downe many impediments, which may make a nullitie of mariage it ſelfe, after it be conſummate: ſome of them we acknowledge, as afterward it ſhall appeare: but theſe following we do renounce.

94. Error. First, the vow of chaſtitie and entring into Orders do looſe the bond of mariage. *Bellarmine* to this purpoſe vrgeth that place, 1. Timoth. 5. 12. *Hauing damnation, becauſe they haue forſaken their firſt faith:* the firſt faith, is the vow of continencie, which was a ſufficient impediment of matrimonie. *Bellarm. c.* 21. *propoſ.* 1

Contra. By the firſt faith, is vnderſtood their faith, which they profeſſed in Baptiſme, to renounce the workes of the fleſh, which theſe wanton widowes now follow in forſaking their calling: 1. So the ***interlinearie gloſſe***, and *Bruno* expound this place: *ex Eſpenc. in hunc locum.* 2. The Apoſtle doth interprete himſelfe, verſ. 8. *Hee that prouideth not for his owne, denyeth the faith, &c.* that is, by his workes he denieth the religion of Chriſt: now to denie the faith, verſ. 8. and to violate the faith, verſ. 12. doe ſignifie the ſame. 3. The Apoſtle afterward giueth theſe widowes licence to marrie, verſ. 14. which he would not haue done, if it had beene damnation, & a breach of the faith to marry after their profeſſed widowhood: this place both *Chryſoſtome* & *Theophilact* expound of widowes profeſſed. *vide Eſpenc. in hunc locum.* This text then nothing maketh for them.

95. Error. Secondly, mariages of the faithfull with Infidels are not onely vnlawfull, but void, *Bellarmine c.* 23. Yet he confeſſeth that ſuch marriages are not void eyther by diuine or naturall law, or by any law of the Church, but onely by the cuſtome of the people of God, hauing the force of a law. *propoſ.* 2. 3.

Argum. Infidelitie in the old law, and diſparitie of religion did make matrimonie void: *Ergo,* much more now; for there is greater difference betweene Chriſtians and Infidels, then was betweene the Iewes and Gentiles, *Bellarm. argum.* 1.

Anſw. Firſt, if this argument conclude any thing, it ſheweth, that euen by the diuine Law ſuch mariages are void: which notwithſtanding he before denied.

Secondly, the argument followeth not, for this law belonged to the policie of that nation, that they ſhould not marrie with the Gentiles: who were accounted as an vncircumciſed, and vnholy people: but now this wall of partition is taken away; and in Chriſt there is neither Iew nor Grecian, Galath. 4. 3. 28. Thirdly, the mariage of the Gentiles, was for no other cauſe inhibited the Iewes, but leaſt it ſhould be a meane to withdraw them from the worſhip of God, Deut. 7. 4. This proueth not, that an Infidell willing to dwell together, and of whom there may be ſome hope, ſhould be put away, contrary to S. *Pauls* rule, 1.Cor.7.13. Fourthly, the Iewes were permitted vpon diuers occaſions to put away their wiues, for the hardnes of their heart, Matth.19.8. wherefore the impediments and diſſolutions of mariage among them do not bind vs.

96.Error. Thirdly, the mariage of thoſe which committed adulterie, and did compact together before to marrie after the firſt husbands or wiues death, is actually void. *Bellarm.c.22.*

The Proteſtants.

1. Concerning the inualiditie of vowes to diſanull mariage, wee haue declared the trueth before, *Contro.6.de Monachis.* For mariage lawfully contracted and conſummate, is onely made void by way of diuorce in the caſe of adulterie, as we haue before proued.

Argum. Matth.19.9. Our Sauiour giueth this perpetuall rule, that no man ſhould diſmiſſe his wife but for fornication: but Orders is no fornication: *Ergo*, not for entring into Orders is ſhe to be diſmiſſed: and verſ.6. *No man muſt put aſunder that, which God hath coupled:* but they which are but contracted, are coupled before God: *Ergo*, no humane ordinance, ſuch as is the ſingle life annexed to Orders, can ſeparate them.

Decret.Gregor.lib.3.tit.32.c.7. Alexander, giueth libertie to a woman profeſſed, *vt ad religionem tranſeat,&c.* to profeſſe religion, or returne to her husband: *Ergo,* it was lawfull after profeſſion made to returne.

*Sext.decretal.lib.3.tit.15.c.1.Boniſ.*8. *Simplex votum non reſcindit,&c.* A ſimple vow doth not cut off mariage afterward contracted: and againe he ſaith, *Voti ſolennitas ex ſola conſtitutione eſt eccleſiæ*: A ſolemne vow is onely by the conſtitution of the Church: and *Alexander* ſaith, that *Votum ſimplex non minus obligat coram Deo,* a ſimple vow doth not leſſe binde before God, then a ſolemne and publike vow,: it followeth, that a ſolemne vow then, doth not hinder mariage afterward contracted.

Extrau.Ioan.tit.6.c.2. Votum ſolemnizatum per ſacri ſuſceptionem ordinis,&c. A vow ſolemnized by entring into holy orders, is not of force to diſſolue matrimonie before going, though not conſummate with carnall knowledge: wherefore mariage contracted is not hindered or interrupted by the profeſſion of Orders.

2. Neither doth the infidelitie of the one partie make a nullitie of mariage: for S. *Paul* ſaith, that the woman in that caſe is not to forſake her husband if he will dwell with her. 1.Corinth.7. verſ.13. Of this matter ſee more, *quæſt.2.part.2.* of this Controuerſie.

Cod.lib.1.tit.7.leg.16.Leo& Anthem. Si ſponſa coniugium ſponſi propter religionis diuerſitatem recuſauerit: If the ſpouſe refuſe to marrie with him, to whom ſhe is eſpouſed, &c. The law alloweth onely a diſſoluing of the contract and eſpouſals for religion ſake, and not otherwiſe.

Diſtinct.10.c.1.Nicolaus, Si religionis cauſa coniugia debere diſſolui dicuntur, ſciendum eſt, quia licet hoc lex humana conceſſit, lex tamen diuina prohibuit: If for religion ſake mariages are ſaid to be diſſolued, let it be knowne, that although humane law doth allow it, yet Gods law doth forbid it.

Cauſ.28.c.1. Innocent. Quod Deus coniunxit, homo non ſeparet, &c. What God hath ioyned together, let not man put aſunder, and leaſt he ſhould be thought to ſpeake onely of thoſe, which marrie after Baptiſme, let them remember, that the queſtion was asked by the Iewes, and to the Iewes was the anſwere made, *c.*8. *Auguſtine* thus writeth to *Pollentius: Tibi videtur infideles à fidelibus dimitti non licere,&c.* You thinke that the infidels ought not to be diſmiſſed from beleeuers, becauſe the Apoſtle forbiddeth it, but I ſay it is lawfull, becauſe the Lord forbiddeth it not; yet not expedient, *Quia hoc ne fiat monet Apoſtolus*, becauſe the Apoſtle wiſheth or admoniſheth, that it ſhould not be: here be two opinions, one thinketh it is not lawfull for infidels to be diſmiſſed, the other that it is not expedient: ſo which opinion ſoeuer is followed, they are not at all to be diſmiſſed. *ibid.c.9. Affert impedimentum ſalutis,&c.* The departure of the beleeuer from the Infidell, bringeth an hindrance to his ſaluation.

Decret.Gregor.lib.4.tit.19.c.8. Innocent. Fideles cum infidelibus matrimonialiter copulati,&c. The beleeuers ioyned in mariage with vnbeleeuers, may freely and lawfully remaine with them.

Decret.Eutychiani. In poteſtate fidelis eſt poſt baptiſmum recipere vxorem, quam infidelis infidelem ante dimiſerat: It is in the power of a beleeuing man to receiue his wife after Baptiſme, which, when they were both infidels, he diſmiſſed. But if the very bond and mariage knot were diſſolued, as *Bellarmine* ſaith, how can they come together againe?

Thirdly, neither is the fault committed before the marriage, ſufficient to diſable the mariage once done: for then queſtion might haue beene made of the ſtrength of *Dauids* marriage with *Bathſheba.* And *Auguſtine* doubteth not thus to conclude, *Poſſe ſanè fieri nuptias ex malè coniunctis honeſto poſtea placito conſequente:* That mariage may very well ſtand betweene thoſe, that once had vnlawfull carnall copulation, but afterward an honeſt purpoſe of mariage followed.

Can.Apoſtol.66. Non licitum eſto aliam ducere, quam quis prius ſollicitauit, quamuis paupercula ſit: It ſhall not be lawfull for a man to marrie any other, but her whom hee entiſed to follie before, though ſhe be poore.

Concil.Lateranenſ.part.45.can.2. Alexander. Contrahere quis poteſt cum ea matrimonium, quam, viro viuente, adulterio polluerat: A man may contract marriage with her, whom, while her husband liued, he defiled with adulterie. Theſe Canons are directly oppoſite to the Ieſuites opinion.

Now whereas *Bellarmine* excludeth not all adulterie before going from future marriage, but where the parties were compact and confederate together to marrie afterward: their owne lawe ſimply maketh it lawfull for a man to marrie his concubine, though he had promiſed her mariage before: *Cauſ.22.qu.4.c.22. Quam prius concubinam habuerat, non eſt peccatum in coniugem ſuſcipere:* It is no ſinne to make her his wife, that was before his concubine: *cui iuramento firmauit, &c.* to whom he confirmed by an oth, to take her to wife. *Cauſ.31.qu.1.c.2. Fieri poteſt coniugium cum quo praeceſſit adulterium:* Marriage may be made with whom adulterie was before committed. *Decret. Gregor.lib.4.tit.7.c.8. Siquis vxore viuente fide data, &c.* If a man, his wife yet liuing, did giue his faith to marrie another, or did contract himſelfe to her, and did not carnally know her, the marriage is not to be diſſolued. So then neither adulterie precedent, nor yet the giuing of faith, or contracting marriage, the firſt husband or wife yet liuing, though theſe are grieuous offences; yet are not ſufficient to diſſolue or breake off Matrimonie.

But there are certaine caſes, wherein Matrimonie vnlawfully contracted, yea conſummate, may be diſſolued: as firſt, if the conſent of either partie be wanting, as when by tyrannicall coaction and compulſion they come together, and the conſent is ſtill withholden.

Hormiſda.decret.4. Filiam inuitam & renitentem, nemo viri alicuius coniugio cogat ſociari: quorum enim vnum eſt corpus, vnus eſſe debet animus: Let no man match in marriage vnto any his daughter againſt her will: for they that haue one bodie, ought alſo to haue one minde. *Nicholaus de matrimon.can.1. Si ſolus conſenſus defuerit, caetera cum ipſo coitu celebrata fruſtrantur:* If the conſent onely be wanting, the very carnall copulation, and whatſoeuer elſe beſide, are all fruſtrate and voyd.

Secondly, if the conſent of both be wanting, as in the marriage of children, that are not able to giue conſent.

Nichola.1.de matrimon.can.3. Vbi non eſt conſenſus vtriuſq; ibi non eſt coniugium: &c. Where each partie conſenteth not, there is no marriage: Therfore they which giue girles to boyes in marriage in the cradle, doe no act at all, vnleſſe both of them when they come to yeeres of diſcretion, conſent.

Thirdly, if there be an error of the perſon, as if one be thruſt vpon a man in ſtead of another, as *Lea* was vpon *Iacob:* or an error in the condition of the partie, as if he or ſhe be an Hermaphrodite, an Eunuch, or ſuch like.

Lateranenſ.part.50.cap.28. Alexander. Sicut puer, qui non poteſt reddere debitum non eſt aptus coniugio, ſic quoque qui impotentes ſunt, minimè apti ad contrahenda matrimonia reputantur: As a childe, which cannot render the debt or dutie of marriage, is not fit for marriage; ſo neither are they fit to contract marriage, that haue any naturall weakenes or imbecillitie. In this place it is ſaid further, that although it be not the cuſtome of the Romane Church, yet the French Church doth diſſolue marriage for frigiditie, and impotencie of nature.

Fourthly, if they marrie within the degrees forbidden by *Moſes* law. In all theſe caſes, Matrimonie thus vnlawfully begun and ratified, may be diſſolued. But lawfull Matrimonie cannot be abrogate, but either by naturall death, or lawfull diuorce for fornication. In the caſe of deſertion alſo and long abſence of either partie, after the expecting of his returne ſome terme of yeeres, with probable intelligence of the parties death; or if he be wilfully abſent, of his lewde and diſhoneſt life, the innocent partie, by the wiſe and deliberate ſentence of the Magiſtrate, may be pronounced free.

For other matters which are commonly obiected, marriage is not to be diſſolued: As for long abſence, when the husband is detained in captiuitie, or ſuch like: *Leo epiſtol.77.cap.1. Quod foeminae debeant, quae captis viris nupſerant alijs, regreſſis de captiuitate viris, prioribus copulari:* Women marrying to others while their husbands are captiues, muſt be reſtored vnto them at their returne.

Barrennes is no cauſe of diſſolution: *Lateranenſ.part.6.cap.25. Ob coëundi poſſibilitatem fieri non debet diuortium:* Diuorce muſt not be made, for poſſibilitie of generation.

The leproſie is no cauſe.: *Lateranenſ.37.part.cap.3. Alexander. Vxores propter lepram non ſunt dimittendae; ſed illis petentibus debet debitum reddi:* Women for leproſie muſt not be put away: but their husbands muſt performe the dutie of mariage if they require it.

So likewiſe in other caſes: *Quicquid mulier contra te cogitauerit, vel ſi te accuſauerit, non eſt excepta cauſa fornicationis eijcienda:* Though thy wife ſhould conſpire againſt thee, and accuſe thee, yet ſhe muſt not be caſt off except for fornication, *Nichol.1.decret.de matrim.6.*

Ibid.can.7. Hi qui matrimonium ſani contraxerunt, & vni ex duobus dementia, aut furor, aut aliqua infirmitas acceſſerit, non debent coniugia talium diſſolui: They which were ſound when they married, if either of them afterward fall into frenzie, madnes, or ſicknes, they muſt not for that be diuorced.

Ibid. Similiter ſciendum eſt de his, qui ab aduerſarijs excæcantur, aut membris truncantur, aut à barbaris execti ſunt: The like is to be ſaid of thoſe that haue their eyes pulled out, are maimed, or gelded of their enemies. None of theſe are ſufficient cauſes to breake off marriage. And thus much of this queſtion.

THE FIFT QVESTION, OF THE COMPAriſon betweene Virginitie and Mariage.

The Papiſts.

VIrginitie is preferred before Marriage, not onely for that it is a more quiet ſtate of life, and freer from troubles in this world, but that it is more conuenient for the ſeruice of God, and that it hath a gratefull puritie and ſanctitie, both of bodie and ſoule, which marriage hath not, *Rhemiſt.*

Argum. 1. Corinth. 7. 32. *The vnmarried careth for the things of the Lord, how ſhe may pleaſe God:* *Ergo*, virginitie is a fitter ſtate of life to ſerue and pleaſe God in, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

The Proteſtants.

97. Error.

FIrſt, we grant, according to the Apoſtles ſaying in this place, that virginitie is alſo a fitter ſtate of life for the ſeruice of God, yet not ſimply, but for thoſe onely that haue the gift of continencie; for they which cannot abſtaine, may and doe ſerue God with a more quiet minde being married, than many popiſh virgins which burne in yͤ luſt of concupiſcence. Secondly, yet it followeth not, that virginitie is a more holie and cleane thing in it ſelfe, and more meritorious before God, than marriage is: for this were to make marriage vnholy and vncleane; whereas it is not the act of marriage, but the abuſing thereof, that bringeth vncleannes with it: before God in themſelues, neither is more holy than other.

Argum. It is faith which maketh vs accepted of God, not the merite of any worke: and therefore of all faithfull beleeuers it is ſayd, Apocal. 14. 4. *Theſe are they which were not defiled with women: for they are virgines.* And he vnderſtandeth all *that are redeemed by Chriſt, from amongſt men, and are the firſt fruits of the Lambe,* verſ. 4. and not onely thoſe, which properly in common vſe of ſpeech we call Virgines. And thus Saint *Ambroſe* expoundeth: *Si ideo putes virgines dictos, quia corpora ſua intaminata ſeruarunt, &c.* If you only vnderſtand virgines, becauſe they haue kept their bodies vnpolluted, then the Saints ſhalbe excluded from this glorie: for al the Apoſtles, except *Iohn* and *Paul*, had wiues, *Ambr. in* 2. *Corinth.* 11. True godlines therefore and a ſincere faith, whereby wee are diuorced from the world, and ioyned to God, is the true virginitie.

De bono coniugal.

Auguſtine: Sicut non eſt impar meritum patientiæ in Petro, qui paſſus eſt, & in Iohanne, qui paſſus non eſt: ſic non eſt impar meritum continentiæ in Iohanne, qui nullas eſt expertus nuptias, & in Abraham, qui filios generauit: As there was no greater merite of patience in *Peter* that ſuffered, than in *Iohn*, who ſuffered not; ſo there was no greater merite of continencie in *Iohn* that was neuer married, than in *Abraham* that begat children. See then, by his iudgement, there is the ſame merite of married and vnmarried perſons.

Synod. Gangrenſ. cap. 9. *Si quis virginitatem profeſſus tanquam abominabiles nuptias iudicat, anathema ſit:* If any man profeſſing virginitie doe condemne marriage, as an abominable thing, let him be accurſed. But thus doe our aduerſaries, who are carried away with ſuch an extraordinarie liking of their Monkiſh fained chaſtitie, that they deſpiſe marriage, calling it a prophaning and pollution of orders, as we haue ſeene before.

Cod. lib. 8. *tit.* 58. *leg.* 1. *Conſtant.* Whereas there was a lawe, that, *cælebs*, a ſingle man was not capable of any bequeſt or legacie: the Emperour correcteth that ordinance, and thus enacteth: *Sit omnibus æqua conditio capeſſendi, quod quiſque mereatur:* Let the ſame condition be to all, married and vnmarried to receiue, whatſoeuer they are meete or worthie of. This is the equitie of mans law, to make no difference in reward between the ſingle and married: ſhall Gods law be thought to be more vnequall?

Diſtinct. 30. *c.* 4. *Siquis virginitatem, &c.* If any man profeſſing virginitie for Gods cauſe, doe arrogantly diſpraiſe thoſe that are married, let him be accurſed. But the extraordinarie extolling and aduancing of ſingle life, tendeth to the diſpraiſe of marriage.

Cauſ. 32. 44. *q.* 4. *c.* 6. *Quis ignorat omnes retrò ſanctos eiuſdē fuiſſe meriti, &c.* Who is ignorant, that all the Saints in time paſſed, were of the ſame merit, that Chriſtians are? If then the Saints and Patriarches, that were married, be equall vnto Chriſtian virgines; then is not virginitie ſimplie to be preferred before marriage.

THE SIXT QVESTION, OF THE TIMES of marriage prohibited.

The Papiſts.

91.Error. THere are certaine ſeaſons in the yeere, wherein for the holines of the feſtiuall times, they hold it vnlawfull to haue marriage ſolemnized: as from the Aduent to the Epiphanie; from Septuageſima Sunday (as it is called) to the octaues of Eaſter: from three dayes afore the Aſcenſion, to the octaues of Pentecoſt, *Ruard.Tapper.artic.*20.*p.*526. But the Councel of Trent hath ſomewhat moderated this time, & cut it ſhorter, thinking it vnreaſonable that mariage ſhould be prohibited the third part of the yeere (for ſo much the time interdicted ariſeth to, if account be taken of the weekes:) The time of Pentecoſt therefore they haue diſpenſed with: and the time prohibited at Eaſter they would haue begun not from Septuageſima, but from Aſhwedneſday, *Seſſ.*24.*cap.*10. Vpon theſe times they hold it vnlawfull publikely to haue marriage ſolemnized, both for the holines of ſo great feaſts, and becauſe of receiuing the Sacraments, *Bellar.de matrim.cap.*31.

Argum. God commaunded the people to abſtaine from their wiues, when hee was to appeare vnto them in Mount Sinai, Exod.19.15. And Sam.21.4. Before the high Prieſt would deliuer the ſhewbread to ***Dauid*** and his companie, he asked if the young men had kept themſelues from women: ***Ergo***, marriage is not lawfull at all times, ***Bellarm.ibid.***

Anſw. Firſt, theſe places alleaged doe rather proue, that men in thoſe interdicted times ought not at all to come at their wiues, then that the ſolemnization of marriage ſhould be reſtrained: but I thinke they would be aſhamed to forbid men their wiues companie ſo long together, as fiue or ſixe weekes at the Natiuitie, and eight or nine weekes at Eaſter: why then ſhould not the one be as lawfull as the other? Secondly, the abſtinence from their wiues was commaunded then, as a legall and ceremoniall kind of ſanctification, as was alſo the waſhing of their clothes, Exod.19. verſ.10. And the companie of women was at ſome times counted as a legall pollution, not as a ſinfull or vncleane act of it ſelfe: as the women after childbirth were commaunded to purifie themſelues, Leuit.12. from a legall pollution onely, not from any ſinfull or vncleane act: for then it had been a manifeſt iniurie to that holy birth, that *Mary* purified her ſelfe according to the law, Luk.2.22. Wherefore ſeeing it was a legall kinde of ſanctification, it is not to be intruded and impoſed vpon Chriſtians now. Thirdly, neither can they proue that this kinde of abſtinence is neceſſarie alwaies before the receiuing of the Sacrament, though ſometimes wee denie not but it is conuenient: for it was not alwaies required, no not of the Prieſts in the lawe, when they were to offer incenſe or ſacrifice. For whereas the high Prieſt, which was alwaies but one, was bound morning and euening to offer incenſe vnto the Lord, Exod.30.8. he could not obſerue this rule vnleſſe he had been inioyned perpetuall abſtinence, which we ſee by the law was not impoſed vpon them. This doubt ſomewhat troubled *Auguſtine*: for firſt he ſaith, That it muſt needes follow, ſeeing the high Prieſt was married, and did ſometime go in vnto his wife, that the offering of incenſe ſhould ſome dayes be intermitted: but in his Retractations he miſliketh his former ſolution, and thus determineth; That the high Prieſt firſt offered the morning incenſe, and afterward went in to his wife, and ſo was vncleane, *vſque ad veſperam*, but vntill the eeuening, not after the eeuentide, & then he offered the euening incenſe. To take this anſwere for this time, though it be inſufficient: for the Hebrue word, which is tranſlated the eeuen, or eeuentide ערב, ſignifieth the twilight, when the Sunne is ſet, when light and darknes are mixed together: but the incenſe was renewed before the Sunne ſet: yet I ſay, admitting *Auguſtines* ſolution, the high Prieſt did not abſtaine one whole day before he offered: much leſſe many dayes, much leſſe many weekes, much leſſe ſome moneths: as the Popiſh Church preſcribeth by interdicting ſo many dayes.

Quæſt.ſup. Leuitic.15.

Retract.lib.2. cap.85.

The Proteſtants.

THat not onely the publike ſolemnitie of marriage at ſome times may haue intermiſſion, but all Matrimoniall acts ought to ceaſe: as when men either priuately doe giue themſelues to faſting and prayer, 1.Cor.7.5. or when publique or generall faſts are by the ſpirituall gouernours thought meete, and by the Chriſtian Magiſtrate proclaimed: we doe not denie, but in our iudgement allow it, and by our practiſe approue it: but that Matrimonie at ſuch ſet times as an vnholy and vncleane thing is to be forbidden and reſtrained, we take it to be popiſh ſuperſtition, and an Antichriſtian yoke.

*Argum.*1. It diſgraceth the holy inſtitution of marriage, which the Apoſtle calleth honourable, Hebr.13.4 and Saint *Paul* counteth the fruites of marriage, which are the children of the faithfull, holie, 1.Corinth.7.14. How is it then, that there can be any time ſo holie, the which holie Matrimonie is not beſeeming? Againe, in thus doing they make difference of dayes, eſteeming ſome in themſelues more holie than others, contrarie to the Apoſtles rule, Galat.4.10. Coloſſians 2.16.

Argum.2. The Apoſtle willeth, ***that they ſhould not defraud one another, but by conſent for a time &c.*** 1.Cor.*7.5*.which though it be eſpecially vnderſtood of married perſons,yet it may be extended to thoſe which are contracted together: how can they obſerue this rule, when their marriage is ſuſpended tenne weekes together, from *Septuageſima* till the octaues of *Eaſter?* may not Sathan tempt them all this while for their incontinencie? Againe,what is this elſe,but ***a forbidding to marrie,*** though not in whole,yet in part: contrarie to the Apoſtle, 1.Timoth.4.3.

Argum.3. The Tridentine Chapter maketh but two holie times in the yeere,the Natiuitie,and Eaſter: during which times,they would not haue Matrimonie ſolemnized: and I pray you, why is Pentecoſt left out,is it not as feſtiuall a time as the other? And if they haue power to diſpenſe with the feſtiuall of Pentecoſt,why not with the reſt alſo? wherefore it appeareth to be but an humane deuice. And as the Popiſh Church hath abrogated one of the interdicted times for mariage; ſo it were to be wiſhed,that thoſe reformed Churches,which haue abandoned other ſuperſtitious obſeruations,and yet doe retaine this vſe for the reſtraint of marriage at certaine ſeaſons, would proceede a degree further,and graunt a generall libertie to marrie in thoſe inhibited times: firſt, becauſe it is an offence to other reformed Churches,that where the Goſpell is profeſſed, any ſuch yoke ſhould be impoſed. Secondly,if Papiſts haue enlarged this reſtraint,thinking it not reaſonable to enioyne ſo many times of inhibition,much more ought Proteſtants to doe that which is moſt agreeable to the libertie of the Goſpell. Thirdly, while by diſpenſation it is made lawfull to marrie in theſe times,for euery one that will be at the charge thereof,and not otherwiſe, it will be taken onely to be an engine to draw aduantage. Fourthly,ſeeing that the Martyrs were perſecuted,for marrying in theſe inhibited times,as *Iohn Crimes* mentioned afterward: it is very vnfit, and vnbeſeeming,that the people ſhould vnder the Goſpell be encumbred with ſuch things. Fiftly,becauſe the lawes of the Realme doe ſeeme to giue libertie for marriage at all times, in theſe words: ***That no reſeruation,or prohibition,Gods law except, ſhall trouble or impeach any marriage,without the Leuiticall degrees: ann.***32. ***Henric.***8.***c.***38. If no prohibition, then not the prohibition or reſtraint of time. Laſtly,becauſe this reſtraint of marriage is not grounded vpon the word of God, for then it could not be altered; but is onely an humane conſtitution, and ſeemeth rather to abridge the libertie of marriage,and to be againſt the Apoſtles rule, 1.Cor.*7.5*.as I haue ſhewed before: in mine opinion it were much better for theſe reaſons alleadged,for this Canon of reſtraint to be diſcontinued,than vrged: and I hope,that the diſcreete officers of our Church,will be more ſparing and moderate therein.

But to returne,let vs ſee a little I pray you,how well they agree together about the times prohibited for mariage: ſome of them beſide the three times of the Natiuitie,Eaſter,Pentecoſt,make alſo a fourth time vnſeaſonable for mariage, and that is at the feaſt of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt:* Neither doe they here agree about the time, ſome preſcribing three weekes before of abſtinence from mariage: ***Synod.Ilerdenſ.decret.***1.***ex Gratian.*** Some 14.dayes onely, ***Synod.Salegunſtadienſ.can.***3. Some doe adde alſo other times of prohibition,as in the foure Ember faſts,and in the holy dayes eeues: when they hold it vnlawfull to marrie, ***Salegunſtad.ibid.*** Others doe abridge the three vſuall times of reſtraint,either in part,as ***reformat.Ratiſpon.articul.***21.the laſt weeke only of Aduent is reſtrained for mariage: or in whole,as the reſtraint of Pentecoſt is abridged and cut off in the late Tridentine Chapter. Thus it appeareth to be onely an humane tradition, which hath ſo much doubtfulnes,and vncertaintie: as though any time can be too holy for marriage.

Could there be a more holy place then Paradiſe? or a more holy time, than while man was in his innocencie? yet euen then and there Matrimonie was inſtituted.

Laſtly,is not the Sabboth or Lords day an holy feſtiuall time? and as holy as any is? what if I ſaid more holy,for this onely immediatly was inſtituted of God: but marriage may notwithſtanding be fitly ſolemnized vpon that day,the abuſes and diſorders,which commonly fall out in ſuch aſſemblies,being cut off: for ***Auguſtine*** is of opinion,that the marriage in Cana of Galile,was ***die Dominico,*** vpon the Lordes day. And it is moſt fit that Matrimonie ſhould bee ſolemnized in the face of the congregation,which is vſually aſſembled vpon that day: *Ergo*,it may as fitly and conueniently at any time be kept and ſolemnized,excepting the reſpects aforeſaid.

De tempor. ſerm.159.

The Ciuill law for decencie and comlines ſake interdicteth ſome times of marriage to particular perſons: as a woman marrying within a yeere after her husbands death, was counted infamous: ***Cod.lib.***2.***tit.***12.***leg.***15.***Gordian.*** but generally to all and for religion the law enioyneth not times of reſtraint.

We haue here the teſtimonie of the Martyrs: ***Iohn Lambert*** holy Martyr: In that they will not ſuffer mariage to be ſolemnized at all times in the yeere: I think it ſtandeth not with Chriſts rule, but is againſt the ſame; and that they will not ſuffer the banes vpon all holy daies to be proclaimed,vnleſſe a diſpenſation for money be purchaſed: All this God forbiddeth, ***Fox*** p.1105.col.1.

Henrie Crimes troubled and perſecuted for marrying his wife on Palme Sunday eeuen, ***Fox*** pag.1917.

THE SEVENTH QVESTION, TO WHOM MAtrimoniall cauſes properly doe belong.

The Papiſts.

99. Error. Matrimonial cauſes, as to determine of the degrees of kinred, of diuorces, of the impediments of marriage, of contracts: doe only belong vnto the Church, and the Magiſtrate may make lawes hereof (*approbante principe eccleſiaſtico*) by the approbation of the eccleſiaſticall prince (hee meaneth the Pope:) otherwiſe the lawes of Princes are in this behalfe voide, *Bellarm. de matrimon. cap.* 32.

Argum. 1. Our Sauiour Chriſt giueth a law concerning diuorces, Matth. 19. he ſendeth them not to the ciuill Magiſtrate: and Saint *Paul* preſcribeth, what is to be done in the marriage of beleeuers and Infidels, 1. Cor. 7. 13. *Ergo*, the officers of the Church are onely iudges of theſe cauſes: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, the argument followeth not: for Chriſt as King of his Church, the Apoſtles as his chiefe Miniſters, by warrant and commiſſion from him preſcribed, and gaue lawes to the Church: no mortall man now is to challenge that authoritie to himſelfe. Secondly, by this reaſon eccleſiaſticall perſons ſhall haue the rule of all cauſes: for Saint *Paul* deſcribeth the office alſo of Princes, and giueth direction for ciuill cauſes, as for tribute, vſing of the ſword, and ſuch like, Rom. 13. doth it follow then that theſe things doe belong to the Apoſtles ſucceſſors? Thirdly, as the Apoſtles did giue rules and directions for Matrimoniall and other cauſes: ſo it is the Miniſters part alſo, by the word of God to miniſter counſell, and giue direction to the ciuill Magiſtrate in theſe caſes, but not without authoritie from the ſame power to meddle with the execution thereof.

Argum. 2. Matrimonie 1. is a Sacrament, and therefore belongeth to the knowledge of eccleſiaſticall perſons: 2. and many caſes of conſcience may fall out, wherein recourſe is to be had to the paſtors of mens ſoules: 3. otherwiſe, when there are no Chriſtian Magiſtrates, their ſpirituall cauſes ſhould be brought before Heathen Iudges, if the Church hath no power to diſcerne of them, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, we denie Matrimonie to be a Sacrament, neither ſhall they be euer able to prooue it ſo. Secondly, in caſes of conſcience in Matrimonie the paſtors of ſoules muſt be conſulted with out of the word: but it followeth not, that they therefore ſhould make lawes: and are your Canoniſts and Licentiates paſtors of ſoules, to whom you referre the deciding of theſe cauſes? Thirdly, Heathen Iudges haue 1. made good lawes concerning Matrimoniall matters, as that no man ſhould marrie his fathers concubine, *Alexander. Cod. lib.* 5 *tit.* 4. *leg.* 4. not without the parents conſent: *Dioclet. ibid. leg.* 12. Not the ſiſter, ſiſters daughter, aunt, &c. *Leg.* 17. *Dioclet.* Not two wiues at once: *ibid. tit.* 5. *leg.* 2. *Dioclet.* 2. But where ſuch lawes faile, they muſt take that courſe which S. *Paul* did againſt the inceſtuous perſon, to vſe ſpirituall correction.

The Proteſtants.

Matrimoniall cauſes, ſuch as are before rehearſed, originally doe belong to the ciuill Magiſtrate, by whoſe munificence they haue been graunted to eccleſiaſticall perſons, and vnto them properly it doth belong to make Matrimoniall lawes.

Argum. 1. This is euident firſt out of the Scripture, for *Moſes* and not *Aaron*, did publiſh the lawes concerning the degrees of marriage, Leuit. 18. and other Matrimoniall cauſes. *The Magiſtrate is Gods miniſter to take vengeance on them that doe euill*, Rom. 13. 4. therefore alſo to cenſure and puniſh all tranſgreſſions and offences in marriage; to him it appertaineth to ſee that men liue *in godlines and honeſtie*, 1. Tim. 2. 2. Therefore it is part of the Magiſtrates care, that honeſtie and godlines be kept in Matrimonie and Matrimoniall duties and cauſes.

Argum. 2. Secondly, this is proued by the ancient practiſe of the Ciuill power: how the Emperours both Heathen and Chriſtian haue made lawes as concerning the degrees, contracts, diuorce of marriages; ſee *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *de Nuptijs, tit* 5 *de inceſto, &c.* Beſide their practiſe, the teſtimonie of the law is euident: *Cod. lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *leg.* 3. *Seuerus, Illicitum matrimonium coram ſeculari iudice:* Vnlawfull marriage muſt be complained of before a ſecular Iudge: whom the lawe calleth, *competentem iudicem*, a competent Iudge. If the Secular be competent, the Eccleſiaſticall is incompetent. *Ibid. leg.* 11. *Dioclet.* If a mans father detaine his wife, *rector prouinciæ*, the rector of the prouince ſhall helpe. *Leg.* 20. *Theodoſ.* If there be many competitors of a woman, that is an orphane, *Iudici deliberare permiſſum eſt:* The Iudge ſhall determine whom ſhe ſhall haue.

Argum. 3. It appeareth by the reaſon of the law: firſt, *Cod. lib.* 3. *tit.* 8. *leg.* 1. *Alexander. Poteſt vniuerſam incidentem quæſtionem examinare, &c.* Hee before whom any principall cauſe is brought, may examine euery queſtion incident: But ſo cannot an Eccleſiaſticall perſon, examine euery matter that falleth in queſtion in the caſe of Matrimonie. Secondly, *Ibid. leg.* 3. *Valerianus: Ciuilis quæſtio & incidens criminalis eadem ſententia terminantur, &c.* A ciuill queſtion and criminall falling into it, are ended with the ſame ſentence: But Eccleſiaſticall perſons haue nothing to doe with Ciuill cauſes, as with matters of inheritance, debts, dowries, which are incident into Matrimoniall cauſes: *Ergo*, neither the iudgement of the crimes belongeth to them. Thirdly, *Cod.lib.3.tit.26. leg.3. Antonin. Cui denegatur executio, denegatur pronuntiatio:* To whom the execution is denied, the pronouncing alſo or giuing of the ſentence is denied: But Eccleſiaſticall perſons cannot execute the law in Matrimoniall offences, as in puniſhing of their bodie, or goods: *Ergo*, neither doth the ſentence originally and properly appertaine vnto them. They being incompetent perſons of themſelues, are made competent by the conſtitution of Princes: as the law ſaith, *Cod.lib.3.tit.13. leg.5. Arcad. Principis oraculum incompetentem iudicem facit competentem:* The oracle of the Prince maketh an incompetent Iudge competent.

THE EIGHT QVESTION, OF THE CEREmonies and rites of Matrimonie.

The Papiſts.

THe Ieſuite reckoneth vp ſeuen. Firſt, they which are to be ioyned in Matrimonie, are bleſſed of the Prieſt. Secondly, oblation is made for them in the ſacrifice of the Maſſe. Thirdly, they are couered with a vaile. Fourthly, they are coupled together *vitta purpurea & candida*, with a ſcarfe or riband, partly white, partly purple. Fiftly, the Bride giueth to the Bridegroome a ring, firſt hallowed and bleſſed of the Prieſt. Sixtly, he commendeth them to God in his prayers. Seuenthly, hee exhorteth and admoniſheth them of their mutuall dutie, *Bellarm.cap.33.de Matrimon.* 100. Error.

The Proteſtants.

SOme of thoſe rites we altogether allow and vſe them our ſelues, as the 6. and 7. for both prayers are made vnto God for them, and they are by the Miniſter put in minde of their dutie: and all is done with vs in the vulgar tongue, much more to the edifying of the people, and comfort of the parties themſelues: whereas their idolatrous Prieſt chattereth all in an vnknowne tongue: A goodly exhortation ſure, when the parties exhorted vnderſtand not one word thereof.

Some other of theſe rites we vtterly reiect, as the 2. 3. 4. for oblation or ſacrifice, in their meaning, we acknowledge none: for the married parties to receiue the Communion, if there be a ſufficient number, we neither hold it neceſſarie as being of the eſſence of marriage, nor yet thinke it vnmeete.

But as for that coloured and painted attire of blew and white, we take it fitter for a May-game, then to be ſhewed in a ſolemne aſſemblie of Chriſtians.

Nichol.1.de Matrim.can.4. Vt ligaturam auream, vel argenteam, vel ex quolibet metallo compoſitam, quando nuptialia fœdera contrahunt, in capitibus non deferant: That they weare no billament or plate of gold or ſiluer in their heads, when they celebrate the Matrimoniall contract. Yet ſuch ornaments were more ſeemely, than ſuch gue-gawes, and toyes of blew and white.

Colonienſ.part.7.cap.47. Ludicra illa, quæ in templis poſt benedictionē ſacerdotalem fieri conſueuerunt, veluti in pulſando ſponſo, atque alia eiuſdem generis penitus tollentur: nam res ſeria, quam Deus ipſe inſtituit, agitur: Thoſe light toyes which are accuſtomed to be done in the Church, after the bleſſing of the Prieſt vpon the married couple, as in ſmiting of the Bridegroome, and ſuch like, muſt be left: for a ſerious matter of Gods owne inſtitution is in hand.

Cod.lib.5.tit.4.tit.21.Thedodoſ. Milites ſine antiqua ſolennitate, &c. Souldiours haue licence to contract Matrimonie without the ancient ſolemnitie. *Ibid.leg.22. Si pompa aliaque nuptiarum celebritas omittatur, &c.* If the pompe and celebritie of marriage be omitted, nothing is wanting to the firmnes or ſurenes of marriage: *Ergo*, by the Ciuill law ſuch toyes and vaine pompe are not required, nor neceſſarie.

The reſt we in part allow, as the Ring, ſo it be vſed onely as a ciuill ornament, and token of mutuall loue: but that popiſh bleſſing either of the Ring, or of the married couple with the fingers acroſſe, and muttering of ſome few inchaunting words, as though by the very act of popiſh bleſſing, there were a ſecret vertue and qualitie of holines infuſed into the things ſo bleſſed or inchanted; we condemnne it as a ſuperſtitious toy. So we conclude, all ſuch rites in Matrimonie, as haue a comely and profitable vſe, tending to edifying, we refuſe not: the reſt we reiect, and ſend them backe to Rome, from whence they came.

THE SIXTEENTH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE,

OF CONFIRMATION, ORDERS, EXTREAME VNCTION.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF Confirmation.

THe parts of this queſtion are theſe. Firſt, whether it be a Sacrament. Secondly, of the parts thereof. Thirdly, of the Miniſter. Fourthly, of the effect of this ceremonie. Fiftly, of the rites, and whole order thereof.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER it be a Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

101.Error. THat Confirmation is properly and truly a Sacrament, it was decreed in the ***Tridentin.Concil. ſeſſ.7.can.***1.and it is their generall opinion.

Argum. Act.8.17. They did lay their hands vpon them, and they receiued the holie Ghoſt: This impoſition of hands, together with the prayers here ſpecified, was no doubt, the Sacrament of Confirmation: for here is an outward ſigne, and a ſpirituall grace: ***Ergo,*** a Sacrament, ***Rhemiſt. ibid.Bellarm.de Confirmat.lib.***2.***cap.***2.

Anſ. Firſt, theſe were miraculous gifts of the holie Ghoſt, as the gifts of tongues, of prophecying, healing, which were beſtowed vpon the Diſciples, whereof the impoſition of hands was a ſigne at that time: but it is impoſsible to ground an ordinarie and perpetuall Sacrament vpon an extraordinarie example: and that they were ſuch viſible graces of the ſpirit, it appeareth, becauſe ***Simon Magus*** ſaw that the holie Ghoſt was giuen them by laying on of hands.

Secondly, the holie Ghoſt was obtained by their prayers, verſ.15. and not by the very laying on of hands.

Thirdly, to make a Sacrament, it is not enough to haue a viſible ſigne, and to ſhew ſome ſpirituall grace therewith to be beſtowed: for then the ſpittle and clay that Chriſt vſed, the napkins alſo and partlets, which were carried to the ſicke from the Apoſtles, and they were healed preſently: all theſe ſhould be ſacraments; for here are outward ſignes, and ſome effect followed: yet becauſe there was no inſtitution of a ſacrament by Chriſt, nor any commaundement to vſe them, neither theſe, nor the impoſition of hands can be a ſacrament.

Fourthly, the Apoſtles had an eſpeciall commaundement to impoſe hands, and a ſpeciall promiſe by laying on of hands to giue the holy Ghoſt, which we now haue not.

Fiftly, ſeeing the extraordinarie giftes, which the Apoſtles beſtowed by impoſition of hands, are now ceaſed, the ceremonie in that behalfe alſo is expired.

Bellarm. anſwereth, 1. The Apoſtles gaue not only the miraculous giftes of the Spirit, but the holy ghoſt; for all did not ſpeake with tongues, 1.Corin. 12.30. but theſe gifts all the beleeuers had. 2. It cannot be ſhewed, that the Apoſtles had any ſuch ſpeciall commaundement or promiſe, but the promiſe is generally made to the Church: ***I will be with you to the end of the worlde.*** 3. Though the viſible ſignes are ceaſed, yet the inuiſible grace, which was giuen by the impoſition of hands, remaineth ſtill: ***Bellar.c.***2.

Contra. Firſt, we 1. graunt, that by impoſition of hands, the Apoſtles gaue both inuiſible graces and viſible ſignes together, not the one without the other: this notwithſtanding it was an extraordinarie worke of the Apoſtles, and no good ground for an ordinarie ſacrament. 2. Though all beleeuers ſpake not with tongues, yet they had all in thoſe dayes ſome eſpeciall or extraordinarie gift for the confirmation of their faith, Mark.16.17. ***Theſe tokens ſhall follow them that beleeue, &c.*** 3. Yet it is cleare, that all theſe at Samaria receiued extraordinarie gifts, for they had beene baptized before and beleeued, and were partakers of the common grace: and they were ſuch graces as ***Simon*** ſaw to be giuen: therefore extraordinarie and viſible.

Secondly, it is great boldneſſe to denie, that the Apoſtles had a ſpeciall promiſe to giue the graces of the ſpirit, and a commaundement ſo to doe: for he himſelfe graunteth, *Nunquam ordinariè impoſuiſſent manus,* They would neuer ſo ordinarily haue impoſed their hands, if Chriſt had not ſo commaunded. 2. *Ananias* by the commaundement of Chriſt laid his hands vpon *Paul*, not to take away his blindneſſe onely (as *Bellarmine* boldly affirmeth) but that he might *be filled with the holy ghoſt*, Act.10.17. Here is both an expreſſe commaundement and promiſe. 3. Some generall promiſes were made not onely to the Apoſtles, but to the whole Church, as of Chriſts perpetuall preſence and protection: but it is very abſurd, to ſay, that the Apoſtles had no more power to giue the holy ghoſt, than others ſucceeding them haue; for this were to make all Apoſtles, which S. *Paul* denieth, 1.Cor.12.29.

Thirdly, if the viſible ſignes are ceaſed, which came by impoſition of hands, then haue you loſt your ſacrament, the ſacramentall effect being extinct: the inuiſible graces of the Spirite remaine, but not conferred by impoſition of hands, but by the preaching of the word, and prayers of the Church. Hitherto therefore you haue prooued no ſacrament.

The Proteſtants.

WE graunt a ceremonie of impoſition of hands vſed in the Apoſtles time, and after, ſo long as the miraculous giftes of the holy ghoſt continued in the Church: there is alſo another kind of impoſition of handes, ſuch as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, Hebr.6.2. which may haue perpetuall vſe in the Church, which is nothing elſe but a kind of prayer to be ſtrengthened by the holy ghoſt, and for the increaſe of grace. But neither this nor the other doe we hold to be a Sacrament.

Argum. 1. Euery ſacrament muſt haue his appointment from Chriſt, conſiſting both of an outward element, and the worde of inſtitution: but the Popiſh ſacrament of confirmation hath none of theſe: the element they vſe, is oyle, the word of conſecration, *I ſigne thee with the ſigne of the Croſſe, and annoint thee with the Chriſme of health, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghoſt:* but none of theſe haue their inſtitution by Chriſt or his Apoſtles any where in the new Teſtament, Act.8.19. and in other places we reade that the Apoſtles vſed impoſition of hands, but there is no where mention made of Chriſme or oyle: neither this ſuperſtitious deuiſe in vſe then, whatſoeuer the Ieſuite ſaith, being brought in long after by *Sylueſter*, who is reported by *Damaſus* to be the deuiſer of Chriſme: *Ergo*, it hauing no inſtitution in the Goſpell, it is no ſacrament.

Argum. 2. The Scriptures beſide that extraordinarie impoſition of hands vſed by the Apoſtles, make mention of another impoſition of hands, not as of a ſacrament by it ſelfe, but as appertaining to the ſacrament of Baptiſme, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Heb.6.2. *The doctrine of baptiſmes and laying on of hands:* this externall rite depended vpon baptiſme, it was not a ſeuerall Sacrament by it ſelfe.

To this effect alſo their owne Canon, *p.*3. *diſtin.*4. *c.*124. *Nullus miniſtrorum, &c.* None of the miniſters that hath power to baptize ſhould goe without Chriſme: *Quia inter nos placuit ſemel in baptiſmate Chriſmari, &c.* Becauſe the vſe is with vs once in baptiſme to be Chriſmed. *Chriſmatis non niſi vna benedictio:* Chriſme is but once bleſſed or hallowed. Here we ſee, that Chriſme, which they now vſe in confirmation, went together then with baptiſme.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Manus impoſitio quid aliud eſt, quàm oratio ſuper hominem?* The impoſition of the hands, what elſe is it but prayer ouer a man? He ſaith not, it is a ſacrament. De Baptiſm. lib.3.c.16.

Deuſdedit. Papa decret. Scitis quia quomodo ſunt 7. dona ſpiritus ſancti, ita ſunt ſeptem dona baptiſmi, à primo pabulo ſacrati ſalis, & ingreſſus ſanctæ Eccleſiæ, vſque ad confirmationem ſpiritus ſancti per Chriſma: Yee know, that as there are ſeuen gifts of the holy Ghoſt, ſo there are ſeuen gifts of baptiſme, from the firſt ſpirituall nouriſhment of hallowed ſalte, and the entrance to the Church, vnto the confirmation of the holy Ghoſt by oyle. Here confirmation is but a part of Baptiſme, and therefore not a ſacrament of it ſelfe.

Concil. Arelatenſ. ſub Carolo. can. 18. *Vt presbyteri ſub ſigillo chryſma cuſtodiant, genus enim ſacramenti eſt:* That the Prieſts keepe the chriſme vnder ſeale, for it is a kind of ſacrament: Confirmation miniſtred with chriſme is a kind of ſacrament, that is, after a ſort, properly it is not.

In this cauſe ſuffered Maſter *Benbridge* holy martyr, for denying Confirmation to be a Sacrament, or that the Biſhop doth giue grace thereby, pag.2046.col.2.artic.3.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE MATTER and forme of Confirmation.

The Papiſts.

102.Error. THe matter of this popiſh Sacrament, they ſay, is oyle mixed and tempered with balme, *Rhemiſt. Act.*8. *Sect.*6. Firſt hallowed and conſecrated by the Miniſter thereof, and ſtriked in manner of a croſſe vpon the forehead of him that is to be confirmed, *Bellar.c.*8.

Argum. 2. Corinth. 1. 21. *It is God which eſtabliſheth vs, or confirmeth vs with you in Chriſt, and hath annointed vs.* Here the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of confirmation, and of the materiall part thereof, which is holy vnction, or annointing: and this holy chriſme was prefigured by that precious ointment, Exod. 30. wherewith the tabernacle and the prieſts were annointed: *Bellar. ibid.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, the Apoſtle ſaith not, *Which hath confirmed*, but, *Which doth confirme:* which if it were meant of that externall ceremonie of confirmation, ſee what iniurie you offer to the Apoſtle, that being a confirmer of others, hee had neede now to be catechized and confirmed himſelfe. Againe, he ſpeaketh not of confirmation wrought by the miniſterie of men: but God (ſaith he) confirmeth vs, that is, eſtabliſheth vs by his ſpirit.

2 It is too too groſſe to vnderſtand by this annointing, your greazie beſmeering mens faces with your Chriſme, ſeeing the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe in the next verſe, *Hee hath ſealed vs, and giuen the earneſt of his ſpirit in our hearts*, verſ. 22. Of this holy annointing of our hearts by the ſpirit, Saint *Iohn* alſo maketh mention, ſaying, *This annointing teacheth you all things*, 1. Epiſt. 2. 27. But doth the annointing of the face I pray you, giue men inſtruction?

3 S. *Ambroſe* thus expoundeth S. *Paul* of the ſpirituall annointing: *Chriſtus confirmat gentes in fide promiſſa, &c.* Chriſt confirmeth the Gentiles in the faith promiſed to the Iewes, &c. he hath annointed vs, giuing vs *regiam honorificentiam*, a kingly honour: as *Peter* ſaith, we are *genus regale*, of a royall kind: *per vnctionem ſpiritualem*, by the ſpirituall annointing: who hath alſo ſigned vs, *dando ſpiritum ſuum nobis pignus*, giuing his ſpirit as a pledge, that we ſhould not doubt of his promiſes: *Ambroſ.* in 1. Cor. 2.

Tractat in Epiſt. Ioh. 4. Let vs heare *Auguſtines* expoſition, *Chriſtus ſit in corde, vnctio ipſius ſit in corde: inſpiratio eius docet, vnctio eius docet*: Let Chriſt be in your hearts, let his annointing be in your hearts: his inſpiration is his annointing: you may be aſhamed therefore, ſo groſſely to abuſe the Scripture.

And concerning the ointment of the tabernacle: firſt, it is no way anſwerable or like to the popiſh Chriſme: 1. There is no mention made of balme in that confection, Exod. 30. 33. for the word which *Bellar.* vrgeth, בשם *beſhem*, is a generall name for ſweet ſpices; by the Septuagint tranſlation, ἡδύσματα; by the vulgare Latine, *aromata*, ſpices: and ſo is it taken in ſcripture, Cant. 4. 16. 5. 1. But 2. admit that there was balme there, as ſome thinke, being the chiefe of the reſt, yet had they other ſweet ſpices, *cynamon, calamus, caſſia:* you muſt mingle theſe alſo with your Chriſme, if you will finde a type here. 3. This ointment ſerued for the prieſts; you muſt prooue then that Chriſt the high Prieſt of the newe Teſtament was thus annointed: for if it belonged not to him, neither are we to challenge it: but Chriſt was no otherwiſe annointed then by the ſpirit, Luc. 4. 18. 4. They were not to annoint any mans fleſh with that ointment, Exod. 30. 32. how then dare you preſume to lay your Chriſme vpon euery mans forehead that is confirmed.

Secondly, ſay that your Chriſme, and that ointment were in all points agreeable; who taught you to borrow ceremonies of the Iewes, ſeeing they were but types and ſhadowes, but the bodie is in Chriſt? Coloſſ. 2. 17.

***Argum.* 1.** As for your oyle therefore mixed with balme: Firſt, the true balme you knowe is not to be had, and therefore you abuſe the people: As it may appeare, *Epiſt.* 2. *Fabiani ad Orientales:* in the which Epiſtle he reprooueth them for not renewing the Chriſme euery yeare: *Dicunt enim nec balſamum per ſingulos annos non poſſe reperiri*: For they alledged, that they could not get the right balme euery yeare: If they of the Eaſt countrey could not get it where it groweth, how ſhould it come into the Weſt parts? *Plinie* alſo ſaith, that the balme, which grew but in two places of Iudæa, is periſhed: yet *Bellarmine* controuleth him, and ſaith, that there is a kind of balme brought from India, beſide that which vſed to grow in Iudæa: yet by *Bellarmines* leaue it cannot be that balme, which grew in Iudæa, which he ſaith the Apoſtles vſed. And *Plinie* may be credited for this matter, being a curious ſearcher out of the ſecrets of nature. Secondly, make the beſt of it you can, it is but a Iewiſh ceremonie. Thirdly, your benediction of it, is but a kind of magicall inchantment, ſeeing you haue no word of God to conſecrate creatures in that ſort: for all things are ſanctified by the word of God and prayer: *Ergo*, without the warrant of God, there is no ſuch ſanctifying of creatures. Lib. 12. c. 25.

***Argum.* 2.** Act. 10. 44. the holy Ghoſt is giuen without any Chriſme, Act. 8. 17. 19. 5. the Apoſtles layde on their handes, but vſed no chriſme: *Ergo*, your chriſme hath no ground out of Scripture. *Kemnitij argum.*

Bellarm. 1. In the firſt place alleaged, the holy Ghoſt was giuen by the ſingular priuiledge of God without a Sacrament. 2. Where mention is made of impoſition of handes, chriſme alſo is vnderſtood: as where the Apoſtles are ſaid to baptize in the name of the Lord Ieſus, Act. 19. 5. both the father and the ſonne are vnderſtood: and where the Apoſtle ſaith, We are ſaued by the *lauacre of regeneration*, he vnderſtandeth alſo the word; though he make no mention of it: *Bellar. c. 9. reſponſ. ad argum.* 1.

Contra. Firſt, though 1. the holy Ghoſt came vpon them while *Peter* preached, Act.10.44 yet this is no ſingular or extraordinarie priuiledge, but the vſuall effect of the preaching of the word: as we may ſee in *Lydia*, Act.16.& faith ordinarily cōmeth by hearing, Rom.10.17. 2. And though the ſpirite was giuen without and before the Sacrament, yet preſently for their further confirmation, they were baptized, but not confirmed with chriſme: ſo here is a Sacrament miniſtred vnto them, to their further aſſurance and confirmation, but none other, then the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

Secondly, 1. we do not doubt, but that the Apoſtles baptized in the name of the whole Trinitie, though compendiouſly the name of Ieſus be expreſſed, becauſe they were commanded ſo to do: that although mention be not made there of the Father, Sonne and holy Ghoſt, yet in other places there is, Matth.28.19. 2. And S. *Paul* alſo elſewhere ioyned the word with *the waſhing of water*, Epheſ.5.25. and in the very ſame place it followeth, by the *waſhing of water and renewing of the holy Ghoſt*; whereby the operation of the word is ſignified: ſo then if in any other place of Scripture, you could finde your chriſme to haue beene vſed by the Apoſtles with impoſition of hands, though they be not euery where ioyned together, it might ſeeme probable, that you ſay: but this you are not able to do, therefore theſe examples are friuolouſly alleaged.

Thirdly, whereas *Bellarmine* doubteth not to ſay that the Apoſtles vſed Chriſme: other Papiſtes more honeſtly denie it, being conuinced with euidence of Scripture: as *ſynod. Moguntin. c.18. Sacramentum confirmationis ab initio ſola manuum impoſitione exhibitum*: The Sacrament of Confirmation in the beginning was onely exhibited with impoſition of handes.

Decret. Gregor. lib.1. tit 16 c.1. Innocent.3. Confirmationis ſacramentum non debet in eo iterari, qui per errorem fuit non chriſmate, ſed oleo, delinitus: The Sacrament of confirmation muſt not be iterated in him, which by error was annointed with oyle, and not with chriſme: *Ergo*, chriſme is not neceſſarie to confirmation.

Some of the popiſh writers affirme, that balme, whereof their chriſme is made, is not neceſſary *ad eſſentiam Sacramenti*, to the eſſence of the Sacrament: *Caietan. 3. par. qu 72. artic.2. Dominic. a Soto. lib.4. ſentent. diſt.7. qu.1. art.2. ſynod. Arauſican. cap.1. Qui in baptiſmate Chriſmatus fuerit; in confirmatione ſacerdos commonebitur: nam inter nos Chriſmatis ipſius, non niſi vna benedictio eſt*: Hee that was chriſmed, or annoynted in Baptiſme, muſt admoniſh the Prieſt thereof in confirmation (that he be not annoynted againe) for with vs chriſme is but once bleſſed and vſed. He then that was baptized with chriſme, was confirmed without chriſme: This Chriſme then and conſecrate oyle, was not the matter of confirmation.

The Papiſts.

2. THe forme of Confirmation is in the words which are pronounced, I ſigne thee *with the ſigne of the Croſſe*, and confirme thee *with the Chriſme of ſaluation or health*, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghoſt, *Bellarm. cap.10.* 103.Error.

The Proteſtants.

1. THey muſt ſhew the inſtitution of Chriſt, out of the word, for the forme of euery Sacrament: which they cannot do for this, vnleſſe they runne to their beggerly traditions, which they blaſphemouſly call the word of God vnwritten.

2. Where haue they learned, that men are confirmed and eſtabliſhed with the external annointing of oyle? ſo ſaid ſome amongſt the Coloſſians, Touch not, taſte not, handle not: to whom the Apoſtle anſwereth, Which things periſh with the vſing, and are after the commandements of men, Coloſſ.2.21.22. So is this annointing with oyle, a meere inuention of men, and hath no longer vertue or force, then in the naturall vſe thereof.

Bellarmine anſwereth: Firſt, we haue the warrant of the word for the forme of confirmation; for the Apoſtles prayed, when they layed on hands, Act.8.15. and the forme of the Sacraments conſiſteth in prayers. Secondly, the oyle is called the oyle of health or ſaluation, as Baptiſme the waſhing of the new birth, becauſe it is an inſtrument thereof, *Bellarm. cap.10.*

Contra. Firſt, prayer 1. is made to God, this forme is pronouneed to him that is confirmed, therefore it is not a prayer: 2. Beſide in the forme there is mention made of the ſigne of the croſſe, and of *chriſme*: can you fetch theſe alſo out of the Apoſtles prayer? 3. And if you make confirmation nothing els, but prayer ouer a man, we will not much ſtand with you.

Secondly, 1. we make not Baptiſme a cauſe of regeneration, as you do the oyle; but a ſeale onely thereof. 2. Neyther can yee ſhew the like inſtitution and ordinance of Chriſt for confirmation, as we can for Baptiſme.

Interrelig. cap.16. Sacramentum confirmationis initio impoſitione manuum tantū celebratum fuit, &c. The Sacrament of confirmation in the beginning was onely celebrated with the impoſition of hands: It was then no part of the forme of conſecration in thoſe dayes, to ſay, I confirme thee with the Chriſme of health, &c. for at the firſt no oyle or Chriſme was vſed, but onely the impoſition of hands.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE MINISTER of Confirmation.

The Papiſts.

104. Error. THe Papiſts are here diuided: Some thinke that the Biſhop is ſo neceſſarily the Miniſter of confirmation, that it can in no wiſe be committed to Presbyters: *Sic Bouauentur. Durand. Adrian. in 4.diſtinct.7.* Other of them are of opinion that it may extraordinarily be miniſtred by Presbyters, as *Thomas, Marſilius, Ruhardus, Paludanus*: But the Biſhop is the ordinarie Miniſter thereof by the word of God: of this ſentence is *Bellarmine cap.12.*

Argum. Act.8. *Peter* and *Iohn* are ſent to Samaria to lay on their handes, *Philip* onely baptized, if *Philip* could haue giuen the ſpirite, what need the Apoſtles haue beene ſent? the Apoſtles then onely confirmed: Biſhops ſucceed Apoſtles: *Ergo.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtles by laying on the hands, gaue the extraordinary grace of the ſpirite, therefore this place maketh not for confirmation. Secondly, none can ſucceede the Apoſtles, in their Apoſtolike and extraordinarie power in giuing the ſpirite. Thirdly, *Philip* gaue the holy Ghoſt alſo, though not thoſe viſible ſignes, which belong not to confirmation: for by his preaching they beleeued, and were baptized: and S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Niſi fortè Eunuchus à Philippo Diacono baptizatus ſine ſpiritu ſancto fuiſſe credendus eſt*: vnleſſe it is to be thought, that the Eunuch was baptized of *Philip* the Deacon without the holy Ghoſt: *aduerſ. Luciferian.* Fourthly, *Philip* was an Euangeliſt, Act.21.8. which was an office before Paſtors: Epheſ.4.11. Biſhops are the Paſtors of the Church: will they denie that to an Euangeliſt, which they yeeld to Paſtors? Laſtly, other beſide the Apoſtles were ſent to ſecond the firſt preachers, and to confirme them in their faith, as *Barnabas* to Antioch, Act.11.22.23.

The Proteſtants.

WE ſay with *Hierome, Si hoc loco quæras, quare in eccleſia baptizatus, &c.* If you aske in this place, why he that is baptized in the Church doth not but by the hands of the Biſhop receiue the holy Ghoſt? Know, that this obſeruation, *Ad honorem potius eſſe ſacerdotij, quàm ad legis neceſſitatem*: Is rather for the honour of the Prieſthood, then any neceſſitie of law: otherwiſe, if the holy Ghoſt onely be giuen at the prayer of the Biſhop, they are to be bewailed, which in remote places are baptized by Presbyters, and die before they are viſited of the Biſhop: *Hieron. aduerſ. Luciferian.* He thinketh this difference to be rather an ordinance of the Church, then any diuine inſtitution.

Argum. Ananias a diſciple of Antioch, layd his hands vpon *Paul*, Act.10. and at Antioch certaine Prophets and teachers layd on their hands vpon *Paul* and *Barnabas*, Act.13. and none of theſe were Apoſtles.

Bellarmine anſwereth: that *Ananias* laid on his hands, to heale him of his blindnes, and not to giue him the holy Ghoſt. *Contr.* The text it ſelfe is contrarie, Act.9.17. *He put his hands vpon him, and ſaid,* brother *Saul, the Lord hath ſent me,* that thou *mighteſt receiue thy ſight, and be filled with the holy Ghoſt.*

Diſtinct.95.c.1. Gregor. Vbi Epiſcopi deſunt, vt Presbyteri, &c. Where Biſhops are wanting, wee grant, that Presbyters may touch thoſe that are baptized with Chriſme in the forehead: *par.3.diſtinct.4.c.119. Presbyteris, &c.* It is lawfull for Presbyters to annoint thoſe that are baptized with Chriſme, whether they baptize in the preſence of the Biſhop, or without: *c.125.* he that doth receiue the office to baptize, muſt not go without Chriſme, *decret. Gregor. lib.1.tit.4.c.4. Simplices ſacerdotes apud Conſtantinop. &c.* Simple Prieſts at Conſtantinople do confirme: *Concil. Florentin. ſeſſ.25. Apud Græcos, &c.* Among the Greekes, Prieſts not Biſhops do vſe Chriſme: it is not therefore of any diuine inſtitution.

Bellarmine himſelfe graunteth, that the chiefe Biſhop may giue authoritie to a ſimple Prieſt to confirme, *lib.1. de matrim. c.5. reſp. ad argum.13.*

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE EFFICACIE and vertue of Confirmation.

The Papiſts.

105. Error. THe holy Ghoſt is giuen in confirmation, for force, ſtrength, and corroboration, againſt all our ſpirituall enemies, and to ſtand conſtantly in the confeſſion of our faith, euen to death, with great increaſe of grace, *Rhemiſt. Act.8. ſect.7.* And in this reſpect it giueth more aboundant grace, in ſtrengthening of vs againſt the diuell, then Baptiſme doth, *Bellarm. cap.11.*

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, they do offer great iniurie to the ſpirite of God, tying him as it were, to their beggerly elements, which haue power, as they ſay, to conferre grace. The Scripture ſayth, The ſpirite bloweth where it liſteth, Iohn 3. The ſpirite of God is free, and is giuen without Sacraments, as well as with them: but this tradition of yours is no Sacrament: if it were, yet could it not conferre grace, as we haue proued before.

Their owne Maſter of ſentences *lib.1.diſtinct.14.d.* proueth that the Apoſtles themſelues gaue not the ſpirite: *Orabant quippe vt veniret:* They prayed that the ſpirite might come vpon them, on whom they laid their hands, they themſelues gaue it not. And againe, *ibid.d. Nos accipere hoc donum,&c.* We according to our meaſure may receiue this gift, *effundere ſuper alios vtiq; non poſſumus:* but we cannot powre it out vpon others: *Ergo,* Confirmation doth not conferre the holy Ghoſt.

Secondly, they do greatly deface the Sacrament of Baptiſme, making it imperfect without confirmation, ſaying, that he which is baptized, ſhall neuer be a perfect Chriſtian, vnleſſe hee be confirmed with Chriſme,; *Gerſon.* And that it is to be reuerenced with greater reuerence then Baptiſme: See *Fulke Act.8.ſect.7.* Yea, they depriue Baptiſme of the proper effect and vſe thereof, which is a ſigne vnto vs of the aſſiſtance of Gods ſpirite, to fight manfully againſt the Diuell: for by Baptiſme we are buried into the death of Chriſt, Rom.6.3. But Chriſt by his death triumphed ouer the diuell, Coloſſ.2.15. *Ergo,* Baptiſme is a ſigne of our victorie againſt the diuell: yet they rob Baptiſme of this honor, and giue it to confirmation. And thus they preferre their owne inuentions before the ordinance of God; no ſacrament before a Sacrament.

Tileman Heſhuſ.loc.22. error.22.

Auguſtine ſheweth, what the Sacrament of Vnction is, *Vnctionis ſacramentum eſt virtus ipſa inuiſibilis; vnctio inuiſibilis, ſpiritus ſanctus:* The ſacrament of Vnction, is the inuiſible vertue: the inuiſible annointing, the holy ſpirite. What is become now of your Sacrament of Vnction?

Tract.in.Epiſt.Iohan.4.

And that confirmation maketh no ſupplie, or addeth any complement to Baptiſme, their own Canons teſtifie: *decret.par.3.diſtinct.5.c.2. Melchiades; Spiritus ſanctus in fonte tribuit plenitudinem ad innocentiam:* The holy ſpirite in Baptiſme giueth fulneſſe tending to innocencie: *Continuò tranſituris ſufficiunt regenerationis beneficia:* The benefite of regeneration is ſufficient to thoſe that preſently paſſe out of the world: *ibid.c.5.* In the vnction in Baptiſme is ſignified *deſcenſio ſpiritus ad habitationem,* the deſcending of the ſpirite to dwell with vs: If then by Baptiſme we haue innocencie, and the ſpirit dwelling in vs, how is it not perfect and abſolute without confirmation?

THE FIFT PART, OF THE RITES and ceremonies of Confirmation.

The Papiſts.

106.Error.

THe ceremonies which they commonly vſe in Confirmation, are theſe. Firſt, the Biſhop muſt breathe vpon the pot or cruze of Chriſme. Secondly, hee ſaluteth it in theſe wordes, *Aue ſanctum Chriſma:* Haile holy Chriſme. Thirdly, he giueth a kiſſe. Fourthly, he ſtriketh him that is confirmed with his hand, to teach him patience. Fiftly, his forehead is bound about, leaſt the Chriſme ſhould runne downe, which teacheth him not to loſe the grace of God. Sixtly, ſeuen daies together he muſt neither waſh his head nor face. And theſe with ſuch like ridiculous toyes, are practiſed amongſt them, *Bellarm.cap.13.lib.de confirmat.*

The Proteſtants.

1. SOme of theſe ceremonies wee condemne as ridiculous: as the breathing vpon the oyle, the ſtriking of the partie confirmed, which light geſtures become not the grauitie of the Miniſters of the Goſpell: all things ſhould be done in the Church in decent and comely order, 1.Corinth.14.40. Concerning this light geſture of ſtriking, the like whereof was vſed in the celebration of Matrimonie, we heard before the iudgement of the Councell of Cullin: how it is counted, *inter res ludicras,* among ridiculous and wanton toyes. *Concil. Colonienſ. part.7.cap.47. vid.ſupra, contro.15.quaeſt.7.* In the like caſe, in the emancipation, or ſetting of men free, they did vſe to ſtrike them: which fooliſh vſe was corrected by the imperiall lawe, *Cod.lib.8.tit.49.leg.6.* hee biddeth, *Iniurioſa raphiſmata,* ſuch iniurious ſtrokes to be left, *quorum nullus rationabilis inuenitur exitus,* of the which there can be no reaſonable end: *Iubemus circuitu huiuſmodi in poſterum quieſcente,&c.* we will ſuch toyes and circumſtances to ceaſe. If in a ciuile acte ſuch ridiculous toyes were inhibited, how much more vncomely are they in an act of religion? Secondly, one of them is meerely idolatrous, to ſalute the oyle, as the Angell ſaluted *Mary,* to ſay, *Aue,* All haile vnto it, making an idoll of it, being a thing without ſenſe or life. Thirdly, all of them are ſuperſtitious, hauing myſticall and typicall ſignifications and ſhadowes, which agreeth not with the nature of the Goſpell: for all ſhadowes are now paſt, the body being come, Col.2.17. Laſtly, they are ſuperfluous, cumberſome, and burdenous, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Ipſam religionem, quam Deus pauciſ-*

ſimis ſacramentis liberam eſſe voluit, oneribus premunt. They oppreſſe religion with the burden of ceremonies, which God hath left free in fewe ſacraments. Againe, who ſeeth not how thus by their owne traditions they doe euacuate the ordinance of God? for in ſtead of catechizing and inſtructing of the youth in the principles and foundation of religion, as of repentance from dead workes, faith toward God, of the reſurrection and eternall iudgement, Hebr. 6. 2, 3. they haue brought in nothing elſe, but oyling, greazing, annointing of them, breathing vpon them, croſſing, and ſuch like: And whereas S. *Paul* giueth parents a charge to bring vp their children in the inſtruction of God, Epheſ. 6. 4. they bid them bring their children to be annointed, croſſed, and chriſmated, as they call it, and they haue done enough.

Againſt theſe ridiculous ceremonies we haue the iudgement and determination of the Councell of Mentz, cap. 18. *Sacramentum confirmationis ab initio ſola manuum impoſitione exhibitum: nam cum initio Spiritus ſanctus, ad euidentiorem recentis adhuc fidei confirmationem, ſigno viſibili influeret confirmatis, externa vnctione tum opus non erat:* The ſacrament of confirmation in the beginning was exhibited onely with laying on of hands: for whereas the holy ſpirit then for the more euident confirmation of faith, did appeare by euident ſignes in thoſe, that were confirmed, there was no need then of outward anointing. At the firſt, the Apoſtles vſed nothing, but impoſition of hands: all the reſt of the ceremonies came in ſince by men. And this decree maketh directly againſt the Ieſuite, who will needs beare vs in hand, that the Apoſtles vſed oyle and Chriſme togither, with impoſition of hands: which is but his braine-ſicke coniecture, without any ground.

This truth hath that holy martyr of God *Iohn Huſſe*, ſealed with his blood: *Leuis & breuis confirmatio epiſcoporum cum ritibus ſolennizata, eſt à diabolo introducta:* The light and briefe confirmation of Biſhops ſolemnized, with the ſuperſtitious rites thereof, ſeemeth to haue been brought in by the deuill. *Quantum ad oleum, quo epiſcopi vngunt pueros, & peplum lineum, quod complexum eſt capiti, videtur, quod ſit ritus leuis:* And as for the oyle, wherewith the Biſhops annoint boyes, and the linnen vaile bound to their head, it ſeemeth to be a ridiculous faſhion: For thus ſaying, and boldly vttering his conſcience, this good man was condemned in the Councell of Conſtance, ſeſſ. 15.

THE SECOND QVESTION,
of Orders.

THe ſeuerall parts of this queſtion, are theſe: Firſt, whether it be a Sacrament. Secondly, of the materiall part thereof. Thirdly, of the efficacie and vertue thereof. Fourthly, of the ceremonies.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE RECEIuing of Orders be a Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

107. Error. THat holy Orders are a ſacrament rightly and properly ſo called, it was decreed in the Tridentine Councell, *Seſſ.* 23. *canon.* 3. And that not onely the three higher degrees, of Prieſthood, Deaconſhip, Subdeaconſhip, but the foure inferiour orders, of *Exorciſtæ, Acoluthi, Lectores, Oſtiary,* do belong vnto the ſame ſacrament of orders, and are ſacraments as well as the other, *Bellar. cap. 8. lib. de ſacram. ordinis.*

Argum. 1 Timoth. 4. 14. Deſpiſe not that gift which was giuen thee through Propheſie, with the laying on of hands. Holy orders giue grace by an externall ceremonie and worke: *Ergo,* it is a Sacrament, *Rhemiſt. in hunc locum.*

Anſ. 1. It cannot be prooued out of this place, that impoſition of hands giueth grace: for this was an extraordinarie gift which S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of, and doth not alwaies follow impoſition of hands. Secondly, this gift was not giuen by the very ceremonie of impoſition of hands, but through propheſie and reuelation of the holy Ghoſt: for it was reuealed vnto the Church by the ſpirit of Propheſie, that *Timothie* was a choſen veſſell of God: therefore Saint *Paul* ſaith, *That worthie thing which is committed vnto thee, keepe through the holy Ghoſt,* 2. Tim. 1. 14. The holy Ghoſt was both the conferrer of that grace, and the preſeruer of it. Impoſition then of hands was but an outward ſigne of the preſence of Gods ſpirit vpon thoſe that were lawfully ordained: for all vpon whome hands were laide, receiued not the holy Ghoſt, but ſuch onely as were appointed of God: And therefore the Apoſtle chargeth *Timothie* to lay hands ſodainly on no man, 1. Tim. 5. 22. which caueat was not needfull, if vpon whomſoeuer he had laid his hands, they ſhould immediatly receiue the holy Ghoſt. Thirdly, euery promiſe of grace annexed to the outward ſigne maketh not a Sacrament, but it muſt be the grace of iuſtification, ſuch as is not in orders.

Bellar. denyeth, that euery Sacrament ſerueth to iuſtification or remiſſion of ſinnes; and hee giueth an inſtance in the Euchariſt, which was not inſtituted to take away ſinne, but to conſerue and encreaſe the ſpirituall life, *Bellar.c.*2.*de ſacram.ordinis.*

Contra. Firſt, that the Euchariſt was inſtituted to aſſure vs of remiſſion of ſinne, it is euident by the Scriptures; for it is a ſhewing forth of the Lords death, 1.Cor.11.26. but to what end elſe dyed Chriſt, but for remiſſion of ſinnes? Againe, it repreſenteth vnto vs the blood of Chriſt, which (ſaith Chriſt in the inſtitution of this Sacrament) *is ſhedde for many for remiſſion of ſinnes,* Matth.26.28. Secondly, it ſerueth alſo to conſerue our ſpirituall life, which cannot be without aſſurance of forgiueneſſe of ſinnes: for 1. the life of the ſoule is faith, *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith,* Roman. 1.17. and our faith, *is in the blood of Chriſt,* Rom.2.25. And 2. what elſe is the life of the ſoule but the happineſſe thereof? But our happineſſe is this, to haue our ſinnes forgiuen, Pſalm.32.1. *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen.*

*Argum.*2. Deaconſhip is a Sacrament, becauſe it is giuen by impoſition of hands: *Bell.cap.*6. Subdeaconſhip likewiſe is a Sacrament, becauſe it is not reiterable; and ſo of the reſt of the inferiour orders, *cap.*7.8.

*Anſ.*1. The Ieſuites reaſon ſtandeth thus: whatſoeuer is miniſtred by laying on of hands is a Sacrament, but Deaconſhip is ſo miniſtred: *Ergo,* it followeth then that the little children, vpon whome Chriſt laid his hands and bleſſed them, receiued a ſacrament, Mark. 10.16. What ſacrament was it I pray you? not confirmation, for they were not yet baptized: and others, I hope, they will not ſay, they receiued: *Ananias* laid his hands vpon *Paul,* and he receiued his ſight: Act.9.17. By the Ieſuites reaſon then, the giuing of ſight, becauſe it is miniſtred with laying on of hands, ſhall be a ſacrament: for Saint *Paul* neither receiueth orders from *Ananias,* ſeeing hee was immediatly called from Chriſt; nor yet was confirmed, not being yet baptized.

Secondly, hee hath reaſoned as well for the reſt of the orders: Whatſoeuer is not reiterable (ſaith he) is a ſacrament: but the creation of the world, the drowning of the ſame by water, are workes not iterable, or to be done againe: *Ergo,* they ſhould be ſacraments, by the Ieſuits reaſon. 2. Orders may be iterated: *Toletan.*4.27. *Clericus iniuſtè depoſitus, ſi in Synodo innocens reperiatur, non poteſt eſſe quod fuerat, niſi gradus amiſſos recipiat de manu Epiſcopi.* A Clerke depoſed, if hee be cleared in the Synode, cannot be reſtored to his former ſtate, vnleſſe hee doe receiue the degree he loſt, at the hands of the Biſhop.

The Proteſtants.

YOur ſeuen Popiſh orders we doe not at all receiue into the Church, much leſſe can we abide, that they ſhould be Sacraments: The lawfull ordeining of Paſtors, Teachers, and Deacons, we doe acknowledge; but no ſacrificing Prieſthood, nor no miniſtring Deaconſhip at the Altar: ſuch orders as we haue notwithſtanding wee doe not take to bee Sacraments, properly ſo called, much leſſe yours, that are vtterly to be aboliſhed.

*Argum.*1. Sacraments muſt haue their inſtitution from Chriſt; ſo haue not your orders: for Chriſt inſtituted onely Apoſtles and Diſciples: Presbyters and Deacons were founded by the Apoſtles: who notwithſtanding had no commiſſion to conſtitute new Sacraments. As for the other fiue orders, of Subdeacons, Readers, Acoluthi, Exorciſtes, doore-keepers, they are neither read in Scripture, nor ordained of the Apoſtles, nor heard of for many yeeres after.

Our Sauiour, when he ordained Apoſtles, vſed no impoſition of hands, or did annoint them: therefore Orders giuen by impoſition of hands, is no Sacrament, becauſe it hath no inſtitution from Chriſt. We denie not, but that the miniſterie of the word is Chriſts ordinance, but that it is no Sacrament, becauſe they can ſhewe no inſtitution of the outward ſigne from Chriſt: *Kemnitij.argum.*

*Bellar.*1. Chriſt might make Apoſtles without impoſition of hands, becauſe he was not tyed to the Sacraments: 2. and there is nothing to the contrarie, but that he might alſo vſe impoſition of hands: 3. Further, ſeeing that in orders grace is tyed to the outward ſigne of impoſition of hands, it muſt needs be of God, for no man hath power to annexe grace to the ſigne but God: and that grace is tyed to impoſition of hands, S. *Paul* teſtifieth, 2. Timoth. 1.6. *Stirre vp the grace of God which is in thee by the putting on of my hands, Bellar.cap.*2.

Contra. Firſt, we doe not ſpeake of Chriſts power, that he can worke without ſacraments, but of his will in ordaining of a ſacrament: for there is no ſacrament of the new Teſtament, which is not grounded vpon his precept and example: but neither can be ſhewed for orders by impoſition. Secondly, the inſtitution of a Sacrament muſt be expreſſed in Scripture, not implyed or coniecturally collected. Thirdly, in none of the ſacraments grace is annexed to the ſigne, much leſſe in orders, which is no ſacrament: neither hath S. *Paul* any ſuch meaning, as I haue ſhewed before: *Reſponſ.ad argum.*1. Fourthly, an ordinance of the miniſterie by commaundement from Chriſt, we graunt, but no inſtitution of a ſacrament.

*Argum.*2. Secondly, your ſacrament hath neither outward element, nor word of inſtitution: if you ſay, laying on of hands is the externall ſigne: we anſwer, that the viſible ſigne in a ſacrament

ment muſt not onely be an externall action, but a materiall element, as water in Baptiſme, and bread and wine in the Lords Supper. The forme (you ſay) is in theſe words pronounced by the Biſhop, *Accipite poteſtatem offerendi ſacrificium,* Receiue ye power to offer ſacrifice: *Bellar..cap.9.* We anſwere againe, that this ſacrificing office hath no foundation in Scripture: The Miniſters of the Goſpell are called diſpenſers of Gods myſteries; namely, of the word and Sacraments, 1.Corinth.4.1. Miniſters for Chriſt, not ſacrificers of Chriſt: wherefore neither haue yee any word of inſtitution; and conſequently no ſacrament.

And I pray you tell me, if you will make euery one of your orders a ſacrament; then muſt you needs haue as many ſacraments as there are orders: and ſo ſhall you haue ſeuen ſacraments more than you thought; and ſo fourteene in all: for you doe diſtinguiſh all the orders in office and forme of conſecration one from another: and therefore they cannot all make one ſacrament.

Bellarmine anſwereth: that all theſe make but *vnum ſacramentum genere,* one Sacrament in generall, though they be diuers in ſpeciall, cap. 8. Anſwere: by this reaſon, Baptiſme, Orders, Confirmation, ſhall make but one Sacrament, ſeeing they are all of one kind or gender, that is, Sacraments irreiterable. But ſeeing all theſe ſeuerall orders doe differ both in matter and forme, it cannot be auoided, but there muſt be diuers Sacraments.

Epiſt.118. cap.1. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Chriſtus ſacramentis numero pauciſſimis ſocietatem populi colligauit:* Chriſt hath ioyned togither his people with moſt fewe ſacraments: and then he nameth Baptiſme, and the Communion: *Et ſi quid aliud in Scripturis canonicis commendatur:* And if any other be commended in Scripture: *Ergo,* there is no ſacrament of orders, becauſe it is not found in Scripture, as wee haue ſaid.

Their owne writers are againſt them: the Maſter of Sentences ſpeaking of Presbyters, ſaith, *Hic ordo à filijs Aaron ſumpſit initium,* This order tooke beginning from the ſonnes of *Aaron: Lib.4.diſtinct.24.I.* And of Exorciſts, *ibid.E. Hic ordo à Salomone videtur deſcendiſſe,* This order ſeemeth to haue deſcended from *Salomon: Ibid.I. Eccleſia ſibi Subdiaconos & Acolythos conſtituit,* The Church hath ordained Subdeacons and Acolythes: *De his ſolis præceptum Apoſtoli habemus,* Of theſe onely we haue the precept of the Apoſtles: ſpeaking of Deacons and Presbyters. If ſome of theſe were inſtituted before Chriſt, ſome of them ſince Chriſt and the Apoſtles, by the Church; how can they be ſacraments of the Goſpell, which muſt be inſtituted onely by Chriſt? *Durandus, Caietanus,* two learned Papiſts, denie the inferiour orders of Subdeacons and vnder, to be ſacraments.

This doctrine is ſealed: *Laurence Maxwell* perſecuted, becauſe hee denyed that the order of Prieſthood is a ſacrament. *Fox.p.1041.col.2.*

OF THE MATERIALL PART, OF ORDERS, which is the impoſition of hands.

The Papiſts.

108.Error. THis matter is chiefly controuerted among the Papiſts themſelues: Some of them holde, that the impoſition of hands is not an eſſentiall part of orders, but onely accidentall; as *Dominicus à Soto. diſtin.24. qu.1.artic.4.* Others affirme it to be eſſentiall: *Petrus à Soto. lect. 5. de ordin. Hoſius. confeſſ.Polonic.c.50.* whereunto *Bellarm.* ſubſcribeth, *c.9.*

Argum. In the Scripture euery where, when any are ordained, mention is made of the impoſition of hands, Act.6.6. 13.3. 1.Tim.4.14. and in other places: *Ergo,* it is an eſſentiall part of this ſacrament, *Bellar.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt, in the election of *Matthias* to be one of the twelue, there was no impoſition of hands vſed, Act.1. therefore not euery where: Neither can it be anſwered, that this ceremonie was omitted, becauſe *Matthias* was extraordinarily called by the direction of the Spirit, for Act.13.2. *Paul* and *Barnabas* were called of the Spirit, yet they impoſe hands vpon them. Secondly, theſe places alledged, onely prooue it to be requiſite as a decent ceremonie, not neceſſarie, as an eſſentiall part, without the which there could be no ordination.

The Proteſtants.

THat impoſition of hands is a comely and decent ceremonie to be vſed of the Church in ordaining of Miniſters, we willingly graunt, and our Church doth retaine it: but we take it not to be of the eſſence of orders, as that without it, vpon no occaſion, there could be any ordination.

Argum. Chriſt, when he inſtituted his Apoſtles, breathed vpon them, he laid not on his hands: the Apoſtles caſt lottes for *Matthias,* no impoſition of hands is mentioned: *Ergo,* it is not an eſſentiall part of orders, for then it could not be omitted.

Decret.Greg.lib.1.tit.16.c.1.& c.3.Greg.9. They determine, that orders miniſtred *ſine impoſitione manuum,* without impoſition of hands, ſhould not be iterated: *Ergo,* orders may be miniſtred without it.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE EFFICACIE which they aſcribe to this Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

THis ſacrament of orders, as they call it, giueth a double grace. Firſt, it giueth thoſe that are ordained, abilitie and power to execute their office: which is to conſecrate and offer vp the bodie and blood of Chriſt; wherein chiefly the prieſthood conſiſteth, and not in preaching the word: for they may be prieſts, though they preach not, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.23. can.1.* By holy orders then the holy Ghoſt is actually beſtowed, when thoſe words are pronounced, *Accipe ſpiritum ſanctum*, Receiue yee the holy Ghoſt, *Canon.4.* 109. Error.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, the Goſpell alloweth no externall ſacrificing Prieſthood, but a ſpirituall onely, whereby euery Chriſtian is made a King and Prieſt to offer ſpirituall ſacrifices of praiſe and thankſgiuing vnto God. Apocal. 1.6. And the onely eſſentiall part of the office of Miniſters vnder the Goſpell, is, to be able diſpenſers of the myſteries of the worde and Sacraments, 1. Corinth.4.1. 2. Corinth.3.6.

So *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith: *Quicunque aut Epiſcopus aut Presbyter frequenter de Deo loquitur, & quomodo ad vitam æternam perueniatur annunciat, meritò Angelus Dei dicitur.* Whoſoeuer, Biſhoppe or Presbyter, doth ſpeake freely of God, and preacheth the way to eternall life, is an angell of God. This then is the only principall office of true Paſtors, to teach the way to the kingdome of God. In Apocal. hom. 2.

Secondly, it is alſo a great vntruth, that the holy Ghoſt is ſtraightway giuen to all thoſe, vpon whomſoeuer hands are laid, and they admitted to Orders: For what need then that triall and examination, which ought to be had of thoſe, which are to be ordained, whereof S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, 1. Timoth.5.22. if the only laying on of hands can make able Miniſters?

Noſtri ſacerdotes, ſaith one, *ſuper multos quotidie nomen Domini & verba benedictionis imponunt, ſed in paucis effectus eſt*: Our Prieſts doe lay the word of bleſſing vpon many, calling vpon the name of God, but in few followeth any effect of that bleſſing. And hee giueth the reaſon in another place, *Dei eſt, effectum tribuere benedictionis*: It belongeth vnto God, to giue effect to prieſtly bleſſing: *Ergo*, it is not by onely act and vſing of the ceremonie beſtowed. Ex veter. teſt. qu. 109. inter opera Auguſt.

Aquiſgranenſ.cap.13. Præconis officium ſuſcipit, quiſquis ad ſacerdotium accedit: He taketh vpon him the office of a preacher, that commeth to the prieſthood.

Synod.Colonienſ.part.4.cap.1. Officium Parochorum in duobus potiſſimum ſitum eſt, diſſeminatione verbi, & adminiſtratione ſacramentorum: The office of pariſh prieſts, conſiſteth eſpecially in two things: in ſowing of the word, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

Ibid.part.6. Verbi miniſterium ſanctiſſim. Apoſtolus cæteris omnibus præfert, &c. The moſt holy Apoſtle preferreth the word before all other things, ſaying to the Corinthians, that Chriſt ſent him to preach, not to baptize. The office then of Miniſters of the Goſpell chiefly ſtandeth in preaching.

See their owne decrees: *Diſtinct.38.c.6. Subſtantia ſacerdotij vera ſcripturarum diuinarum diſciplina*: The ſubſtance of the prieſthood is the true knowledge or diſcipline of the diuine Scriptures. *Extrauag.commun.lib.1.tit.9.c.4. Sextus 4.* calleth them *buccinatores ſpiritus ſancti*, the trumpetters of the holy Ghoſt and preachers of the word. *Ibid.lib.5.tit.7.c.1. Benedict.11. Poſt baptiſmum inter cætera magis ad ſalutem neceſſaria eſt propoſitio verbi, &c.* After Baptiſme among other things more neceſſarie to ſaluation, is the propounding of the word of God, whereby the hearers are inſtructed in the faith. What orders then call you thoſe, wherein the more neceſſarie things to ſaluation, ſuch as is the preaching of the word, are omitted?

And that orders doe not conferre grace vpon him, that is ordained, their decrees alſo teſtifie: *Cauſ.2.qu.7.c.29. Non omnes Epiſcopi, Epiſcopi*: All Biſhops, are not Biſhops. *Ibid.c.32. Qui regiminis in ſe rationem non habet, &c.* He that hath no gouernment of himſelfe, *impudicus canis dicendus potius, quàm Epiſcopus*, is to be counted rather an vnſhamefaſt dogge, than a Biſhop.

Extrau.Ioann.tit.14.c.5. Scientia ordinato non confertur: Knowledge is not conferred vpon him, that is ordained.

The Maſter of Sentences, *lib.4.diſtinct.19.a. Multi ſacerdotes, nec ante conſecrationem, nec poſt, ſcientiam habent diſcernendi*: Many Prieſts neither before their conſecration, nor after, haue the knowledge of diſcerning. How doe orders then conferre grace?

Laſtly, ſee the teſtimonie of *Iohn Tewkſburie* holy Martyr, who affirmed, that a Prieſt by taking orders, receiueth not more grace, vnleſſe his faith be increaſed, *Fox* pag.1026.col.1.

The Papiſts.

2. ANother effect of their Sacrament of Orders, they ſay, is to imprint a certaine indeleble marke and character in him that is ordained, which can neither by ſinne, Apoſtaſie, or he- 110. Error.

reſie be blotted out, *Rhemiſt.2.Corinth.*1.*ſect.*7. And therefore a prieſt once ordained can neuer loſe his orders, or become a lay man againe, *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.*24.*can.*4 *Bellarm.cap.*10.

The Proteſtants.

Fox.pag.623.

FIrſt, the practiſe of the popiſh Church is contrarie to their owne rules: for I would haue them tell me, whether they tooke not the Prieſthood and annoynting from *Iohn Huſſe*, when with a payre of ſheares they clipped off the skin of his head moſt cruelly, as they were buſie in degrading of him, in the Councell of Conſtance: Or when they had groſly abuſed that reuerend Father Biſhop *Cranmer*, and vnmanerly behaued themſelues in his degradation, and clapt him in a poore beggerly, thread-bare, Lay-mans gowne; did they not think, that they had diſpoyled him of his prieſthood? What is now become, maſters, of your indeleble character? Or is it your meaning, that it may be clipped or ſcraped off onely, but not waſht off, or lightly rubbed away? Your owne cruell deedes doe ouerthrow your popiſh principles.

Epiſtol.50.

Auguſtine is againſt you: ***Conſtitutum eſt in eccleſia, ne quiſquam poſt criminis alicuius pœnitentiam clericatum accipiat, ad clericatum redeat, aut in clericatu maneat:*** It is a conſtitution of the Church, that no man after publike penance done for ſome notorious crime, ſhould be either made a Clerke, or returne to his Clerkſhip or prieſthood, or be ſuffered to continue therein. If his prieſthood were neither reſtored to him, nor he ſuffered to remaine therein, then ſurely hee had loſt his prieſthood.

We haue here euident teſtimonie of both lawes: *Cod.lib.*1.*tit.*6.*leg.*12. *Arcad.Curialis clericans:* A Courtier taking Clergie vpon him, is brought backe to his former eſtate. *Ibid.leg.*33.*authentic.* A ſeruant without his maſters knowledge taking orders, within a yeere may be chalenged, and muſt returne to ſerue his maſter.

*Decret.diſtinct.*54.*c.*7. A ſeruant promoted to the Clergie without his maſters conſent, *amittat gradum*, let him loſe his degree. *Diſt.*50.*c.*12.*Martin. Lapſus poſt ordinationem nullum gradum ſacerdotij adipiſci poteſt:* He that is fallen after his ordination, can haue no degree of the prieſthood. *Cauſ.*1.*qu.*1.*c.*60. *Ordinatus & non baptizatus &c.* Hee that is ordained and not baptized, muſt be ordained againe. *Cauſ.*11.*qu.*3.*c.*10.*Nicholaus: Epiſcopi depoſiti communicent vt laici:* Biſhops depoſed muſt communicate as lay men. What now is become of the indeleble character, if Clergie may be loſt, and Clerkes become lay men againe?

*Concil.Lateranenſ.part.*50.*cap.*56. *Si ſeruus fraude aliqua ad ſacros ordines peruenerit, ſi dominus illum libertate non donauerit, deponendus eſt, & gradum amittat:* If a ſeruant or bondſlaue by craft attaine to orders, if his maſter will not make him free, let him be depoſed, and loſe his degree of orders. Where is now your indeleble character? Concerning the indeleble character imprinted, as they ſay by orders, ſee more, *Controu.*11.*quaſt.*2.*part.*11.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE Miniſter of Orders.

The Papiſts.

110. Error.

THey hold, that they are neither Prieſts nor Deacons, which are not ordained of Biſhops, *Bellarm.de ſacram.Ordinis.cap.*11. he meaneth popiſh Biſhops, ſuch as receiue their conſecration and other Epiſcopals from Rome: and ſuch Biſhops hee ſaith onely are Miniſters and conferrers of Orders. Arguments he vſeth none, neither alleageth any teſtimonies at large, but referreth vs to the Controuerſie of the Sacraments in generall: but hee forgetteth himſelfe; for in that place there is no ſuch thing handled: but he onely prooueth this propoſition, that *verus Miniſter ſacramentorum, &c.* that the true Miniſter of the Sacraments is not euery man, but he only that is lawfully ordained in the Church, *lib.*1.*de Sacram.c.*24. which propoſition we willingly graunt.

The Proteſtants.

IN this aſſertion of the Papiſts, I note three errors, as it now followeth to be ſhewed. Firſt, whereas *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that they are no Miniſters or Presbyters, which are not ordained by popiſh Biſhops: we doubt not to auouch the contrarie, that they are no true Presbyters that receiue ordination from ſuch: for their Biſhops are vndoubtedly the Miniſters and officers of Antichriſt: which was the very poſition maintained by *Iohn Huſſe: Sunt procuratores & diſcipuli Antichriſti: Papa, Cardinales, Patriarchæ. Archiepiſcopi, Epiſcopi, &c.* The Pope, Cardinals, Patriarches, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, are the proctors and diſciples of Antichriſt. One of their owne writers, ſpeaking of their Biſhops, ſaith, they are not *Epiſcopi*, but *apoſcopi:* not ouerſeers, but by-ſeers: *Eſpenc.præfat.in* 2.*ad Timoth.* Being then the officers of Antichriſt, they cannot create or ordaine Miniſters for Chriſt.

Secondly, neither is it true, that there are no Miniſters but by the ordination of Biſhops: for this were to condemne all thoſe reformed Churches, of Heluetia, Belgia, Geneua, with others, that haue not receiued this forme of eccleſiaſticall gouernment. Vndoubtedly where godly Biſhops are, there no ordination is to be had without them, as in the Church of England: but euery Church hauing not the ſame office, but others equiualent or correſpondent thereunto, hath full authoritie in it ſelfe, to ordaine Miniſters in ſuch order and manner, as the Church hath receiued, agreeable to the word of God: ſo that we doubt not but that all the reformed Churches profeſſing the Goſpell, haue true and lawfull Miniſters, though they obſerue not all the ſame manner in the election and ordaining of them. And this is the generall conſent of the Churches themſelues:

Harm.ſect.11.Heluetic.confeſſ.latter. Let the Miniſters of the Church be called and choſen, by a lawfull and eccleſiaſticall vocation or election: that is to ſay, let them bee religiouſly choſen of the Church, or of thoſe which thereunto are appointed of the Church, and that in due order.

Heluetic.confeſſ.prior.artic.16. They muſt be choſen either by the diuine ſentence of God, or by the certaine and aduiſed ſuffrage of the Church, or by their ſentence, to whom the Church hath aſſigned this charge.

Confeſſ.Bohem.c.9. They muſt be proued and tried by examination, and ſo afterward prayer and faſting being made, they may be confirmed or approued by the Elders, by laying on of hands.

Confeſſ.Gallic.artic.31. Euery one ought to be admitted thereunto by a lawfull election, ſo neere as may be; and as long, as the Lord giueth leaue, &c. Neuertheleſſe, howſoeuer it be, we beleeue, that this rule is alwaies to be followed, that all Paſtors and Elders ſhould haue a teſtimonie of their calling.

Confeſſ. Anglican. We ſay, that the Miniſter ought lawfully, duely, and orderly to bee preferred to that office of the Church of God.

Confeſſ.Belgic. We beleeue, that the Miniſters, Seniors, Deacons, ought to be called to thoſe their functions, by the lawfull election of the Church: to be aduaunced to thoſe roumes, earneſt prayer being made vnto God, and after the order and manner, which is ſet downe vnto vs in the word of God.

Confeſſ.Scotic.p.22. We affirme lawfull Miniſters to be onely they, that are appointed to the preaching of the word, &c. they being men lawfully choſen thereto by ſome Church.

This then is the iudgement of the reformed Churches, that euery Church is not tied to the ſame manner of ordination of Miniſters, ſo that it be agreeable to the word of God: but according to this rule euery Church may make choiſe of that forme and order which is moſt agreeable to their ſtate: ſo that, where the calling of Biſhops is receiued, by them Miniſters muſt enter; where there are none, the calling of the Church muſt bee followed: Our arguments and reaſons are theſe:

Firſt, out of the Scripture, Act.13.3. certaine prophets and teachers at Antioch lay hands vpon *Paul* and *Barnabas*; the Rhemiſts gather hereupon, *that they were ordered, admitted and conſecrated by them: Annotat.in hunc locum:* (which we ſay not, but they were onely ſent out to the execution of their office, being before choſen of the ſpirit) but hence it followeth: that as at Antioch, there being no other Apoſtles, but onely prophets and teachers, to lay hands vpon *Paul*, the reſt did it: ſo in thoſe Churches where there are no Biſhops, the right of ordaining Miniſters may be executed by others lawfully appointed of the Church.

Argum.2. If it were not ſo, theſe inconueniences would enſue: firſt, that all thoſe reformed Churches ſhould haue no true Miniſters, being without Epiſcopall ordination. Secondly, that they muſt either be denied to be Churches, or elſe a true Church may be without the right power of ordination, which in no wiſe is to be graunted. Thirdly, that thoſe excellent men, *Luther, Melancthon, Caluin*, with others, extraordinarily raiſed vp of God, for the propagation of the Goſpell, ſhould not haue been true Miniſters, becauſe they entred not by that ordination.

Argum.3. That euery Church is left to it owne libertie herein, their owne Canons teſtifie: *Diſtinct.12.c.Mihi placet, vt ſiue in Romana eccleſia, &c.* It liketh me well, that whether in the Romane or French, or in any other Church, you finde any thing, which may better pleaſe almightie God, you make choiſe of it. *Ibid.c.13. Auguſtin. Nec eſt vlla diſciplina melior:* Neither is there any better diſcipline, than for a man ſo to doe, *vt viderit agere eccleſiam*, as he ſeeth the Church to doe, to the which he commeth.

Thirdly, whereas *Bellarmine* ſeemeth to aſcribe ordination wholy to the Biſhop, hee therein is contrarie to his fellow Papiſts: as the Rhemiſts giue this note, vpon that place 1.Timoth.4.14. *By the impoſition of the hands of the prieſthood*, as they tranſlate it, *the practiſe of the Church giueth vs the ſenſe of this place, which the ancient Councell of Carthage doth thus ſet down: When a Prieſt taketh orders, the Biſhop bleſſing him, and holding his hand vpon his head, let all the Prieſts preſent lay alſo their hands on his head by the Biſhops hands, &c. Concil.Carthag.4.c.3.* This interpretation is receiued by *Ioann.Gropperus in Iſagoge*, and allowed by *Eſpencæus* vpon this place.

Their decrees doe further thus teſtifie: *Diſtinct.25.c.6.Epiſcopus ſine concilio clericorum Clericum non ordinet:* The Biſhop muſt not ordaine a Clerke or Miniſter without a Councell or aſſemblie of Clerkes. *Diſtinct.77. Alij ſacerdotes aſſenſum præbeant:* Let other Prieſts beſide the Biſhop giue their conſent. *Cauſ.12.qu.2.c.38.Vrban. Ordinationes factæ ſine communi conſenſu Clericorum irritæ:* Ordinations made without the common conſent of the Clerkes, are voide, &c. This alſo is agreeable to the practiſe of the Church of England, which requireth all the Presbyters preſent to lay on their hands together with the Biſhop vpon his head, that is to be ordained.

Againe, *Decret.Greg.lib.1.tit.13.c.1. Alexand.3. Ordines minores à non Epiſcopis conferuntur:* The leſſe orders (that is, till the Subdeaconſhip) are conferred by them that are no Biſhops. *Ibid.tit.14. c.11. Innocent.3. Abbas ſi eſt preſbyter conferre poteſt ordinem clericalem:* An Abbot in his Monaſterie, if he be a Presbyter may giue orders. Thus we ſee, that by their owne law, there are other Miniſters of orders beſide Biſhops.

Now becauſe I haue entred to make mention of the calling of Biſhops (and there being two chiefe aduerſaries to this dignitie in our Church; the Papiſts that refuſe it as hereticall; the Schiſmatikes that condemne it as Antichriſtian) before I leaue this place, I will briefly deliuer this honorable calling, from both their ſlanders and accuſations.

THAT THE CALLING OF BISHOPS AS IT IS receiued in the Church of England, is not Antichriſtian.

IN the office and calling of Biſhops, ſomewhat is diuine; ſome things are humane; and in popiſh Biſhops there is ſomewhat Antichriſtian: theſe three points, I purpoſe by Gods grace, briefly to declare in order. Firſt then, that it is a diuine ordinance, that among the Miniſters of the Church, there ſhould be a ſuperioritie, and that one ſhould be appointed among the reſt, to whom chiefly, though not ſoly, the impoſition of hands, and adminiſtration of diſcipline did appertaine: thus I truſt to make it euident. Firſt, the Scripture euidently ſheweth, that euen among the Apoſtles themſelues there was a certaine order obſerued: as Galath.2.10. *Iames, Peter, Iohn,* were counted as the chiefe, and as the pillars among the reſt: as Act.15. the aſſemblie of Apoſtles and Elders was moderated by *Iames* and *Peter*. And to this purpoſe ſpeaketh *Cyprian. de ſimplic. Cler. The ſame doubtleſſe were the reſt of the Diſciples, that Peter was, hauing an equall fellowſhip with him, both in honor, and power: but the beginning thereof proceedeth from vnitie, to ſignifie to vs, that there is but one Church.* Againe, who doubteth but that the twelue Apoſtles were in office and calling ſuperiour to the 70. Diſciples, which were alſo ſent forth to preach, Luk.10.1. for elſe what needed another to be choſen in *Iudas* roome, and namely *Mathias*, ſuppoſed by the ancient writers to haue been one of the ſeuentie, if the Apoſtles office had not been greater? If there had been an equalitie, a ſupplie had not been neceſſarie: neither had it been requiſite or fit to remoue *Mathias* from his Diſcipleſhip to an office of the ſame equalitie.

Beſide, the ſeuen Epiſtles written to the ſeuen Churches of Aſia, Reuel.2.3. are directed to the Angels, which are the chiefe paſtors of the Churches, who are in the name of the whole Church blamed and commended, as in whoſe hands the Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline chiefly conſiſted. Saint *Paul* alſo writeth to *Timothie*, as the chiefe paſtor in Epheſus, to whom chiefly the impoſition of hands appertained, 1.Tim.5.22. *Lay hands ſuddenly on no man:* vpon the which place, *Beza* thus noteth, *notandum eſt,* it is to be noted out of this place, that *Timothie* was in the Epheſine presbyterie or Miniſterie, προεστῶτα, the Preſident, or chiefe Paſtor: And to omit here the teſtimonie of the fathers, who all with one conſent affirme *Timothie* to haue beene Biſhop of Epheſus, the ſame is affirmed by the reformed Church of Bohemia, in their confeſſion, *Harm. ſect.* 11. *In like ſort Paul writeth to Timothie a Ruler and a Biſhop.*

2. Secondly, concerning the difference and ſuperioritie of Biſhops, wee haue plentifull euidence from the ancient Church: *Can. Apoſtol.13. Epiſcopus &c.* The Biſhop muſt not leaue *propriã Parochiam*, his proper Church or pariſh; ſo then was his *dioceſſe* called: *Carthag.4.can.35. Epiſcopus &c.* The Biſhop muſt ſitte higheſt in the aſſemblie of the Presbyters: *Cyprian.lib.4.epiſtol.9. Chriſtus dicit ad Apoſtolos, &c.* Chriſt ſaith to his Apoſtles, and conſequently to all gouernors, *præpoſitos*, which ſucceede the Apoſtles *vicaria ordinatione*, as their Vicars or deputies by ordination: *Hieron. ad Ruſticum: Singuli eccleſiarum Epiſcopi, &c.* In euery Church but one or a ſingle Biſhop, one archpresbyter, one archdeacon, &c. as in a ſhip but one gouernour, in an houſe one maſter; in an armie, one Captaine. *Ambroſe in 1. Timoth.3.* after a Biſhop he ſetteth the ordination of a Deacon, and why? becauſe there is but one ordination of a Biſhop and a Presbyter, for each of them is a Prieſt: *Epiſcopus tamen inter Preſbyteros primus:* But a Biſhop is the firſt or chiefe among the Presbyters. But the teſtimonies of the fathers concerning the antiquitie of Biſhops is infinite: who liſteth to ſee further, I referre him to the learned treatiſe of a reuerend writer of our Church, written of the perpetuall gouernement of Chriſts Church.

B.Bilſon.c.13. p.263. & deinceps.

3. Thirdly, let vs ſee the conſent of the reformed Churches, and the writers thereof. M. *Caluin epiſtol.87.* written to the Lord Protector of England, *Epiſcopi & parochi &c.* Let the Biſhops and the pariſh Miniſters be eſpecially intent, that the Supper of the Lord be not polluted: *epiſtol.190. To the King of Polonia: Eſſent deinde vel prouinciales, &c.* If there were prouincial or citie Biſhops, which ſhould eſpecially be intent to conſerue order, as nature teacheth, that one ſhould be choſen

ſen out of euery college, to whom the chiefe care ſhould belong : and *epiſt.199. Fratres noſtri Epiſcopi, &c.* Our brethren the Biſhops of England are deteyned in priſon: So farre was this godly learned man from counting our Biſhops Antichriſtian, that he giueth them the name of brethren. Likewiſe M. *Beza This was eſſentiall in the matter we haue in hand, that by Gods perpetuall ordinance it hath beene, is, & ſhall be neceſſarie, that ſome in the presbyterie, firſt in place and dignitie ſhould moderate and rule euery action, with that right which by Gods law is giuen vnto him: in reſponſ. ad tract. de Miniſtror. gradib. c.23. fol.*153. So alſo the reformed Church of *Sueueland* confeſſeth : *Such as haue an earneſt care for the flocke of Chriſt, and do labour faithfully in the word and doctrine, &c. are acknowledged of our Preachers for true Biſhops; ſuch as the Scripture euery where ſpeaketh of.* Thus it appeareth, that to haue ſuperioritie among the Miniſters of the Goſpel, that one ſhould be chiefe and aboue the reſt, is by Scripture, conſent of the ancient and new reformed Churches found to be diuine and Apoſtolicall.

Secondly, I affirmed ſomewhat in the calling of Biſhops, to ariſe rather of humane conſtitution, than of diuine preſcription : as it appeareth by theſe particulars following.

1. Firſt, that Biſhops were ſubiected to their Primates and Metropolitanes, was an ordinance of the Church : as *Hierom* teſtifieth *lib. de 7. ordinibus* ; or who els is the author : *Propter hoc & nuper, &c.* For this cauſe the Epiſcopall election of late was referred to the Metropolitane, &c. and the chiefe Prieſts begin not of right, but of neceſſitie to ſuffer another Prieſt ouer them.

2. *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. c.*8. It is thus alleadged out of *Iſidore*, *Solam propter authoritatem, &c.* Onely for authorities ſake to the chiefe Prieſt is reſerued the ordination of Clearkes, &c.

3. In the ſame place, *Conſecratio virginum*, the conſecration of virgines is for the ſame cauſe reſerued alſo : but this is now out of vſe in our Church.

4. Of the ſame ſort is confirmation, as *Hierome* witneſſeth, *aduerſ. Luciferian. Si hoc loco quæras, &c.* If thou aske in this place, wherefore he that is baptized receiueth onely the holy Ghoſt by the hands of a Biſhop, know, that this obſeruation is rather for the honour of the Prieſthood, then neceſſitie of any law.

5. *Hierome* againe in the ſame place, *Inde venit, &c.* From thence it commeth, that is to auoid ſchiſme, that without the Biſhop bid, neyther a presbyter or deacon may baptize : but this vſe, as very iniurious to the office of Miniſters, is diſcontinued in our Church.

6. The titles of honor giuen to Biſhops haue the ſame beginning as *Auguſtine* witneſſeth *epiſtol.19. ad Hieronym. Secundum honorum vocabula*, according to the names of honor, which eccleſiaſticall vſe hath obtained, a Biſhops office is greater than a Prieſts.

7. Of the ſame kind are the poſſeſſions and reuenues of Biſhops, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Vix vigeſima particula &c.* That portion which I had from my parents, is hardly the 20. part in compariſon of the mannors of the Church, which I am held now as Lord to enioy, *epiſt.5.*

8. The diſtinction alſo and diuiſion of Dioceſſes is grounded vpon the ancient cuſtome of the Church : *decret. part.2. cauſ.9. qu.3. c.2. Vnumquemq; Epiſcopum, &c.* It behooueth euery Biſhop to haue power ouer his owne Dioceſſe, and of the region which is vnder his citie : *ex Concil. Antiochen.*

9. Certaine cauſes as matrimoniall and teſtamentarie haue by the fauour of Chriſtian Emperours beene reſerued to Biſhops, as *Cod. lib.1. tit.6. leg.*28. *Anthemius* thus decreed : *That where there is no executor appointed, the Biſhop ſhall diſtribute the goods.*

10. *Hierome* ſaith, *in 1. cap. epiſt. ad Titum. That whereas at the firſt Presbyters with common aduice, and equall care guided the Church vnder the Apoſtles, Paulatim ad vnum, &c.* the whole care thereof was by little and little deriued to one. To this it is further thus added by a reuerent learned man, now a B. of our Church : *So at length by cuſtome Presbyters were vtterly excluded from all aduice and counſell, whereof Ambroſe complayneth, and Biſhops onely intermedled with the regiment of the Church: this manner of ſubiection in Presbyters, and prelation in Biſhops grew onely in continuance of time, and not by any ordinance of Chriſt or his Apoſtles:* See more of this matter, *Contr.5. qu.3. part.2.* of the difference of Miniſters.

B.Bilſon.c.12. p.237.

Theſe and other ſuch like additions, priuiledges and increaſing of the dignitie of Biſhops, grounded rather vpon cuſtome then any commandement, do not yet make that function vnlawfull or Antichriſtian : To this wee haue the conſent of other reformed Churches : *Harm. ſect.*11. Confeſſion of *Sweueland* ; *Our Preachers haue great iniurie offered them, in that they are blamed, as though they ſought to bring the authoritie of eccleſiaſticall Prelates to nothing, whereas they neuer forbadde them, that worldly gouernement, and authoritie, which they haue; but they haue often wiſhed, that they would come neerer the eccleſiaſticall commandements, &c. ſect.16. confeſſ. Auſpurg. We do not goe about to weaken the authoritie of eccleſiaſticall power, we detract nothing from the dignitie of Biſhops, wee do not diſturbe the good order of the Church* : Againe, *ſect.*17. in the confeſſion of Auſpurg. *The Churches do not deſire of the Biſhops, that they would repayre peace and concord with the loſſe of their honour, which yet good Paſtors ought to do, onely they deſire, that they would remit vniuſt burdens, &c.* If the calling then of Biſhops were Antichriſtian, all theſe Churches ſhould be no leſſe, that allow them.

3. Thirdly, I will now in the third place ſhewe the difference betweene Proteſtant Biſhops, and Popiſh Biſhops, that it way appeare wherein indeed theſe are worthily counted Antichriſtian.

1. Popiſh Biſhops receiue their power from the Beaſt, and doe fight vnder Antichriſts banner: ſo doe not our Biſhops, who expect not any forraine ordination, but are made ouerſeers by the ſpirit of God, directing & gouerning euery true Church, according to the Scriptures, Act. 20. 28.

2. Popiſh Biſhops are maintainers of corrupt doctrine, and enemies to the faith, contrarie to the Scriptures, Tit. 1. 9. Saint *Paules* biſhop *muſt hold faſt the faithfull word according to doctrine:* So are our Biſhops defenders and preachers of the truth.

3. Popiſh Biſhops for the moſt part are vnlearned and vnpreaching Prelates, and iuſtified herein by their owne writers, *Rhemiſt. annot. in* 1. *Tim. v.* 17. contrarie to the Scriptures: *A biſhop muſt be apt to teach,* 1. Timoth. 3. 2. But our Biſhops are preachers; there is not one at this day in the Church of England, but is both able, and doth preach: which is the moſt weightie parte, and giueth greateſt grace to their paſtorall office: for whome we doe pray, that God would giue them grace both in their life and doctrine *to ſet forth his holy word:* as Saint *Paul* warneth *Timothie, Preach the worde, be inſtant, in ſeaſon, out of ſeaſon:* according alſo to the Canons, *Carthag.* 4. *can.* 1. *Epiſcopus, &c.* A Biſhop muſt onely attend vpon reading, prayer, and preaching of the worde.

4. Popiſh biſhops muſt aſcend by ſeuen ſteppes or degrees: firſt, hee muſt be a Doorekeeper, then a Reader, then an Exorciſt, an Acolythiſt, a Subdeacon, Deacon, Prieſt, and laſt of all a Biſhop, *ex decr. Gaij.* But our biſhops aſcend but by two degrees, of Presbyters and Deacons, according to the Scriptures, which deſcribe the office only of Biſhops, vnder them alſo comprehending Presbyters and Deacons, as degrees of the miniſterie, 1. Tim. 3. 2. 12.

5. Popiſh Biſhops are ſuperſtitiouſly conſecrated, with the annointing of oile, they haue their mitre, pall, croſſe, crozier ſtaffe, with other ſuperſtitious ornaments contrarie to the Scripture, 1. Tim. 1. 6. *Timothie* was ordained onely by impoſition of handes: ſo are our Biſhops conſecrated, with impoſition of hands and prayer.

6. The popiſh Prelates doe reſerue vnto themſelues for their aduantage, many ſuperſtitious rites and cuſtomes, as to baptize belles, to dedicate Churches, to annoint with Chriſme, and ſuch like: which things Saint *Paules* Biſhop hath no charge of, 1. Tim. 3. neither haue our Biſhops any thing to doe with ſuch things.

7. Popiſh Prelates are as Lordes ouer their flocke, ouerruling their faith; and the Clergie and people are as their ſubiects, nay which is more, their ſlaues: contrarie to the Apoſtle, 2. Cor. 1. 24. *Not that we haue dominion ouer your faith:* and 1. Pet. 5. 3. *Not as though ye were Lords ouer Gods inheritance.* But ſo are not our Biſhops, who diſdaine not in the ordaining of miniſters, to call them *brethren:* as *Hierome* ſaith, *Pontifices Chriſti, &c.* We reuerence Biſhops, preaching the true faith, not with the feare of Maſters, but with the honour of Fathers; that wee may yeeld reuerence to Biſhops as Biſhops, and not vnder one name to ſerue another: *Hieron. ad Theophylact.*

8. Saint *Paules* Biſhop muſt be φιλάγαθος, *a louer of good men,* Tit. 1. 8. So are not popiſh Prelates, who hate to death the profeſſours of the Goſpell of Chriſt: So doe not our Biſhops; I doubt not but many among them are patrons and louers of the truth.

9. Popiſh Prelates take vpon them to diſpenſe Indulgences, to forgiue ſinnes for dayes, moneths, yeares; by their owne power to acquite and diſcharge ſinners. But our Biſhops take not vpon them to be conferrers or beſtowers of Gods graces or mercies, but according to the Scriptures, to be as Miniſters by whome the people beleeue, 1. Cor. 3. 5. *as diſpoſers of the ſecrets of God,* 1. Cor. 4. 1. *as helpers of our ioy,* 2. Cor. 1. 24.

10. Saint *Paules* Biſhops muſt be readie to *ſuffer aduerſitie for the truth,* 2. Timoth. 4. 5. ſo doe not popiſh Prelates, who haue made many martyrs, but themſelues neuer were martyrs of or for the truth: but many of our Biſhops haue been faithfull martyrs, and ſuffered for the truth, as B. *Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Ferrar,* of bleſſed memorie.

11. Saint *Pauls* Biſhop beleeueth and is perſwaded, that the Scriptures ſufficiently containe all doctrine neceſſarie to ſaluation, 2. Tim. 3. 15, 17. So alſo doe our Biſhops profeſſe in their conſecration, as is euident in the booke of Orders: but ſo doe not the popiſh Prelates beleeue, neither are they ſo perſwaded, holding many vnwritten traditions neceſſarie beſide Scripture.

12. Our Biſhops doe profeſſe, when they are conſecrated, *To teach nothing as required of neceſſitie to eternall ſaluation, but that they are perſwaded may be concluded, and prooued by the Scriptures:* according as S. *Paul* ſaith to *Timothie,* 2. Timoth. 3. 14. *Continue thou in all things, which thou haſt learned, and art perſwaded of, knowing of whome thou haſt learned them:* But popiſh Prelates doe binde mens conſciences to obſerue their own traditions, as the Church of Saxonie complaineth in their confeſſion: *The Biſhops take to themſelues authoritie to ordaine new kindes of worſhip, and to bind conſciences, Harmon. ſect.* 17.

13. Saint *Paules* Biſhop is required to be *ſober, watching, modeſt;* ſo is it demanded of our Biſhops

in their conſecration: ***Will you denie vngodlineſſe and worldly luſtes, and liue ſoberly?*** Such are not popiſh Prelates, who forcing themſelues to keepe the violent vowe of ſingle life, are many of them detected of incontinent and adulterous life: as Pope *Iohn* 13. was wounded and ſlaine in adulterie, ***Luitprand.lib.****6*. Two adulterous Biſhops of the Tridentine Councell, were ſlaine in adulterie: ***ex proteſtat. concion. German.***

14. Popiſh Prelates take to themſelues authoritie to giue power vnto Prieſts, ***to make the bodie of Chriſt***, and ***to offer ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead:*** for this is the very forme of the order of popiſh prieſthood inuented by man, and not grounded vpon the word of God: but our Biſhops do ordaine miniſters to be ***faithfull diſpenſers of the word of God, and of his holy ſacraments:*** agreeable to the Scriptures, 1.Tim.4.13. *Giue attendance to reading, to exhortation, doctrine:* 2.Tim.4.2. ***Preach the word, &c.***

15. Popiſh Prelates neglecting their Epiſcopall office, take vpon them the vſe of both ſwords: as to be captaines and leaders of armies, muſter maſters: Such an one was ***Henry Spencer, anno*** 1380. or thereabout, that was Pope *Vrbanes* captaine Generall, and in his owne perſon fought the Popes battailes: *Fox.p.446.* Such an one was *Theodorike* Biſhop of Colen, that waged many battailes. Cardinall *Ballua* vnder *Lodouic.* 11. King of Fraunce, tooke generall muſter of the ſouldiers at Paris: whereupon one *Chabanus* a Courtier merrily ſaid to the King: ***Send me, I pray you, to his Biſhopricke to conſecrate Prieſts, for I may as well doe that, as he muſter ſouldiers: Eſpenc. digreſſ. in*** 1. ***ad Tim. lib.****3.c.6.* And it is not long ſince a Cardinall was Lieutenant of the king of Spaine his forces in the Low countreys. But Saint *Pauls* biſhop muſt ***be no fighter,*** 1.Tim.3.3. neither are the Proteſtants biſhops ſuch.

16. Popiſh Prelates doe moſt tyrannically compell their Clergie to liue vnmarried, and to forſake their wiues to whome they were coupled, as is euident in the ſtories of ***Lanfranke*** and ***Anſelme*** Biſhops of Canterburie; contrarie to the Apoſtle, Heb.13.4. ***Marriage is honorable among all:*** But our Biſhops enforce no ſuch thing.

17. Popiſh Prelates are moſt groſſe idolatours, falling downe before ſtockes and ſtones, commaunding the people to doe the like: contrarie to the Apoſtle, 1. Ioh.5.21. ***Keepe your ſelues from idols:*** But our Biſhops are free from all idolatrie.

18. Popiſh Prelates doe take themſelues and their Clergie to be exempted from the ciuill power: contrary to the Apoſtle, Rom.13.1. ***Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers:*** ſo are not our Biſhops, who doe moſt willingly ſubmit themſelues to the lawes of the Prince, and at their conſecration bind themſelues by oath thereunto.

19. Popiſh Prelates are capable to be Lord Cardinals, and ſo to inſult aboue their brethren and fellow Biſhops, and to be the Popes agents and factors; contrarie to the Apoſtle, who reprooueth ***Diotrephes*** for louing to haue the preheminence, Iohn Epiſt. 3.9. And *Hierome* ſaith, ***Whereſoeuer a Biſhop is, whether at Rome, Eugubium, Conſtantinople, they are of the ſame merite or worthineſſe of the ſame Prieſthood: Hieron. Euagr.*** But our Biſhops are capable of no ſuch proud or ambitious title.

20. Popiſh Biſhops and Cardinals are capable of the papacie, the ſeate and throne of Antichriſt and Satan; for they are not true Biſhops: as *Antipas* was ſlaine, euen where Satans throne was, becauſe he kept the name of Chriſt, and did not ſit in Satans throne: Reuel.2.13. And our Biſhops at their conſecration do renounce and diſdaine the power and iuriſdiction of all forraine Prelates, Potentates, and ſo doe not communicate at all with that throne of Satan.

In theſe and many other materiall points, doe our Biſhops differ from the popiſh Prelates: and yet if they agreed with them in all other matters, and diſſented only in doctrine and faith, it were ſufficient to cleare and diſcharge them from their ſlaunderous accuſation of Antichriſtianiſme: for where Satans throne is not, there cannot Antichriſt ſit: and where Chriſtes name is kept, his faith not denyed, but ſincerely taught, there Satans throne is not, Reuelat. 2. 13. Therefore the Church of England, profeſſing the true doctrine and faith of Chriſt, is not vnder the kingdome of Antichriſt: and ſo I conclude with that ſaying, ***Nicen. concil.****2.****can.****2.* ***Noſtræ Hierarchiæ ſubſtantia, &c.*** The ſubſtance of our Hierarchie are the heauenly words, that is, the true knowledge of the diuine Scriptures: the Church and Miniſterie then of England hauing the ſubſtance of the true miniſterie, cannot be iudged Antichriſtian: neither are our Biſhops the miniſters of Antichriſt, being preachers and profeſſours of the true faith. Now I will proceed.

THE FIFT PART, OF THE Ceremonies.

The Papiſts.

THey doe annoynt the hands of ſuch as are ordained, with oyle, and do inioyne them to ſhaue their crownes. And the higher degree of prieſthood they haue, ſo much broader muſt their ſhauen crowne be, ***Tileman. Heſhuſ. loc.****14.* ***Err.****5.* ***Bellarm. cap.****12.* 111.Error.

The Proteſtants.

WE haue the ſame opinion of theſe ceremonies, as we haue of the popiſh orders themſelues, counting them worthie of no place in the Church of God. As for the ſuperſtitious cuſtome of annoynting, it is a Iewiſh rite, better beſeeming *Aarons* order, than the Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt. Looke how he was annoynted, ſo are we: of him it is ſaid, *The ſpirit of the Lord is vpon me, becauſe he hath annoynted me*, Luk.4.18. So the inward working of the ſpirit is our annoynting, 1.Iohn 2.27. Againe, in diuers places of the Scripture wee reade of ordaining by impoſition of hands, Act.13.3. 1.Tim.4.14.and 5.22. 2.Tim.1.6. But there is no mention at all made of annoynting with oyle.

And as for the ſhauing of the crowne, it is worſe than a Iewiſh ceremonie: for it ſeemeth to haue taken beginning from the Heathen: and the Iewes were forbidden to cut or make bald their heads, Deuter.14.1. Leuit.19.28. In ſo much, as it was a ſigne of more holines amongſt them not to ſuffer the raſor to come vpon their heads, as it is to be ſeene in the law of the Nazarites, Numbers 6. The reſt of the queſtions that concerne the calling of Miniſters, we haue entreated of more at large, Controuerſ.5.of Eccleſiaſticall perſons.

Concil.Eliberin.can.55.Sacerdotes, qui tantum ſacrificantium coronam portant, nec ſacrificant idolis, placuit poſt biennium communionem accipere: Prieſts, that haue only a ſhauen crowne like idolatrous ſacrificers, and yet doe not ſacrifice to Idols, after two yeeres may receiue the Communion. Wee ſee that by this Canon they are cenſured, that had ſhorne crownes.

*Decret.Gregor.lib.1.tit.15.c.1.Innocent.*3. Among the Greekes, *Non conſueuerunt pontifices cùm conſecrantur inungi:* Biſhops, when they are conſecrated, are not annoynted. If it were an Apoſtolike inſtitution, it would haue been generally obſerued in all Churches.

Cauſ.12.qu.1.c.7. Hanc coronam habent ab inſtitutione Romanæ eccleſiæ: They haue their ſhauen crowne from the inſtitution of the Romane Church. Then not from the inſtitution of the Apoſtles.

Magiſter ſententiar.lib.4.diſt.24.b. Tonſuræ eccleſiaſticæ vſus à Nazaræis exortus videtur: The vſe of Eccleſiaſticall tonſure or ſhauing ſeemeth to haue taken beginning from the Nazarites. How then can it be a ceremonie of the Goſpell, being altogether a Iudaicall rite? Nay the Iewes neuer ſo abounded in ſuperſtitious obſeruations and fooliſh ſignifications. The Prieſts ſhauing firſt (they ſay) betokeneth that they are as it were Kings of the Church, which is ſignified by the crowne, to rule themſelues and others: And ſo indeede popiſh prelates haue taken vpon them to be Kings indeede, exalting themſelues aboue Kings and Princes: *Cauſ.12.qu.1.c.7.* Secondly, *Raſio capitis eſt temporalium omnium depoſitio:* The ſhauing of the head ſignifieth the laying aſide of al temporall things: *ibid.* This did well appeare in their cloiſtered ſhauelings, that had ſcraped together the riches of the land. Thirdly, *Denudatio capitis eſt reuelatio mentis:* The baring of the head ſignifieth the reuealing of the minde, that they ſhould not be ignorant of Gods ſecrets: *Magiſter ſententiar.ibid.* And no marueile, their ſhaueling Prieſts were ſuch great Clerkes. Fourthly, their ſhauing betokened the mortifying of the fleſh, and the ſubduing of vice: *Magiſt.ibid.* The vncleane ſtories of Monkiſh liues do well make proofe of their mortification. Thus wee ſee how vnlike they are in their workes, to the meaning of their ſhauen crownes vpon their heads. The ſuperſtitious Iewes themſelues may well laugh at ſuch toyes.

To this agreeth the iudgement of the holy Martyrs: ***Robert Smith*** holy Martyr: *As for your ſhauing, annoynting, greaſing, polling, rounding: there are no ſuch things appointed in Gods booke: and therefore I haue nothing to doe, to beleeue your orders. And as for you my Lord, if you had grace or intelligence, you would not ſo disfigure your ſelfe, as you doe: Fox p.*1693.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF EXTREAME VNCtion. Firſt, whether it be a ſacrament. Secondly, of the efficacie. Thirdly, of the ceremonies.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER EXtreame Vnction be a Sacrament.

The Papiſts.

112.Error. THat extreame Vnction is rightly and properly a Sacrament, which is (ſay they) the annointing of thoſe that are extreame ſicke, to aſſure them of remiſſion of their ſinnes: it was concluded in the Chapter of *Trent.ſeſſ.*14.*can.*1.and is generally maintained by the Church of Rome, *Bellarm.cap.*2.

Argum. Iam.5.14. The Sacrament of extreame Vnction in this place is plainly promulgated by the Apoſtle, being inſtituted before by our Sauiour Chriſt, Mark.6.13. For here is remiſſion of ſinnes promiſed to the outward element, that is, the annoynting of the ſicke with oyle: *Ergo*, a Sacrament, *Rhemiſt.*

*Anſ.*1. This annoynting of oyle, was a ſigne onely of the miraculous gift of healing, that was then in the Church, and therefore was no longer to continue, than the gift it ſelfe. But it is not like, will they ſay, that euery one of the Elders had this miraculous gift of healing. *Anſ.* Though euery particular Elder perhaps had it not, yet the whole companie of the Elderſhip might haue it, as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of the gift of propheſie giuen to the Elderſhip, 1. Tim. 4. 14. And it is not like that the Apoſtle would haue promiſed health by calling for the Elders, if the gift had not been generall in euery congregation.

*Anſw.*2. Neither is remiſſion of ſinnes annexed to the element, but to the exerciſe of prayer made in faith. The prayer of faith, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſhall heale the ſicke.

Bellarmine on the contrarie ſide laboureth to proue, that this place of Iames cannot be vnderſtood of the miraculous gift of healing. Firſt, if it had been a miraculous gift, it ſhould haue been more generall, not onely to cure ſicke folke, but the blind alſo and lame.

Contra. 1. As though there were not diuers miraculous gifts, which were not all in euery one, neither was it requiſite ſo to be. Saint *Paul* diſtinguiſheth the gifts of the ſpirit, as one hath the gift of healing, another the operation of great workes, 1. Corinth. 12. 9, 10. as to caſt out diuels, to heale thoſe which were borne blinde, and ſuch like: doth it follow now, that hee which had the one, muſt needes alſo haue the other? 2. The Ieſuite controuleth the wiſedome of our Sauiour Chriſt, who although he endued his Apoſtles with a generall power to worke miracles, yet gaue them this gift, that by this ſpeciall meane the annoynting the ſicke with oyle, they ſhould heale them. Mark. 6. 13.

Bellarm. 2. If the Apoſtle had ſpoken of a miraculous gift, he would not haue preſcribed them the matter to worke by, namely oyle.

Contra. By this reaſon, that gift of healing, which the Apoſtles vſed, Mark. 6. 13. ſhould not be miraculous, becauſe there alſo, they are preſcribed oyle: nor that, which is promiſed, Mark. 16. 18. becauſe there is a preſcription alſo, how they ſhall lay their hands vpon the ſicke, and ſo heale them.

Bellarm. 3. If it had bin a miraculous gift, it ſhould haue neuer failed, but they alwaies ſhould haue recouered bodily health, and ſo none ſhould haue dyed in the Apoſtles time.

Contra. 1. As though the miraculous gifts, which were then giuen vnto men, were infinite, and not rather meaſured, and directed according to Gods will: The Apoſtles had power giuen them to caſt out diuels, Mark. 3. 15. yet could they not caſt out a dumbe ſpirit, Mark. 9. 18. So that their miraculous giftes, then, and ſo often, and for the moſt part tooke place, when it pleaſed God, when hee ſaw it to be to his glorie, and needfull for his Church. 2. Neither doth it followe, that they which were thus once healed, ſhould alwaies be healed, and ſo neuer dye: no more then *Lazarus*, who was once raiſed out of the graue, was preſerued from death, who afterward notwithſtanding dyed.

Bellarm. 4. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh in direct termes of forgiuing of ſinnes: therefore ſpirituall health is here vnderſtood, rather than corporall.

Contra. We graunt, that remiſſion of ſinnes did concurre with the outward miraculous gift, at the feruent prayers of the faithfull. For how could the diſeaſe be cured, if the cauſe thereof, which was ſin, were not firſt remoued? but it followeth not, that the gift of bodily health was not therefore miraculous: For Chriſt, whom he healed bodily, to many of them alſo he forgaue their ſinnes, yet did hee heale by miracle, as Mark. 2. 5. Chriſt ſaith to the ſicke of the palſey, *thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee:* he healed him both bodily and ghoſtly: ſhall wee ſay therefore, that he was not cured miraculouſly? Wherefore it remaineth, as wee anſwered before, that this gift of healing, which Saint *Iames* ſpeaketh of, was miraculous, and ſo proueth no Sacrament: for it is all one with that gift, which the Apoſtles exerciſed, Mark. 6. which cannot be denied but to haue bin miraculous.

Thus much alſo is confeſſed: *Interrelig. Cæſarea. cap.* 19. *Inter initia fidei externa quoque corporis ſanitas, quaſi internæ ſanationis ſignum conſequebatur, &c.* In the beginning, and ſpringing vp of faith, the outward health of the bodie did followe as a ſigne of the inward healing: *Quemadmodum in alijs ſacramentis ad confirmationem rudis fidei interna virtus, externis ſignis & miraculis demonſtrabatur:* As in other Sacraments, for the confirmation of their weake faith, the inward vertue was ſhewed forth by outward ſignes and miracles: which are not needfull now. The gift of healing then was a miracle.

The Proteſtants.

EXtreame Vnction is no conuenient ceremonie at all to be vſed in the Church, as tending to ſuperſtition, and breeding a vaine confidence in terrene elements: much leſſe is it to be holden for a Sacrament.

Argum. 1. It hath no inſtitution from Chriſt: for they themſelues confeſſe, that Mark. 6. 13. there is but a preparatiue to the Sacrament of extreame Vnction, *Rhemiſt.* the promulgation and publiſhing thereof is ſet forth by the Apoſtle, Iam.5. But this is not to be admitted, that Chriſt was a preparer of Sacraments onely, and that they were perfited and finiſhed by his Apoſtles: nay, they were not to adde any thing to the inſtitution of Sacraments, but to take them as Chriſt deliuered them, 1.Cor.11.23.

The Maſter of the Sentences ſaith: *Sacramentum vnctionis infirmerum, &c.* The Sacrament of annoynting the ſicke, is read to haue been inſtituted of the Apoſtles. Then is it no Sacrament, for Chriſt onely is the author of the Sacraments: as *Bellarmine* proueth at large, *lib.1. de Sacrament. in genere. c.*24. And it was thus decreed, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.7. c.1. Siquis dixerit Sacramenta noua legis non eſſe omnia à Ieſu Chriſto inſtituta, anathema:* If any man ſay that the Sacraments of the new Teſtament were not at all inſtituted of Chriſt, let him be accurſed. How then doth *Bellarmine* and the reſt auoide this curſe, that doe hold this Sacrament to haue been inſtituted by the Apoſtles? There are two opinions among them: ſome thinke that the annoynting, ſpoken of Mark.6.13. and the other mentioned Iam.5. to be all one: *ſic Thomas Waldenſ. Alphonſus de caſtro lib. de Hæreſib.* Others of them doe thinke, that that, which *Marke* ſpeaketh of, was not *Vnctio ſacramentalis*, a ſacramentall Vnction, but onely a figure and ſhadow of it: *ſic Ruardus in explicat. artic.* 12. *Ianſenius in Mark.6. Dominicus à Soto. diſtinct.23. qu.1. artic.*1. the Rhemiſts alſo and *Bellarmine.* Thus we ſee how well they agree among themſelues.

Againe, the place in *Iames* maketh nothing for their popiſh aneeling: for the Apoſtle would haue all the Elders called: but one prieſt is ſufficient to bring your oyntment boxe. Secondly, if any man be ſicke, ſaith Saint *Iames*, though it be not deadly or mortall ſicknes, but whenſoeuer he is ſicke: But your Vnction is neuer miniſtred before the poynt of death. Thirdly, here health is certainly promiſed: But not one amongſt ten recouereth after your popiſh aneeling.

*Argum.*2. Chriſt vſed ſometime clay, and ſpittle, ſometime other elements in healing the diſeaſed, as the Apoſtles vſed oyle: why, I pray you then, may not they bee Sacraments as well as this? for they were ſignes of healing but for a time: no more was the annoynting with oyle.

Bellarmine anſwereth, there is not the like reaſon: firſt, thoſe other ceremonies are not commanded to be frequented as this of oyle is, Iam.5. Secondly, there is no promiſe of ſpirituall grace annexed to them, as vnto this. Thirdly, neither is the certaine Miniſter of thoſe ceremonies deſcribed, as the Elders, that is the Prieſts, are of this, Iam.5.

Contra. Firſt, you cannot proue an inſtitution of a Sacrament out of that place of *Iames*, ſeeing Chriſt, and not the Apoſtles, is the author of Sacraments: There is no Sacrament of the Goſpell which is not grounded both vpon the example and precept of Chriſt: but ſo is not your aneeling.

Secondly, the other elements, which Chriſt vſed, haue thoſe three things required: firſt, our Sauiour vſed ſpittle diuers times: as Mark.7.33. in healing the dumbe man, Mark.8.23. in curing the blinde man. Here is an iteration of the ſame element. Secondly, it hath alſo an infallible effect: for it healeth both dumbnes and blindnes. Thirdly, the Miniſter thereof is certaine, Chriſt himſelfe.

Thirdly: firſt, the ſpirituall grace promiſed, is not annexed to oyle, but to the prayer of faith, Iam.1.15. Neither can it be proued, that all thoſe Elders were Miniſters, or, as they call thē *Prieſts:* for diuers of the faithfull, which were not Miniſters, had the gift of healing: as it appeareth, Mark.16.18. *These ſignes ſhall follow them that beleeue, &c. they ſhall lay their hands vpon the ſicke, and they ſhall recouer.* But all beleeuers were not Miniſters.

August. in Pſal. 40.

Auguſtine ſaith, *De latere Chriſti in cruce ſacramenta eccleſiæ profluxerunt:* The Sacraments of the Church iſſued out of Chriſts ſide vpon the Croſſe: There guſhed out of his ſide, water and blood: but we reade not that any oyle was ſhed from him: therefore by *Auguſtines* argument, Vnction is no Sacrament.

*Innocent.1. Epiſtol.1. can.*8. ſaith, that this cuſtome in annoynting with oyle, *genus eſt ſacramenti*, is a kind of Sacrament. It is not then properly a Sacrament, but after a certaine kind and manner. This is rehearſed, *diſtinct.95. c.3.*

Wee haue alſo the ſeale of the holy Martyrs: *Iames Bainham* Martyr, being asked what hee thought concerning the Sacrament of aneeling: he anſwered: *It was but a ceremonie, neither did he wot what a man ſhould be the better for ſuch an oyling and annoynting: Fox* pag.1028.

Iohn Denley, Iohn Newman, Patricke Pachingham, holie Martyrs, condemned to death, for affirming, that the annoynting, and aneeling of the ſicke, was not allowable by the word of God: *Fox* pag.1684. col.2.

THE

THE SECOND PART, OF THE MATTER and forme of extreame Vnction.

The Papiſts.

THe matter is oyle oliue conſecrated by the Biſhop, not ſimple, or vnhallowed, as is water in baptiſme: the forme is in theſe words: *By this holy vnction, and by his moſt godly mercy, God forgiue you,&c. Bellarm.c.7.* 112.Error.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt as touching the forme: 1. It is not warranted, nor found in Scripture, as the words of conſecration in the other Sacraments are, and therefore we refuſe it. 2. It is blaſphemous, matching the beggerly annointing, and Gods mercy together, and ſo ioyne the creature and Creator in commiſſion together.

Secondly, for the matter: 1. The element is not conſecrated, but in the vſe of the Sacrament: 1. Cor. 10. 16. bread is *bleſſed in the breaking:* therefore that forerunning hallowing of oyle is ſuperſtitious and ſuperfluous. 2. If ſimple water ſerue for Baptiſme being ſo excellent a Sacrament, much more may ſimple oyle ſuffice for your vnction. 3. Your canons alſo allow the ſprinkling of water as well as oyle vpon the ſicke. *decr.p.3.d.4.c.127. Aſpergi &c. the ſicke are bid to be ſprinkled.&c.*

THE THID PART, OF THE EFFECT and vertue of extreame Vnction.

The Papiſts.

FIrſt, it giueth health of bodie. Secondly, it wipeth away the reliques of ſinne: And therefore the prieſt thus ſaith: *Per iſtam ſanctam Vnctionem, & ſuam piiſſimam miſericordiam, indulgeat tibi Deus quicquid deliquiſti per viſum,&c.* By the vertue of this holy oyntment, and the moſt mercifull fauour of God, the Lord forgiue thee, what thou haſt offended by the ſight, hearing, &c. *Bellarm.cap* 7.8. 113.Error.

The Proteſtants.

1. YOur popiſh aneeling is not able to heale the bodie, as we ſee by daily experience: for more die then liue after your annointing: and they that doe recouer ſhould doe as well without your aneeling. Wherefore this annointing of oyle is not like to that vſed by the Apoſtles: for then health certainely followed, Iam.5.14.

Heere alſo the papiſts themſelues are deuided: ſome thinke, that the health of the bodie is the proper ende of this their Sacrament: *Dominicus à Soto diſtinct.* 23. *qu.* 1. *art* 2. *Bellarmine* with other thinketh, that the health of the ſoule is the peculiar ende: and the health of the bodie conditionally, ſo farre forth as it is expedient for the ſoule.

Sotus replieth, many times he that is aneeled, is more wicked then before, how then is it to the health of his ſoule? *Bellarmine,* when this falleth out, he obtaineth not health by the Sacrament, but by ſome other naturall meanes. *Contra.* Then it would follow, that other naturall meanes applied, are more effectuall for the health of the bodie, then your Sacrament is; ſeeing they may giue health, when the Sacrament doth not: ſo then ſeeing your extreame aneeling doth not alwaies giue health, by your owne confeſſion, it is no effect of a Sacrament; for the Sacrament alwaies worketh Sacramentally, where it is not otherwiſe hindred for want of faith: but many a faithfull man may be aneeled, and yet die, in whom there is no ſuch let: and many a wicked man may recouer his health, in whom the impediment is found, namely, the lacke of faith.

2. It is alſo a great blaſphemie, to aſcribe remiſſion of ſinnes to a terrene and beggerly element: The Apoſtle ſaith, not the oyle, *but the praier of faith ſhall ſaue the ſicke.* The Scriprure alſo teſtifyeth, that the iuſt ſhall liue by faith, Rom.1.17. And we walke by faith, not by ſight, 2.Cor. 5.7. But he that aſcribeth remiſſion of ſinnes to oyle or any other externall element, walketh by ſight, not by faith.

Heere againe the popiſh diuines are put to their trumpes; and much ſcanning there is among them, what manner of ſinnes are remitted by extreame vnction: ſome ſay veniall ſinnes; other the aptnes to ſinne that remaineth. *Bellarmine* thinketh they be reliques of any ſinne veniall, or mortall, and the terror or anxietie of ſoule, which remaineth and perplexeth the ſoule in the point of death. *Bellarm.c.*8.

*Contra.*1. The Apoſtle ſaith. verſ.6. If he haue committed ſinne, or as the vulgar tranſlation readeth, *if he be in ſinne:* whereby the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth neither the leſſer ſinnes only, which they call veniall, nor the reliques of ſinne only: but ſinne it ſelfe whatſoeuer that is pardonable.

2. This remitting of ſinnes is not aſcribed to the annoynting with oyle, but to the prayer of faith.

faith, verſ.16. *Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed:* here repentance with confeſſion of ſinnes is required in the behalfe of the ſicke; prayer to be performed by the other: by theſe two meanes health is obtained.

3. The ſinne being once pardoned and remitted, there remaineth no more terror of conſcience, Rom.5.1. *Being iuſtified by faith, we are at peace with God.* Rom.8.1. *There is now no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſus:* and conſequently no feare of condemnation.

4. The annoynting was a ſigne onely of their bodily healing: Matth.6.13. *They annoynted many that were ſicke with oyle, and healed them:* but in this place they ſay, the ſame gift of healing is ſhadowed forth, which is deſcribed in Saint *Iames.*

5. Whereas the Apoſtle requireth confeſſion of ſinnes in the ſicke, whereupon followeth remiſſion of ſinnes: they vſe to aneele the ſicke when they are paſt ſenſe, and ſo can ſhew no repentance: as *Sext decret.lib.5.tit.2.c.5. Alexander* 4. reproueth the vſe of certaine, *Qui nullum conſolantur, qui non ſit ſanæ mentis, &c.* Which vſe not to comfort any that are not of a right minde and ſounde memorie: how then can there be forgiuenes of ſinnes, where no confeſſion goeth before?

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE MINISTER of extreame Vnction, and the ceremonies.

The Papiſts.

114.Error. First, they giue power onely vnto their annoynted Maſſe prieſtes, to aneele the ſicke with oyle. Lay men haue no authoritie to do it, nor whoſoeuer are no prieſts, *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.* 14.*ca.*4.
115.Error. Secondly, for the rite and ceremonie, the prieſt comming to the ſicke muſt annoynt his fiue ſenſes; his eyes, eares, noſtrels, mouth, and hands: alſo the reines, which is the ſeat of concupiſcence, and his feete, which are the inſtruments of execution, *Bellarm. cap.*10.

The Proteſtants.

1. This annoynting which Saint *Iames* ſpeaketh of, was done by the whole company of Elders in euery congregation, which were not all the Paſtors of the Church: and although the Paſtors and Miniſters of the Church, are both more eſpecially bound in reſpect of their dutie to viſite the ſicke, and are the fitteſt perſons in regard of their calling to pray for them & comfort them; yet Saint *Iames* much commendeth the prayer not only of faithful Paſtors, but of any righteous man, which is auaileable to procure health vnto the ſicke. verſ.16. Yea, and it appeareth by their owne Canons, *Innocent.*1.*Epiſt.*1.*c.*8. that it was lawfull for lay men and all Chriſtians to vſe this annoynting.

Bellarmine anſwereth with *Ianſenius*, that *Innocentius* ſpeaketh not of the miniſtring, but receiuing of this oyntment, that it is lawfull for euery lay man to receiue it at the Prieſts hands, and ſo vſe it, cap.9.

*Contra.*1. This place alleaged out of *Innocentius* troubleth them ſore, and maketh them almoſt at their wits end: *Thomas Waldenſ.* anſwereth, that lay men may aneele, where there are no Prieſts to be had: but this anſwere miſliketh *Bellarmine*, becauſe the Prieſt muſt neceſſarily be the Miniſter of euery Sacrament, vnleſſe it be in Baptiſme. *Dominicus à Soto* ſaith, that *Innocentius* ſpeaketh of a kind of conſecrate oyle, which it was lawfull for lay men to vſe, beſide this ſacramentall oyle: this anſwere alſo diſpleaſeth the Ieſuite, for *Innocentius* ſpeaketh of oyle conſecrated by the Biſhop, which was the matter of this Sacrament. Secondly, therfore *Bellarmine* hath found out an other anſwer, but as vnſufficient as the other: the words of the decree are theſe: *Sancto oleo chriſmatis ab Epiſcopo confecto, non ſolum ſacerdotibus, ſed & omnibus uti Chriſtianis licet in ſua aut ſuorum neceſſitate inungendo:* The holy oyle of Chriſme made by the Biſhop, it is lawfull not onely for Prieſts, but for all Chriſtians to vſe by annoynting, in their, or their friends neceſſitie. This cannot be vnderſtood as the Ieſuite ſuppoſeth: Firſt, it is lawfull for other Chriſtians to vſe oyle, as the Prieſts did vſe it, which was by miniſtring, not receiuing. Secondly, they may vſe it to annoynt their friends, as well as themſelues, therefore they miniſtred to their friends.

2. What need the bodie be annointed in ſo many places? It is meere ſuperſtition: of the like minde was *Peter* ſometime, when he ſaid to Chriſt, who would waſh his feet; Lord, not my feete onely, but my hands and my head. To whom Chriſt anſwered: He that is waſhed, need not ſaue to waſh his feet, but is cleane all, Iohn.13.9. Where, although the words of Chriſt haue a ſpirituall meaning: yet we ſee the euident and plaine practiſe of them in Baptiſme: In the which Sacrament, wee doubt not, but that infants are thoroughly baptized though euery part be not touched with water. And euen ſo, if your aneeling were a Sacrament: why might it not ſuffice, in ſome one part of the bodie to bee annoynted, and not in ſo many? This wee are ſure of, that nowe you ſpeake without booke: For the Apoſtle maketh no mention of annoynting, eyes, hands, or mouth, but onely generally of annoynting the ſicke. And thus it appea-

reth that your extreame Vnction is no ſacrament, nor any of the other foure, which you haue inuented.

THE CONCLVSION OF THIS TREATISE concerning the Sacraments.

THus, I truſt, wee haue made it plaine by Scripture, and euidence of argument, that there are but two Sacraments onely, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord, left and inioyned to the people of God by our Sauiour Chriſt: for foure things are required to make a ſacrament: Firſt, the authoritie of Chriſt in commaunding it. Secondly, the element or externall ſigne, as the matter. Thirdly, the word of inſtitution, as the forme. Fourthly, the end and vſe, to bee a ſeale of our faith for remiſſion of ſinnes.

1. Concerning the efficient cauſe, we finde that two Sacraments onely in the new Teſtament, are commaunded by Chriſt to be vſed for euer in the Church, Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper: which both by his owne example and preſence, as alſo his precept and commaundement, were eſtabliſhed.

2. There muſt be an outward viſible elementall ſigne, as is water in Baptiſme, bread and wine in the Lords Supper. But ſo is there not in the fiue popiſh ſacraments: For in ſome there is no ſigne at all, as in Matrimonie, where they are driuen to ſay, that the parties that are married are the ſignes. In ſome there is a ſigne, but not viſible, as in abſolution, the audible voyce of the Prieſt pronouncing the words of abſolution is, they ſay, the outward ſigne: But in all the Sacraments of Chriſts inſtitution, we finde a viſible ſigne. In ſome there is an outward ſigne, but it is an action or geſture only, no materiall element, which is not ſufficient: ſo is the impoſition of hands in giuing of Orders. In ſome there is a materiall ſigne, as Chriſme in Confirmation, oyle in extreame Vnction: but they are not of Chriſts inſtitution.

3. They alſo want a word of inſtitution: In Penance the Prieſt ſaith, *I doe abſolue thee*, after particular confeſſion made of his ſinnes. In confirmation the words are, *I ſigne thee with the ſigne of the Croſſe, and confirme thee with the Chriſme of ſaluation, in the name of the Father, Sonne, &c.* In Matrimonie, *I take thee to my wife.* In giuing of Orders, *Receiue thou power to offer vp the bodie of Chriſt.* In extreame Vnction, *God by the vertue of this oyle forgiue thee thy ſinne.* Theſe, they ſay, are the words of the inſtitution: But they can ſhew no word of God for them: for it is not euery worde that ſanctifieth, but onely the word of God, 1. Timoth. 4. Wherefore, ſeeing they haue no word of inſtitution, they are no ſacraments.

Laſtly, they want the true vſe and end of a ſacrament, which is, to ſtrengthen our faith for the remiſſion of ſinnes: for in ſome of theſe there is no relation at all had to the forgiuenes of ſinnes: As Matrimonie doth but performe, ſay they, the graces of marriage, as fidelitie, mutuall loue, and ſuch like. Orders doe conferre the power of Prieſthood. Here is no ſigne or aſſurance of the grace of iuſtification. In the reſt, remiſſion of ſins is aſcribed to other inſtrumentall meanes, than to faith only; as to ſatisfactorie workes in Abſolution, to Chriſme in Confirmation, to oyle in extreame Vnction: wherefore we conclude, becauſe they are no ſeales of the righteouſnes of faith, as S. *Paul* defineth a ſacrament, Rom. 4. verſ. 11. that they are no ſacraments of Chriſts inſtitution, but ſuperſtitious ceremonies deuiſed by men.

Here endeth the third Centurie.

Soli Deo immortali, patri, Filio cum Spiritu ſancto, ſit omnis honor & gloria.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OR CENTVRIE, CONTAINING A FOVRTH HVNDRED OF POPISH ERRORS AND HERESIES:

CONSISTING OF SVCH CONTROVERSIES, AS ARE MOVED
CONCERNING THE BENEFITS OF
our Redemption, as alſo touching the perſon of Chriſt.

WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED THE GREAT
QVESTIONS OF PREDESTINATION, FREE WILL, IVSTIFICATION BY FAITH, OF MERITES; WITH A TREATISE OF THE
vniuerſalitie of Grace, which queſtion hath much occupied of late the
learned beyond the Seas, and beginneth alſo to
ſet foote in the Church of
England.

AT LONDON
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MAN, dwelling in Pater noſter rowe at the ſigne of
the Talbot. 1600.

HERE ENSVE SVCH CONTROVERSIES AND QVESTIONS, AS ARE MOVED CONCERNING THE BENEFITS OF our redemption, purchaſed vnto vs by the death of Chriſt.

HAuing now ſufficiently entreated of all thoſe matters, wherein wee and our aduerſaries diſſent, as touching the propheticall, regall, and prieſtly office of our Sauiour Chriſt: the next place according to our purpoſed order and methode, doth offer vnto vs ſuch queſtions to be conſidered of, as are handled betweene our aduerſaries and vs, concerning the benefits enſuing by theſe heauenly offices of Chriſt. And this treatiſe containeth three controuerſies, which now follow in order: The firſt is of the ſtate of man in his firſt creation, before his fall. The ſecond, of the fall of man, the condition and qualitie thereof. The third, of the reparation of our decayed nature, and our reſtitution by Chriſt.

THE FIRST CONTROVERSIE BEING THE 17. in the whole, of the ſtate of man in Paradiſe.

THis controuerſie contayneth three queſtions. Firſt, of the ſtate of mans ſoule by creation. Secondly, of the qualitie and condition of his bodie. Thirdly, of the place, namely, of Paradiſe.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE perfection of the ſoule of man.

The Papiſts.

IT is agreed betweene vs, that man was created in his ſoule according to the image of God, 1.Error.
both in holines and righteouſnes in his will and affections, as Saint *Paul* ſheweth, Epheſ.4.24, as alſo with the light and perfection of knowledge, and iudgement in the vnderſtanding part, Coloſſ.3.10. for in theſe two conſiſted the image of God, being thus agreed of the thing it ſelfe, we diſſent about the manner: for the Papiſts opinion is, that the originall iuſtice and perfection, wherein *Adam* was created, was not in him a natural gift, eyther that it was a part of his nature, or did ariſe or ſpring out of any naturall beginning; as we ſay the ſoule in the body, and the vnderſtanding in the ſoule, are naturall: but that it was meerely a ſupernaturall gift, hauing no naturall beginning: euen as *Helias* taking vp into heauen in a firie chariot, was a thing ſimply & abſolutely ſupernaturall. They ſay alſo further, that man now hath all the pure naturals that *Adam* had, and that the humane nature is the very ſame that *Adams* was: And that *Adam* if it had not been for that ſupernaturall gift, ſhould haue been ſubiect to the like ignorance, & infirmity, and rebellion of fleſh that we are; ſauing that, then in *Adam, Ex natura & conditione materiæ profluxiſſet:* Thoſe infirmities ſhould haue ſprung out of the very nature of man, and the quality of the mould that he was made: but now in vs, they doe proceed *ex originali culpa,* of originall ſinne. This then is their ſentence, that *Adams* nature by creation, and ours now by birth, is all one: *Bellarm. de grat. primi. homin. cap.5.* And he further declareth his minde thus: *The ſtate of man after the fall of Adam differeth no more from the ſtate of Adam in his pure naturals, than a man that is ſpoiled differeth frō a naked man, that is, nothing at all: Neither is mans nature now more ſubiect to ignorance and infirmitie, if you take away originall ſinne, then it ſhould haue beene, being created in the pure naturals: and therefore the corruption of nature is not by want of any naturall gift, or by the acceſſion of any euill qualitie, but only by the loſſe of that ſupernaturall gift, by reaſon of Adams ſinne. Bellar. ibid.* So then 1. his opinion appeareth plainely to be this, that as a man ſpoyled differeth not from a naked man in the ſubſtance of the thing, but in the cauſe or manner; for the one is ſpoyled by force, the other is naked without force, yet both without clothing: ſo man in his creation without that ſupernaturall gift or grace, was as naked, but now by ſinne is as one robbed and ſpoyled: 2. Againe, where he ſaith: *If you take away*

originall ſinne: If he meane, that our nature is the ſame with *Adams* but for ſinne, he fighteth with his owne ſhadow; for no man denieth, but that ſinne cauſed this alteration in the nature of man. 3. And he ſpeaketh againſt himſelfe: for if original ſinne be the cauſe of our corruption, *It commeth by the acceſſion of an euill quality*, which he before denied; vnleſſe he will denie that ſinne is an euill qualitie. 4. But if he make exception of originall ſinne, not in regarde of the fruites and effectes thereof, but as of the cauſe, that *Adams* ignorance and infirmitie ſhould haue proceeded of another cauſe, then originall ſinne, that is, out of the condition of his owne nature; it is a great error, as afterwards ſhall appeare: let vs ſee ſome of his arguments.

Argum. 1. God ſaid to *Adam*, Gen. 3. *Duſt thou art, and to duſt ſhalt thou returne:* that is, by nature and creation, had it not been for that ſupernaturall gift which I gaue, which nowe thou haſt loſt, thou art mortall. Alſo Pſal. 8. the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *What is man, &c. thou haſt made him a little lower then the Angels, and crowned him with glory and honour:* but *Adam* being created with a bodily ſubſtance, could not by nature, but by a ſupernaturall gift onely be made like the Angels: And ſo much is implied by theſe words, *glory, and honour*, which are things not naturally inherent, but outwardly added: *Argum. Bellarm. cap. 6.*

Anſw. 1. To the firſt place we anſwere thus: that it was ſpoken to *Adam* after his fall: And the Lord in ſaying, *thou art duſt, &c.* did not there ſhew the ſtate, wherein hee was created, but whereinto he was fallen by ſinne, for by nature he was no more to returne to duſt, then to eate his bread in the ſweat of his browes: for they are both ioyned together. If they anſwere, that this was alſo a ſupernaturall gift to be void of labour and trouble, in ſeeking his foode; then was it a ſupernaturall gift alſo in the earth not to bring forth thornes and thiſtles: for theſe are the cauſe that man muſt eate his bread with ſweat, that is, with labour in tilling the ground. But it were abſurd to ſay, that God created the earth in the beginning with an aptneſſe and inclination, to bring forth weedes and vnprofitable hearbes, ſeeing all he made, was excellent good.

2. To the other place alſo we doe thus make anſwere: firſt, why might not God naturally create the ſoule of man like vnto Angels, though it were incloſed in the body, as naturally he hath created the bodies of beaſts in ſtrength, ſenſe, agilitie, ſwiftnes, and the like qualities, not onely equall, but farre ſuperiour to the bodies of men, which are ioyned with a reaſonable ſoule, but the bodies of beaſts to an vnreaſonable? Secondly, this place, Heb. 2. 15. properly is applied to Chriſt, verſ. 9. *But we ſee Ieſus crowned with honour and glory:* but the glorie of Chriſt is not accidentall, externall, or ſupernaturall; but altogether in him naturall, which he had with God his father before the world was, Iohn. 17. 5. Therefore *Bellarmine* faileth in his collection here.

Argum. 2. If *Adams* integritie and innocencie were naturall, then they ſhould haue remained after his ſinne: as the ſame naturals in diuels doe ſtill remaine: but ſo doe they not, *Ergo.*

Anſw. Firſt, the argument followeth not in naturall qualities: for *Adam* had knowledge without ignorance, memorie without obliuion before his fall, which were natural in him, but ſo hath he not now: ſo the naturall qualities are corrupted and decayed by ſinne, but the naturall ſubſtance and ſubiect as of the ſoule and bodie remaineth ſtill, though much depraued and corrupted by ſinne.

Secondly, yet this naturall integritie of *Adam* is not vtterly by ſinne extinct, for there is in man a law of nature, which is a remainder of that law of perfection, whereby a mans thoughts doe eyther accuſe him or excuſe him. Rom. 2. 14.

Thirdly, neither doe the ſame naturall qualities remaine in the reprobate ſpirits, which they had before their fall: for they haue alſo loſt the integritie and innocencie of nature; yea and in other qualities of the ſpirituall nature are inferiour to the elect Angels.

Fourthly, the reaſon is not like betweene man and ſpirits: for the decay of perfection in ſpirits is helped by their ſpirituall nature, and long continuance, and therefore it is no maruell, that euill ſpirits, are in vnderſtanding, memorie, knowledge, agilitie of nature farre beyond the ſoules of men, which are both clogged with terrene bodies, and by the mortalitie thereof abridged of the courſe of experience.

The Proteſtants.

THat the gifts of integritie and innocency were in our firſt parents by nature of their creation; yet not without Gods gift (for euen naturall things are of Gods grace; that is, the generall grace and gift of the creation, which is not properly called grace, *Lombard. diſt. 25. lib. 2.*) and that their naturals were not the ſame, but much more pure and perfect then ours are; neither that they were the ſame in them before and after their fall, thus we proue it.

Argum. 1. If *Adams* naturals were the ſame that ours are, then it would follow that the concupiſcence of the fleſh, which is in vs by nature was alſo naturall in *Adam* and that *Adam* ſhould haue beene as prone by nature vnto all kind of vice, as we are: which if it be granted, this were to make God the author of ſinne, and his workmanſhip imperfect, if he had not made man ſuch an one by creation, as could not ſinne.

Bellarmine anſwereth: graunting, that the concupiſcence of the fleſh was by nature in *Adam*, and that if he had been created in his pure naturals onely, he ſhould haue been as prone to ſinne as we are: But God (ſaith he) did take away, *ſuſtulerat concupiſcentiam*, this concupiſcence, and bridle it by a ſupernaturall gift. Secondly, it followeth not, that God ſhould haue been the author of euill, for concupiſcence is not properly ſinne: neither if God had created man in his pure naturals, ſhould it follow, that he made concupiſcence: *Quæ præter intentionem agentis ex conditione materiæ conſequuta fuiſſet*: Which ſhould haue proceeded from the condition or qualitie of the mould or matter, whereof man was made, beſide the purpoſe or intention of the creator: *Bellarm. cap. 7. reſponſ. ad* 1. 9. *&* 10. *obiection.*

Contra. Firſt, it is falſe that *Adam* ſhould haue been as prone to ſinne, continuing in his pure naturals, as we are: ſeeing that neither we ſhould haue been made ſinners, if *Adam* had remained in his naturals, and not added the actuall ſinne of diſobedience, which ſinne, and not his pure naturals, made both him, and vs ſinners, as Saint *Paul* ſheweth, Rom. 5. 19. *By one mans diſobedience many were made ſinners*: he ſaith not, by his naturals. Secondly, he ſaith, that God tooke away *Adams* naturall concupiſcence: then God did correct his owne workmanſhip, and ſo it ſhould be imperfect. And againe, the Ieſuite here forgetteth his owne rule, that, *Nullum naturale principium aut donum corrumpitur*: That no naturall part or gift can be corrupted or chaunged in man; and yet here he ſaith, that God tooke away or ſuppreſſed *Adams* naturall concupiſcence: ſo then the generation or infuſing of a ſupernaturall gift, was the corruption and deſtruction of the naturall. Thirdly, neither can it be auoided, that God ſhould not be the authour of ſin: for concupiſcence is properly ſinne, as the Apoſtle ſaith, he *knew not ſinne but by the law*: and then it followeth, *I had not knowne luſt, vnleſſe the law had ſaid, thou ſhalt not luſt*: ſo that luſt is ſinne. Neither is it like, that any thing can fall out beſides the intention and purpoſe of the Creator: for God cannot be deceiued, *who worketh all things according to the counſell of his owne will*, Epheſ. 1. 11. All things are wrought according to the counſell, purpoſe, and intention of God: *Ergo*, nothing falleth out beſide, or contrarie vnto it.

Argum. 2. Euery gift and grace beſide the generall grace of creation, is giuen by the mediation of Chriſt, and the merite of his paſſion, Epheſ. 4. 8. *Hee led captiuitie captiue*, that is, by his death, *and gaue giftes to men*: but as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Adam in illis bonis in quibus creatus, Chriſti morte non eguit*: *Adam* in thoſe gifts wherein he was created, had no need of Chriſtes death: *De corrept. grat. c.* 11. *Ergo*, the graces which *Adam* had in the ſtate of his innocencie, did belong to his creation.

Argum. 3. Whatſoeuer *Adam* had by creation, he had by nature: for as our birth is vnto vs, ſo was *Adams* creation to him: and as well that was naturall to him, which was giuen by creation; as that naturall to vs which we haue in our birth: But *Adam* by his creation was made righteous, Ecclеſ. 7. verſ. 31. *Ergo*, his perfection and originall iuſtice was in him in his creation, through the gift of the creator, naturall.

Bellarm. Firſt, it is true that God made man righteous, but it was by a ſupernaturall gift beſide the worke of the creation. Secondly, if man had beene created onely in his pure naturals, hee might be ſaid to be made right or perfect, becauſe as yet there was no euill in him, but only a poſſibilitie and ſubiection thereunto; like as an iron ſword is ſubiect to ruſt, *Bellar. c.* 5. *& c.* 7. *reſp. ad argum.* 10.

Anſ. Firſt, that man by the very worke of his creation, was made perfect and righteous, it is euident by the Scripture; for hee was created according to Gods image, Geneſ. 1. 26. and the image of God is expounded by the Apoſtle, to be *in righteouſneſſe and holineſſe*, Epheſ. 4. 24. Gods generall gift and grace beſtowed vpon man in his creation, we graunt, but of any other grace beſide conferred in the worke of the creation, we reade not.

Secondly, as yron, becauſe it is but a baſe mettall, is ſubiect to ruſt; but the more perfect and precious mettals, as of ſiluer and gold are not: ſo if man by creation had an inclination to ſinne, he could not be perfect. This then is the difference betweene vs: they ſay, that man was created like iron, that is made bright, and kept from ruſting with oyle; ſo man in his creation was vpheld from falling and ſinning by a ſupernaturall gifte: wee rather ſay, that man was created as golde, without any aptneſſe or inclination by nature to corruption, if hee had not fallen away by ſinne from his ſtate of innocencie.

Laſtly, we reaſon thus: Whatſoeuer was in Chriſt as touching his humanitie, was of the nature of man: for in all things he was made like vnto vs, ſinne only excepted: and as the firſt *Adam* was in his perfection, ſo was the laſt: for the firſt *Adam* was a figure of him that was to come, Rom. 5. 14. But Chriſt as hee was man had a perfect ſoule: *Ergo*, perfection was of the nature of man, in his ſtate vncorrupted. So *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Mente humana perfecta, &c.* God onely is greater than a perfect humane ſoule, ſuch as was in Chriſt. He calleth a perfect and righteous ſoule, an humane ſoule: and whatſoeuer is humane, is of or belonging to the nature of man. Cont. Maxim. Arrian. lib. 3. cap. 23.

Interrelig. Cæſarea. cap. 1. *Deus creauit hominem ad imaginem ſuam,& fecit per originalem iuſtitiam, vt eſſet tum corporis, tum animi viribus rectus:* God created man according to his image, and made him by his originall iuſtice, perfect, or right in bodie and ſoule.

Synod. Moguntin. cap. 3. *Deus ab initio creauit hominem ad imaginem ſuam, intus in animo prauis motibus vacuum,&c.* God in the beginning created man after his image, in his ſoule void of euill motions, &c. *Ergo*, man by nature in his creation, was endued with a perfect and righteous ſoule.

Cauſ. 33. *diſtinct.* 2. *c.* 31. *Hanc imaginem in ſpiritu mentis impreſſam perdidit Adam per peccatum:* This image of God imprinted in the ſoule of man, *Adam* loſt by his ſinne. From hence I reaſon thus: *Adams* ſoule receiued the print or image in the creation; (vnleſſe they wil ſay, that *Adams* ſoule was created bare and naked:) but the righteouſnes and holineſſe of *Adam* was this print or image: *Ergo*, he receiued it in the creation.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE QVAlitie and condition of the bodie of man by creation.

The Papiſts.

2.Error. BEllarmine his opinion is, that the immortalitie of *Adams* bodie was a ſupernaturall gift: and that by nature his bodie was created mortall, but that this naturall mortalitie was taken away, by the ſupernaturall gift of immortalitie, *Bellar. de grat. primi homin. cap.* 9.

Argum. 1. His beſt reaſon is drawne from that place of Scripture, which he alleadged before: *Duſt thou art,&c.* which the Ieſuite would haue vnderſtood of *Adams* creation: becauſe the reaſon is rendred, Thou ſhalt returne to duſt, becauſe thou waſt taken out of duſt.

Anſ. This was ſpoken to *Adam*, after that by his tranſgreſſion hee had deſerued death. And whereas the Lord ſaith, For out of the duſt thou waſt taken, it ſheweth not that he was created mortall: but that he had a poſſibilitie onely of mortalitie, into the which he might fall by ſinne, and ſo loſe the immortalitie of nature, wherein he was created: for this is the difference betweene the immortalitie of man by creation, and the immortalitie which we ſhall haue by grace through Chriſt; that man in his creation had power, *poſſe non mori*, not to die, if he would: that is, if hee kept himſelfe in obedience: but in the kingdome of heauen we ſhall haue a gift, *non poſſe mori*, not to haue power or poſſibilitie to die. And *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Bina iſta quid inter ſe differunt, diligenter intuendum eſt,&c.* We muſt diligently conſider, what difference is betweene theſe two: *Poſſe non peccare, & non poſſe peccare,* To be able not to ſinne, and not to be able to ſinne: To haue power not to dye, and not to haue power to dye: The firſt man was able not to ſinne, not to dye; but we cannot ſay, *non potuit mori*, he had no power to dye, or to ſinne: *De correp. & grat. c.* 11. If *Adam* before his fall had power not to die, then had he power to be immortall; then conſequently he was not created mortall.

Argum. 2. *Adam* in his creation was made apt to generation, for God ſaid vnto him, *encreaſe and multiply:* he had need alſo both of meate and drinke: *Ergo*, he was created mortall, *Bellar. c.* 9.

Reſp. Firſt, aptneſſe to generation prooueth not mortalitie, but ſuch generation onely as is by concupiſcence and ſinne procured: 1. as the tree of life in Paradiſe ſhould alſo encreaſe and multiply, but it ſhould not haue beene corruptible: 2. *Eua* by a kinde of generation was produced out of *Adam*, ſhe ſhould notwithſtanding haue beene immortall. 3. Some affirme, that the ſoule commeth into the bodie by a kinde of generation, *ex traduce*, yet they hold notwithſtanding, the immortalitie of the ſoule. 4. Chriſt had a generation, as God, will ye conclude him therefore to be mortall? He alſo had a generation according to the fleſh, yet was he not ſubiect at all to corruption, nor to death of neceſſitie, but of his owne will.

Secondly, the Angels did eat and drinke, yet were not their bodies mortall, wherein they appeared: therefore not euery eating and drinking prooueth mortalitie, but to eate and drinke with hunger, thirſt, and of neceſſitie: but *Adam* in Paradiſe ſhould neither haue felt hunger nor thirſt, heat or cold, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *In Paradiſo abſit vt credamus aliquid fuiſſe, vnde ſenſum aut dolor pungeret,&c.* Farre be it from vs to thinke, that there was any thing in Paradiſe, whereby eyther griefe ſhould offend the ſenſe, or labour wearie the bodie: *Cont. Iulian. lib.* 5. *c.* 8.

The Proteſtants.

THat *Adam* was by nature created immortall, if hee had not ſinned, we by theſe reaſons doe make it good.

Argum. 1. The ſoule of *Adam* was immortall, and therefore it was meet and requiſite, that a bodie alſo immortall ſhould be ioyned vnto it.

Bellar. Yea, an immortall bodie is moſt meet for an immortall ſoule: but the functions of the body, which are now exerciſed, and ſhould haue beene in the ſtate of innocencie, doe require a bodie temperated together of diuers humors and qualities, which muſt needes make it mortall, *Bellarm.c.9.*

Contra. Firſt, if an immortall bodie had been a fitteſt companion for the ſoule, and yet was not giuen vnto it: then by their ſentence, God did not that which was moſt meete and conuenient. Secondly, what maner of qualitied bodie humane actions require now it skilleth not: certein it is, that if man had not ſinned, he ſhould haue done no other things then were beſeeming an immortall bodie, ſuch as he had by creation.

Argum. 2. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Conſtat inter Chriſtianos veraciter Catholicam tenentes fidem, etiam ipſam nobis corporis mortem non lege naturæ, ſed merito inflictam eſſe peccati:* It is euident among Chriſtians rightly holding the Chriſtian faith, that euen the death of body is laid vpon vs, not by the law of nature, but by deſert of ſinne. Saint *Paul* alſo ſheweth, that death came in by ſinne, Rom. 5.17. *Ergo,* before man had ſinned, he was not ſubiect to death.

Lib.13. de ciuitate Dei cap.15.

Bellarm. anſwereth, that death came in by ſinne, becauſe by ſinne that ſupernaturall gift was loſt, whereby man was preſerued from mortalitie.

Contra. Yet hath he not ſufficiently anſwered: for if man remaining in his pure naturals was ſubiect to death; then ſhould there haue beene death in the worlde without ſinne, which S. *Paul* denyeth, *for death is the wages of ſinne,* Rom.6.23.

Argum. 3. Chriſts body had no poſſibilitie of corruption, Act.2.24. *It was impoſſible he ſhould be holden of death:* the reaſon is giuen, v.27. *Thou wilt not ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption:* Chriſts holineſſe and freedome from ſinne preſerued him from corruption: *Ergo, Adam* in the ſtate of innocencie was freed from the poſſibilitie of mortalitie and corruption.

Concil. Mileuitan.cap. 1. as it is alleadged, *part.3.diſt.4.c.*152. *Quicunque dicit Adam primum hominem mortalem factum ita, vt ſiue peccaret, ſiue non peccaret, moreretur in corpore: hoc eſt de corpore exiret, non peccati merito, ſed neceſſitate naturæ, anathema ſit:* Whoſoeuer ſaith, that *Adam* was created mortall, ſo that, whether hee ſinned or not, he ſhould die in the body; not by the merite of ſinne, but the neceſſitie of nature, let him be accurſed: *Ergo, Adam* was created immortall, if he had not ſinned.

Auguſtine alſo ſaith, *Si parentes non peccaſſent, eos, &c.* If our parents had not ſinned, when they had perfourmed their dutie of obedience: *angelica eos immortalitas, &c.* the euangelicall immortalitie had followed them, *ſine interuentu mortis,* without death comming betweene, *de ciuitat. Dei. lib.*13.*c.*1. But how could angelicall immortalitie haue ſucceeded mortalitie without any change by death? and angelicall immortalitie hath no poſſibilitie at all of mortalitie: *Adam* ſhould haue had an angelicall immortalitie: *Ergo.*

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE PLACE WHERE Adam was created: namely, Paradiſe.

THe Ieſuite affirmeth, that Paradiſe, where *Adam* was placed, was a terreſtriall place: which we graunt: and ſuch a place, as was not knowne to any: and therefore hee miſliketh their opinions, that would define where Paradiſe ſhould be: Some thinke, that Paradiſe is taken for the whole world, as *Ioſephus:* ſome, that it is a place deuided from the world beyond the Ocean ſea: others imagine it to be a high ſcituated region, reaching euen vnto the globe of the Moone: others thinke it was in Meſopotamia: But *Bellarmine* approoueth none of theſe opinions, but ſaith ſtill that Paradiſe was a place vnknowne, yet that it remaineth ſtill vnto this day, *Bellarmin. cap.*12.& 14. This queſtion then hath two parts: firſt, whether Paradiſe were a place alwayes vnknowne to men: Secondly, whether that Paradiſe doth remaine to this day.

The Papiſts.

THat Paradiſe was a ſecret place kept from the knowledge of men, the Ieſuite would ſeeme to proue it thus.

3.Error.

*Argum.*1. If Paradiſe were ſcituate in a knowne place, it is moſt like by the deſcription to haue been in Meſopotamia; but there it was not: for the text ſaith, that out of Eden went a riuer, which afterward was deuided into foure heads: but there is no ſuch riuer, that hath his beginning in Meſopotamia: *Ergo, Bellarmine cap.*12.

Anſw. The text ſaith not, that this riuer had his beginning in Eden, but went out from Eden, that is, it might haue the beginning before, and ſo runne through Eden: neither are we to vnderſtand the place ſo, as though this riuer, as ſoone as it was runne through Eden did deuide it ſelfe into foure heads: but theſe foure heads or branches do come from two riuers, Tigris, and Euphrates, which running aſunder till they come to Eden, make two heads, which in the text are called *Hiddekle* and *Perath,* and ſo ioyning together, as they paſſe through Eden, do againe deuide themſelues, and ſo make two heads more, *Piſhon* and *Gihon,* and ſo runne into the Perſian gulfe.

*Argum.*2. How could Paradiſe be a knowne place being kept of the Cherubims by a fierie ſword?

Anſw. Firſt, the keeping of it with the firie ſword, doth ſhew that it was a place inacceſſible, and not inhabited before the flood: for ſo long was it ſo kept: but it might be knowne where it was ſcituate, though the paſſage thereunto were ſtopped. Secondly, after that the beautie of Paradiſe was deſtroyed by the flood, it needed not any more the cuſtodie or watch of Angels: but the place where Paradiſe was planted then lay open to man and beaſt, being both knowne and inhabited.

The Proteſtants.

THat Paradiſe, otherwiſe called Eden, was planted in a knowne place of the world, which was moſt like to be Meſopotamia; thus we make it plaine.

*Argum.*1. The two riuers mentioned in the deſcription of Eden, namely, *Hiddekle*, which is Tigris; and *Perath*, which is Euphrates, are found to runne through Meſopotamia: *Ergo*, there alſo was Paradiſe.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the two other heads of the riuer, namely *Phiſon* and *Gihon*, are the two riuers Ganges and Nilus, which come not neere Meſopotamia, and therefore it is not like, that the two other riuers make the other two heads, *cap.*12.

Contra. Firſt, *Phiſon* and *Gihon* cannot be the knowne riuers Ganges, whoſe beginning is in the mountaines of Scythia; and Nilus, which ſpringeth from the mountaines in Æthiopia: for *Phiſon* and *Gihon* are two heads of one Fountaine and Riuer: but Ganges and Nilus haue two ſeuerall heads or fountaines, many thouſande miles aſunder; Ganges in Aſia, and Nilus in Africa.

Secondly, if Ganges and Nilus be theſe two heads, which are knowne Riuers, and their fountaines alſo knowne, then muſt Eden alſo be knowne, where the Ieſuite ſaith the riuer hath his beginning.

Bellarmine replieth, that *Phiſon* and *Gihon* cannot be two heads ſpringing from Tigris and Euphrates. 1. Becauſe thoſe two heads are ſaid to compaſſe diuers nations; but the branches of thoſe two riuers do runne by a ſtraight courſe into the Perſian Sea. 2. The mappes do ſhew, that Tigris and Euphrates after their coniunction are not deuided againe, but runne together into the ſea. 3. Ierem.2.18. the Septuagint reade thus, *What haſt thou to do in the way of Ægypt, to drinke the water of Geon?* Geon then is Nilus the riuer of Ægypt: Againe, Eccleſiaſtic.24.31. *Gihon is ſaid to ouerflow in the time of vintage, and ſo doth Nilus.* 4. *Hierome, Ambroſe*, with others, do take *Phiſon* and *Gihon*, for Ganges and Nilus, *Bellarmine c.*12.

Contra. Firſt, it is euident, that *Phiſon* and *Gihon* the two neather ſtreames of Tigris and Euphrates, do paſſe through and compaſſe in a manner the lands Hauilah, where gold is; and Cuſh, which is Arabia deſerta, before they fall into the ſea.

Secondly, if he view the Mappe better, or follow the beſt deſcription, he ſhall finde that the riuers Tigris and Euphrates part againe, before they runne into the ſea.

Thirdly, 1. in Ierem.2.18. the hebrue hath not *Geon*, but *Sichar*, which ſome do take for Nilus, others vpon better ground, for a riuer, that paſſing by Arabia Petrea, falleth into the lake Sirbon, and deuideth the Land of promiſe from Ægypt, Ioſu.13.3. neyther doth the vulgar Latine reade *Geon*, but *aquam turbidam*, troubled water.

2. It is 1. no good argument, that *Geon* ſhould be Nilus, becauſe it ouerfloweth in the time of Vintage: as though it is not vſuall for riuers to riſe twice in the yeere, in the ſpring, and in autumne: 2. and yet Nilus greateſt ouerflowing is in ſeede time, which is in the ſpring, Deut.11.10. 3. I vrge not beſide, that this booke is not canonicall; for the other anſweres are ſufficient beſide.

Fourthly, *Hierome* and *Ambroſe* do follow the opinion of the Greekes, who were herein deceiued by the tranſlation of the Septuagint: as *Ambroſe de Paradiſ.c.*3. *Phiſon Ganges eſt ſecundum Græcos*: *Phiſon* is the riuer *Ganges* according to the Greekes, &c. And *Epiphanius* ſaith, *Ego vidi aquas Geon,&c.* I haue ſeene with mine eyes the waters of *Geon*, meaning Nilus, and then he alleageth Ierem.2.18. where the Septuagint ſo reade: *epiſt ad Ioann. Hieroſolym.* So that this conceit of the Greekes was grounded vpon the erroneous tranſlation of the Septuagint.

Fiftly, this opinion is contrary to Scripture, 1. *Phiſon* and *Gihon* come out of one riuer, and haue the ſame beginning: Geneſ.2.10. But Ganges and Nilus are many hundred miles diſtant. 2. *Gihon compaſſeth the whole land of Cuſh.* Geneſ.2.13. Which they take to be Æthiopia: but Nilus compaſſeth Ægypt, not Æthiopia, taking his beginning onely from thence: ſo that Cuſh here is not taken for Æthiopia, but for Arabia deſerta, for it is a general name to them both. 3. Whereas *Epiphanius* ſaith, he had ſeene *Geon*, and that *he had drunke of the great riuer Euphrates*: the riuers of Paradiſe being ſo well knowne, how could Paradiſe be a place vnknowne?

*Argum.*2. Againe, Eden is deſcribed by the countries next adioyning, as Aſſyria, Geneſ.2.14.

So Charran and Eden are ioyned together, Iſai.37.verſ.12. *Cain* alſo is ſaid to haue dwelled on the Eaſt ſide of Eden: But theſe countries were well knowne: *Ergo*, ſo was Eden.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that this Eden in theſe places mentioned, was another Eden, beſide that, out of the which *Adam* was throwne: vnleſſe you will ſay, that *Cain* was ſent and baniſhed into Paradiſe, *Bellarm.cap.*13.

Anſw. Firſt, the Ieſuite cannot ſhew vnto vs any other Eden out of the ſtorie of the Bible: Geneſ.2.14. that Eden is ſpoken of, which is neere to Aſſhur: Iſai.3.7. that Eden, which is ioyning to Charran: But Aſſhur and Charran were not farre aſunder, Ezech.27.23. therefore it was one and the ſelfeſame Eden. Secondly, the text ſaith not, that *Cain* was exiled into Paradiſe, or that he dwelt in Paradiſe, but by the Eaſt ſide of Paradiſe.

Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Epiſt.*42. *Ioſephus hiſtoriographus, &c. Ioſephus* the hiſtoriographer ſaith, that Paradiſe is a place full of trees and plants, and is watered with a riuer, which is diuided into foure ſtreames. How could *Ioſephus* deſcribe Paradiſe, if it had been an vnknowne place? And if they will haue Paradiſe ſo ſecret a place, let them ſay with their Maſter, that Paradiſe was ſituate in a region, that reached vp to the circle of the Moone: *lib.2.d.17.lit.e. Ianſenius* a learned Papiſt witneſſeth with vs, that Paradiſe was ſituate in Meſopotamia, but afterward defaced and deſtroyed by the flood, *in cap.143.concord.Euangelic.*

THE SECOND PART OF THIS QVESTION, whether the terreſtriall place of Paradiſe doe yet remaine.

The Papiſts.

THeir beſt argument is this: *Henoch* and *Helias* doe yet remaine aliue in Paradiſe in their bodies: *Ergo*, there is a Paradiſe, *cap.*12. 4.Error.

Anſw. Firſt, that *Henoch* and *Elias* doe liue with God we denie not, but whether in their bodies or no, the Scripture ſaith not. Secondly, but that they liue in an earthly and terreſtriall place, ſuch as hee imagineth Paradiſe to be, it is contrarie to Scripture, which ſaith, that *Elias* went vp in a whirle-winde to heauen, 2.King.2.11. *Ergo*, he is not in earth. Thirdly, Paradiſe is now no terreſtriall but a celeſtiall place in heauen: for Saint *Paul* taketh Paradiſe and heauen for all one, 2.Corinth.12.verſ.2.4.

The Proteſtants.

THat the terreſtriall Paradiſe is not now extant vpon the earth, but long agoe, as it is moſt like, deſtroyed by the flood: we thus ſhew it.

*Argum.*1. The waters in the flood couered the whole earth, and preuailed ouer all the mountaines that are vnder the heauen, fifteene cubites, Geneſ.7.20. wherefore it is moſt like, that Paradiſe was then deſtroyed.

Bellarm. Firſt, he ſaith, that all thoſe mountaines were couered with waters, where ſinners and mortall men dwelt, whom the Lord purpoſed to deſtroy; ſo that the mountaines and regions of Paradiſe are excepted.

Contra. Firſt, but the text ſaith all the mountaines were couered vnder the whole heauens: how then dare he make the holie Ghoſt a lyer, and ſay, as it were correcting the text, no, all were not couered. Secondly, thus to vphold his fancies, he runneth to forged myracles: for the waters being fifteene cubites aboue other mountaines, and yet not ouerflowing Paradiſe, muſt needes compaſſe it about as a wall, and ſtand as a collar of a coate round about it: But what authoritie hath he thus to coyne myracles beſide Scripture?

Bellarmine anſwereth, that it had bin a greater myracle to ſee *Henoch* and *Elias* hanging in the ayre to be kept from the waters, for they could not haue liued in Paradiſe, being ouerflowen, as it is certaine they doe.

Contra. Why *Bellarmine? Elias* was taken vp into heauen, as wee prooued out of Scripture, and therefore hee needed not to haue feared the flood vpon the earth. Thirdly, if Paradiſe were not ouerflowen, God might haue ſpared the making of the Ark, for *Noah* with his familie and all the cattell might haue been more ſafely kept in Paradiſe.

Bellarmine ſaith, it was no place for ſinners.

Anſw. Why *Noah* was a faithfull man, and no more a ſinner now, then *Henoch* was, when he was taken vp: might not *Noah* therefore as well haue been kept there as *Henoch?* eſpecially ſeeing hee was not to continue there, but to remaine onely for a time, till the deluge were ouerpaſt?

Secondly, *Bellarmine* denieth the argument: it followeth not, that Paradiſe ſhould be vtterly deſtroyed, though it were ouerflowen: for the deluge did not chaunge the ſituation of the place, nor the diſpoſition of the ayre, &c. *Bellarm.cap.*14.

Anſw. Firſt, the ouerflowing of water, which many times caſteth downe hils, and filleth vp valleyes, which maketh ſtanding pooles where it was drie land, muſt of neceſſitie bring great alteration, both for the pleaſant ſituation, and the temperate ayre. Secondly, we ſay not, that by the flood Paradiſe was vtterly made deſolate: for it remained a pleaſant and fertile ſoile euen afterward, Geneſ. 10.10. The land of Sodome and Gomorrha, before it was deſtroyed, is ſaid to haue been like the Lords garden, which was Eden: But yet the beautie and excellencie of Paradiſe was by the flood decayed.

*Argum.*2. That Paradiſe is now onely remaining, which is the receptacle of the bleſſed ſoules of the Saints after this life: *This day* (ſaith Chriſt) *ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe*, Luk. 23.43. the Goſpell ſpeaketh not of any other Paradiſe. But this can be no terreſtriall place: for the ſoules of the righteous goe to heauen: and Paradiſe in the Ieſuites iudgement is a receptacle of bodies, not of ſoules: *Ergo*, there is no ſuch terreſtriall Paradiſe.

Saint *Ambroſe* witneſſeth with vs: *Tum ſaluus ero, &c.* Then I ſhall be ſafe, when I ſhall be in Paradiſe, where I ſhall liue *inter electos Angelos*, among the elect Angels: *ſerm.*15. *in Pſal.*119. Againe, *in* 2. *Corint.*12. *Vltra omnia mundi ſydera raptus intelligitur, &c. Paul* is ſaid to be rapt or taken vp beyond all the ſtars, &c. and into that Paradiſe, of the which the Lord ſpake to the theefe, euen where the citie Ieruſalem is, the mother of vs all. Paradiſe then is no other where now but in heauen.

AN APPENDIX OR THIRD PART OF THIS queſtion, concerning the tree of life in Paradiſe.

The Papiſts.

5. Error.

BEllarmine rehearſeth two opinions of this matter: ſome thinke that it was called the tree of life, becauſe by eating thereof *Adam* might be preſerued from death, and his ſubſtance, which might decay, in time be reſtored: *ſic Auguſtine*. Others are of opinion that it was appointed to be a meane to bring *Adam* to perfect immortalitie, ſuch as wee ſhall haue after the reſurrection: Of this minde is *Bellarmine*.

He groundeth his opinion vpon that text, Geneſ. 3.22. *Leaſt he put forth his hand, and eate of the tree of life, and liue for euer: Ergo*, the tree of life had power to giue eternall life to the eaters thereof.

Ironia, is a figure, when one meaneth contrary to the ſignification of the word or ſentence.

Anſw. 1. This ſpeech here vttered by the Lord, is ironically to be vnderſtood, that is, God in ſo ſaying, meaneth not, that indeede, by eating of this fruit, *Adam* ſhould liue eternally: but as in the former part of the verſe the Lorde derideth the follie and ſimplicitie of man, who thought by eating the forbidden fruit to haue been as God, and was deceiued: *Behold*, (ſaith God) *the man is become as one of vs, to know good and euill*: that is, hee thought in his owne opinion and conceit, &c. So the ſame ſpeech is continued in this part of the verſe: *leaſt he liue for euer*, that is, hee may in his ſimplicitie be ſeduced to thinke hee may haue eternall life by eating of the tree of life, as hee was made to beleeue before, that he ſhould by taſting of the forbidden fruit in knowledge be like vnto God.

2 Or if we take the wordes ſimply as they are ſpoken: the meaning is this, that ſeeing *Adam* was by his tranſgreſſion depriued of life, he ſhould alſo loſe the ſigne thereof: it was therefore called the tree of life, not becauſe it gaue life, but was a ſigne thereof.

The Proteſtants.

THat the tree of life was neither ordained to preſerue *Adam* in that ſtate wherein he was, nor yet to endue him with a new kinde of immortalitie, but that it was a ſigne onely or ſymbole of life receiued of God.

*Argum.*1. This tree, which was in the middeſt of Paradiſe, was no otherwiſe the tree of life, then the other was of the knowledge of good and euill: but this was not ſo called, becauſe it actually gaue knowledge, but was a ſeale and ſigne vnto them of that miſerable knowledge and experience, which by tranſgreſſing of Gods commaundement in eating of that fruit, they ſhould fall into. And this is confeſſed by their Maſter, that it was called the tree of good and euill, becauſe man by tranſgreſſing in eating thereof, *experiundo diſceret*, ſhould learne by experience what difference there was, betweene good obedience and euill diſobedience, *lib.*2. *diſt.*17. *Ergo*, the other tree was a ſymbole or pledge of life. So in the Reuelation, chap. 22.2. mention is made of the tree of life, which is Chriſt Ieſus: He is indeede the true tree of life, becauſe hee verily giueth life, this was but a ſigne and ſymbole of life.

*Argum.*2. Spirituall graces are not obtained by corporall and carnall meanes: for as wee can not vſe carnall weapons againſt ſpirituall euils, 2. Cor. 10.4. ſo can wee not by externall and corporall meanes procure celeſtiall and ſpirituall bleſſings: but immortalitie was a ſpirituall gift, eating of the fruit was but an externall action: *Ergo*, it could not giue immortalitie.

*Argum.*3. If the tree of life had been able to giue immortalitie, and God foreſeeing the fall of man, would not haue him in that eſtate to be partaker of immortalitie: God would not haue permitted vnto man the vſe of that tree as hee did, but rather haue giuen him a prohibition to eate thereof: but this the Lord did not, giuing them onely a charge concerning the tree of knowledge: *Ergo,* it is not like that tree had any ſuch force.

Bellarmine anſwereth: 1. that neither *Adam* nor Satan did know which was the tree of life: for Sathan 1. would haue tempted him to haue eaten alſo thereof, that hee might haue been eternally miſerable: but *Adam* 2. might haue eaten of it by chaunce, as the text is, *ne fortè, leaſt perhaps he put forth his hand,&c.* Gen.3.22. 2. Though *Adam* had knowne it, he would not haue bin curious to eate thereof before the time appointed, *Bellarm.cap.*29.

Contra. Firſt, 1. Sathan had no reaſon to tempt them to eate of the tree of life, becauſe it was not forbidden: *for they might haue eaten freely of euery tree in the garden,* chap.2.16. the tree of the knowledge of good and euill onely excepted: In eating then of any other tree they ſhould not haue tranſgreſſed: but Satans drift was to bring them into tranſgreſſion. 2. And the Hebrue particle פן, *pen,* is not ſo to be tranſlated, *ne fortè, leaſt perhaps,* but rather as the 70. reade μήποτε, *nequando, leaſt at any time.* Likewiſe, Iſay.27.3. *I will keepe it, leaſt any aſſaile it:* but the enemies would aſſaile it, not by chaunce, but of purpoſe and pretended malice. The wordes alſo that follow exclude this collection of chaunce, *ne extenſa manu, leaſt he ſtretch out his hand:* But hee that ſtretcheth out his hand, doth it not at aduenture, but wittingly and of purpoſe. 3. *Adam* could not be ignorant which was the tree of life: 1. both in reſpect of his great knowledge, whereby he knew the nature of all creatures, and ſo of plants and trees. 2. And becauſe they had libertie to eate of all the trees in the garden: vnleſſe they will ſay, he eate he knew not what: 3. and for that the tree of life was ordained onely for *Adams* vſe, as they thinke to bring him to immortalitie, as we ſay to be a ſymbole vnto him of Chriſt: howſoeuer the vſe of this tree ſpecially concerning *Adams* ſtate, was not to be kept from his knowledge.

Secondly, if *Adam* had knowne this tree to be able to giue immortalitie, he would ſooner haue eaten thereof, being not prohibited, than to haue touched the forbidden fruit, ſeeing that the eating thereof alſo would haue brought him to greater happines, than the other tree: that giuing immortalitie; the other but the knowledge of good and euill. Wherefore the tree of life could not giue immortalitie to thoſe that eate thereof, but onely was a ſigne of true immortalitie in Chriſt.

THE SECOND CONTROVERSIE, OF THE FALL OF MAN.

THis Controuerſie is diuided into theſe queſtions: Firſt, of the difference of veniall and mortall ſinnes. Secondly, whether ſinne any way ſtandeth with the will of God. Thirdly, of the ſinne of *Adam,* whether it were pride or infidelitie, whether a veniall, or mortall ſinne. Fourthly, of originall ſinne: of the nature thereof, what it is, the beginning thereof, from whence it ſpringeth, the effects thereof, the puniſhment thereof, with other parts of this queſtion.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE DISTINCTION and difference of veniall and mortall ſinnes.

The Papiſts.

6.Error. MOrtall ſinnes are thoſe which doe caſt men out of Gods fauour, and are worthie of eternall damnation: veniall ſinnes doe ſomewhat diſpleaſe God, yet deſerue not eternall death, but are pardonable of their owne nature, *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de amiſſ.gratiæ, cap.*2. *& cap.*9. *in princip. Rhemiſt.annotat.Roman.*1.11. They define alſo in particular which are veniall ſinnes. Firſt, all inuoluntarie and ſudden paſſions of the minde, as of anger, concupiſcence, and ſuch like, *Bellar.cap.*3. *ad finem:* for all ſinne, they ſay, is voluntarie, and therefore theſe paſſions hauing not conſent of will, are farre from ſinne, neither are imputed to any man, neither for them need he ſay vnto God, forgiue vs our ſinnes, *Rhemiſt.annot.Rom.*7.*ſect.*8.9.

Secondly, thoſe are veniall ſinnes, which though they be done with conſent of the minde, yet are but ſeene in ſmall and light matters: as if a man ſteale a halfepennie, ſpeake an idle word, laugh immoderatly, or ſuch like. But the contrarie to theſe are mortall and deadly ſinnes, as periurie, adulterie, murder, &c.

Now to proue that theſe veniall ſinnes, as they call them, are in their owne nature pardonable, and deſerue not eternall damnation; theſe arguments they bring out of Scripture.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, that they which build hay or ſtubble, &c. though their work burne, yet they themſelues ſhall be ſafe, yet through the fire: By hay and ſtubble the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth veniall ſinnes, which doe bring detriment or loſſe, but not deſtruction: for hee ſhall be ſafe, *Bellarm.cap.9.*

Anſw. Not to ſtand at this time to ſift out the right meaning of this place, where the Apoſtle intreateth not in generall of the good or euill workes of Chriſtians, but onely of the preaching of the Goſpell, which when it is ſincerely preached, both for the matter and manner, then doe they build vpon the foundation, which is Ieſus Chriſt, gold and ſiluer, &c. but when Chriſt is taught for vaine glorie, or contentiouſly, or with any other ſiniſter affection, ſuch doe build vp hay and ſtubble. Now we anſwere: firſt, to preach Chriſt but impurely, and not ſincerely, which is compared here to a ſtraw-building, is no veniall or light offence, but a ſin worthie of death: for Chriſt ſhall ſay vnto them in the day of iudgement, that preached and propheſied in his name, but not ſincerely: *Verily I know you not, depart from me ye workers of iniquitie,* Matth.7.22,23.

Againe, veniall ſinnes, ſaith the Ieſuite, *facili negotio expiantur,* are eaſily purged and done away, *cap.*2. but ſo is not this ſinne of impure preaching: he ſhall be ſafe, yet as *through the fire,* that is, with ſome hardnes and difficultie: and ſo the phraſe is vſed, Epiſt.Iud.23. *Others ſaue with feare, as pulling them out of the fire: but haue compaſſion of others in putting difference:* Theſe are ſuch as ſinne of infirmitie: the other are more notorious offenders, which are as it were in the fire, that is, in great daunger.

2 But admit theſe are veniall ſinnes, ſuch as are forgiuen at Gods hands: yet is it not hence prooued, that they are veniall of their owne nature, but are pardoned in Chriſt: for the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch which keepe the foundation, that is, Chriſt Ieſus, though their building be not perfect and ſound.

*Argum.*2. Matth.5.22. Only he that ſaith to his brother, *foole, is worthie of hell fire:* he that ſaith *raca,* or is but angrie, is but *culpable of iudgement, or of a Councell, &c. Ergo,* euery ſinne is not worthie of hell fire, *Bellarm.cap.9.*

Anſw. Firſt, this place doth ſhew a difference and degree of euerlaſting puniſhment, according to the qualitie and diuerſitie of ſinnes: but another kinde of puniſhment beſide, it ſheweth not: ſo then, *iudgement, a councell, hell fire,* doe but ſignifie three degrees of the ſame puniſhment: hell fire is due to the reſt, but it is added onely for diſtinction, to ſhew both a difference of the ſinne and puniſhment.

Secondly, this is euident by theſe reaſons: firſt, becauſe iudgement, κρίσις, κρίμα, is taken in Scripture for euerlaſting puniſhment or condemnation, Rom.2.3. how ſhalt thou eſcape the iudgement of God? Secondly, euery ſin is a tranſgreſſion of the law, 1.Ioh.3.4. And *euery tranſgreſſion is vnder the curſe,* Galath.3.10. But theſe are tranſgreſſions of the law, *Thou ſhalt not kill:* as here our Sauiour expoundeth: *Ergo,* they are vnder the curſe of the law, and ſo ſubiect to death. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* ſaith, *no rayler can inherite the kingdome of God,* 1.Corinth.6.10. but he that ſaith, *raca,* is a rayler: for the worde ſignifieth a lighthead, or cockbraine, being deriued of ריק *raiak,* which ſignifieth to euacuate or emptie: wherefore hee that ſaith *raca,* ſhall not inherite the kingdome of heauen.

*Argum.*3. Luk.12.59. *Thou ſhalt not depart thence, till thou haſt paid the vtmoſt farthing.* Theſe are veniall ſinnes, which ſhall be purged in Purgatorie, and not bee puniſhed in hell, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, our Sauiour in this place ſpeaketh of offences among men, and giueth a rule in this place onely how to eſcape the iudgement of man and the troubles of this life. Secondly, if it be ſpiritually applied, by priſon, hell is vnderſtood: and ſo is it taken, 1.Pet.3.19. for the place of the wicked and diſobedient. Thirdly, they ſhall not come out, till they haue paid the vtmoſt farthing, that is neuer, becauſe it is impoſſible to pay or anſwere the debt vnto God, Mat.18.34. Fourthly, our Sauiour ſpeaketh of vncharitable perſons, ſuch as deferre and refuſe to be reconciled and to agree with their brethren, Matth.5.25. But want of charitie deſerueth hell.

*Argum.*4. Saint *Iames* ſaith, chap.1.verſ.15. *When luſt hath conceiued, it bringeth forth ſinne, and ſinne when it is finiſhed bringeth forth death: Ergo,* ſinne is not mortall, but when it is conſummate and finiſhed: *Rhemiſt.in hunc locum.Bellarm.cap.9.*

Anſw. Out of this place it is gathered, that there are degrees of ſinne, and that the more heynous ſinne is, it is worthie greater death, and is more hardly forgiuen: and therefore ſinne conſummate or finiſhed is ſaid to bring forth death, rather then ſinne but conceiued onely, namely, in compariſon and reſpect of ſmaller ſinnes, the greater are neereſt to death. Otherwiſe to ſpeake ſimply, death is the wages of all ſinne, Rom. 6.23.

2 If by ſinne conſummate we vnderſtand continuance in ſinne without repentance, which is the right conſummation of ſinne: then the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of ſinne as it is in it ſelfe, but as it is accounted of before God, who in his mercie forgiueth ſins not conſummate or finiſhed, but broken off by repentance, and in his iuſtice iudgeth and condemneth ſinnes conſummate by hardnes of heart and impenitencie.

3 Otherwiſe luſt and concupiſcence it ſelfe is worthie of death: 1.Ioh. 2.17. *The world paſſeth away, and the luſt thereof:* (which verſ. 16. is ſaid to be the luſt of the fleſh, and the luſt of the eyes) *but he that fulfilleth the will of God, abideth for euer:* he that hath the luſt of the fleſh, which is the luſt of the world, fulfilleth not the will of God: *Ergo*, hee abideth not for euer, and conſequently is ſubiect to death.

The Proteſtants.

WE confeſſe that there is a great difference of ſinnes, both in their nature and in the puniſhment due vnto them: that as ſinnes are greater or leſſe in themſelues, ſo they are worthie of greater or leſſe puniſhment. And therefore we deteſt their error, that thinke all ſinnes to be equall and alike: but yet wee cannot admit this popiſh diſtinction of veniall and mortall ſinnes, as though ſome ſinnes were veniall in their owne nature: for euen the leaſt ſinne deſerueth death, if God ſhould deale with vs according to the exact rule of his iuſtice: yet all ſinnes, not onely the leaſt but the greateſt are veniall by grace and faith in Chriſt, vnto the faithfull and beleeuers, and not otherwiſe: We proue it thus.

Argum. 1. That all ſinnes in themſelues are worthie of death, the Scripture ſpeaketh plainly: Deuter. 27.26. *Curſed is euery one that continueth not in all things written in this law:* Ezech. 20. *The ſame ſoule that ſinneth ſhall dye:* Iam. 2.10. *He that faileth in one point of the law is guiltie of all:* Euerie tranſgreſſion of the law therefore deſerueth death: but all ſinne is a tranſgreſſion of the law, 1.Ioh. 3.4. *Ergo.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, that all thoſe are vnderſtood of mortall and great offences, not of the ſmaller ſinnes which he calleth veniall: for in the firſt place, the words are (*written in this law*) and in that law are only forbidden the greater ſinnes, as adulterie, idolatrie, murther, and ſo likewiſe Ezech. 18. the more hainous ſinnes are reckoned vp.

Contra. This poore clauſe (*this law*) cannot helpe the Ieſuite: for Saint *Paul* alleaging this place, ſaith, *Curſed is &c. that continueth not in all things written in the law*, not this law: ſhewing hereby that all tranſgreſſions generally of the whole law, or any part thereof, are ſubiect to the curſe of the law: ſo alſo is the Prophet to be vnderſtood.

To the place in Saint *Iames* hee anſwereth thus: *He that offendeth in one point*, that is, not in any one point, but ſuch an one, as whereby charitie or loue is broken; and then it is no veniall but a mortall ſinne.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, *Whoſoeuer ſhall keepe the whole law, and yet faile in one point:* hee ſpeaketh not of any great and apparant tranſgreſſion, for how ſhould the man that doth it, ſeeme to keepe the whole law: but of ſome ſecret and ſmaller offence rather, which notwithſtanding he is taken for a good keeper of the law. Secondly, the Apoſtle himſelfe putteth an example, If thou committeſt not adulterie, and yet killeſt, thou art a tranſgreſſor: but hee onely killeth not that ſlayeth; but he alſo that is angrie vnaduiſedly, or calleth Racha, as our Sauiour Chriſt expoundeth this commaundement, Mat. 5.22. therefore he that faileth in theſe points killeth, and ſo is a tranſgreſſor of the law. Thirdly, all veniall ſinnes doe faile alſo in charitie: for charitie is the fulfilling of the law. Roman. 13. verſ. 10. hee therefore that breaketh not charitie doth keepe the lawe, and tranſgreſſeth it not: But he that committeth any veniall ſinne, tranſgreſſeth the law, otherwiſe it were no ſinne, and therefore faileth alſo in charitie: Saint *Iames* therefore by this one point vnderſtandeth veniall ſinnes, as well as other.

Argum. 2. Beſide, our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith to *Peter*, *If I waſh thee not, thou haſt no part in mee*, Ioh. 13.8. If all ſinnes exclude vs from hauing part in Chriſt, and conſequently from the kingdome of God; then conſequently all ſinnes are mortall, and in their owne nature worthie of death.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that veniall ſinnes doe not ſimplie exclude from the kingdome of God, but onely for a time, till they be purged and waſhed, *reſp. ad obiect.* 3.

Contra. Firſt, if then veniall ſinnes be neuer waſhed, they ſhall ſimplie exclude from the kingdome of heauen. Secondly, the force of the argument remaineth vnanſwered: for if all ſins muſt be waſhed away in Chriſt, or elſe we haue no part in him, and Chriſt died only to take away thoſe ſinnes which deſerued death, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr. 2.14. *That he might deſtroy through death him, that had power ouer death:* verſ. 15. And, *that he might deliuer them, which for feare of death were all*

their life time ſubiect to bondage. They then that were ſubiect to death by reaſon of their ſinnes, were deliuered by Chriſts death : *Ergo,* all ſinnes for the which Chriſt died, were worthie of death.

*Argum.*3. If all ſinnes are not mortall,then Chriſt died not for all ſinnes : for he by his death did ſatisfie onely for ſinnes that deſerued death : but Chriſt died for all ſinnes,Ioh.1.19.

Againe,originall ſinne,which is leſſe then any actuall ſinne, ſuch as their veniall ſinnes are, is worthie of death,and there by death raigneth euen ouer children,which ſinne not actually as *Adam* did,Rom.5.14.*Ergo,*veniall ſinnes which proceede from originall ſinne, doe much more deſerue death. Saint *Paul* alſo further thus ſaith : ***If I doe that I would not,then is it not I any longer that doe it,but ſinne that raigneth in me,***Rom.7.20.He calleth it ſinne,though he conſent not to it, which is againſt the Rhemiſts, that will haue no motion or paſſion in the minde ſinne, vnleſſe it be voluntarie : and ſay further,that we neede not aske forgiuenes for ſuch ſinnes.

In Pſal.105. Let *Auguſtine* ſpeake in the laſt place : ***Peccata ignorantiæ vel negligentiæ melius accuſantur vt pereant,quam excuſantur vt maneant,meliuſq; purgantur inuocato Deo,quàm firmantur irritato Deo:*** The ſinnes of ignorance and negligence are better accuſed,then excuſed ; better by praying to God to purge them, then by prouoking God to confirme them : *Ergo,*forgiuenes muſt be asked at Gods hand for voluntarie ſinnes, ſinnes of ignorance.

Alſo he ſaith, *Propter omnia peccata baptiſmus inuentus eſt, propter leuiora oratio dominica:* For all ſins Baptiſme is a remedie,and the Lords prayer for the leſſe,*de ſymbol.lib.*1.6.*Ergo,*theſe leſſer ſins are in their owne nature guiltie of death,and not of themſelues pardonable:for otherwiſe we need not ſay the Lords prayer for them, nor aske God forgiuenes,as the Rhemiſts themſelues confeſſe, *annotat.Rom.*7.*ſect.*8.9.

We haue alſo the conſent of antiquitie : ***Gelaſius,tom.anathemat.Eſt peccatum ad mortem in eodem peccato manentibus;eſt peccatum non ad mortem ab eodem peccato recedentibus:*** There is a ſinne vnto death,to them that continue in it : there is a ſinne not vnto death,to them that depart from it.

*Nicen.*2.*can.*5. ***Peccatum ad mortem eſt,quoties aliqui peccantes ſe non emendant:*** A ſin vnto death is,when they that ſinne doe not amend themſelues. Repentance we ſee,maketh all ſinnes veniall: want of repentance maketh all ſinnes mortall. None therefore are veniall of their owne nature, but by repentance.

*Decret.diſtinct.*25.*c.*3.*gloſſ.ex Auguſtin.* ***Nullum peccatum eſt veniale, quod non fiat criminale dum placeat:*** No ſin is ſo veniall,which is not made criminall,if it doe pleaſe : that is, if the ſinner continue in it. *Cauſ.*33.*diſtinct.*1.*c.*47.*Venialis culpa, quam ſequitur confeſſio delictorum :* That fault is veniall,which the confeſſion of ſinnes followeth. This ſentence is rehearſed and approued by the Maſter of Sentences,*lib.*4.*diſtinct.*17.*a.*

The Maſter hath many ſentences to the like effect : ***Lib.2.diſtinct.24.I. Totus homo damnabitur, &c.*** Whole man ſhall be condemned, vnleſſe thoſe ſinnes, which without any will or purpoſe of working,but with a delight onely of the minde,are committed in thought,are remitted by the fauour of the Mediatour: But theſe, by their owne definition, are onely veniall ſinnes, which haue not the conſent of the will. ***Lib.3.diſtinct.38.a. A lye made to ſaue another, is a veniall ſinne to the weake,but to the perfect it is damnable.*** If the ſame ſin be veniall to one, and damnable to another, then is it not in it owne nature venial. ***Lib.4.diſt.20.b. Quædam peccata mortalia in pœnitentia fiunt venialia:*** Some mortall ſinnes,are by repentance made veniall. Therefore they are not veniall or worthie of forgiuenes in themſelues, but by repentance and mercie in Chriſt.

Some learned writers of the Papiſts doe differ from them in this erronious diſtinction of venial and mortall ſinnes : ***Ioann.Gerſon.3.part.theolog.tract.de vita animæ.lect.1.Ioann.Epiſcop.Roffenſ.in refutat.artic.32.Luther.Iacobus Alman.tract.3.c.20.***

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER SINNE any way may ſtand with the will of God.

The Papiſts.

7.Error. NO ſinne ſtandeth with the will or intention of God,but is directly againſt it, *Rhemiſt.annot.Rom.*3.*ſect.*4. And therefore Chriſts death was Gods act no otherwiſe, then by permiſſion, *Act.*3.*ſect.*2. Neither is God the author of ſinne, otherwiſe then by permiſſion and withholding of his grace : ***annot.Iam.1.13.*** *Sic etiam Bellarm.de ſtatu.peccat.cap.*3.

But our faith is this,grounded vpon Scripture, that whatſoeuer is done in the world, is not done by Gods permiſſion onely,but ſtandeth alſo with his knowledge: ***Hell and deſtruction are before him,how much more the harts of men?*** Prou.15.11. With his will and pleaſure:*whatſoeuer pleaſed* ***the Lord, that did be in heauen and in earth,***Pſal.35.6. With his eternall ordinance and decree:So the Apoſtle ſaith,that Chriſt was deliuered vp according to ẏͤ determinate counſell of God,Act.2.23. And not onely ſo,but all things in the world are done by the power of God: ***Shall there be euill in a*** *citie, and the Lord hath not done it?* Amos. 3.6. yea, at the bidding and commaundement of God: the Lord hath bidden him to curſe *Dauid*, 2. Sam. 16.10. Therefore euill actions are not done onely by the permiſſion of God. And yet for all this God ſhall not be the author of ſinne.

For firſt, God is not the author of any euill action, as it is euill, either by willing, decreeing, bidding it, or mouing thereunto, but onely as hee giueth power, as our creator, to his creatures, to moue or worke this or that: Therefore a ſinfull worke: *Quatenus Dei eſt authoris, opus eſt, crimen non eſt, quantum autem hominis eſt, crimen eſt, ſcelus eſt:* As it commeth of God the author, it is a worke onely, and no ſinne: as it is of man, it is ſinne and wickednes. Againe, God is no otherwiſe to be reſpected in a ſinfull worke and action, but as a iuſt iudge, which puniſheth ſin by ſin: for it is a iuſt thing before God to recompence one ſinne by another: and ſo it is to be conſidered, not ſo much, *tanquam peccatum, quam pœna peccati*, as it is a ſinne, as a puniſhment of ſinne. Thirdly, in the ſame action, God propoundeth one end, as the exerciſing of his children, and manifeſtation of his mercie, as in the tentation of *Iob*: the inſtrument whereby hee worketh, reſpecteth ſome euill end, as Satan laboured the ſubuerſion of *Iob*, and the euill affection and purpoſe of the inſtrument maketh the action euill; but God is free, and vnſpotted: God therefore is not any wayes the author of ſinne. Let vs now ſee what arguments our aduerſaries bring: firſt, againſt our opinion, and then for the confirmation of their owne.

Zuinglius ſerm. de prouid. cap. 5.

Beza Aphoriſ. 31.

Caluin. aduerſ. Libertin. cap. 14.

Argum. 1. *Bellarmine* ſetteth downe foure great abſurdities, that (he ſaith) muſt needes follow of our opinion. Firſt, if God be the author of euery action good or bad, and if wicked men are his inſtruments to accompliſh his will: God muſt of neceſſitie be the author of ſinne, ſeeing he willeth and commaundeth it, *cap.* 4. Secondly, God is not in thus doing the author only of ſinne, but he himſelfe alſo ſhould properly and truly commit ſinne, being conſenting, and letting his helping hand to ſinfull actions, *cap.* 5. Thirdly, God by this meanes ſhould not onely be guiltie of ſinne, but the onely perſon in the world that properly ſinneth: for if that neither *Adam*, nor any of his poſteritie could chuſe but ſinne, ſeeing it was ſo ordained of God: and no man is ſaid to ſin, in that which he cannot ſhunne and auoyde: therefore no man properly is guiltie of ſinne; and ſo it would light wholy vpon God, *cap.* 6. Laſtly, ſeeing then that man ſinneth not, becauſe what he doth, is by the power, will, and commaundement of God: and yet God himſelfe is no wayes the author of ſinne, as the Proteſtants affirme: then it would follow, that ſinne is nothing at all, as the Libertines hold, but onely an imagined and deuiſed thing, being no where to be found: And if ſinne be nothing, then hell is nothing, and Chriſts death in vaine, *Bellarm. cap.* 7.

Anſw. Firſt, theſe obiections are eaſily remoued by that which we anſwered before: that God is no otherwiſe the author of euill actions, or the willer and commaunder of them, then as the power of working is of God: but the euill qualitie and condition of the action, is to be imputed onely to the inſtrument: ſo that men committing euill, as they receiue a generall and abſolute power of God, to moue, to liue, &c. are onely, *paſſiua inſtrumenta*, paſſiue inſtruments: as they are workers of euill, they are onely, *actiua inſtrumenta*, actiue and working inſtruments. We will make this plaine by ſome example: as when the Sunne beames beate vpon ſome carrion, by the heate thereof there is raiſed a ſtinch, yet the Sunne beames ſtinke not, but the euill ſauour ariſeth only of the corrupt matter: And as when we ſee a lame man walking, and halting as hee goeth; the ſoule and life that is in man giueth motion to the lame part, yet the lameneſſe therof commeth of the infirmitie of the member it ſelfe: Euen ſo the Lorde may be the cauſe of euill actions, and yet not guiltie of the euill.

Bellarmine obiecteth that theſe examples are vnlike: for the Sunne, and the ſoule of man are onely generall cauſes, not particular of theſe actions: but God (as you ſay) is not onely an vniuerſall, but a ſpeciall cauſe of euery action, *Bellarm. cap* 5.

Anſw. The ſoule in the bodie is both an vniuerſall and particular cauſe of the power of mouing in euery part: for as the ſaying in Philoſophie is, *anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte:* The ſoule is both vniuerſally whole in the whole bodie, and ſpecially whole in euery part. But of the lamenes and defect in mouing it is no cauſe at all, vnleſſe it be the generall and furtheſt remoued cauſe: ſo we doe ſay alſo of the working of God in euill actions.

2 In one and the ſame action God doth reſpect a good and profitable end, whereas the inſtrument may haue a miſchieuous purpoſe and intent, which maketh the action euill: and ſo the ſinne is proper onely to the inſtrument.

Anſw. This is againſt Saint *Pauls* rule, who ſaith, wee muſt not doe euill, that good may come thereof: therefore the good intent, which God propoundeth to himſelfe, cannot iuſtifie the euill action, wherein he is a partie, *Bellarm. cap.* 4.

Contra. God is not a partie in the euilnes of the action at all, as wee haue ſhewed: wherefore it is falſe that he doth euill to a good end. Nay, both the action it ſelfe is good as it commeth of God, and the end alſo good: which the Lord reſpecteth.

3 The iudgements of God are alwaies iuſt: and therefore ſinnes, as they are puniſhments of

former ſins are iuſt: and ſo may be of God. *Anſw.* Yea, but *Adams* ſinne was not a puniſhment of a former, for he was created without ſinne, therefore his ſin muſt be imputed to God, *Bellar.c.*4.

Contra. Yea, but *Adam* had free will by creation, to chuſe good or euill, and therefore ſeeing it was his voluntarie choiſe to ſinne, he onely is to be blamed for it.

Obiect. *Adams* fall is foreſeene of God, and he could not otherwiſe chuſe: how then can he be guiltie of that ſinne, which was not in his power to auoyde?

Anſw. Indeede *Adam* in reſpect of Gods appointment and foreknowledge, did ſinne *neceſſariò*, neceſſarily, but not *coactè*, he was not conſtrained: but in reſpect of his owne free will, he did neither, *neceſſariò vel coactè, ſed voluntariè peccare:* he did neither ſinne of neceſſitie or by conſtraint, but voluntarily.

Saint *Auguſtine* doth anſwere this obiection to the full: It will be ſaid that *Pharaoh* could doe no other, becauſe it was ſo foreſeene of him: It is anſwered, ſaith he, *Dei præſcientiam non cogere hominem vt talis ſit, qualem præſciuit Deus, ſed præſcire talem futurum, qualis futurus erat, quamuis ſic eũ non fecerit Deus: qui ſi hoc præſcierat eſſe, quod non eſt, præſcientia iam non eſt:* The preſcience of God doth not make a man to be that, which he is foreſeene to be, but doth onely foreknow him to be ſuch, as he ſhould haue been, though God had not made him ſuch: for if God ſhould haue foreſeene that which is not, it were no foreknowledge at all, *De prædeſtinat.lib.*1.15.

Thus we ſee how ſinfull actions may ſtand with the will, decree and power of God: and yet God ſhall neither be the anthor of ſinne, nor himſelfe thereby be made either properly, or onely to ſinne, not yet ſinne to become nothing. Now let vs examine the reaſons which our aduerſaries bring of their part.

*Argum.*2. The Scripture ſaith, that God loueth not, or willeth not iniquitie, Pſal.5.4. He will not the death of a ſinner, Ezech.18.32. And many ſuch places there are to the like purpoſe: *Ergo,* God giueth no conſent vnto ſinne, much leſſe commendeth it, *Bellarm.cap.*8.

Anſw. 1. Firſt, theſe places alſo make as ſtrong againſt popiſh permiſſion: for if God hate iniquitie, he will not permit it: for he that permitteth any thing which he hateth, either ſheweth his impotencie, in that he is not able to hinder it, but is conſtrained to permit it: or elſe declareth his mutabilitie in louing that which before he hated.

2 We alſo graunt, that God neither willeth nor worketh iniquitie: hee willeth the worke, but the iniquitie of the worke is of man: And he willeth not the death of a ſinner; that is, hee procureth not, nor worketh the death of any, which is wrought by ſinne, with the which the Lord hath no fellowſhip: As *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Cupiditates peccantium Dei prædeſtinatio non excitauit, ſuaſit, aut impulit, ſed prædeſtinauit iudicium ſuum, quo vnicuiq; prout geſſit, retributurus eſt:* Gods predeſtination doth not ſtirre vp, perſwade, or inforce the deſires of ſinners: but God hath only predeſtinate his iuſt iudgements, whereby he will render to euery man, as he hath done, and as the ſinnes, which he hath committed, doe deſerue.

Articul.falſ. impoſit.16.

3 Laſtly, theſe places in Scripture, *God will not the death of a ſinner,* and *he will all men to be ſaued,* 1.Timoth.2. and ſuch like, are to be vnderſtood of the reuealed will of God: who notwithſtanding in his ſecret will hath caſt his lots ouer euery man, either to life or death: yet the externall meanes of ſaluation are offered to all.

Obiect. 1. You confeſſe then that there is a reuealed will of God in the Scripture, from whence then doe ye know his ſecret will? ſurely, ſaith the Ieſuite, *ſatis oſtendunt ſe eam non ex ſcripturis, ſed ex proprio capite deduxiſſe:* By this you declare, that this ſecret will you learne not out of Scripture, but gather it out of your owne head, *Bellarm.cap.*8.

Anſw. 1. We graunt the Ieſuites conſequent, you learne it not out of Scripture: *Ergo,* it is an inuention of your own head: for hereby he condemneth all inuentions and traditions, beſide ſcripture, which elſewhere he moſt ſtifly maintaineth. 2. We denie the antecedent: for this diſtinction of the ſecret and reuealed will of God, we learne euen out of Scripture: for where wee reade, *Ego Deus creans malum,* Iſai.45.7. I am the God that create euill: And againe, *Non Deus volens iniquitatem tu es:* Thou art not a God which loueſt iniquitie: how ſhall theſe places be reconciled, to ſpeake one truth, vnleſſe we make a difference betweene the ſecret and reuealed will of God?

Obiect. 2. If God haue a ſecret will, whereby he willeth one thing, and a reuealed will, whereby he nilleth the ſame: then hath God two contrarie wils, which cannot be both true, and thus you make God a lyer, *Bellar.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, we doe not ſay that God hath two wils, but one and the ſelfeſame will, that hath diuers reſpects: and if in reſpect of vs God ſeeme to will one thing which in reſpect of his ſecret counſell hee nilleth, hee is no more contrarie to himſelfe, than our Sauiour Chriſt was, who made ſhew to his two Diſciples as though he would go further, and yet had a purpoſe to ſtay with them. But concerning this diſtinction, S. *Auguſt.* putteth vs out of doubt: *Remota hac diſcretione, quam diuina ſcientia intra ſecretũ iuſtitiæ ſuæ continet, ſynceriſſime credendũ eſt deum omnes ſaluari velle:* Setting apart that difference of men, which the diuine knowledge hath locked vp in the cloſet of iuſtice,

Luk.24.

Articul.fal. Impoſit.art.2.

it is ſincerely to be beleeued, that God would haue all men ſaued. There is then another difference of men in the ſecret counſell of God, then is outwardly and apparantly knowne. This diſtinction of Gods ſecret and reuealed will, the Maſter of ſentences very well approueth out of *Auguſtine lib.*1.*diſt.*47.*b. Multa non fieri præter voluntatem Dei, quæ fiunt contra voluntatem:* That many things are done contrary to the will of God, which are not done beſide his will: that is, many things may be committed againſt Gods precepts, which are his will, and yet not againſt his omnipotent and euerlaſting will: *Contra eam quippe nihil fit,* for nothing is done againſt that will: the one is called *voluntas ſigni,* the ſigned will of God, which is teſtified by outward ſignes, as precepts and prohibitions in Scripture: the other is *voluntas beneplaciti,* the will of Gods Counſell, or purpoſe. And ſo *Auguſtine* concludeth, *Quantum ad ipſos attinet, quod Deus noluit, fecerunt, quantum ad omnipotentiam Dei, nullo modo facere voluerunt:* In reſpect of themſelues, ſinners do that which God would not; but in regard of Gods omnipotent will, they could not.

*Argum.*3. S. *Iames* ſaith, *Let no man ſay, when he is tempted; I am tempted of the Lord,* Iam.1.13. and S. *Paul; God will not ſuffer you to be tempted aboue that you are able: Ergo,* much more doth not God tempt any man, or compell him to ſinne, ſeeing he doth not ſuffer his children to be tempted, &c. *Bellarm.c.*8.*loc.*4.

Anſw. Firſt, this profeſſed diſputer forgetteth the point in queſtion, and fighteth with his own ſhadow, forcing a concluſion, which no man denieth, and ſo traueileth with wind: For we confeſſe, that God neyther tempteth, prouoketh or compelleth any man to ſinne. Secondly, there is a temptation, which is of God, which is nothing but the triall of a mans faith: as the Lord is ſaid to haue tempted *Abraham,* Geneſ.22.2. that is, to haue made triall and proofe of his faith: any other way God tempteth not. Thirdly, theſe three wayes we acknowledge Gods power in the ſinfull actions of men. 1. In forſaking them, and giuing men ouer to themſelues to follow their owne luſts: as he tooke his good ſpirite from *Saul;* by the abſence of which ſpirite he fell into moſt grieuous ſinnes. 2. God as a Creator giueth life and power to euery thing to moue, to liue, to worke, Act.17. *In him we liue, we moue and haue our being.* 3. He as a iuſt iudge doth puniſh ſinners by their owne ſinne, Rom.1.26. *For this cauſe God gaue them ouer to vile affections:* So that ſin, as it is a conſequent of deſertion, a worke of the creature, a iudgement and puniſhment; is not without the will of God: yet the Lord is no way acceſſarie to the euilneſſe of ſinne, nor the author thereof. In this ſenſe we miſlike not that diſtinction of *Origen: Multa ſine voluntate Dei geruntur, nihil ſine prouidentia; prouidentia eſt, qua diſpenſat, & prouidet; voluntas, qua vult, aut non vult aliquid:* Many things are done without the will of God, nothing without his prouidence; that is his prouidence, wherewith he doth diſpenſe, diſpoſe, and prouide or foreſee; that is his will, whereby he willeth or nilleth any thing: wherefore though ſinne be not agreeable to the will of God, yet it ſtandeth with his prouidence.

The Proteſtants.

WE affirme, that ſinne neither ſtandeth abſolutely with the will of God, for he made not ſinne, nor yet created man to ſinne, neither properly or directly doth God ſuffer or permit ſinne, as it is ſinne, to be done in the world: but he ſuffereth the creature, without coaction or conſtraint to vſe their natural faculties, which are of themſelues prone to ſinne: ſo that in ſinfull actions God worketh otherwiſe then by permiſſion onely, or withholding of his grace: for he is to be conſidered both as a Creator, that giueth power to euery thing, to moue, to liue, to do this or that, and as a iuſt iudge, puniſhing and iudging men in and by their owne ſinnes.

*Argum.*1. S. *Peter* ſaith, that Chriſt was deliuered vp according to the determinate counſell of God, Act.2.23. Gods determinate counſell is more then his ſufferance or permiſſion.

Anſw. The meaning of the Apoſtle is this: that God had decreed and determined, that Chriſt ſhould die to redeeme the world: but that *Iudas* ſhould betray him, or *Pilate* condemne him, or the ſouldiers crucifie him, God decreed not it ſhould be done, but to ſuffer it to be done, *Bellarm. cap.*11. *ſic etiam Rhemiſt.*

Contra. 1. God did not onely permit the Iewes to work their malice vpon Chriſt, but moſt iuſtly and moſt holily he vſed their malice to bring his purpoſe to paſſe. 2. For if God ſuffered and permitted that to be done, which he might haue hindered, hee thereby ſhould be made acceſſary with the Iewes of his ſonnes death. And 3. again, where the Apoſtle ſaith, *definito conſilio,* he was deliuered vp by the determinate counſell of God: it ſheweth an actiue, not a permiſſiue power of God, and a reſolute decree of God for the deliuering vp of his Sonne, not a foreknowledge onely. 4. Neither is it the Lords manner to decree to ſuffer, but to do: for *Whatſoeuer the Lord will, is done in heauen and in earth.* Pſal.35.6. 5. But if he ſhould ſuffer that to be done which he willeth not, then not whatſoeuer the Lord willeth, is done; but he ſhould be conſtrayned to yeeld to the will of others.

*Argum.*2. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, that God bid *Semei* curſe, 2.Sam.16. And the Lord ſaith to the euill ſpirite, that offered himſelfe to go and deceiue *Abab: Vade & fac, & prævalebis:* Goe and do ſo, and thou ſhalt preuaile: But bidding and commanding is more then ſuffering: *Ergo.*

Anſw. Firſt, God may be ſaid to bid or command to doe euill, in ſuffering the inſtruments which he vſeth to doe euill. Secondly, becauſe he not onely ſuffereth the wicked ſo to doe, but leaueth and forſaketh them, and withholdeth his grace. Thirdly, and beſide theſe two wayes, *Præſidet etiam Deus ipſis voluntatibus malis, eaſque regit & gubernat, ac flectit in eis inuiſibiliter operando, vt licet vitio proprio malæ ſint, tamen à diuina prouidentia ad vnum potius malum, quàm ad aliud, non poſitiuè, ſed permiſſiuè ordinentur:* God ſitteth euen in the wicked purpoſes of men, gouerning and ruling them, and ſo by his inuiſible power working in them, doth turne them, that although they be euill of themſelues, yet they are by the diuine prouidence of God ordained to doe one euill rather then another, not poſitiuely, that is abſolutely, appointing them thereto, but by way of permiſſion: As God is ſaid to haue commanded *Shemei* to curſe, becauſe he inclined his will, being euill, to curſe *Dauid*: And he inclined him, not by compelling, but by opening him a way to this ſinne, and ſtopping the way to other ſinnes, *ſic Bellarm. de amiſſ. grat. lib.* 2. *cap.* 13.

Contra. Concerning the two firſt wayes of permitting and withholding of grace, they haue not any place here: for to bid and command, is more then either of theſe. Concerning the third, firſt, the Ieſuite is contrarie to himſelfe, he ſaith that God doth gouerne, turne, and rule, and incline the minds of wicked men, and yet concludeth, that all this is done by permiſſion: *inclinauit, id eſt, permiſit,* he inclined, that is, ſuffered: which are cleane contrarie: for to incline is an action, to permit is a thing paſſiue. Secondly, what differeth now this third way from the firſt? for here he runneth to permiſſion. Thirdly, in ſaying that God inclineth to euill by opening a way to euill, and ſtopping the paſſage to other ſinnes; he runneth into that inconuenience, which he moſt of all ſhunneth, to make God the author of ſinne: for how can it be auoyded, ſeeing God openeth a way to ſinne, poynteth to it, and ſheweth the meane: and might as well hinder the way to this ſinne, as he doth to others? Therefore how much better and more ſafe is our aſſertion, that God in bidding *Shemei* to curſe, was himſelfe an agent in this action, ſo farre as it tended to good: namely, vſing this wicked inſtrument in reſpect of himſelfe after a moſt holy and iuſt maner, for the triall of *Dauid,* and the manifeſtation of his iuſt iudgement vpon this wicked man. And thus ſpeaketh *Auguſtine, Deus voluntatem eius proprio ſuo vitio malam in hoc peccatum iudicio ſuo iuſto & occulto inclinauit:* God by his iuſt and ſecret iudgement, did incline his will, being corrupt of it ſelfe, vnto this miſchiefe. Loe, he ſaith, *inclinauit,* he did incline his will, which is more, then *permiſit,* he did ſuffer him.

De liber. arbit. cap. 20.

Argum. 3. God is ſaid in Scripture to harden mens hearts, and to blind their eyes: as Exod. 7. verſ. 3: *I will harden Pharaohs heart.* Ioſua 11. 20. *It came of the Lord to harden their heartes, that they ſhould come againſt Iſrael,* 1. Sam. 2. 25. *They obeyed not the voyce of their father, becauſe the Lord would kill them.* Iſay 63. 17. *Why haſt thou made vs to erre from thy wayes?* Iohn 12. 39. *They could not beleeue, becauſe Eſaias ſaith, he hath blinded their eies and hardened their heart:* Rom. 1. 28. *God gaue them vp to a reprobate minde.*

Bellarmine anſwereth, Firſt, God is not the author of induration or excæcation *poſitiuely,* but onely negatiuely: that is, *permittendo, deſerendo,* by ſuffering them to be hardened, and by forſaking them. Secondly, in Scripture thoſe things are ſaid to harden, or to blind, which are but the occaſions onely, *as gifts are ſaid to* blind the *eyes of the wiſe*: ſo God is ſaid to harden, *occaſionaliter,* by miniſtring the occaſion, by abuſing whereof men are hardened: as Pſal. 105. *God turned the hearts of the Ægyptians, ſo that they did hate his people:* God did not peruert the hearts of the Egyptians, but by ſhewing mercie to his people, they tooke occaſion thereby to hate them. *Bellarm. c.* 13. *&* 14. *obſeruat.* 5.

Contra. Firſt, *Thomas Aquinas,* whom *Bellarmine* alleageth, graunteth, that God doth *inclinare malas voluntates, non ſolum permittendo, ſed poſitiuè,* incline the euil willes of men, not onely by permiſſion, but poſitiuely: *in comment. c.* 9. *ad Roman.* that is, not by ſuffering onely, but by doing and working.

Secondly, neither can it ſafely be affirmed, that God miniſtreth occaſion to men to be hardened or to ſinne: ſeeing 1. that *Balaam* is reproued for teaching *Balaak* to put *a ſtumbling blocke before the children of Iſrael,* Reuel. 2. 14. Shall we thinke then, that God putteth ſtumbling blocks before men to fall at? 2. And this were to make God the worker of tentation, as Sathan is, who tempteth *occaſionaliter,* by ſetting the occaſion or motiue before mens eyes; as hee ſhewed Chriſt the whole world. 3. But if they ſay, that the occaſion which God miniſtreth, is good, but men abuſe it, and are thereby hardened: as when through Gods patience men are made worſe. Here God doth miniſter no occaſion at all, but they take occaſion to be hardened, where there is none offered: and thus God cannot any way be ſaid to harden mens hearts.

Thirdly, *Auguſtine* hath foure opinions of this matter. 1. God is ſaid to harden *Pharaos* heart, *qui cauſas miniſtrat,* becauſe he miniſtred the cauſe, whereby *Pharao* his heart was hardened, *qu.* 30. *in Exod.* but this as I ſhewed is not ſufficient. 2. *Indurare Deus dicitur, quem mollire noluerit*

rit: God is ſaid to harden, whom he will not mollifie, *de prædeſtinat.lib.1.c.4.* Thus God ſhould be ſaid to harden the hearts of all wicked men. 3. That God is ſaid to harden *Pharaos* heart, *Non ad operationem Dei, ſed præſcientiæ pertinere monſtratur*: It muſt be vnderſtood of Gods preſcience onely and foreknowledge, not of his woorking, *de prædeſtination.lib.1.c.6.* this were to confound Gods knowledge and workes. 4. Wherefore in the fourth place he ſaith, *Deus indurauit per iuſtum iudicium, Pharao per liberum arbitrium*: God did indurate *Pharaos* heart, by his iuſt iudgement; *Pharao* by the freeneſſe of his corrupt will: *de liber.arbit.c.23.* To this ſentence of *Auguſtine* wee conſent, that God doth not harden mens heartes onely, by permiſſion, deſertion, occaſion, preſcience; but, as a iuſt iudge, he puniſheth ſinne by ſinne, and giueth them ouer to the hardneſſe of their heart: and *Bellarmine* vnawares confeſſeth as much, that when God in Scripture is ſaid to indurate, *id facit vt iuſtus iudex*, he doth it as a iuſt Iudge, *c.14.obſeru.5.* This is more then to do it by permiſſion onely or deſertion. Laſtly, *Origen* doth very well expreſſe this matter, by this ſimilitude: *Sol duplicis videtur eſſe virtutis, &c.* The Sunne ſeemeth to be of a double vertue, one to illuminate, another to burne or harden, but according to the matter and ſubiect: ſo God hardened *Pharaos* heart, *becauſe it was by his corrupt thoughts of an earthly nature, as the Sunne hardeneth the clay*: *hom.2 in Cantic.* So then as the Sunne, not by withdrawing his light, or by ſuffring, but effectiuely hardneth the clay; ſo God likewiſe: but the cauſe of all is in the corruption of mans heart. So then to conclude this whole matter, I ſay with *Auguſtine*; firſt, *Non cuiuſquam peccati author eſt Deus, ſed naturæ Creator, quæ cùm poteſtatem habuit non delinquendi, ſponte deliquit*: God is not the author of ſinne, but the Creator of nature, which when it had power not to ſinne, ſinned willingly, *articul.6.falſ.impoſ.Auguſtin.* Secondly, *aliud fecit Deus & ordinauit; aliud non fecit, ſed ordinauit*, ſome things God both made and ordered or diſpoſed: ſome things he made not, but diſpoſed or ordered, as the darkeneſſe in the creation, *in Pſal.7.* So God in the worke of ſinne is to be conſidered as a Creator, from whom the creature hath power to do this or that; and as a iuſt Iudg, that ordereth and diſpoſeth of ſinne, directing it to the iuſt puniſhment of the wicked.

Cauſ.23.qu.4.c.23. Cùm aliquos à Deo traditos deſiderys, aut obduratos legimus, &c. When wee reade of any giuen vp to their luſts, and obdurate, &c. We confeſſe that they had ſo deſerued by their great ſins: Where then there is an euil deſert preceding, and hardnes of heart followeth as a puniſhment, there God is not to be conſidered only as a beholder, or ſufferer, but as a iuſt Iudge.

Cauſ.24.qu.3.c.39. The Colluthians are numbred among heretikes, *Qui dicunt Deum non facere mala*: Who ſay that God doth not euill, contrary to the Scripture, *I the Lord create euill*: the papiſts excluding the power of God from euill, but onely by the way of permiſſion; are not farre from this hereſie.

The Maſter of the Sentences is a plentifull witneſſe with vs; ſhewing diuers wayes out of *Auguſtine* how ſinne ſtandeth with the will of God. 1. Becauſe *mala fieri bonum eſt*, it is a good thing, that euill ſhould be done: for by this meanes Gods power and goodneſſe is ſeene, in turning euill to good, *lib.1.diſt.46 g.* 2. *Voluntas Dei de nobis impletur, ſed tamen non implemus eam cum peccamus*: The will of God is fulfilled of vs, though we fulfill not the will of God, when we ſinne. *lib.1.diſt.47.i.* that is, Gods will euen in ſinners is fulfilled to their puniſhment 3. *Actus mali, inquantum actus ſunt, bona ſunt & à Deo authore*: Euill actions, as they are actions, are good, and ſo of God: *lib.2.diſt.35.d.* 4. *Ea quæ peccata ſunt & pœna peccati, &c.* That which is both a ſinne and a puniſhment of ſinne, is of God as it a puniſhment, for all puniſhments of ſinne are iuſt, *lib.2.diſt.36.b.* So likewiſe *lib.2.d.32. Concupiſcentia in quantum pœna peccati deum habet authorem*: Concupiſcence, as it is a puniſhment hath God the author, but as it is a ſinne or fault, it hath the diuell for the author. 5. *Lib.2.diſtinct.44.b. Poteſtas mali eſt a Deo*: The power of euill, or whereby euill is done, is of God: *Potentiam Deus tribuit, elationem potentiæ malitia noſtræ mentis inuenit*: God giueth power to worke, but the abuſe of the power is of the malice of our owne mind. Thus farre the Maſter of the ſentences agreeth with vs: whereby it is euident, in what ſenſe God in ſinfull actes is to be conſidered, not as a ſufferer onely, but as a worker and diſpoſer.

THE THIRD QVESTION, CONCERNING the ſinne of Adam.

THis queſtion hath three parts. Firſt, whether *Adams* fall were any other way, then by Gods permiſſion onely. Secondly, what *Adams* ſinne was, whether pride or infidelitie. Thirdly, what kinde of ſinne, whether veniall or mortall.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER ADAMS FALL was any other way, then by Gods permiſſion.

The Papiſts.

BEllarmine affirmeth, that God onely ſuffered *Adam* to be tempted and ſo to fall, and that God no way willed or decreed it: *De ſtat.peccat.lib.3.c.2.* 9.Error.

Argum. 2.Pet.3.9. *God would haue none periſh, but to come to repentance:* Therefore God no way willed, or decreed the fall of man. Againe, the Apoſtle ſaith, we muſt not doe euill, that good may come of it, Rom.3.8. *Ergo,* God would not *Adams* fall, that he might afterward be ſaued by Chriſt.

Anſw. Firſt, the fall of man tended not to his deſtruction, but to his further ſtrengthning and raiſing vp in Chriſt: as *Ambroſe* well ſaith, *Iuſta eſſet hæc accuſatio, ſi vulnera noſtra immedicabilia eſſent:* This accuſation were iuſt, if our wounds were remedileſſe, *de paradiſ. cap.* 8. Neither was *Adams* fall euill, as it was foreſeene and foreordained of God, the cauſe thereof was euill, namely *Adams* rebellion and diſobedience: but God in his moſt holy counſell, knew how to turne *Adams* ruine and fall to his benefite.

The Proteſtants.

NEither doe we affirme that *Adams* ſinne was appointed in the will and decree of God, but it proceeded from the libertie of *Adams* will: but the fall of *Adam* was both forſeene of God, and decreed to be, not permitted onely.

*Argum.*1. As Chriſts death was decreed and determined, Act.2.23. So was the fall of *Adam,* for the end of Chriſts death, was to reſtore *Adams* fall: and if the end be decreed, then thoſe things alſo, which are neceſſarilie referred to that end. Againe, Epheſ.1.4. *The Saints were choſen in Chriſt before the foundation of the world, who hath predeſtinate vs to be adopted thorough Ieſus Chriſt:* From whence I reaſon thus, the adoption of Gods children in Chriſt was predeſtinate & foreordained before the world: there could be no adoption, if *Adam* had not fallen: for what needed a reſtitution, if there had been no tranſgreſſion or preuarication? *Ergo, Adams* fall was decreed.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Tenenda eſt inconcuſſè hæc regula,* This rule muſt ſurely be held, that ſinners, *in peccatis præſcitos non prædeſtinatos, pœnam autem ijs prædeſtinatam,* were foreſeene in their ſinnes, not predeſtinate; but their puniſhment was predeſtinate. Wherefore *Adams* fall being a puniſhment of his ſinne, was predeſtinate, and before ordained. Concerning *Adams* ſinne, how it may ſtand with the will of God, I haue ſhewed at large before, queſt.2.part.2.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER PRIDE, OR infidelitie were the firſt ſinne of Adam.

The Papiſts.

10. Error. THe Ieſuites opinion is, that neither intemperancie, luſt of the fleſh, infidelity, or any other, but pride onely was the firſt offence into the which *Adam* fell: who being tickled with ſelfe-loue, and an ambitious deſire to better their eſtate, when the diuell had ſaid vnto them *(eritis, ſicut Dij)* ye ſhall be as Gods: afterwards alſo fell into infidelitie, in giuing eare to Sathan, and not beleeuing the words of God, *Bellarm. de ſtat. peccat. lib.*3.*cap.*4.

*Argum.*1. We reade in Eccleſiaſticus, chap.10. verſ.14. that pride is the originall of ſinne: *Ergo,* it was the firſt offence, from the which other flowed, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, the authoritie of this booke doth not binde vs, becauſe we doe not acknowledge nor receiue it for Scripture. Secondly, it is apparant by the text it ſelfe, that pride hath alſo his beginning, and therefore is not the originall of all tranſgreſſion: as verſe 13. *The beginning of mans pride is to fall away from God:* therefore by this ſentence, diſobedience is ſet before pride, as the beginning and begetter thereof. Thirdly, the Canonicall Scripture ſpeaketh contrarie: for S. *Paul* ſaith, that not pride, but couetouſnes or the loue of money, is the roote, that is, the beginning and cauſe of all euill, 1.Tim.6.20.

*Argum.*2. S.*Paul* ſaith, Rom.5.19. *By one mans diſobedience many were made ſinners:* but diſobedience, that is, not to be ſubiect to the commandement of another, is the firſt act of pride: *Ergo,* the firſt ſinne of *Adam* was pride.

Anſw. Firſt, *Bellarmine* himſelfe confeſſeth, that the diſobedience of our firſt parents was *tertius actus,* the third act of their tranſgreſſion, infidelitie the ſecond, pride the firſt, *cap.*9. but now he turneth his ſpeech, and ſaith, that diſobedience was the firſt act, which he maketh a part of pride. Secondly, by diſobedience in this place, the Apoſtle meaneth not any one particular offence committed by our firſt parents, but the whole lump or maſſe of ſinne rather, which did concur in their tranſgreſſion: And this appeareth, by ſetting againſt *Adams* diſobedience, the obedience of Chriſt: whereby is vnderſtoode, not any one vertue but the whole righteouſnes, and perfection of Chriſts obedience: whereby many (ſaith the Apoſtle) are made righteous: but we are made righteous, not by the partiall, but whole and entire obedience of Chriſt. As Chriſts obedience then is taken for his whole and perfect obedience; ſo is *Adams* diſobedience likewiſe.

The Proteſtants.

THough it be not a point greatly materiall, whether pride or infidelitie in *Adams* tranſgreſſion was the firſt, ſeeing it is on each ſide confeſſed, that both of them were preſent; yet becauſe it is good, ſo far as is poſſible, to ſearch out euery truth: we will alſo declare, which of theſe opinions commeth neereſt the truth: firſt,it is to be conſidered, that many ſinnes conſpired as it were,and were heaped together in the tranſgreſſion of *Adam*: *Auguſtine* reckeneth vp theſe fiue: 1. *Sacrilegium*, there was Sacrilege, that is, they robbed God of his honor, in that they beleeued not his word. 2.*Homicidium*,Homicide,in being guiltie of their owne death. 3.*Fornicatio ſpiritualis*;Spirituall fornication,in giuing credit to the diuell. 4.*Furtum*, Theft,in eating fruite which was prohibited,and ſo none of theirs. 5.*Auaritia*,Couetouſnes,*plus quam ſufficit expetendo*,in deſiring more then was ſufficient: *Auguſt.Enchirid.cap*.45. And in another place he ſetteth downe three more: *Gulam,cupiditatem, ſuperbiam*: Gluttonie,for they ſaw that the fruite was pleaſant to the eye,and therefore deſired to eate of it; Concupiſcence,or carnall deſire,they perceiued themſelues to be naked,&c. Pride, in ambitiouſly ſeeking to be like vnto God: *Ad fratres in Eremo. ſerm*.68. Vnto theſe we may adde the excuſing of their ſinne, and in *Adam*, his credulitie, in giuing too light eare to *Eua* her ſuggeſtion: The firſt of all theſe,which are ten in number,was their infidelitie,which *Auguſtine* calleth ſacrilege,not their pride: and we ſhew it thus.

Argum.1. Infidelitie,and forgetting of God is the beginning of all ſinne,as the Pſalme ſaith: *The foole hath ſaid in his heart,there is no God*: and then it followeth: *They haue corrupted,and done an* Pſal.14.1.
abominable worke: The forgetfulnes of God therefore,which commeth of infidelitie, begetteth and bringeth forth other vngodly workes. And our Sauiour ſaith, that from within, out of the heart, (which is the ſeate of infidelitie) proceede fornications,murders,&c.Mark.7.21.Therefore pride followeth infidelitie,for the foole will neuer lift vp himſelfe againſt God,if he had not firſt forgotten the Maieſtie,eternitie,and power of God.

Argum.2. We doe thus alſo demonſtrate it: *Eua* ſinned before *Adam*: *Eua* her ſinne was by ſeduction: ſhe could not be ſeduced,but by giuing eare to the ſeducer: the ſeducer lyed vnto her, and made the word of God falſe: promiſing they ſhould become as Gods, by eating the forbidden fruite, whereas the Lord had ſayd,they ſhould dye the death if they did eate: Sathan therefore could neuer haue ſeduced them, vnleſſe they had giuen credite to him, which was their infidelity.Our argument then is this: That,wherby they were ſeduced,was before that whereto they were ſeduced; for the cauſe is alway before the effect, the meane and inſtrument before the end: but infidelitie is that whereby they were ſeduced,in giuing credite to Sathan: pride and diſobedience,that,whereunto,namely,to eate the forbidden fruit,and ſo to be like vnto God: the firſt was the obiect of their diſobeience,the other of their pride: *Ergo*,their infidelitie was firſt.

Argum.3. Faith is the beginning of righteouſnes, *Ergo*, infidelitie is the roote of ſinne: *argum.Caluin.*

Bellarmine. It followeth not,for the foundation of the houſe is firſt laid,but it is laſt deſtroyed: the heart is the firſt that liueth,and the laſt that dieth,*cap.5.obiect.2.*

Contra.1. The firſt decay in a building is at the foundation,and where an houſe is at once deſtroyed,and brought to vtter ruine, it is firſt vndermined at the foundation: ſuch was that vniuerſall ouerthrow of mankinde,which began at the very foundation, namely the decay of faith, in not beleeuing Gods word: ſo likewiſe for the other ſimilitude, in the naturall end of man, the heart is the laſt that dieth,but where the death is violent,and haſtened, the wound is firſt made in the heart, to procure a more ſpeedie diſpatch: and ſo Sathan gaue firſt our parents a deadly wound in the heart and life of their ſoules,namely their faith: thus his owne examples are turned againſt him.

2. He is very bolde thus to contradict their owne Canons: *Clementin.lib.3.tit.* 16. *Clemen.5.* Thus decreeth in the generall Councell of Vienna: *Vnde vulnus eſt ortum, prodijt & medela; vnde mors ſubijt,inde vita euenit*: Where the wound began,the cure was made,where death entred, there life proceeded: But our life and cure beginneth from faith in Chriſt: *Ergo*, in his faith man was firſt maymed and wounded.

Let *Auguſtine* ſpeake: *Ego cum Apoſtolo dico mentem mulieris fuiſſe à ſerpente corruptam, & ex iſta corruptione peruenit libido in mentem mulieris & viri*: I ſay with the Apoſtle, that the minde of the woman was corrupted by the ſerpent, and ſo by this corruption luſt came into the minde both of the man and woman: *Cont.Iulian.lib.6.cap*.12. The corruption of their mindes then bred luſt: which was two-fold, luſt to eate the fruite, which was a ſpice of gluttonie; luſt and deſire thereby to be made like God,which was their pride: theſe two did ariſe of the corruption of their minde. Their minde then was corrupted firſt: and that was by infidelitie.

Hereof alſo we haue further euidence: *Tertullian.lib.2.in Marcion.* He doubteth not, *Ada delictum hæreſin,&c.* To cal *Adams* ſinne hereſie,which he committed by preferring his owne ſentence before Gods: What was this elſe but a kinde of infidelitie,not to giue credence vnto the ſentence of God?

Likewiſe in their owne lawe: *Clementin.lib.3.tit.16. Guſtus ſauciauit,guſtus ſanauit*: The taſte woundeth,the taſte healeth, that is, the taſte of Chriſts fleſh giueth health, as the taſte of the forbidden fruite gaue the firſt wound: diſobedience then, which was the fruite of infidelitie,was the firſt tranſgreſſion, for they would neuer haue eaten of the tree, if they had beleeued the word of God, that they ſhould haue died.

The Maſter of the Sentences, ſaith: *In quo verbo locum dedit tentandi, cùm dixit, ne fortè moriemini:* In which word the woman gaue way to the tempter, when ſhe ſaid, *Leaſt perhaps ye die: Attende ordinem & progreſſum humanæ perditionis:* Conſider the order and progreſſe of mans perdition: Firſt, God ſaith, *In what day ye eate thereof ye ſhall die:* then the woman ſaid, *Leaſt yee die*, laſt of all the Serpent, *Yee ſhall not die:* God affirmed, the woman doubted, the diuell denied; *Ergo*, the womans doubting, which proceeded of infidelitie, was the beginning of the tranſgreſſion.

Certaine alſo of the Schoolemen, as *Bonauenture, Scotus. in 2. ſenten. diſtinct.* 21. 22. Denie that pride was the firſt ſinne or offence of our firſt Parents.

Laſtly, S. *Ambroſe* thus teſtifieth, *Peccatum Adæ non longè eſt ab idololatria, præuaricauit ſe hominem putans futurum Deum, ſecutus magis quod diabolus ſuaſit, quam quod Deus iuſſit:* The ſinne of *Adam* is not far from idolatrie: he ſinned thinking that man might be God, following rather that which the diuell perſwaded, then that which God commaunded: *in Luk.* 13. If *Adams* ſinne were idolatrie, it proceeded from infidelitie.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER ADAMS ſinne were veniall or mortall.

The Papiſts.

11.Error. THe Ieſuite denieth that the ſinne of *Adam* was veniall: his reaſon is this, becauſe, *Culpa venialis non tollit gratiam aut amicitiam Dei:* Veniall faultes doe not depriue men of the fauour or friendſhip of God. But God was angrie with *Adam*, and thruſt him out of Paradiſe: and by his tranſgreſſion he loſt his innocencie: *Ergo*, it was no veniall ſinne: *cap.* 8.

The Proteſtants.

IF the Ieſuite take veniall ſinnes for thoſe, which in their owne nature are pardonable, and deſerue not death, as he doth elſe where; in this ſenſe neither was this ſinne of *Adam*, nor any oother, no not the leaſt ſinne, which is committed in the world, veniall: for by nature euery ſin deſerueth death, Rom. 6. 23. But if by veniall ſinnes we vnderſtand thoſe, which, howſoeuer they are in their owne nature, yet through Gods mercie are pardoned: ſo we affirme, that both this ſinne of our firſt parentes, and all other, which the children of God fall into, are veniall: And though for this ſinne God was offended with *Adam*, and temporally puniſhed him; yet was he againe, through Gods mercie, reſtored to fauour or grace. Thirdly, if by veniall ſinnes, we vnderſtand the ſmaller and lighter offences, ſo we denie alſo, that *Adams* ſinne was veniall: for it was an huge and grieuous treſpaſſe; yet he was by grace thereof acquited. Theſe two points then are briefly to be declared: firſt of the greatneſſe of *Adams* ſinne: ſecondly, of his recouerie by repentance, and his vndoubted ſaluation.

Firſt it appeareth, that the ſinne of our firſt parents was a grieuous and great offence, euen in the higheſt degree. 1. In reſpect of the partie offending: *Adam* receiued power if he would, not to ſinne, therefore his ſinne was the greater. 2. His ingratitude doth augment the ſinne, in that ſo ſoone he had forgotten the vnſpeakable benefites, beſtowed vpon him in his creation. 3. In reſpect of the commandement it ſelfe, which was verie eaſie: for in ſuch abundance of all kind of moſt pleaſant fruites, hee was onely forbidden to eate of one: and therefore, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Tam leue præceptum ad obſeruandum, tam breue ad memoria retinendum, tanto maiore iniuſtitia violatum eſt, quanto faciliori poſſet obſeruantia cuſtodiri:* A commandement ſo eaſie to keepe, ſo ſhort to be remembred, was with ſo much the greater vnrighteouſneſſe violated, as it might more eaſily haue bene obſerued. 4. The fourth circumſtance, is the iſſue of this ſinne, whereby *Adam* did not onely hurt himſelfe, but brought a miſerable ſtate vpon his poſteritie, both in the propagation of ſinne, and the puniſhment thereof. 5. Laſtly, the great puniſhment laid vpon this tranſgreſſion, ſheweth the greatneſſe thereof: for beſide the ſpirituall wretchedneſſe of the ſoule, being not onely depriued of thoſe excellent graces of holineſſe and righteouſneſſe, wherein it was created, but alſo made ſubiect to euerlaſting damnation; there was a threefold puniſhment laid vpon them in their bodies: vpon the woman, in bringing foorth with paine and trauell: vpon the man, in getting his liuing in the ſweate of his browes, that is, with paine and ſorrow: vpon them both, in returning to the duſt, and yeelding to mortality and corruption. Theſe circumſtances then, being weighed together, do plainely ſet forth the ſtate and qualitie of *Adams* tranſgreſſion: that it was an high offence before God.

Now concerning the ſecond point: we do, notwithſtanding the greatneſſe of their ſinnes, vndoubtedly hold, againſt the hereſie of the *Tatianes*, who blaſphemouſly affirmed that *Adam* was cōdemned, that our firſt parents were the children of Gods election. The Ieſuit alſo affirmeth the ſame: but vpon verie weeke ground: as that *Adam* & *Eue* did make them couerings of fig leaues, in ſtead of ſackcloth,in ſigne of repentance:alſo becauſe that *Adam* by certaine ancient writers is affirmed to haue bene buried in the ſame place, where Chriſt was crucified, and ſhed his bloud: which is an vncertaine tradition beſide ſcripture.But our arguments for the ſaluation of our firſt parents are theſe.

Argum. 1. The firſt promiſe of the Meſſiah was made to our parents immediatly after their tranſgreſſion: *The ſeed of the woman ſhall breake the ſerpents head*, Gen. 3.15. *Ergo* they had their intereſt and part of this promiſe: for which of all the Prophets or Patriarkes was there, to whom Chriſt was promiſed, to whom the promiſe of grace appertained not?

*Argum.*2. The firſt *Adam* was a figure of the ſecond: Rom.5.14.But it cannot be ſhewed that euer any reprobate was ordained, or appointed of God, to be a figure of his ſonne Chriſt, the Meſſiah to come: *Ergo, Adam* was no reprobate.

Argum. 3. Saint *Luke* in ſetting downe the genealogie of our Sauiour Chriſt, ſaith, he was the ſonne of *Adam*, who was the ſonne of God, Luk.3.28. Thus then we reaſon: *Adam* was the ſonne of God: *Ergo*, he was no reprobate, not a child of perdition, but an heire of ſaluation. Other arguments we haue for *Adams* election, but theſe at this time, and in this place may ſuffice.

That *Adams* ſinne was veniall, *Hilarie* teſtifieth: *Adam confeſſum, venia reſeruatum:* that *Adam* confeſſed, and was reſerued to pardon, *in Pſalm.*119.*cap.*8. and S. *Ambroſe lib. de Paradiſ. cap.*14. *Veniabilis Eua culpa, quam ſecuta ſit delicti confeſſio: Eua* her fault was veniall, which the confeſſion of her ſinne followed.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, OF THE greatnes of Adams ſinne.

BEllarmine hath foure poſitions of this matter. Firſt, that *Adam* was not properly ſeduced but *Eue, lib.*3.*de ſtat peccat.c.*7. Secondly, that *Adams* ſinne was greater than the womans, *cap.*9. Thirdly, that in their tranſgreſſion they loſt their faith, *cap.*6. Fourthly, that *Adams* ſinne, was 12.Error. *aliquo modo*, in ſome reſpect the greateſt of all ſinnes: firſt, both becauſe he might eaſilie haue kept himſelfe from tranſgreſſion, there being but one precept giuen him: ſecondly, in reſpect of his great ingratitude, hauing receiued ſo many benefites from God: thirdly, for that *Adams* ſinne 13. Error. redounded to the hurt of all his poſteritie, as no other ſinne doth: *cap.*10.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, that *Adam* was not properlie ſeduced, but *Eue*, we acknowledge, the Scripture ſo affirming, 1.Timoth.2.14. *Adam was not deceiued, but the woman was deceiued.*

Secondly, that *Adams* ſinne in ſome reſpect was greater, as in regard of his perſon, then *Eua* her ſinne was, we alſo graunt; but ſimplie it was not: ſo this poynt we partly affirme, and partly deny it: ſee the appendix to the ſecond part of the fourth queſtion following.

Thirdly, that our firſt parents loſt their faith in their tranſgreſſion, we hold it an error: for beſide that, the faith of the Saints cannot be vtterly extinct by their ſinne, for the gifts and *calling of God are without repentance:* Rom.11.29. That *Adam* had not loſt all faith, appeareth: firſt, by the conſcience and ſhame of ſinne, in that they hid themſelues, being afraide of Gods preſence: ſecondly, becauſe the promiſe of Chriſt was preſently vpon their fall exhibited to them, which without faith, they were not capable of.

Fourthly, firſt, the three reaſons alleaged, ſhew *Adams* ſinne to haue been a very great and grieuous tranſgreſſion, but not the greateſt that euer was: ſecondly, the Maſter of the Sentences Lib.2.diſt.33. well anſwereth, that becauſe all mankinde is hurt by *Adams* ſinne, it was not for that his ſinne was greater, then all other, but in reſpect of *Adams* perſon, in whom the whole humane nature then conſiſted. Thirdly, the ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt is greater, which ſhall neuer be forgiuen: the ſins of the reprobate and damned are greater, being puniſhed with euerlaſting damnation.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, CONCERNING originall ſinne.

THere are diuers points of this queſtion, which are on each ſide confeſſed: we wil firſt ſet them downe briefly, and then come to the points of difference and diſagreement betweene vs.

Firſt we are agreed, that originall ſinne is verily propagated by generation from our parents, and is a corruption ingraffed in vs by nature: not as the Pelagians did hold, that *Adams* tranſgreſſion was onely hurtfull to his poſteritie by imitation: for S. *Paul* ſaith directly: *In quo omnes peccauerunt:* That in *Adam* all haue ſinned, Rom.5.12. Secondly, we confeſſe, that originall ſinne hath not onely made the body ſubiect to death and mortalitie, which is the opinion of *Iacobus Faber*, and ſome others; but hath alſo polluted and defiled the ſoule of man: So the Apoſtle ſaith, that not onely death hath reigned ouer all, Rom.5.14. but all men by *Adams* diſobedience are made ſinners, verſ. 19. and ſinne is the death of the ſoule. Thirdly, for the originall of the ſoule, we thinke it a more probable opinion, and agreeable to ſcripture, that the ſoules of men ſhould bee created as they are infuſed into the bodies, conceiued, and prepared in the wombe, then that the ſoules ſhould be produced by generation from the parents, as the bodies are: for the ſcripture ſeemeth to make a diuers beginning of the ſoule and the body: as the Preacher ſaith, that duſt, that is, *the bodie returneth to the earth, and the ſpirit to God, that gaue it*: Eccle. 12. 7. So by the Prophet *Zacharie* the Lord ſaith, *that he formeth the ſpirit in the midſt of man*: Zachar. 12. 1. And the Author to the Hebrewes, ſeemeth to make a flat oppoſition betweene *the fathers of the bodies, and the father of the ſpirits*, Hebr. 12. 9. Yet becauſe this queſtion is not plainely determined in the ſcripture, we thinke it more ſafe, being not a point of faith, to wonder at it as a great myſterie, and not raſhly to pronounce anie thing, as of a common & knowne matter: And the rather, becauſe the Preacher ſaith, that no man knoweth the way of the ſpirit, Eccleſ. 11. 5. And thus *Auguſtine* contented himſelfe; writing in theſe words of the woman in the Machabees, that ſaid to her children, *I know not how you came into my wombe: Ego, inquit neſcio, ille ſcit, qui formauit, vtrum ſimul animam formarit, an iam formatis dederit: ſic ego dico de anima mea, me neſcire, quomodo venerit in corpus meum*: I know not, ſaith ſhe, as if ſhe ſhould ſay, I know not, but he knoweth that formed the ſpirit, whether he framed it together with the body, or gaue it to the body framed before: So I ſay of my ſoule, I cannot tell how it came into my body.

2. Machab. 7. 22.
Auguſt. de anim. origin. lib. 1. cap. 15.

Fourthly, this being concluded and determined, that the ſoule hath the beginning of God, and not of the parents: yet we are able to anſwere that obiection which is made concerning originall ſinne: for thus they reaſon: Sinne is an adiunct of the ſoule, not of the body: it cannot then be in the bodie before the ſoule come; and in the ſoule it is not, becauſe it is created of God pure and vnſpotted: vnleſſe therefore the ſoule ſhould be deriued from the parents, we cannot know where to place originall ſinne.

Anſ. Originall ſinne is neither proper to the body, nor to the ſoule, but it is *hominis peccatum*, a ſinne of the whole man: who conſiſteth of body and ſoule: & it commeth not of the bodie alone, or of the ſoule alone, but of the coniunction of them both together: ſo that now neither the bodie muſt be reſpected alone, nor the ſoule alone, but as they do ioyntly make one man: and ſo enter into one condition, and are partakers each of others woe or welfare.

If it be further obiected, that it ſtandeth not with Gods iuſtice, to thruſt a pure ſoule into an vncleane bodie: We further anſwer: Firſt, that the ſoule and body are not of God reſpected as ſingle ſubſtances, but as they are ioyned together, to make one man: and therefore there is but one condition of both. Secondly, the ſoule in reſpect of Gods creation, is a pure creature, yet it continueth not in that ſtate one moment: for it is created in the midſt of the bodie, in an vncleane and polluted place: and forthwith being coupled to the bodie, beginneth to be vncleane. S. *Auguſtine* alſo doth anſwere very well: *Quomodo iuſtum eſt vt anima recens creata, ab omni delicto immunis, paſſiones carnis, diuerſoſque cruciatus, etiam dæmonum incurſus in paruulis ſuſtineat, ſic oſtendi poteſt, qua iuſtitia, in carne quoque peccati ſubeat originale peccatum*: Looke how it may be iuſt, that the ſoule newly created, and void of all offence, yet ſhould indure in infants the paſſions and vexations of the fleſh, yea the inuaſion of diuels (which were ſuffered to torment children) ſo it may be ſhewed how it ſtandeth with the rule of iuſtice, that the ſoule in ſinfull fleſh ſhould be touched alſo with originall ſinne.

Lib. 2. cont. Pelagian. cap. 10.

Fiftly, it is of each ſide concluded, that original ſin doth appertaine as wel by nature to the ſeed of the faithfull, as of Infidels: for *Dauid* confeſſeth, who no doubt was borne of faithfull parents, that *in ſinne his mother conceiued him*, Pſal. 51. 5.

Sixtly, that not all the ſinnes of our parents and forefathers, but the offence onely of *Adam* is deriued and propagated to poſteritie: ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, *the fault came of one offence, namely Adams, to condemnation, but the gift is of manie offences to iuſtification*, Rom. 5. 16.

Seuenthly, that originall ſinne is no ſubſtance, nor hath anie naturall being of it ſelfe, but is onely a deprauation, defect and corruption of nature: for euery creature of God is good. 1. Timoth. 4. 4. *Ergo*, originall ſinne is no ſubſtance created of God, being euill: Saint *Paul* alſo ſaith, I know that in me dwelleth no good thing, Rom. 7. 18. Originall ſin then hath the ſeate & dwelling in man, it hath no being of it ſelfe.

Laſtly, we do diſtinguiſh between originall and actuall ſinne: for infants and young children cannot commit anie actuall ſinne, but yet they are guiltie of originall: the firſt is euident, Rom. 9. 11. the Apoſtle ſpeaking of *Eſau* and *Iacob*, ſaith, that they yet had done neither euill nor good: the ſecond is alſo proued, Rom. 5. 14. that children do ſinne, though not after the tranſgreſſion of *Adam*, that is, actually.

Theſe then are the ſeuerall poynts, wherein we and our aduerſaries are agreed: the difference betweene vs in this queſtion of originall ſinne, is in theſe particulars following: firſt, of the nature and qualitie of originall ſinne. Secondly, of the beginning of originall ſinne. Thirdly, whether it remaine after Baptiſme. Fourthly, whether it be hurtfull to the regenerate after Baptiſme. Fiftly, of the ſeate of concupiſcence. Sixtly, of the puniſhment of originall ſinne.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NATVRE AND definition of originall ſinne.

The Papiſts.

THe Ieſuite defineth originall ſin, to be nothing elſe, but, *Priuatio ſeu carentia doni iuſtitiæ originalis, vel habitualis auerſio à Deo:* A priuation or wanting of the gift of original iuſtice; or, an habituall auerſion or turning away of the mind from God: but he denieth, that *reatus culpæ*, or, *pœnæ*, that the guilt of the offence of our firſt parents, or of the puniſhment, is anie part of original ſinne. His reaſon is, becauſe, to be guiltie of the offence, or of the puniſhment, are the effect or ſequell of ſinne, rather then anie ſinne it ſelfe: and therefore it is no part of originall ſinne, which hath, *Veram & propriam peccati rationem*, the true and proper nature & condition of ſinne: *Bellarm. de amiſſion. grat. lib. 5. cap. 19.* 14. Error.

Anſwer. In the affirmatiue part of *Bellarmines* definition, there is a double fault: for he ſaith that originall ſinne is onely the defect or wanting of iuſtice, whereas there is in it beſide a ſupply of naturall corruption and prauitie: there is not only a grace wanting, but an euill preſent. Secondly, he calleth it an habituall or potentiall turning aſide of the mind from God, whereas there is an actuall rebellion of nature, and deprauation of the mind, as euen now ſhall be ſhewed.

Neither is the Ieſuites reaſon good, why *reatus culpæ*, the guiltineſſe of the offence, that is, the ſtaine or blot of *Adams* ſinne remaining in his poſteritie, ſhould be no part of originall ſinne, becauſe it is the effect of ſinne, not properly ſinne it ſelfe: for hee might ſo reaſon againſt originall ſinne: It is the effect of ſinne: *Ergo*, no ſinne: which were no good conſequent: For it is, *peccatum, & pœna peccati*, both ſinne, and the puniſhment of ſinne; as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Primo homini, quod erat pœna, natura nobis eſt:* That which was a puniſhment to our firſt parents, is a naturall euill in vs: *in Pſal.* 37. So this naturall ſtaine or blot of ſinne, in reſpect of *Adam*, it is a puniſhment of his tranſgreſſion laid vpon his poſteritie, in reſpect of vs it is ſinne.

The Proteſtants.

WE define originall ſinne generally to be that euil, which is ingraft in our nature, wherein we are conceiued and borne: which S. *Paul* calleth, *peccatum inhabitans*, the ſinne that dwelleth in vs. This originall euill or ſinne, hath two parts: for firſt thereby we are made guiltie of the ſinne and diſobedience of our firſt parents, which is made ours by propagation: as the Apoſtle ſaith, By one mans diſobedience many are made ſinners, Rom. 5. 19. And together with the fault or offence, the puniſhment is propagated: that is, death is gone ouer all, *in as much as all haue ſinned*, verſ. 12. This is the firſt part of this naturall euill, which is denied by our aduerſaries, but confirmed as we ſee, by euident teſtimonies of ſcripture. By this then, two popiſh aſſertions of our aduerſaries are ouerthrowne: one of *Albertus Pighius*, and *Catharinus*, that *Adams* ſinne is ours onely by imputation: which opinion *Bellarmine* taketh paines to confute, *cap.* 16. the other is maintained by the Ieſuite himſelfe, that *Adams* ſin is ſaid to be ours, becauſe we were then in *Adams* loynes when he ſinned, *cap.* 18. But we affirme that we are guiltie of the ſin of *Adam*, not by bare imputation, nor yet potentially only in *Adams* loynes, but really, verily, & in ſome ſort actually: As by this reaſon may appeare: Looke how death, the puniſhment of *Adams* ſin, is deriued to his poſteritie, ſo is his ſinne: but death reigneth ouer vs verily and indeed, not by imputation, or potentially onely: The firſt part is proued by the Apoſtles wordes: *By one man ſinne entred into the world, and death by ſinne*: Rom. 5. 12. they entred therefore both after the ſame maner. The ſecond part experience maketh good: for we ſee that children are ſubiect to die, and are taken away by death: *Ergo, Adams* ſinne really and indeed is transfuſed to his poſteritie. This then is the firſt part of originall ſinne, *reatus culpæ, & obligatio ad pœnam*: whereby we are made guiltie of the ſinne of *Adam*, and the puniſhment.

The other part is, beſide this reall communicating vnto vs, the ſinne of our parents, a general deprauation and corruption of the whole nature of man, both in his ſoule, and in his bodie: in the ſoule there is the blindneſſe of the minde, the loſſe of freewill, the vnrulineſſe of the affection, the proneneſſe to vice: in the bodie, the concupiſcence and rebellion of the fleſh. 12. Error.

And here concerning this part of originall ſinne, we affirme and maintaine two points againſt the Ieſuite: firſt he ſaith that originall ſinne is no poſitiue qualitie, or any inherent euill diſpoſition of nature: but whatſoeuer is euill in vs, it doth ſpring onely, *Ex carentia iuſtitiæ originalis, non ex inſita aliqua qualitate*, from the loſſe or want of originall iuſtice, not from anie inherent qualitie. *Contra*. But the contrarie may be ſhewed out of S. *Paul*, who calleth this naturall euill, *peccatum inhabitans*, Rom. 7. 20. *& corpus mortis*, a bodie of death, or ſin, verſ. 24. but how could it Bellarm. cap. 15.

haue a being or dwelling, and be as a bodie, a maſſe or lumpe of ſinne, if it were not an inherent qualitie,but a priuation or defect onely? So ***Auguſtine*** ſaith : ***Quod in membris corporis huius inobedienter mouetur,totumq; animum in ſe deiectum conatur attrahere,&c.hoc eſt malum peccati;in quo naſcitur omnis homo:*** That which is in the members of our bodie diſorderly moued or ſtirred, and laboureth to captiuate the minde vnto it,this is that euill of ſinne,in the which euery man is borne: *contr.Pelag.*2.4. This ſinne which hee ſpeaketh of, moueth, and is moued : wherefore it is ſomewhat that hath a being, and is capable of motion; and for this cauſe not a priuation onely, or a defect.

Secondly,the Ieſuite defineth originall ſinne : ***Habitualem auerſionem à Deo:*** An habituall forſaking,or turning aſide from God,*cap.*19. as though it were onely in habite, nothing in act, and did but giue a promptnes or inclination to euill onely.

Contra. Although we doe admit the diſtinction of originall and actuall ſinnes : for theſe are by vs done and committed, the other come into the world with vs : yet this originall and natiue ſinne is neuer idle in vs but alwaies working,and ſheweth it ſelfe euen in infants : This Saint *Paul* calleth,*the law of his members rebelling againſt the law of his minde*,Rom.7.23. Rebellion of nature is an actuall thing,but this is the fruite of originall ſinne. ***Auguſtine*** alſo ſaith,***Concupiſcentia lex peccati cum paruulis naſcitur:*** This concupiſcence, which is the law of ſinne,is euen borne with children : *cont.Pelag.*2.4. And this rebellion of nature doth bewray it ſelfe in children, by thoſe vnreaſonable motions,and ſtirrings which are ſeene in them : ***Qui non ratione, ſed dolore interdum cohibentur:*** Which are not ſtayed by reaſon,but ſometime with paine and griefe,as ***Auguſtine*** ſaith: and therefore he thinketh that Chriſt in his infancie,was voyd of them:*cont.Pelag.lib.*2.*cap.*29.

*Concil.Arauſican.*2.*can.*1. *Si quis per offenſam praeuaricationis Adami, non totum ſecundum corpus & animam dicit hominem in deterius commutatum,&c.anathema ſit* : If any man ſay,that by the offence of the tranſgreſſion of *Adam*,man is not both in bodie and ſoule chaunged to the worſe, let him be accurſed. The nature of man therefore by ſinne is actually corrupted, it is not potentially, or in habite onely : for there is, *actus primus,& ſecundus*,the firſt act, and the ſecond : the firſt is inward : and ſo we ſay that man is inwardly by originall ſinne actually corrupted, ſinne being yet as in the roote,or ſeede. The ſecond act is externall, when this bitter roote of ſinne within bringeth forth euill fruite in the life.

*Decret.par.*2.*cauſ.*33.*diſt.*3.*c.*25.This Canon ſheweth,that originall ſinne is not onely habitual but actuall: firſt it ſaith, *Iniquitas eſt habitudo mentis iniuſtæ:* Iniquitie is the habite of an vnrighteous minde. Againe,*Peccatum eſt opus iniquitatis;iniquitas autem operatrix culpæ, aut delicti:* Sinne is the worke of iniquitie; iniquitie is the worker of the guilt or of the ſinne. Thus then originall ſinne,which is here called iniquitie,is not onely in habite but in act.

And that originall ſinne is not onely a priuation of originall iuſtice, but a reall deprauation of our nature, not priuatiue onely but poſitiue, many of the learned popiſh writers doe affirme: as ***Henricus*** *quodlib.*2.*qu.*11. *Gregor.Arimin.in* 2.*diſt.*3.*qu.*1. *Ioann.Driedo.*1.*lib.de.grat.* & *liber.arbitrio.*

Likewiſe,*Hyeronim.Hangeſt.c.*3.& 13.*Ex Adæ delicto,&c.ſecuta eſt plaga atque iuſtitiæ originalis ablatio,& originalis culpæ incurſus:* The plague or wound that followed of ***Adams*** ſinne, is the ablation of originall iuſtice,and the inuaſion of originall ſinne. Originall ſinne then is ſomewhat elſe beſide the priuation of originall iuſtice.

But among the reſt the Maſter of the Sentences is moſt reſolute in this point : *lib.*2.*diſt.*30.*f. Originale peccatum culpa eſt:* Originall ſinne is a fault. *g. Fomes peccati, lex membrorum,languor naturæ, ſiue tyrannus,&c.*The nouriſhment of ſinne,the law of the members, the diſeaſe of nature, a very tyrant. All this ſheweth more then a priuation onely. *Diſtinct.*35. *l. Aliquid ponit,&c.* He ſheweth that originall ſinne is poſitiue,and not a priuation onely. Thus the truth wanteth not the teſtimonie of the aduerſaries thereof.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE BEGINNING of originall ſinne, whether it be deriued from Adam or Eue.

The Papiſts.

15.Error. THe Ieſuite thinketh that originall ſinne is onely deriued from ***Adam:*** his beſt and onely reaſon is grounded vpon S.*Pauls* words : *By one man ſinne entred into the world*, Rom.5.12. And, *As in Adam all dye, ſo in Chriſt are all made aliue*,1.Cor.15.22.*Ergo*,the propagation of ſinne is onely from ***Adam: Bellar.cap.***13.*lib.*4.*de ſtat.peccat.*

Anſw. Firſt,the word,that the Apoſtle vſeth,ἄνθρωπος, *homo*, both in the Latine and Greeke indifferently ſignifieth a man,or a woman. Secondly, ſinne is ſaid to haue entred by one man,that is,by ***Adam***,becauſe the man is the chiefeſt inſtrument of generation : as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1.Corinth.

rinth.11.14.*The man is not of the woman,but the woman of the man.* And therefore in the lawe the males only were circumciſed, becauſe the beginning of the carnall generation,was from them. Thirdly,in reſpect of *Adams* perſon,who was the more worthie and excellent : and although in diuers reſpects the womans ſinne was not inferiour to his, yet becauſe the tranſgreſſion was not perfected nor conſummate but by the conſent of *Adam,* it is chiefly imputed to him. Fourthly, if *Adam* alone brought in ſin,the Scripture ſhould be contrary,that ſaith, *the woman was in the tranſgreſſion,*1.Timoth.2.14. Fiftly,*Auguſtine* alſo giueth another anſwere : The ſinne came by two, and the Apoſtle ſaith,it entred by one : becauſe they two now made but one : *They two ſhall be one fleſh,*Geneſ.2.24. Laſtly,the Maſter of Sentences giueth theſe reaſons why ſinne is ſaid to enter by one,and yet both ſinned : *Quia per mulierem intrauerit de viro factam:* Becauſe it entred by the woman made of man : Or, becauſe if man had not ſinned,humane kinde had bin corrupted,*lib.*2. *diſtinct.*22.*g.*

Articcul.2. cont.Pelag.

The Proteſtants.

THough wee graunt that *Adam* was the chiefeſt in ſome reſpects, though not the firſt in the tranſgreſſion,yet was he not alone: his ſinne indeede was greater than the womans,for theſe cauſes : Firſt,he was ſtronger than the woman, and more able to reſiſt the tentation. Secondly, the woman encountred with a ſtronger enemie, for ſhe was ſeduced by the Serpent, in whom the diuell ſpake,Gen.3.13.but *Adam* obeyed only the voyce of his wife,verſ.17. Thirdly, becauſe the commandement was giuen by the Lord to the man,Gen.2.16.and by the man to his wife: wherefore the mans offence ſeemeth the greater in tranſgreſſing the commaundement : yet although the man were the chiefe tranſgreſſor, as by theſe and other circumſtances may appeare : yet they were both authors and beginners of originall ſinne.

*Argum.*1. As ſinne entred into Paradiſe,ſo is it entred into the world : for it is the ſame ſinne which was in our firſt parents,and is in vs,in them actually,in vs originally : and the ſame ſinne muſt haue the ſame beginning : but ſinne entred into Paradiſe both by the man and woman: nay the woman was deceiued,and was firſt in the tranſgreſſion, 1.Timot.2.14. *Ergo,*by them both ſin came vpon vs.

*Argum.*2. By whom death entred into the world,by them alſo ſinne entred : but death entred both by the man and woman : for being guiltie of one ſinne,they receiued one common puniſhment,*Duſt thou art,and to duſt ſhalt thou returne. Eccleſiaſticus* alſo ſaith (which is good ſcripture againſt our aduerſaries) *Through the woman we all dye,* chap.25.verſ.26. Yea,ſaith the Ieſuite,*per illam,*through her, becauſe ſhe gaue occaſion of the tranſgreſſion,but not *in illa,*in her,as wee are ſaid to dye in *Adam. Anſ.* Saint *Paul* vſeth both theſe phraſes,to dye in *Adam,*or death came in by or through *Adam,*Rom.5.verſ.12.16.Therefore there is no ſuch difference in the wordes : ſo whether we ſay,we dye in or by the woman,all is one matter.

Auguſtine laſtly,anſwering an obiection of the Pelagians,whether ſinne entred by one or two, doubteth not to ſay, *Ecce factum eſt tibi ſatis,per duos homines pertranſyſſe peccatum:* Behold, this may ſatisfie you,that ſinne entred by two,the man and the woman.

*Synod. Moguntin.cap.*5.*Primorum hominum peccatum propagatione in omnes homines tranſire, ac ſecum pœnam ſuam trahere,&c.* That the ſinne of the firſt men (not of the firſt man, as of one)is deriued by propagation vnto al men,and draweth the puniſhment with it,&c.*Ergo,*the ſinne ſpringeth from both our firſt parents.

Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Adam & Eua primi illi vt generis,ita erroris parentes: Adam* and *Eue,*the firſt parents as of our generatiō,ſo of our error.This is agreeable to the law of nature: *Cod.lib.*3.*tit.*32. *leg.*7.*Philipp.Partus ſequitur matrem,&c.*The birth followeth the mother : as if a free man haue a childe by a bondwoman,the childe alſo ſhall be bound and not free. *Sext.decret.lib.*5.*tit.*2.*c.*15. *Bonifac. Hæreticorum filij puniuntur ſecundum tam matris quam patris lineam:* The ſonnes of heretikes are puniſhed as well after the line of generation by the mother,as by the father.

Laſtly,the Maſter of Sentences thinketh,that *Eua* her ſinne was the greater, *lib.*2.*diſt.*22. and that *Adam* was not ſeduced : then it will follow,that the womans ſinne being the greater cannot be excluded,and the mans ſinne,which was the leſſe,to be taken onely to giue beginning to originall ſinne.

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER THE SINNE OF *Adam* or *Eue* were the greater in the tranſgreſſion.

That *Adams* ſinne was greater.

THis queſtion is not ſo much controuerted betweene the Papiſts and Proteſtants, as between the ancient fathers of the Church, who haue written diuerſly of this matter. Saint *Ambroſe* doth amplifie *Adams* ſinne ; Saint *Chryſoſtome* and Saint *Auguſtine* doe ſeeme to exaggerate the tranſgreſſion of the woman : I will propound the arguments on both ſides, and then briefly determine of the truth. Firſt, Saint *Ambroſe* thus reaſoneth againſt *Adams* ſin: *Inſtitut.virgin.c.4.*

1 *Illam decepit ſuperior creatura,&c.* A ſuperiour creature deceiued the woman, that is, an euill Angell: but a woman deceiued *Adam:* he had a weaker tempter.

2 If *Adam* could not keepe the commaundement, which hee heard of God, how ſhould the woman that heard it not?

3 The man is rebuked, the woman but asked the queſtion.

4 The woman firſt confeſſed her fault, Geneſ.3.verſ.13.*The Serpent beguiled me.*

5 The woman accuſeth the Serpent, the man more vnkindly accuſeth the woman.

6 The woman in her puniſhment findeth mercie: *Ex remuneratione pœnam inuenit:* She findeth a reward in her puniſhment: though ſhe was to bring forth in ſorrow, yet by her fruite ſhe ſhall be deliuered.

But theſe reaſons may thus eaſily be anſwered: Firſt, *Ambroſe* himſelfe confeſſeth, that *homo ſerpentis perſuaſione deceptus:* That man was deceiued by the perſwaſion of the Serpent, *ſerm.7.in Pſal.*119. So then the diuell tempted the woman, and the diuell by the woman tempted *Adam: Adams* then was the ſtronger tentation.

2 The woman knew as well as the man, that they were not to eate of the forbidden tree, ver.3. God hath ſaid, *Ye ſhall not eate of it,&c.*

3 The woman is both rebuked and firſt puniſhed.

4 The woman confeſſeth her fault, no otherwiſe than *Adam* did, by poſting it off to another.

5 The man ſpake but the truth, that the woman gaue him to eate, as the woman ſaith ſhe was beguiled of the Serpent.

6 The benefit of the promiſe concerning the womans ſeede redoundeth to the man, as well as to the woman: and the promiſe is first pronounced before her puniſhment is inflicted.

THAT THE SINNE OF THE WOMAN WAS IN it ſelfe not inferiour to Adams tranſgreſſion, but rather greater.

First, the Maſter of the Sentences thus reaſoneth: *Plus videtur peccaſſe mulier,&c.* The woman ſeemeth to haue ſinned more, becauſe ſhe preſumptuouſly deſired the diuine equalitie, and beleeued it would come to paſſe: but *Adam* did not ſo beleeue, being onely entiſed by his wife, &c. *diſtinct.22.lib.2.*

2 *Mulier plus peccauit, quia grauius punita:* The woman offended more, becauſe ſhe was puniſhed more: vpon the man is inflicted labour and ſorrow; vpon the woman trauaile and paine in labour: *Thom.Aquin.22.qu.163.artic.4.*

3 *Mulier in ſe, proximum & Deum peccauit; vir in ſe tantum & Deum:* The woman ſinned againſt her ſelfe, againſt God, againſt her husband: the man onely againſt God and himſelfe: *de Geneſ.lib.11.c.42. Auguſtin.*

4 Saint *Ambroſe* alſo vſeth this reaſon: *Mulier ſciens prudenſq; peccauit, &c.* The woman ſinned willingly, and wittingly, in that after ſhe knew ſhe had ſinned, ſhe drew alſo her husband into error, *de Paradiſ.cap.6.*

5 As their ſinnes were in degree and order, ſo was the puniſhment: firſt the Serpent is curſed, as being the firſt ſeducer: next the woman is chaſtiſed, as being in the ſecond degree of offence: the man is reſerued to the laſt and leaſt puniſhment.

6 But the beſt reaſon of all is grounded vpon S.*Pauls* words: *Adam was not deceiued, but the woman was deceiued, and was found in the tranſgreſſion,* 1.Timoth.2.14. Whereupon *Chryſoſtome* giueth this note: *Heua amplius deliquerat, &c.* *Eue* ſinned the more, in ſo much that *Adams* ſinne compared with it is not counted tranſgreſſion, *Hom.31.ad Rom.* And S. *Ambroſe* thus enforceth it: *Viro mulier, non mulieri vir author erroris:* The woman to the man, not the man to the woman is author of error. The concluſion of the queſtion is this, that *Adams* ſinne in reſpect of the dignitie and excellencie of his perſon was the greater: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Adam plus peccauit, quia omni bono abundauit: Adam* ſinned more, becauſe he had more excellent graces and better ſtrength to reſiſt: But in regard of the qualitie of the ſinne in it ſelfe it is euident, that the ſinne of the woman was tempered with a greater meaſure both of infidelitie and ambition, than *Adams* was. I end this matter with that concluſion of *Auguſtine*, in the like caſe: that as one being fallen into a pit, thus anſwered him, that asked, how hee fell in: *Cogita quæſo quomodo hinc me liberes, non quomodo huc ceciderim quæras:* Bethinke your ſelfe how you may deliuer me hence, aske not how I came hither. So it is needleſſe for vs to be inquiſitiue of the beginning, entrance, qualitie and degree of the ſinne of our parents: but let vs rather ſeeke and labour by what meanes to be deliuered from it.

De ver.& falſ. pœnit.c.14.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER ORIGINALL ſinne remaine after Baptiſme.

The Papiſts.

B*ellarmine* in flat words denieth, that the corruption of nature, or concupiſcence, which remaineth in the regenerate after Baptiſme, is originall ſinne, nor yet any ſinne of it ſelfe, nor yet doth make them guiltie, in whom it is found: *Bellarm.lib.5.de ſtat.peccat.cap.7.* The like alſo the Rhemiſts affirme, that concupiſcence remaining after Baptiſme, is not properly a ſinne, nor forbidden by commaundement: it is called ſinne, becauſe it is the matter, effect, and occaſion of ſin, *Rhemiſt.Rom.6.ſect.6.* 16.Error.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Iames* ſaith, *That luſt when it hath conceiued, bringeth forth ſinne, and ſinne when it is finiſhed, bringeth forth death.* The Apoſtle here calleth not luſt or concupiſcence ſinne, but ſaith it bringeth forth ſinne: *Sic Bellarm.cap.7.Rhemiſt.in hunc locum.*

*Anſw.*1. The argument followeth not, concupiſcence bringeth forth ſinne: *Ergo*, it is no ſinne: nay, it ſhall the rather be ſinne, as one Serpent bringeth forth another: ſo both the mother and daughter are ſinne.

2 We may better conclude out of this place, that concupiſcence is ſinne: *A good tree* (ſaith our Sauiour) *bringeth forth good fruit, and an euill tree, euill fruite*, Matth.7.17. but concupiſcence bringeth forth euill fruit. *Euery man is tempted* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *when he is drawne away of his concupiſcence, &c. Ergo* concupiſcence is an euill tree.

*Argum.*2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Now it is no more I that doe it, but ſinne that dwelleth in me: for I know that in me, that is my fleſh, dwelleth no good thing*, Rom.7.17.18. Hence it is proued, firſt that this ſin, which Saint *Paul* ſaith, is not his, is not imputed to the Apoſtle: And againe, it is in his fleſh, therefore no ſinne, for the fleſh properly is not capable of ſinne, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. By the fleſh and the minde, Saint *Paul* doth not here vnderſtand the two parts, whereof man naturally conſiſteth, namely, the bodie and the ſoule: but he ſpeaketh of a man new regenerate: by the fleſh vnderſtanding whatſoeuer is carnall, either in the ſoule or bodie: by the minde or ſpirit whatſoeuer is ſpirituall and regenerate. And therefore as he is regenerate, he ſaith, the ſin in him is not imputed: but yet it is ſinne ſtill.

Bellarm. obiecteth: 1. Though ſometime the fleſh be taken for the whole man, yet is it not ſo here: for that which he nameth fleſh, he calleth the bodie of death, verſ.24. but by the mortall bodie, both the parts of man cannot be vnderſtood: for the ſoule is not mortall.

Contra. By death here the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth not the mortalitie of the bodie, but that death which commeth by ſinne both to the bodie and ſoule: as the Prophet ſaith, *That ſoule that ſinneth, ſhall die*, Ezech.18.16. There is then a death of the ſoule, as there is of the bodie: the bodie then of death, is nothing elſe but the bodie, that is, the whole lumpe and maſſe of ſin, Rom.6.6. which bringeth death both to bodie and ſoule.

*Bellarm.*2. Saint *Paul* here ſpeaketh of the inner man, verſ.22. but that is the ſoule of man; as it is taken, 2.Cor.4.16. *Though our outward man periſh, yet our inward man is renewed daily:* the outward man then is the bodie.

Contra. By the inward man in this place, the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth the regenerate part through the whole man, both in bodie and ſoule: which in other places he calleth the new man, and the outward man is the old man. And as here he ſaith, our outward man periſheth: ſo elſewhere, our old man is crucified with him, Rom.6.6. And by the old man, he vnderſtandeth the workes of the fleſh, not only outward, as, *Lye not one to another, ſeeing you haue put off the old man*, Coloſſ.3.9. but inward: *Caſt off the old man, and be renewed in the ſpirit of your minde.* Epheſ.4.23.

*Bellarm.*3. Againe, S.*Paul* doth in very direct words diſtinguiſh betweene the minde and the fleſh: *In my minde I ſerue the law of God, in my fleſh the law of ſinne*, verſ.25. By the minde, vnderſtanding the ſoule of man: by the fleſh, the bodie, *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh indeede of a minde regenerate, not ſetting it againſt an vnregenerate bodie: for if Saint *Pauls* minde were regenerate, ſo alſo his bodie in ſome ſort muſt be partaker of the ſame regeneration: for he himſelfe ſaith, *Glorifie God in your bodies, and in your ſpirits, for they are the Lords*, 1.Cor.6.20. The regenerate are renewed both in bodie and ſoule, and in them both doe glorifie God: therefore the fleſh cannot be here taken for the bodie, ſeeing the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of himſelfe, who no doubt was mortified in his bodie, and did beate it downe, 1.Corin.9. Neither can the minde ſimplie ſignifie the whole, or all the regenerate part: for as there is a regenerate mind; *Be renewed in the ſpirit of your mind.* Epheſ.4.24. ſo there is a fleſhly mind, Coloſſ.2.18. Wherfore the Apoſtle by the mind muſt either vnderſtand the whole regenerate part, which is to the vnregenerate, as the ſoule to the bodie, and therefore the regenerate man is called the ſpirituall man, 1.Corinth.2.15. Or elſe by the minde regenerate which is the principall part of regeneration, incluſiuely the whole regeneration is inſinuated, a part figuratiuely being taken for the whole.

Hauing now anſwered the Ieſuites obiections, we will ſet downe ſome of our reaſons, why this place is to be vnderſtood, as we ſayd, not of the two natural parts of man, the bodie, and the ſoule: but that by the fleſh the Apoſtle meaneth the whole vnregenerate part: by the minde or ſpirit, the part regenerate.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *The euill I would not, that doe I*, verſ.21. *I ſerue in my fleſh the law of ſin*, verſ.25. And againe, *I ſee a law in my members leading me captiue to ſinne*, verſ.23. Theſe ſpeeches are not vttered of the regenerate part: if of the vnregenerate, which muſt needes be graunted, yet not of the bodie or fleſh by it ſelfe conſidered without the ſoule: for the fleſh of it ſelfe is a dead thing; how can the Apoſtle ſerue in his fleſh, or doe any thing in his fleſh, without the operation of the ſoule? And therefore by the fleſh muſt wee vnderſtand the part vnregenerate both in bodie and ſoule.

*Argum.*2. The fleſh of it ſelfe without the ſoule is no fit place for ſinne: but in the fleſh ſinne dwelleth, as the Apoſtle ſaith: *Ergo*, fleſh is not here to be conſidered without the ſoule.

*Argum.*3. A perfect man conſiſteth of bodie and ſoule, but that which is regenerate is called the inner man: *Ergo*, regeneration is both in bodie and ſoule.

*Argum.*4. The fleſh is the ſame, which Saint *Paul* calleth the bodie of death, verſ.24. The bodie of death is all one with the bodie of ſinne, Rom.6.6. The bodie of ſinne, or ſinfull bodie of the fleſh, is the whole corruption of man both in bodie and ſoule, ſo much as is put off by the ſpirituall circumciſion of Chriſt, Coloſſ.2.11. *Ergo*, the fleſh in this place is the corrupt and vnregenerate part of the whole man.

*Argum.*5. The Apoſtle calleth concupiſcence the law of his members, verſ.23. what members he meaneth, he ſheweth elſewhere: *Mortifie your earthly members, fornication, vncleannes, inordinate affection*, Coloſſ.3.5. but theſe are not members of the bodie, but of the whole corrupt maſſe of bodie and ſoule in man: *Ergo.* Thus much for our anſwere to *Bellarmines* ſecond argument.

*Argum.*3. The Apoſtle ſaith, *There is no condemnation to them, that are in Chriſt:* But if concupiſcence remaining in thoſe that are iuſtified were ſinne, then there ſhould be ſome matter of condemnation ſtill in them, contrarie to the Apoſtle, *Bellarm.lib.*5.*cap.*7.

Anſw. There is no condemnation either for concupiſcence, or any other ſinne, becauſe though in it ſelfe it be worthie of damnation, yet the guilt thereof is taken away in Chriſt.

Bellarm. The guilt of ſinne cannot be ſeparated from the thing, that in it ſelfe deſerueth condemnation: neither can ſin be forgiuen, as long as the foundation thereof remaineth: Ezech.18. verſ.21. Forgiuenes is remitted, if the wicked will turne away from his iniquitie. If iniquitie ſtill remaine, there is then no forgiuenes, *ibid.*

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle himſelfe had ſaid in the next wordes before, Rom.7.25. *In my minde I ſerue the law of God, in my fleſh the law of ſinne:* He is not aſhamed to confeſſe, that ſinne remained in his members, yet was he one of thoſe, *that are in Chriſt.*

2. Saint *Iohn* ſaith, 1.Epiſt.1.9. *If we ſay wee haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues: if wee acknowledge our ſinnes, he is faithfull to forgiue them, &c.* Here the Apoſtle ſheweth, that to haue ſinne, and to haue forgiuenes of ſinne, may both ſtand together: wherefore it is falſe which hee ſo boldly affirmeth, that the guilt of ſinne cannot be ſeparated from the ſinne it ſelfe: the guilt is taken away by forgiuenes in Chriſt, and yet after forgiuenes obtained, hee is a lyar, that ſaith he hath no ſinne.

3. The turning from iniquitie, which *Ezechiel* ſpeaketh of, is by repentance, and by ceaſing to commit the act of ſinne: the ſtaine or blot of ſinne is one thing, the act and worke of ſin another: though ſin raigne not in vs, *that we obey the luſts thereof*, Rom.6.12. yet there is ſinne ſtill dwelling in vs, Rom.7.20. ſo long as we haue our habitation in theſe houſes of clay.

4. If there remaine then in the regenerate no ſinne at all; how farre are they from the opinion of the Pelagian heretikes, Anabaptiſts, Libertines, which hold that a man may attaine in this life to a ſtate of perfection? And if the regenerate haue no ſinne, what neede they ſay that petition in the Lords prayer; *Forgiue vs our treſpaſſes?* But I thinke they will be aſhamed of ſo great impudencie: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Neſcio vtrum quiſpiam vel hæretica prauitate reperiri poſſit, &c.* I thinke no man can be found, though of a moſt hereticall proud ſpirit, which will (I ſay) not openly profeſſe, but thinke ſecretly within himſelfe, that he neede not ſay this petition, *Forgiue vs our treſpaſſes, &c. cont. Creſcon. lib.*2.*c.*28.

The Proteſtants.

THat concupiſcence, and the corrupt inclination of nature, euen in the children of God, is verily and properly ſinne, and in it ſelfe worthie of damnation, but that both it, and all other ſinnes, are remitted in Chriſt to the faithfull, and ſo not imputed: thus it is prooued by the word of God.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* calleth it ſinne dwelling in him, Rom.7.verſ.17.20. *Ergo,* it is ſinne.

Bellarmine anſwereth: firſt, it is a ſinne improperly ſo called, not becauſe it is a ſinne indeede, but either the cauſe or effect of ſinne: for the Apoſtle ſaith, that this ſinne dwelleth in his fleſh: but the fleſh is not the ſeate or place of ſinne: *Bellarm.lib.*5.*cap.*10.*reſponſ.ad obiect.*1.

*Contra.*1. Let it be noted, that the Apoſtle giuing concupiſcence, at the leaſt ten ſeuerall times the name of ſinne in this one chapter, yet ſpeaketh improperly, and muſt now learne of *Bellarmine* to ſpeake. 2. By the fleſh Saint *Paul,* as before we ſhewed at large, vnderſtandeth not the bodie, but the whole part of man not renewed as well of the ſoule, as the bodie: therefore his reaſon for the place of ſinne is nothing. 3. But that concupiſcence hath the very proper nature of ſinne, it may appeare further by Saint *Pauls* deſcription: Firſt, he denieth it to be good, verſ.18. Secondly, he ſaith it is euill, verſ.19. Thirdly, hee ſaith he hateth it, verſ.15. Fourthly, it maketh him to crie out, *O wretched man that I am,&c.* verſ.24. It bringeth wretchednes, which is the fruite of ſinne: *Ergo,* it is ſinne.

Bellarmine anſwereth: that it is an euill, but no ſinne.

Contra. Well then, it is an euill by the Ieſuites confeſſion, and Saint *Paul* ſaith it is ſinne: *Ergo,* it is an euill that is ſinne. 2. What will he anſwere to this place: *I knew not ſinne but by the law: for I had not knowne luſt, except the law had ſaid, thou ſhalt not luſt,* verſ.7. Luſt and concupiſcence is forbidden by the law: *Ergo,* it is verily and properly a ſinne.

Bellarmine before diſtinguiſhed of ſinne, but that not ſeruing his turne here, for he dare not denie but that the tranſgreſſion of the law is ſinne: he hunteth about for another diſtinction: Concupiſcence forbidden by the law (*thou ſhalt not couet*) is not originall, but actuall concupiſcence: and therefore it is not pertinent to the matter: for the one wee confeſſe to be ſinne, but not the other.

Contra. Firſt, Saint *Paul* ſaith, that ſinne tooke occaſion by the law to work all manner of concupiſcence, verſ.8. *Ergo,* all concupiſcence, originall or actuall, is forbidden by the law. Secondly, *Sinne wrought in me all manner of concupiſcence:* By ſinne, ſaith the Ieſuite, he vnderſtandeth original concupiſcence: the Apoſtle then calleth the working concupiſcence ſinne, the concupiſcence wrought he ſetteth downe by the name of concupiſcence ſtill: ſo then we reaſon thus: That is ſin properly, which is rather ſinne, than that which no man doubteth to be ſinne: but concupiſcence wrought in vs by our aduerſaries owne confeſſion is ſinne: yet the working concupiſcence is rather ſinne, becauſe the Apoſtle calleth it ſinne, and not the other: *Ergo,* it is properly ſinne. Thirdly, *Bellarmine* ſaith, that *Voluntarius actus concupiſcendi prohibitus eſt lege:* That is, the voluntarie act of concupiſcence which is forbidden by the lawe: ſo that inuoluntarie motions, in his iudgement, are not againſt the law. But Saint *Paul* ſheweth the contrarie: *If I doe that which I would not, I conſent to the law, that it is good,* verſ.16. His inuoluntarie motions were againſt the law: for in obeying them againſt his will, he did in iudgement and conſent approue the law, though in practiſe he went againſt it. Fourthly, if originall concupiſcence be euill, as the Ieſuite confeſſeth, then muſt it needes be contrarie to the law, which is good, and ſo forbidden by the law: or elſe the law ſhall not be a perfect rule of righteouſnes, and goodnes.

*Argum.*2. The Apoſtle calleth *the law of his members a law rebelling againſt the law of his minde:* but whatſoeuer rebelleth, or is contrarie to the law, is ſinne.

Bellarm. 1. Euery thing that rebelleth, or is contrarie to the law, is not ſinne: for man, when hee ſinneth, reſiſteth the lawe; and yet man is not ſinne. And againe, in that the Apoſtle calleth it a law, he ſheweth that it is not properly ſinne, but a law or rule rather of ſinning: *reſponſ. ad obiect.*6.

Contra. 1. The Ieſuites inſtance is very ridiculous, and bewrayeth the nakednes of his cauſe, which he is faine to bolſter out with ſuch ſillie anſweres: Man reſiſting the law is not ſinne it ſelfe, yet is he a ſinner: the queſtion is of that, which formally is contrarie to the law. 2. That euery tranſgreſſion of the law is ſinne wee ſhew it vs: Sinne onely deſerueth the eternall curſe of God: for the proper wages & ſtipend of ſin is death, Rom.6.23. and nothing is found worthie of death but ſinne: but euery tranſgreſſion of the lawe, falleth vnder Gods curſe, Galath.3.10. *Ergo,* it is ſinne. 3. Concupiſcence is the law of ſinne, therefore it is not ſinne. *Anſ.* Yea, but by this reaſon it is worſe than ſinne: As the law of God commaunding things holie, iuſt, and good, is it ſelfe much more holie, righteous, and good, Rom.7.11. ſo the law of ſinne preſcribing that which is euill, vniuſt, wicked, is it ſelfe more vniuſt, euill, and wicked. If then concupiſcence be not ſinne, and yet by your argument is worſe than ſinne, what haue you gained?

*Argum.*3. Verſe 18. *To will is preſent with me, but I finde no meanes to performe that which is good:* but he that performeth not that which is good, ſinneth. Againe, verſe 24. *O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliuer me, from this bodie of death?* that which maketh a man wretched, and bringeth death, is ſinne: *Ergo,* concupiſcence working theſe things, is ſinne.

*Bellarm.*1. Wretchednes in Scripture is attributed to puniſhment rather then to the fault.

2. If a man performe not that good, which he cannot do, he is leſſe good, but not euill: as not to couet in the fleſh, is not in mans power.

3. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of euerlaſting death, but of the miſerie and mortalitie of the bodie: *Bellarm.c.*10.*reſp.ad* 7.*&* 8.*obiect.*

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Concil. Mileuitan. cap.2. Propter hoc paruuli, qui nihil in ſeipſis peccatorum committere potuerunt, adeo in peccatorum remiſſionem veraciter baptizantur, vt in eis regeneratione mundetur, quod generatione traxerunt: For this cauſe children, which haue as yet done no ſinne in themſelues, are truely Baptized for the remiſſion of ſinnes, that it may be purged by regeneration, which they tooke in their birth. If originall corruption be not properly a ſinne, then children; who are as yet guiltie of no other ſinne, ſhould not be baptized for remiſſion of ſinnes.

Decret. par.3. diſtinct.4. c.2. In baptiſmo caro peccati euacuatur, &c. In Baptiſme the fleſh or bodie of ſinne is euacuate; not that concupiſcence ſhould wholy be conſumed, *ſed ne obſit mortuo, quæ oberat nato:* but that it be not hurtfull to him, that is dead vnto it, which was hurtfull to him in his birth. Their Maſter to the like effect, *lib.2. diſtinct.32. b.* ſheweth how originall ſinne is taken away in Baptiſme, *extenuatione, & ſolutione reatus*, by the extenuation of it, and taking away the guiltines: originall ſinne then remaineth ſtill; but it is not hurtfull, nor imputed to the regenerate.

Auguſtine alſo thus alleageth out of *Hilarie, lib.2. cont. Iulian. Apoſtolis licet verbo fidei emundatis non deeſſe malitiam, per conditionem communis originis:* Euen in the Apoſtles, though cleanſed with the word of faith, there was not wanting malice or euilnes by the condition of the common

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Bellarm.lib.1. de ſtat.peccat.

Concil. Mileuitan.cap.2. Propter hoc paruuli, qui nihil in ſeipſis peccatorum committere potuerunt, adeo in peccatorum remiſſionem veraciter baptizantur, vt in eis regeneratione mundetur, quod generatione traxerunt: For this cauſe children, which haue as yet done no ſinne in themſelues, are truely Baptized for the remiſſion of ſinnes, that it may be purged by regeneration, which they tooke in their birth. If originall corruption be not properly a ſinne, then children; who are as yet guiltie of no other ſinne, ſhould not be baptized for remiſſion of ſinnes.

Decret.par.3.diſtinct.4.c.2. In baptiſmo caro peccati euacuatur, &c. In Baptiſme the fleſh or bodie of ſinne is euacuate; not that concupiſcence ſhould wholy be conſumed, *ſed ne obſit mortuo, quæ oberat nato:* but that it be not hurtfull to him, that is dead vnto it, which was hurtfull to him in his birth. Their Maſter to the like effect, *lib.2.diſtinct.32.b.* ſheweth how originall ſinne is taken away in Baptiſme, *extenuatione, & ſolutione reatus,* by the extenuation of it, and taking away the guiltines: originall ſinne then remaineth ſtill; but it is not hurtfull, nor imputed to the regenerate.

Auguſtine alſo thus alleageth out of *Hilarie, lib.2.cont.Iulian. Apoſtolis licet verbo fidei emundatis non deeſſe malitiam, per conditionem communis originis:* Euen in the Apoſtles, though cleanſed with the word of faith, there was not wanting malice or euilnes by the condition of the common originall or birth: *Ergo*, by this ſentence euen in the Apoſtles, the euilnes or malice of concupiſcence by nature remained.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER ORIGINALL ſinne be hurtfull to the regenerate after Baptiſme.

The Papiſts.

17.Error. THe Rhemiſts do not onely deny concupiſcence in the regenerate to be ſinne, but they affirme alſo that the motions of the fleſh in a iuſt man, whereunto the minde conſenteth not, cannot any whit defile the operations of the ſpirit, but make them often more meritorious, for the continuall combate that he hath with them: for it is plaine that the operations of the fleſh and the ſpirit doe not concurre to make one act: *Rhemiſt.annot.Rom.7.ſect.10.*

*Anſw.*1. The combat betweene the fleſh, cannot make the operations of the ſpirit meritorious: firſt, we cannot merite at all by any good action wrought in vs, becauſe it is not of our ſelues, but wholy of God: *Thus I liue*, (ſaith the Apoſtle) *not I now, but Chriſt liueth in me:* Galath. 2.20. Secondly, the reſiſtance of the fleſh, is ſo farre from encreaſing our reward, that it maketh our debt greater: for whoſe is the fleſh? is it not ours? Who ſhall anſwere for that which is euill done in the fleſh? ſhall not we? It is therefore our owne fault, that our fleſh is rebellious, and that we doe not wholy yeeld to the working of the ſpirit.

2. Though the operations of the fleſh concurre not with the ſpirit to make one act: yet the fleſh concurreth, or rather occurreth, and reſiſteth the ſpirit in euery good act: and doth hinder the workes of the ſpirit from perfection, and ſo defile them.

The Proteſtants.

THe luſt or concupiſcence remaining, but not raigning in the regenerate, doth greatly hinder the good proceeding of the ſpirit in them.

*Argum.*1. Concupiſcence kept the Apoſtle from doing that good, which he deſired: *That good that I would, doe I not*, Rom.7.19. *Ergo*, it was an hinderance to the working of the ſpirit.

*Argum.*2. If concupiſcence were any way profitable to goodneſſe, it were a thing to be loued, not hated; to be deſired, not wiſhed to be taken away. But S.*Paul* hateth it: *What I hate, that do I*, verſ.15. and longeth till he be ridde from it: *O wretched man, that I am, who ſhall deliuer me from the bodie of this death?* verſ. 24. *Ergo*, concupiſcence is not good, nor any way helping vnto goodnes.

De Sanct. ſerm.41. *Auguſtine* thus writeth of theſe ſmaller and leſſe ſinnes: *Quibus peccatis licèt occidi animam non credamus, ita tamen eam veluti quibuſdam puſtulis deformem faciunt, vt eam ad amplexum ſponſi ſine grandi confuſione venire non permittant:* By the which ſinnes, though the ſoule be not ſlaine, yet the face is deformed, as with pimples, that ſhe dare not without great bluſhing draw neere to embrace her ſpouſe. Let them tell me now, what great glorie is obtained, by this corruption in our members.

Arauſican.Concil.2.cap.2. Si quis ſoli Adæ præuaricationem ſuam non & eius propagini aſſerit nocuiſſe, &c. anathema: If any man ſay that *Adams* tranſgreſſion onely hurt himſelfe, and not his poſteritie and offſpring, accurſed be he. Originall ſinne then is hurtful to all men that come of *Adam: Ergo*, it is no helpe or furtherance.

Eſpencæus a graue writer among the Papiſts, alleageth out of S. *Cyprian de tentationibus Chriſti*, to this effect: *Neminem libidinum morſus illæſum euadere:* That no man doth eſcape the biting of luſt without hurt: According to that ſaying of *Propertius lib.* 2. *Nec quiſquam ex illo vulnere ſanus abit:* No man goeth away whole of that wound: *in 2. epiſt. Timoth.cap.2.* And out of *Auguſtine* 4. *Hypognoſticorum: In omni homine libido mala eſt, &c.* Luſt or concupiſcence is euil in euery man: *in 2. Tim.c.*3. Wherefore original ſin is hurtful to the regenerate. *Cauſ.24.qu.3.c.39.* There are certaine heretikes rehearſed among the reſt, called *Ophitæ*, of the ſerpent, whom they did reuerence: ſaying, *Ipſum in paradiſum induxiſſe virtutis cognitionem:* That the ſerpent brought into Paradiſe the knowledge of vertue: not much vnlike doe the Papiſts commend concupiſcence, which is the ſerpents ſting; ſaying, that it maketh the operations of iuſt men more meritorious.

THE FIFT PART, OF THE PLACE OR ſeate of concupiſcence in the regenerate.

The Papiſts.

18.Error. BEllarmine graunteth, that ſometime fleſh is taken in the Scripture for the whole man corrupted, both in bodie and ſoule: but then it is vnderſtood onely of the wicked, and not of the godly: *Bellarm. de ſtat.peccat.lib.5.cap.7. reſponſ. ad argum.2. caution.6.* And therefore he expoundeth that place of S.*Paul*, *There dwelleth not in me, that is, in my fleſh, any good thing*, Rom.7. of the bodie:

die: and hence would proue that concupiſcence in the regenerate is no ſinne, becauſe it is in the bodie: *cap.* 10. *reſponſ. ad argum.* 1. His opinion then is, that concupiſcence in them remaineth onely in their bodie. And where S. *Paul* ſaith, I am carnall, he thus expoundeth it: *Quia nondum ſpirituale corpus habeo:* Becauſe he had no ſpirituall bodie, ſuch as he ſhould haue in the reſurrection: *cap.* 10. *reſponſ. ad obiect.* 6. So then in his opinion, the minde onely of the regenerate is renewed, not their bodie: he reaſoneth thus.

Argum. S. *Paul* ſaith, *In my minde I ſerue the law of God; in my fleſh the law of ſinne:* Here the minde regenerate or renewed, is oppoſed or ſet againſt that part which is not renewed, namely the fleſh, which ſhall be renewed in the reſurrection: *Bellarm. cap. 7. reſponſ. ad Bezam.*

Anſw. Firſt, that this place is to be vnderſtood of the mind regenerate, we grant: but thereby, as a principall part, the whole regenerate man is expreſſed both in bodie and ſoule: ſo where S. *Paul* ſaith, *Be renewed in the ſpirit of your minds*, Epheſ. 4.24. he vnderſtandeth a renouation of the whole new man: *and put on the new man*, ſaith he: And S. *Peter* ſpeaking to the women, *that the hid man of the heart ſhould be vncorrupt:* In the ſame place exhorteth them to ſoberneſſe and modeſtie of apparell, which is outward in the bodie, 1. Pet. 3.4. So in this place, by the minde, the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth the whole new or regenerate man. Secondly, how could S. *Paul*, ſpeaking of himſelfe, by fleſh, vnderſtande a body not regenerate: ſeeing the Apoſtle was a mortified man, and was much exerciſed in the taming and beating downe of his bodie, 1. Cor. 9.27? Thirdly, the bodies of the Saints ſhall be renewed, we grant, in the reſurrection: which is called the regeneration, Mat. 19.28. but it followeth not, they ſhall be regenerate then from all mortalitie & corruption: *Ergo,* they cannot now be renewed, and ſubdued from ſinne: the ſoule alſo then ſhall bee cleanſed and made pure, like the Angels, yet for all this, the ſoule while it is in the bodie, is dayly renewed. As it is called the regeneration, ſo is it alſo the redemption of our bodies, Rom. 8.23. becauſe then our redemption in body and ſoule, ſhall be perfectly accompliſhed: notwithſtanding it is begun in this life.

The Proteſtants.

THat concupiſcence dwelling in the regenerat, remaineth both in their bodies & their ſoules, and that as their regeneration is of the whole man, both in bodie and ſoule; ſo there is ſome fleſhly part in both, reſiſting againſt the ſpirit, which in the ſcripture is called fleſh: thus we are perſwaded.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *I am carnall, ſold vnder ſin*, Rom. 7. verſ. 14. if this ſhould be meant of Saint *Pauls* body: what could be ſaid more of the body of an adulterer, murtherer, glutton, or whoſe body elſe is giuen ouer to all wickedneſſe, then that it is ſolde vnder ſin? If S. *Paul* then, where he ſaith, I am carnall, or, in my fleſh I ſerue the law of ſinne, ver. 25. doth vnderſtand his bodie: is it not all one, as if he had ſaid, *he had giuen his members ſeruants to ſin?* to ſerue ſin in the body, and to giue the members ſeruants to ſinne, is all one: But neither S. *Paul* nor any other regenerate man is a ſeruant of ſinne in his body: for, ſaith he, *When ye were ſeruants of ſinne, yee were freed from righteouſneſſe*, Rom. 6.20. And *as ye haue giuen your members ſeruants to vncleanneſſe:* hee ſpeaketh of the time before their calling: therefore S. *Paul* ſpeaketh not of his body.

Auguſtine writing of thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *It is no more I that do it, but ſinne that dwelleth in me*, ſaith thus: *Quod ille dicere non poteſt, qui aut cordis conſenſione decernit, quod cōcupiſcit, aut corporis miniſterio perficit:* which Saint *Paul* could not ſay, if either he had conſented in his heart, to that whereunto his concupiſcence led him, or by the miniſtery and ſeruice of his bodie had done it. The Apoſtle then did not giue the miniſterie or ſeruice of his bodie to ſinne.

Cont. Iulian. lib. 2. in fine.

2. Man hath ſometime his denomination of the mind, but not of the bodie: S. *Paul* ſaith not, my body is carnall, but *I am*; and afterward, *in me*, that is, *my fleſh*. Saint *Pauls* fleſh is himſelfe, but he himſelfe conſiſteth both of bodie and ſoule: *Ergo,* the fleſh is in them both: ſee more of the expoſition of this place, *part. 3. iſtius quaſtion. argum. 2.*

Argum. 2. There is a moſt euident place for this purpoſe, Gal. 5. 17. *the fleſh luſteth againſt the ſpirit, and the ſpirit againſt the fleſh:* The Apoſtle by fleſh here vnderſtandeth the corrupt part both of body and ſoule: for a little after, among the workes of the fleſh, he nameth not onely ſinnes of the bodie, as adulterie, vncleanneſſe, but the ſinnes alſo of the ſoule, as hatred, emulation, hereſies, verſ. 20. And all this while the Apoſtle ſpeaketh to and of the regenerate: *theſe are contrarie each to other, ſo that ye cannot do the ſame things ye would:* this he writeth to the faithfull among the Galathians. So to the beleeuers among the Coloſſians, he ſaith, *Mortifie your earthly members, fornication, vncleanneſſe, couetouſneſſe:* which ſins are as well in the minde as the body: wherefore they are not members only of the body, but of the old man vnregenerate both in ſoule and body: And thus, I truſt, it appeareth, that the fleſh, euen in the regenerate, doth comprehend the corruption remaining in them, both in ſoule and body.

Shall *Auguſtine* now ſpeake: *Hæc eſt lex membris omnium inſerta mortalium, quæ repugnat legi mentis: cogitationum ſpinæ & tribuli in nobis germinare incipiunt:* This is the law ingraft in the members of all mortall men, which rebelleth againſt the law of the mind or ſpirit: for the thornes and thiſtles of euill thoughts begin to bud in vs: *de tempor.ſerm.47*. Out of theſe words I reaſon thus: There concupiſcence the law of the members is, where euill thoughts ariſe; but they are bred in the mind, not in the bodie: *Ergo*, concupiſcence is as well in the mind as in the body.

Concil. Arauſican.2.cap.2. Si quis dicit ſoli Ada prauaricationem ſuam nocuiſſe, &c. nec peccatum quod mors eſt animæ per vnum hominem in omne genus humanum tranſyſſe, &c. If any man ſay that *Adams* tranſgreſſion onely hurt himſelfe, and that ſinne, which is the death of the ſoule, did not through one man come vnto all mankind, let him be accurſed. Originall ſinne then is the death of the ſoule: *Ergo*, it hath the place in the ſoule, where it worketh.

Origen ſaith, *Hom.*8.*Leuitic. Audi Dauidem dicentem, &c.* Heare *David* ſay, I was conceiued in iniquitie, ſhewing, that *Quæcunque anima ex carne naſcitur, &c.* That euery ſoule is borne of the fleſh, and is polluted with iniquitie: if the ſoule then be polluted with originall ſinne, then it followeth, that it hath the place and ſeate in the ſoule.

The Maſter of the Sentences agreeth, *Lib.2.diſt.32.e. Nec caro corruptibilis animam peccatricem fecit:* The corruptible fleſh did not make the ſoule ſinfull, but the ſinfull ſoule maketh the fleſh corruptible. *Lib.3.diſt.17.b. Ipſius carnalis concupiſcentiæ cauſa, non eſt in anima ſola, nec in carne ſola:* The cauſe of carnall concupiſcence is not in the ſoule alone, or in the fleſh alone, for it is made of them both, &c. *Lib.3.diſt.27.f. Caro non dicitur concupiſcere, niſi quia anima carnaliter concupiſcit, &c.* The fleſh is not ſaid to luſt, but becauſe the ſoule doth carnally luſt.

THE SIXT PART, OF THE PVNISHMENT of originall ſinne.

THe puniſhment due to originall ſinne, is double, either temporall or eternall: firſt, of the eternall puniſhment, then of the temporall.

OF THE ETERNALL PVNISHMENT due to originall ſinne.

The Papiſts.

19.Error. BEllarmine affirmeth, that infants dying without Baptiſme in originall ſinne, are eternally puniſhed: but their puniſhment, is, *damni, non ſenſus, ſiue ignis ſenſibilis*, of loſſe onely becauſe they are excluded from heauen, not of any ſmart or outward paine of fire: ſuch as the damned ſuffer in hell. Concerning the firſt poynt, whether infants not being baptized, are damned; we haue before intreated, in the twelfth Controuerſie, and the third queſtion of the neceſſitie of Baptiſme.

Yet thus much of it here, that the popiſh opinion, in holding all infants dying without Baptiſme, to be in the ſtate of damnation; is very cruell, and moſt vncharitable: whereby it both reſtraineth Gods power, as though he were not able to ſaue infants without the ſacrament; and obſcureth his mercie, and impugneth his iuſtice, in ſuffering ſo many, hauing not yet ſinned in acte, to be loſt.

Our opinion rather is this, agreeable to Scripture, and the rule of charitie: firſt, that although all infants in themſelues, being borne with that maſſe of originall corruption, are ſubiect to damnation; yet that many of them are ſaued, both by the couenant made to their faithfull parents, both or either of them, and to their ſeede: and that both immediatly, if their next parents were beleeuers, and mediately ſometime, when their former predeceſſors haue beleeued, though their next progenitors are Infidels, (for Gods promiſe made to them that loue him, extendeth to a thouſand generations, Exod.20.) as alſo ſuch as are not within the couenant; ſo many as God hath ordained to life, are ſaued by the free election of grace.

Conſul. Iunium de grat. reſponſ. ad ration.28. Secondly, as we denie not, but that if any infants ſo dying are damned, (which God beſt knoweth) he doth it moſt iuſtly: ſo chriſtian charitie bindeth vs to hope and thinke the beſt of children dying in their infancie, and to preſume that they are ſaued: ſeeing God preuenteth them, leaſt that they ſhould be ouertaken of the wickednes of this life: for which cauſe *Henoch* is ſaid to haue been taken vp, *Sapient.cap.4.*

But now to the ſecond point, concerning the maner of the puniſhment of infants, *Bellarmine* reaſoneth thus.

*Argum.*1. We reade in the Apocalypſe, *As much as ſhe glorified her ſelfe and liued in pleaſure, ſo much giue you vnto her torment and ſorrow*, Chapter 18.verſe 7. but infants neuer glorified themſelues, or liued in pleaſure; therefore they ſhall haue neither torment nor ſorrowe, *Bellarm. de ſtat. peccat.lib.6.cap.4.*

Anſw. Firſt, the Ieſuite abuſeth this place to ſignifie the torments of hell: it is a propheſie of the temporall deſtruction of the ſecond Babylon, which is the ſeate of Antichriſt, (and Rome by your leaue) as we haue at large proued, in the fourth controuerſie of the Pope: therefore the plagues are numbred which ſhall fall vpon her for pride, verſ.8. *In one day ſhall come vpon her, death, ſorrow, famine:* but famine I thinke, is none of the plagues in hell. But, ſecondly, if you will needs haue this place to be vnderſtood of hell torments: what haue you gayned by it? Surely, by your owne confeſſion, your Babylon and confuſed antichriſtian kingdome is appoynted to that place. Secondly, the argument followeth not: they that liue in pride or pleaſure, ſhall be tormented in hell: *Ergo,* they that doe not liue in theſe ſinnes, ſhall not be tormented: for by this reaſon not onely infants ſhall be excuſed, that are guiltie onely of originall ſinne, but all other ſinners, that offend not in the foreſaid ſinnes.

The Proteſtants.

THe due and wages of originall ſinne, is eternall death, which is the puniſhment both of bodie and ſoule in hell: And hell in the Scriptures is alwaies taken for a place of torment: if infants then dying before Baptiſme are condemned to hell, as the Ieſuite ſaith, they cannot there be exempted from torment.

*Argum.*1. Chriſt ſhall ſay to the goates on the left hand, that is, to thoſe that are condemned; *Depart from me ye curſed into euerlaſting fire, prepared for the diuell and his angels,* Matth.25. verſ.41. But of this number are infants which are condemned to hell: *Ergo,* they ſhall ſuffer torment in euerlaſting fire. *Bellarmine* ſaith, that the forme of iudgement is here preſcribed whereby they onely ſhall be iudged which were of the Church, for they are not condemned becauſe they had no faith, which is the cauſe of the condemnation of Infidels, and thoſe which are out of the Church, but for want of good workes: wherefore this place appertaineth not to children, that die without Baptiſme, which were not of the Church, *Bellarm.cap.*5.

*Contra.*1. The fayling or want of good workes, is cauſe of condemnation to all men, whether within the Church, or without, as S. *Paul* ſheweth, *Know you not that the vnrighteous ſhall not inherite the kingdome of God, as fornicatours, idolaters, adulterers:* and he reckeneth vp other workes of the fleſh: and ſuch ſaith he, were ſome of you, &c. 1.Corinth.6.11. he ſaith not for want of faith, but of good workes, that before they beleeued, they were in ſtate of damnation.

2 But to put this matter out of doubt: the text ſaith plainely, that in the day of iudgement all nations ſhall be gathered before Chriſt, verſ.32. *Ergo,* all ſortes of men, both within and without the Church: why is not the Ieſuite aſhamed then out of this number to exclude infants?

*Argum.*2. Apocal.20.15. *Whoſoeuer was not found written in the booke of life, was caſt into the lake of fire: Ergo,* infants alſo that are condemned: and if they be in the lake of fire, how are they not tormented?

Bellarmine: They ſhall be caſt, we graunt, into the lake of fire, that is, the place where fire is, but ſhall not be burnt of the fire, either becauſe they ſhall be in a higher place, or that the fire ſhall haue powre onely *detinendi, non vrendi,* to keepe them as it were in holde, but not to burne or conſume them.

Contra. Who ſeeth not what vaine and ſophiſtical ſhifts this fellow vſeth to obſcure the truth? but none of them can helpe him. Firſt, the text ſaith, they ſhall be caſt into the lake of fire, not into a place neere to, or higher then the fire, where they ſhall ſee but not feele it: but they ſhall haue their part in the lake, Apocal. 21. 8. And againe, *It is ſayd to burne with fire and brimſtone,* that is, to burne moſt hotely, and moſt fiercely, that whoſoeuer is in it, muſt needes be burned and tormented therein. Secondly, the Ieſuites anſwere here is contrarie to his doctrine elſewhere: for he ſaith, that *Limbus infantium,* the dungeon of infants, is higher then Purgatorie: and that Purgatorie is betweene it and hell, ſo that hell fire cannot come vnto it, *Bellarm de purgator. lib.*2. *cap.*6. If it be ſo, as he imagineth, then cannot infants any way be caſt into hell fire, ſeeing there is ſuch a great ſpace and diſtance betweene hell and their priſon: wherefore if the Scripture be true, then *Bellarmine* muſt be the lyer.

Auguſtine thus anſwereth *Iulian* the Pelagian, who obiected, that if children be borne in the ſtate of damnation, their parents, that are the cauſe of their birth, are no better then murderers of their owne children. *Id melius dicis* (ſaith he) *hominum creatori, quàm genitoribus, nam quos præſciuit ignibus æternis arſuros, creare non deſinit:* he might better obiect this vnto the creator of men, then to their begetters, for whom he foreſaw ſhould burne in euerlaſting fire, he ceaſeth not daylie to create, *cont. Iulian.*5.9. Children then, and whoſoeuer are borne and die in the ſtate of damnation, ſhall burne in euerlaſting fire.

*Synod. Moguntin.cap.*5. *Primorum hominum peccatum propagatione in omnes homines transijt, &c. vt ſint natura omnes homines iræ Dei, mortis & damnationis rei, &c.* The ſinne of the firſt men is by propagation paſſed vnto all men, ſo that all by nature are guiltie of Gods wrath, death, and damnation. Eternall condemnation then is the iuſt reward euen of originall ſinne.

Decr.

bers of all mortall men, which rebelleth againſt the law of the mind or ſpirit: for the thornes and thiſtles of euill thoughts begin to bud in vs: *de tempor.ſerm.47.* Out of theſe words I reaſon thus: There concupiſcence the law of the members is, where euill thoughts ariſe; but they are bred in the mind, not in the bodie: *Ergo*, concupiſcence is as well in the mind as in the body.

Concil. Arauſican.2.cap.2. Si quis dicit ſoli Adæ præuaricationem ſuam nocuiſſe, &c. nec peccatum quod mors eſt animæ per vnum hominem in omne genus humanum tranſyſſe, &c. If any man ſay that *Adams* tranſgreſſion onely hurt himſelfe, and that ſinne, which is the death of the ſoule, did not through one man come vnto all mankind, let him be accurſed. Originall ſinne then is the death of the ſoule: *Ergo*, it hath the place in the ſoule, where it worketh.

Origen ſaith, *Hom.*8.*Leuitic. Audi Dauidem dicentem, &c.* Heare *Dauid* ſay, I was conceiued in iniquitie, ſhewing, that *Quæcunque anima ex carne naſcitur, &c.* That euery ſoule is borne of the fleſh, and is polluted with iniquitie: if the ſoule then be polluted with originall ſinne, then it followeth, that it hath the place and ſeate in the ſoule.

The Maſter of the Sentences agreeth, *Lib.*2*.diſt.*32.*e. Nec caro corruptibilis animam peccatricem fecit:* The corruptible fleſh did not make the ſoule ſinfull, but the ſinfull ſoule maketh the fleſh corruptible. *Lib.*3.*diſt.*17.*b. Ipſius carnalis concupiſcentiæ cauſa, non eſt in anima ſola, nec in carne ſola:* The cauſe of carnall concupiſcence is not in the ſoule alone, or in the fleſh alone, for it is made of them both, &c. *Lib.*3.*diſt.*27.*f. Caro non dicitur concupiſcere, niſi quia anima carnaliter concupiſcit, &c.* The fleſh is not ſaid to luſt, but becauſe the ſoule doth carnally luſt.

THE SIXT PART, OF THE PVNISHMENT of originall ſinne.

THe puniſhment due to originall ſinne, is double, either temporall or eternall: firſt, of the eternall puniſhment, then of the temporall.

OF THE ETERNALL PVNISHMENT due to originall ſinne.

The Papiſts.

19.Error. BEllarmine affirmeth, that infants dying without Baptiſme in originall ſinne, are eternally puniſhed: but their puniſhment, is, *damni, non ſenſus, ſiue ignis ſenſibilis*, of loſſe onely becauſe they are excluded from heauen, not of any ſmart or outward paine of fire: ſuch as the damned ſuffer in hell. Concerning the firſt poynt, whether infants not being baptized, are damned; we haue before intreated, in the twelfth Controuerſie, and the third queſtion of the neceſſitie of Baptiſme.

Yet thus much of it here, that the popiſh opinion, in holding all infants dying without Baptiſme, to be in the ſtate of damnation; is very cruell, and moſt vncharitable: whereby it both reſtraineth Gods power, as though he were not able to ſaue infants without the ſacrament; and obſcureth his mercie, and impugneth his iuſtice, in ſuffering ſo many, hauing not yet ſinned in acte, to be loſt.

Our opinion rather is this, agreeable to Scripture, and the rule of charitie: firſt, that although all infants in themſelues, being borne with that maſſe of originall corruption, are ſubiect to damnation; yet that many of them are ſaued, both by the couenant made to their faithfull parents, both or either of them, and to their ſeede: and that both immediatly, if their next parents were beleeuers, and mediately ſometime, when their former predeceſſors haue beleeued, though their next progenitors are Infidels, (for Gods promiſe made to them that loue him, extendeth to a thouſand generations, Exod.20.) as alſo ſuch as are not within the couenant; ſo many as God hath ordained to life, are ſaued by the free election of grace.

Conſul. Iunium de grat. reſponſ. ad ration.28. Secondly, as we denie not, but that if any infants ſo dying are damned, (which God beſt knoweth) he doth it moſt iuſtly: ſo chriſtian charitie bindeth vs to hope and thinke the beſt of children dying in their infancie, and to preſume that they are ſaued: ſeeing God preuenteth them, leaſt that they ſhould be ouertaken of the wickednes of this life: for which cauſe *Henoch* is ſaid to haue been taken vp, *Sapient.cap.*4.

But now to the ſecond point, concerning the maner of the puniſhment of infants, *Bellarmine* reaſoneth thus.

*Argum.*1. We reade in the Apocalypſe, *As much as ſhe glorified her ſelfe and liued in pleaſure, ſo much giue you vnto her torment and ſorrow*, Chapter 18.verſe 7. but infants neuer glorified themſelues, or liued in pleaſure; therefore they ſhall haue neither torment nor ſorrowe, *Bellarm. de ſtat. peccat.lib.6.cap.*4.

Anſw. Firſt, the Ieſuite abuſeth this place to ſignifie the torments of hell: it is a propheſie of the temporall deſtruction of the ſecond Babylon, which is the ſeate of Antichriſt, (and Rome by your leaue) as we haue at large proued, in the fourth controuerſie of the Pope.: therefore the plagues are numbred which ſhall fall vpon her for pride, verſ.8. *In one day ſhall come vpon her, death, ſorrow, famine:* but famine I thinke, is none of the plagues in hell. But, ſecondly, if you will needs haue this place to be vnderſtood of hell torments: what haue you gayned by it? Surely, by your owne confeſſion, your Babylon and confuſed antichriſtian kingdome is appoynted to that place. Secondly, the argument followeth not: they that liue in pride or pleaſure, ſhall be tormented in hell: *Ergo,* they that doe not liue in theſe ſinnes, ſhall not be tormented: for by this reaſon not onely infants ſhall be excuſed, that are guiltie onely of originall ſinne, but all other ſinners, that offend not in the foreſaid ſinnes.

The Proteſtants.

THe due and wages of originall ſinne, is eternall death, which is the puniſhment both of bodie and ſoule in hell: And hell in the Scriptures is alwaies taken for a place of torment: if infants then dying before Baptiſme are condemned to hell, as the Ieſuite ſaith, they cannot there be exempted from torment.

*Argum.*1. Chriſt ſhall ſay to the goates on the left hand, that is, to thoſe that are condemned; *Depart from me ye curſed into euerlaſting fire, prepared for the diuell and his angels,* Matth.25. verſ.41. But of this number are infants which are condemned to hell: *Ergo,* they ſhall ſuffer torment in euerlaſting fire. *Bellarmine* ſaith, that the forme of iudgement is here preſcribed whereby they onely ſhall be iudged which were of the Church, for they are not condemned becauſe they had no faith, which is the cauſe of the condemnation of Infidels, and thoſe which are out of the Church, but for want of good workes: wherefore this place appertaineth not to children, that die without Baptiſme, which were not of the Church, *Bellarm.cap.5.*

*Contra.*1. The fayling or want of good workes, is cauſe of condemnation to all men, whether within the Church, or without, as S. *Paul* ſheweth, *Know you not that the vnrighteous ſhall not inherite the kingdome of God, as fornicatours, idolaters, adulterers:* and he reckeneth vp other workes of the fleſh: and ſuch ſaith he, were ſome of you, &c. 1.Corinth.6.11. he ſaith not for want of faith, but of good workes, that before they beleeued, they were in ſtate of damnation.

2 But to put this matter out of doubt: the text ſaith plainely, that in the day of iudgement all nations ſhall be gathered before Chriſt, verſ.32. *Ergo,* all ſortes of men, both within and without the Church: why is not the Ieſuite aſhamed then out of this number to exclude infants?

*Argum.*2. Apocal.20.15. *Whoſoeuer was not found written in the booke of life, was caſt into the lake of fire: Ergo,* infants alſo that are condemned: and if they be in the lake of fire, how are they not tormented?

Bellarmine: They ſhall be caſt, we graunt, into the lake of fire, that is, the place where fire is, but ſhall not be burnt of the fire, either becauſe they ſhall be in a higher place, or that the fire ſhall haue powre onely *detinendi, non vrendi,* to keepe them as it were in holde, but not to burne or conſume them.

Contra. Who ſeeth not what vaine and ſophiſtical ſhifts this fellow vſeth to obſcure the truth? but none of them can helpe him. Firſt, the text ſaith, they ſhall be caſt into the lake of fire, not into a place neere to, or higher then the fire, where they ſhall ſee but not feele it; but they ſhall haue their part in the lake, Apocal. 21. 8. And againe, *It is ſayd to burne with fire and brimſtone,* that is, to burne moſt hotely, and moſt fiercely, that whoſoeuer is in it, muſt needes be burned and tormented therein. Secondly, the Ieſuites anſwere here is contrarie to his doctrine elſewhere: for he ſaith, that *Limbus infantium,* the dungeon of infants, is higher then Purgatorie: and that Purgatorie is betweene it and hell, ſo that hell fire cannot come vnto it, *Bellarm de purgator. lib.2. cap.6.* If it be ſo, as he imagineth, then cannot infants any way be caſt into hell fire, ſeeing there is ſuch a great ſpace and diſtance betweene hell and their priſon: wherefore if the Scripture be true, then *Bellarmive* muſt be the lyer.

Auguſtine thus anſwereth *Iulian* the Pelagian, who obiected, that if children be borne in the ſtate of damnation, their parents, that are the cauſe of their birth, are no better then murderers of their owne children. *Id melius dicis* (ſaith he) *hominum creatori, quàm genitoribus, nam quos præſciuit ignibus æternis arſuros, creare non deſinit:* he might better obiect this vnto the creator of men, then to their begetters, for whom he foreſaw ſhould burne in euerlaſting fire, he ceaſeth not daylie to create, *cont.Iulian.5.9.* Children then, and whoſoeuer are borne and die in the ſtate of damnation, ſhall burne in euerlaſting fire.

Synod. Moguntin.cap.5. Primorum hominum peccatum propagatione in omnes homines tranſijt, &c. vt ſint natura omnes homines iræ Dei, mortis & damnationis rei, &c. The ſinne of the firſt men is by propagation paſſed vnto all men, ſo that all by nature are guiltie of Gods wrath, death, and damnation. Eternall condemnation then is the iuſt reward euen of originall ſinne.

Decr. part.2.cauſ.15.qu.1.c.1.præfat. Siue penes voluntatem, ſiue penes infirmitatem conſiſtant peccata, ſemper imputantur ad pœnam: Whether ſinnes be committed willingly, or conſiſt in infirmitie, they are imputed to puniſhment: puniſhment then and paine belongeth euen to ſinnes of infirmitie.

Part.3.diſt.4.c.3. Qui ſine ſacramento ſancti baptiſmatis de hoc ſeculo tranſeunt, ſempiterno igne puniendos: They which depart without the ſacrament of Baptiſme, ſhall bee puniſhed with euerlaſting fire: For although they had no ſinne of their proper action, yet of originall corruption, &c.

The Maſter of Sentences is of opinion, that infants ſhall haue ſenſe of inward paine and of the worme of conſcience: *Quod Dei viſione carebunt in perpetuum:* Becauſe they ſhall want the ſight of God for euer: *lib.2.diſt.33.e.* If they haue ſenſe of inward paine, why not alſo of outward.

THE SECOND POYNT OF THE TEMPORALL punishment of originall ſinne.

THere are many euils and plagues which are laid vpon men in their minde, and all the parts thereof, the will, vnderſtanding, and affections, and in their bodies, ſome externall calamities alſo of the life, which all are iuſt puniſhments of originall ſinne: firſt in the vnderſtanding there is great ignorance not onely in naturall things, but much more of heauenly and ſpirituall. Secondly, the fooliſhnes and fatuitie of the mind, the priuation or want of wit, which many children are borne withall, more then any beaſt in their kinde. Thirdly, the difficultie and great labour in attaining to knowledge and learning. Fourthly, the curioſitie of the minde, and the deſire that man hath to know things that are hid, and not belonging to him. Fiftly, the vanitie of the minde, which is occupied many times in fooliſh and idle thoughts: and ſuch other defects there be in the minde.

Secondly, in the will and affections: firſt, there is *philautia*, ſelfe-loue, whereby euery man is addicted to himſelfe. Secondly, the frowardnes of the will, in inclining to euill rather then good; chuſing vice, rather then vertue. Thirdly, the careleſnes of men in following after heauenly things. Fourthly, the too great deſire and coueting of earthly things. Fiftly, the inconſtancie and mutabilitie of the will. Sixtly, diſcontentment, murmuring, and repining, no man contented with his owne eſtate. Seuenthly, the weakenes of our affections, in being ſoone prouoked to anger, enuie, reuenge. 8. Laſtly, the concupiſcence and luſt of the affections, ſeeking to ouer rule reaſon.

Thirdly, in the bodie theſe infirmities are remaining: firſt, naturall defects and wants: as ſome are borne blinde, ſome deafe, ſome lame, &c. Secondly, the infinite diſeaſes and ſickneſſes, which our bodies are ſubiect vnto. Thirdly, the difficult, hard and vnpleaſant meanes in recouering our health. Fourthly, the great labour and toyle of the bodie for the preſeruation thereof. Fiftly, the ſhortnes of our life, and the mortalitie of our bodies, with the continuall feare of death imminent, and hanging ouer our heads.

Fourthly, beſide theſe, there are externall calamities without vs: firſt, by nature being the children of wrath, we are vnder the power of Sathan. Secondly, man is become by reaſon of his ſinne, one an enemie, yea, as the Preacher ſaith, chap.3.18. a beaſt, to another. Thirdly, the vnreaſonable creatures, whom man in his creation was made Lord of, are now become rebellious, & diſobedient. Fourthly, the reſt of Gods creatures, as the heauens, the elements, the earth are armed againſt vs: as when men are plagued with drouth, famine, peſtilence, mildewe, lightening, and ſuch like.

Theſe and many more calamities ſinne hath brought vs vnto, and they are iuſt puniſhments for our rebellion and diſobedience againſt God: As Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Tribulation and anguiſh, indignation and wrath, ſhall be vpon the ſoule of euery one that doth euill,* Rom.chap.2.verſ.9. *Auguſtine* alſo thus writeth, *Cauſa iſtorum malorum, quæ nunc patimur, non eſt ob ſcelera ſuſcepta in vita ſuperiore, vt philoſophi putarunt, &c.* The cauſe of theſe euils which men ſuffer, is not for the ſinnes done in another life, before the ſoule came into the bodie, as ſome Philoſophers haue thought; there remaineth then nothing elſe, but that either God muſt be charged with iniquitie, or impotencie, as either not willing, or not able to make man righteous, or that it is a puniſhment of the firſt tranſgreſſion: but becauſe God is neither vniuſt nor impotent, we muſt needes confeſſe, that this grieuous yoke ſhould not be layde vpon the ſonnes of *Adam*, but for originall ſinne: *Contra. Iulian. lib.4.ca.16.*

And thus farre we and our aduerſaries are agreed: that, wherein we varie and diſagree, is this poynt, as followeth.

The

The Papiſts.

20. Error. THere are three other effects, which we affirme to be the fruites of originall ſinne, but *Bellarmine* denieth them. Firſt, the loſſe of free will to doe good, which we ſay is vtterly decayed by *Adams* tranſgreſſion, which *Bellarmine* gaineſayeth. Secondly, the corruption of nature, which is ſuch euen in the regenerate, that they cannot chuſe but ſinne: but the Ieſuite affirmeth, that man by grace may receiue power to keepe the lawe. Thirdly, the third effect, as doubt, deſpaire, hatred of God and ſuch like: The two firſt the Ieſuite vtterly reiecteth, denying that there be any ſuch effects at all: and herein referreth vs to the treatiſes of free will, and iuſtification which follow: and for thoſe places we will alſo reſerue this matter. Concerning the third, he graunteth, that ſuch effects there be, yet not properly cauſed by originall ſinne, *Bellarm. cap.* 16.

Argum. Theſe motions are in ſome that haue not originall ſinne, as in diuels, and are not in other, that haue: *Ergo*, they are not the proper effects of originall ſinne, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. As it followeth not, heat and light are proper to the Sunne, therefore not to the fire: for as the Sunne hath one kinde of heate and light, ſo the fire hath another: After the ſame manner, it is no good conſequent, Lying and murther are proper to the diuell, Ioh. 8.44. and ſo likewiſe, deſpayre, diſtruſt, hatred of God, and the reſt: *Ergo*, they are not proper to men: for though theſe ſinnes in both beare the ſame name, yet are they not of the ſame nature, neither came they of one beginning: for theſe ſinnes in the damned ſpirits are alwaies actuall, and in the higheſt degree ſpringing from their proud and wilfull apoſtaſie: but man was ſeduced and deceiued by Sathan, and ſo tranſgreſſed; whoſe fall was neither ſo grieuous, as the apoſtaſie of the Angels, nor his ſinnes either originall or actuall ſo hainous.

2 There are ſome proper effects of originall ſinne by the Ieſuites owne confeſſion, that are not to be found in children: as curioſitie in the minde, whereby men are more readie to behold other mens ſinnes than their owne, *Bellarm. cap.* 9. he maketh this the ninth wound of the vnderſtanding: there is alſo ***malitia & peruerſitas***, the frowardnes and malice of the will, which *Bellarmine* maketh the fift wound or diſeaſe in the will of man, *cap.* 10. But theſe defects are not in children, becauſe as yet they want ſuch acts of the will and vnderſtanding: wherefore either theſe are not proper effects of originall ſinne, as the Ieſuite affirmeth they are, or elſe there may be ſome fruits of this ſinne, that are not actually or preſently in children, which is moſt true, becauſe they want ſuch inſtruments and meanes, whereby thoſe effects ſhew themſelues. Therefore *Bellarmines* argument is not good: theſe motions of the minde, deſpayre, diſtruſt, are not in children: *Ergo*, they are not proper fruits of originall corruption.

The Proteſtants.

THat theſe euill motions of the minde, whereof wee ſpeake, are the immediate and proper effects of originall ſinne: it may thus appeare.

Argum. 1. Rebellion of the fleſh againſt the ſpirit, is a proper fruit of originall concupiſcence, Rom. 7.23. But deſpayre, diſtruſt, murmuring, and ſuch like, are nothing elſe but rebellion of the fleſh: *Ergo*.

Argum. 2. Theſe euill motions that ariſe ſuddainely in the minde without conſent of the will, doe ſpring immediately from originall ſinne: for there is no euill in man, but hath it beginning either from the corruption of our nature, or by the conſent of will, or from both: But theſe euill motions, deſpayre, diſtruſt, &c. in the regenerate haue no conſent of will: for Saint *Paul* ſaith, *The euill which I would not, that doe I*, Rom. chap. 7. verſe 19. And *Dauid* did theſe things in haſte, as we heard before: *Ergo*, they doe ariſe immediately from originall ſinne.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Operatur in nobis peccatum deſideria illicita, quibus ſi nos obedimus* (i. *ſi voluntas conſenſit*) *& nos operamur; ſi non obtemperamus, operatur in nobis peccatum*: Sinne worketh in vs vnlawfull deſires: which if we obey by conſenting vnto them, then doe we alſo worke together with ſinne: but if we obey them not, it is ſinne that worketh in vs, *in Pſalm.* 118. *concion.* 2. *Ergo*, All vnlawfull deſires and motions wrought in vs without conſent of the will, are the fruites and effects of originall ſinne.

THE THIRD CONTROVERSIE, BEING THE NINETEENTH IN THE WHOLE, OF THE REPARATION AND RESTORING of man by Chriſt.

THis Controuerſie hath foure parts: firſt, of our Predeſtination: Secondly, of our vocation, vnto the which belong the treatiſes of grace and free-will: Thirdly, of our iuſtification, and the fourth part is of ſanctification, that is, of good workes that follow our iuſtification, as neceſſarie fruites thereof.

THE FIRST PART, OF PREDESTINATION.

THis part is diuided into foure queſtions: firſt, what predeſtination is. Secondly, who they are which be predeſtinate. Thirdly, the cauſe of predeſtination. Fourthly, of the certaintie, and aſſurance thereof.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE DEfinition of predeſtination.

The Papiſts.

21. Error. BEllarmine thus defineth predeſtination: *Prædeſtinatio eſt prouidentia Dei, &c.* Predeſtination is a certaine prouidence, or foreknowledge of God, whereby certaine men elected, are by infallible meanes and wayes directed vnto life eternall, *Bellarm. lib. 2. de grat. & liber. arb. cap. 9.*

In this definition we finde a double fault: firſt, becauſe *Bellarmine* defineth predeſtination to be foreknowledge or preſcience. Secondly, for that he affirmeth it to be onely of the elect. But of this latter fault more ſhal be ſaid in the next part. As for the firſt, *Bellarm.* maketh predeſtination to be a *ſpecies*, a kinde or part of Gods prouidence: and further ſaith, that predeſtination partly belongeth to the will of God, partly to his knowledge and vnderſtanding, but moſt principally to his knowledge: *Vbi* (ſaith he) *prædeſtinationis ratio & eſſentia conſiſtit:* Wherein conſiſteth the very eſſence of predeſtination. He reaſoneth thus:

Argum. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *God hath not caſt away his people whom he knew before,* Rom. 11. 1. *The foundation of God remaineth ſure, the Lord knoweth who are his,* 2. Timoth. 2. 19. *Bellarm.* from hence he concludeth, that predeſtination is a foreſight or foreknowledge of God, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, theſe places doe euidently proue, that God foreſaw in his diuine prouidence thoſe that ſhould be ſaued: and that his preſcience is certaine and infallible; but that predeſtination is the very preſcience and foreknowledge of God, it is not hence prooued. Secondly, Saint *Paul* himſelfe doth diſtinguiſh them in the place alleaged, *The foundation of God remaineth ſure* (ſaith he) *and hath this ſeale; the Lord knoweth, &c.* He calleth predeſtination, the foundation, and preſcience the ſeale thereof: the foundation then, and the ſeale are not the ſame. Thirdly, we anſwere with *Auguſtine: Aliquando prædeſtinatio ſignificatur nomine praſcientia vt Rom.* 11. *non repulit Deus plebem ſuam quam praſciuit:* Sometime predeſtination is ſignified by the word preſcience, as in the 11. to the Romanes, God hath not reiected his people whom he knew before, *de perſeueran. lib. 2. cap. 19.* In this place therefore preſcience may be taken for predeſtination.

The Proteſtants.

THat predeſtination is alwaies ioyned with the prouidence and preſcience of God, we graunt: but that predeſtination properly iſſueth out from Gods will, being an act and effect thereof, and not of his knowledge, it may partly appeare by the name: for *prædeſtinare*, προορίζειν, doth properly ſignifie, to define and determine, which requireth rather the conſent of the will, than light of vnderſtanding. We therefore define it thus: *Prædeſtinatio eſt decretum Dei &c.* Predeſtination is the decree of God, touching the ſaluation and condemnation of men: our arguments are theſe.

Argum. 1. If the preſcience of God giue the eſſence, nature and kinde vnto predeſtination, as the Ieſuite ſaith, then is it the cauſe thereof, and the other is the effect; but Gods preſcience is not the cauſe of predeſtination: for he alſo confeſſeth, *Homines gratis à Deo electos, ante omnem operum præuiſionem:* That men are freely elected of God, before any foreſight of their workes, *cap.10.* *Ergo,* Gods preſcience giueth not the eſſence and nature of predeſtination. And here by the way, note the Ieſuites contrarie and repugnant ſayings: election, he ſaith, goeth before preſcience, and yet Gods knowledge is the cauſe of election: but how can the effect goe before the cauſe?

Argum.2. Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh euidently, that predeſtination proceedeth of Gods good will and pleaſure, which is the onely cauſe thereof: *He hath predeſtinate vs according to the good pleaſure of his will,* Epheſ.1.5. *and according to his good pleaſure, which he had purpoſed in him,* verſ.9. *predeſtinate according to the purpoſe of him, which worketh all things, according to the counſell of his owne will,* verſ.11. Theſe three words, *beneplacitum voluntatis, propoſitum voluntatis, conſilium voluntatis,* the good pleaſure of his will, the purpoſe of his will, the counſell of his will, haue no relation at all, to the knowledge or vnderſtanding of God, but onely to his will. Saint *Peter* alſo putteth a manifeſt difference betweene preſcience, and predeſtination, when he ſaith, that *Chriſt was deliuered vp according to the determinate counſell and foreknawledge of God,* Act.2.23. the decree or determination is ioyned to his counſell or will, not to his foreknowledge.

Auguſtine, ſpeaking of the free election of the children of God, ſaith thus: *Sed diuinæ voluntatis eſt hoc donum, non humanæ fragilitatis meritum: Audi, qui omnia operatur ſecundum conſilium voluntatis ſuæ:* But this is the gift or graunt of the diuine will, not a merit or deſert of humane frailtie: hearken, what the Apoſtle ſaith, which worketh all things according to the counſell of his owne will. He maketh election a free worke of Gods will. Hypognoſt. articul.16.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THOSE WHICH are predeſtinate, whether ſome are ordained to damnation, as other are elected vnto life.

COncerning this point, there are foure opinions: Some thought that all men in the end ſhould be ſaued; yea the diuels & all: which error is attributed to *Origen:* whom with the reſt of this opinion, *Auguſtine* confuteth at large, *lib.21. de ciuitate Dei, cap.17. ad* 24. Some other held, that God ordained grace and mercie for al, and was not any way the cauſe of the reprobation of men: This was the hereſie of the Pelagians, euery where confuted by *Auguſtine* in his learned workes written againſt the Pelagians: and I am afraid it hath too many fauourites and friends in theſe daies. The third opinion is of the Papiſts, who denie not, but that reprobation doth proceede in ſome reſpect from the will, and decree of God, but that it is not ſo properly Gods act, as election is. The fourth opinion is ours, that predeſtination is both of the elect to ſaluation, and of the reprobate to damnation. Againſt two of theſe opinions, wee will deale briefly at this time: firſt, againſt the Papiſts, then againſt the error of the Pelagians.

THE FIRST PART, OF REPROBATION.

The Papiſts.

GOd intendeth no mans damnation, ſay they, directly, or abſolutely, but in reſpect of their demerits, *Rhemiſt. annot. Rom.9. ſect.9.* And againe, God is not the cauſe of any mans reprobation or damnation, *ibid. ſect.1.* Of the ſame opinion is *Bellarmine,* who, although he ſimply denieth not reprobation, as afterward we ſhall ſee: yet maketh God farre otherwiſe the author of it, then of election: yea he excludeth it out of the definition of predeſtination; which he defineth to be the prouidence of God onely to direct thoſe that are elected, to eternall life, *lib.2. de grat. c.9.* Their arguments are theſe. 22. Error.

Argum.1. Timoth.2.4. *God would haue all men to be ſaued, and come to the knowledge of the truth.* 2. Pet.3. ver.9. *God would haue no man to periſh, but would haue all men to come to repentance.* Ezech.18. verſ.23. *God will not the death of a ſinner: Ergo,* the death and damnation of men, ſtandeth not properly with the will of God.

Anſw. 1. God is ſaid not to will or deſire the death of a ſinner: not becauſe in his ſecret counſell, he hath not decreed it at all, but becauſe, God in their condemnation hath reſpect to his owne glorie, which is the chiefe and principall end both of election and reprobation: And God is ſo tender of his own honor & glorie, that in reſpect of it, he is ſaid not to will or deſire other things: he willeth not death or dãnation, that is, not as the chiefe end of his will or purpoſe, but intendeth a further thing, than their damnation, that is, the ſetting forth of his owne glorie: as the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.9.14. that God hath ſet vp *Pharao* to ſhew his power in him: So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Ita plenitudo diuinæ præſcientiæ in alios manante iuſtitia, in alios gratia profluente completa eſt:* So the fulnes of Gods preſcience is accompliſhed, his iuſtice being ſhewed vpon ſome, and vpon others, grace and mercie: *de Prædeſt. lib.1. cap.13.*

2. God is ſaid not to will the death of any, becauſe no man is to impute his damnation vnto God, becauſe the wicked are iuſtly puniſhed for their ſinnes, without any reſpect had to the ſecret counſell of God: Gods eternall decree then, is not the next and immediate cauſe of damnation, but the ſinnes of men: therefore he may truly ſay, God will not the death of a ſinner, becauſe he no waies willeth ſinne, which is the cauſe of their death. But as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Prædeſtinauit ſolum iudicium ſuum, quo vnicuiq; prout geſſit, retributurus eſt:* He hath predeſtinate only his iudgements, to giue to euery man, as he hath done: *articul. falſ. impoſit.* 16.

Enchirid. cap. 103.

3. Whereas Saint *Paul* ſaith, *God would haue all men ſaued, &c. Auguſtine* expoundeth it thus: *Omnes homines, omne genus hominum intelligamus:* By all men, we may vnderſtand all ſorts of men, not euery particular man. And this is very agreeable to the Apoſtles meaning, which a little before exhorted men to pray for Kings and Princes: and then he giueth this reaſon, becauſe God would haue all men to be ſaued, that is, high and low, Kings and people, men of all ſorts.

4. We muſt vnderſtand theſe and the like places, not of the ſecret, but of the reuealed will of God, who offereth vnto all the outward meanes of ſaluation: there is, *voluntas medij vel ſigni,* and, *voluntas finis:* the will of God concerning the end, & concerning the meanes leading to the end: So although God haue willed and determined euery mans end, ſome one way, ſome another, yet the externall meanes of ſaluation are denied to none. And that this is the Apoſtles meaning, that which followeth doth declare: *God would haue all men come to the knowledge of the truth,* verſ. 4. *and to come to repentance,* 2. Pet. 3. 9. Thus alſo *Auguſtine* expoundeth theſe words: *Remota hac diſcretione, quam diuina ſcientia intra ſecretum iuſtitiæ ſuæ continet, ſynceriſſimè credendum eſt, &c.* Setting apart the conſideration of the ſecret counſell of God, it is ſyncerely to be beleeued, that God would haue all men to be ſaued: that is, offering to all the outward meanes of ſaluation, as his word and Sacraments: *cont. articul. falſ. impoſit. articul.* 2. To this purpoſe Saint *Ambroſe lib.* 2. *de vocat. Gent. c.* 1. *Quamuis omnes dominus ſaluos fieri, &c.* Although God would haue all men ſaued, and come to the knowledge of the truth: *non tamen ſibi diſpenſationum ſuarum abſtulit poteſtatem, &c.* yet hath he not taken away the power of his diſpenſation, that the order of his counſell ſhould runne otherwiſe, than he in his ſecret iudgement had appointed.

5. Saint *Ambroſe* alſo ſheweth another way, how this is to be expounded, *lib.* 1. *de vocat. Gent. cap.* 3. *Habet populus dei plenitudinem ſuam, &c.* The people of God haue a certaine plenitude or fulnes, and in the elect there is a ſpeciall kinde of vniuerſalitie: like as when the Scripture ſpeaketh of the wicked, *Ea, quæ de parte quadam dicuntur, &c.* Thoſe things, which are ſpoken but of a part, doe ſeeme to appertaine to all: as Philip. 2. *All ſeeke their owne, &c. Videmus ergo pro parte hominum omnes homines nominari:* We ſee then that for a part of men, all men are named. After the ſame maner may the Apoſtle be vnderſtood, when he ſaith, *God would haue all men to be ſaued.*

6. Saint *Ambroſe* alſo hath another expoſition of this place: *Vult Deus omnes ſaluari, ſed ſi accedunt ad eum, &c.* God would haue all to be ſaued; but if they come vnto him: *non ſic vult, vt & nolentes ſaluentur:* he ſo would it not, as that they againſt their wils ſhould be ſaued, &c. but all men are not willing to be ſaued: *Ergo,* God would not ſuch to be ſaued: *Ambroſ. in* 1. *Tim.* 2. Among ſo many expoſitions of this place, there is none of them, that enforceth theſe words to ſignifie a generall decree and purpoſe in God to ſaue all.

The Proteſtants.

GOd as he hath made all men, ſo hath hee freely diſpoſed of their end, according to the counſell of his owne will, ordaining ſome to be veſſels of honour, and others to be veſſels of wrath: And this notwithſtanding ſtandeth with the iuſtice of God, to ſaue ſome and reiect others: for he might iuſtly condemne all to eternall death. So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Nemo iuſtitiæ Deum arguat, ſi vni indebitam donauerit gratiam, alteri reddiderit debitam pœnam:* Let no man ſeeme to chalenge Gods iuſtice, if hee giue vnto one grace vndeſerued, and to another puniſhment due and deſerued: *de Prædeſt. lib.* 1. 4.

Further, we ſay with *Auguſtine epiſt. ad Hieronym. Nihil nos cogat deum credere vllarum animarum ſine culpa damnatorem:* Nothing muſt compell vs to beleeue, that God is a damner of ſoules, without their fault. Againe, we confeſſe with *Auguſtine: Deus multis eſt cauſa ſtandi, nemini labendi:* God is the cauſe of ſtanding to many, of falling to none: *Hypognoſ. cap.* 13. *Nemini per hoc, quod falli non poteſt, aut neceſſitatem aut voluntatem intulit delinquendi, cap.* 14. God, in that he cannot be deceiued, hath not forced any either with a neceſſitie or will to ſinne. We ſo then affirme the reprobation of the wicked, as that we thinke none ordained to condemnation, which they haue not iuſtly deſerued by their ſinne, and that God only hath decreed and willed their puniſhment, but not their ſinne, that bringeth them vnto it.

Argum. 1. *God hath made the wicked for the day of euill,* Prouer. 16. 4. *They were before of old ordained to this condemnation,* Iud. 4. The Prophet *Iſai* ſaith, *Topheth,* that is, hell is prepared of old, chapter 30. 33. *And euerlaſting fire is ſaid to be prepared for the diuell and his angels,* Matth. 25. 41. If hell were prepared of old; then they were alſo prepared of old, that ſhould be tormented in hell: for hell was not made for nought.

Argum.2. But of all other places this is moſt euident in the ninth to the Romanes: out of the which chapter, for this matter wee gather diuers arguments: Firſt, the Apoſtle alleageth the example of *Eſau*, and *Iacob*, *I haue loued Iacob, and hated Eſau*: which was ſpoken before they were borne: *Ergo*, God in his eternall decree electeth ſome, and reiecteth others. It cannot be anſwered here, that this is onely to be vnderſtood of the temporall reiection of *Eſau*, and election of *Iacob*, concerning the promiſed land: for the Apoſtle throughout this chapter reaſoneth of Gods eternall election, and reprobation, as it appeareth by the example of *Pharaoh*: yea, and this *Bellarmine* liberally confeſſeth: that the example of *Eſau* and *Iacob* is to be applied vnto eternall election, and reprobation, *lib.2.de grat.cap.*10. But he hath another euaſion, making a diſtinction betweene ***negatiue*** and ***poſitiue*** damnation, which ſerueth not his turne here, as afterward ſhall be ſeene.

We haue *Auguſtines* iudgement alſo of this matter: *Et reprobi in Eſau demonſtrantur Iudæi, & prædeſtinati in Iacob apparent Chriſtiani*: The reprobate Iewes are ſhewed in *Eſau*, and the elect Chriſtians appeare in *Iacob*. He vnderſtandeth this example of election, and reprobation. De ſymbol. lib.2 cap.2. tom.9.

Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith, that as the veſſels of mercie are prepared to glorie, ſo the veſſels of wrath are prepared to deſtruction: And that God hath as great right and power ouer his creature, as the Potter hath ouer the clay, to make of it a veſſell of honour or diſhonour.

Thirdly, verſ.17. The Lord ſet vp *Pharaoh*, to ſhew his power in him, Pro.16. *The Lord hath made all things for himſelfe, and the wicked againſt the euill day*: The damnation of the wicked then, doth as well ſet forth the glorie of God, as the ſaluation of the elect: for God hath done both for his owne ſake: *Ergo*, both are the Lords proper acts, the one, as well as the other.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Filius perditionis dictus eſt traditor Chriſti, perditioni prædeſtinatus*: The betrayer of Chriſt is called the childe of perdition, becauſe he was predeſtinate or ordained to perdition: *Tract.in Iohan.*107.

Againe, he ſaith, *Tenenda eſt inconcuſsè hæc regula, impios in peccatis, antequam eſſent in mundo præſcitos eſſe tantum, non prædeſtinatos, pœnam autem ijs prædeſtinatam*: This rule wee muſt vndoubtedly hold, that the wicked were onely foreſeene or foreknowne of God in their ſins, not predeſtinate, but their puniſhment was predeſtinate, *Hypognoſt.articul.6.* So then God ordaineth not men to ſinne, but he ordaineth men to puniſhment for their ſinnes: yet are not the wicked to complaine, for they are iuſtly forſaken of God, becauſe of their rebellion, and diſobedience. Neither are the godly and faithfull by this doctrine to be diſcouraged: foraſmuch as God hath not denied them the grace of his ſpirit, but hath giuen them faith and repentance, and ſtrength to walke before him, in his feare: all which are pledges vnto them of their free election, and ſaluation in Chriſt.

We want not the teſtimonie of ſome of their owne writers for the reprobation of the wicked: *Magiſter ſen.lib.3.diſtinct.4.e. Dicuntur filij gehennæ, non ex illa nati, ſed in illam præparati*: They are called the children of hell, not becauſe they are borne of hell, but ordained, or prepared vnto it. *Lib.3.diſt.32.liter.E. De reprobis, qui præparati ſunt non ad vitam, ſed mortem, quæritur, &c.* It may be asked concerning the reprobate, which are not prepared to life, but vnto death, whether it may be graunted, that God did loue them from the beginning: we ſay then, that it muſt be graunted onely of the elect, that God loued them from the beginning, &c. but of the not elected it muſt be ſimply granted, that God did hate, that is, reprobate them. A more euident teſtimonie we cannot haue.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE VNIuerſalitie of the grace of God.

23.Error. IT was the error of the Pelagians, as *Auguſtine* noteth, that the grace of God was not only in reſpect of the outward meanes, generally offered to all, but in Gods eternall decree and purpoſe ordained for all, if they would receiue it: for thus they affirmed: *Quantum ad Deum, omnibus paratam eſſe vitam æternam, quia vult omnes ſaluos fieri: quantum ad arbitrij libertatem attinet, ab eis eam apprehendi, qui ſponte Deo crediderunt*: On Gods behalfe, they ſay, life eternall is prepared for all, becauſe God will haue all men ſaued: and as for the freedome of the will, ſo many apprehend or lay hold of eternall life, as of their owne accord doe beleeue in God. It followeth vpon this opinion, that Chriſt alſo dyed in the purpoſe and intention of God, for all men generally, and not for beleeuers onely, ſuch as are ordained vnto life. In epiſt.Proſper ad Auguſtin.

Bellarmine confuteth this error, and would make vs beleeue that he himſelfe is farre from it: yet elſewhere he ſeemeth to affirme it in theſe words: *Si ſanguis Chriſti dandus eſſet omnibus pro quibus fuſus eſt, dandus eſſet omnibus omnino hominibus, etiam Turcis, Iudæis, Ethnicis, quibuſcunque impijs: ſanguis enim ille pro omnibus fuſus eſt*: If the blood of Chriſt ſhould be giuen to all, for whom it was ſhed, it ſhould bee giuen generally to all men, Turkes, Iewes, Ethnikes, to all wicked men: for his blood was ſhed for all, *Bellarm.de Euchariſt.lib.4.cap.25.* This ſhould ſeeme alſo to haue been the iudgement of the elder Papiſts: for *Iohn Careleſſe* Martyr was charged by a popiſh Doctor, that he ſhould hold, that Chriſt did not dye effectually for all men, *Fox*.pag.1920. It ſhould appeare then, that he himſelfe thought that the benefit of Chriſts death was ordained and purpoſed for all: and therefore that he dyed effectually for all.

There be at this day three ſundrie opinions maintained by ſome concerning the vniuerſalitie of grace: The firſt is, *Chriſtum ſine vllo diſcrimine pro omnium hominũ peccatis eſſe mortuum, & omnia hominum peccata non modo ſufficienter verum etiam efficienter expiaſſe, &c.* That Chriſt hath dyed for all men, without any difference, and hath actually purged all mens ſins, not onely ſufficiently, but effectually: *abſque vllo fidei vel incredulitatis reſpectu*, without any reſpect to their faith, or incredulitie: *Huberus theſ.*19. Againe, *Omnes reprobos, & electos æque per Chriſtum ſaluatos ſiue credant, ſiue non*: That the reprobate as well as the elect are ſaued by Chriſt, whether they beleeue or not, *Huber.theſ.*270. That Chriſt dyed as well for the damned and reprobate, as for *Peter* and *Paul*: *Iacobus Andre. colloq. Mompelgartenſ.p.* 548. yet are not the reprobate ſaued, becauſe they deſpiſe this grace offered, and ſo are depriued of this reconciliation purchaſed by Chriſt, *Huber. theſ.*245.

The ſecond opinion is, *Omnes & ſingulos homines beneficio & gratia vniuerſali ſummi patris eſſe per Chriſtum ſeruatos*: That all men, and euery one by the vniuerſall grace of God the father in Chriſt, are ſaued: yet not without reſpect had to their faith: but they ſay further, *Fidem in Deum naturalem eſſe, omnibus inditam & innatam*: That this faith in God is naturally giuen vnto all: *ſic Puckſius præfation.* So that in effect they affirme the ſame thing, which the other doe, that by nature all men are actually ſaued by Chriſts death, if they doe not afterward wilfully reiect this grace.

The third opinion is, *Quod ſit Dei propoſitum ſaluare omnes, & elegerit eos & prædeſtinarit vitæ æternæ, ſeruata tamen conditione*: That it is Gods purpoſe, that all men ſhould be ſaued, and that he hath elected and predeſtinate them to eternall life, the condition kept, that is, if they beleeue: *Hemming.de gratia vniuerſal.p.*20. So alſo *Suecanus*: *Deus vniuerſaliter omnium in Chriſto miſertus aſſumpſit humanum genus in reconciliationis fœdus*: That God hauing mercie vpon all, hath receiued whole mankinde into the couenant of reconciliation, *de Prædeſtinat.*480. That is, as many as beleeue: which gift to beleeue they acknowledge to be of God, and the ſame not denied to any, but offered generally to all: and that it is in mans power to giue aſſent vnto grace offered, and to beleeue: *Voluntatem à Deo doctam, & motam à ſpiritu ſancto poſſe ſe applicare ad gratiam, aſſentiri Euangelio, credere*: That the will being taught of God, and ſomewhat ſtirred of the ſpirit, may applie it ſelfe to grace, giue aſſent to the Goſpell, beleeue, &c. *Hemming.de libero arbit.*

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Theſe three opinions, though in ſome circumſtances differing from themſelues, as the firſt holdeth all men actually by nature to be ſaued by Chriſt, without any reſpect to their faith; the ſecond by nature, not excluding faith; the third by grace and faith, which they ſay is offered of God, and apprehended of mans free will: yet all theſe herein agree, that Chriſt was not giuen of his father to dye for a certaine and definite number of the elect, which they denie, but vniuerſally for all men in the world.

The firſt opinion, applying Chriſts death to all, as well vnbeleeuers as beleeuers, doth manifeſtly impugne the Scripture, which ſaith, *God ſo loued the world, that he hath giuen his only begotten ſonne, &c. that whoſoeuer beleeueth in him, ſhould not periſh, &c.* Ioh.3.16.

The ſecond, making faith a naturall gift, is contrarie alſo to the word: for that which is naturall is common to all: but all men haue not faith, 2.Theſſ.3.2.

The third, aſcribing power to mans free will to receiue and apprehend grace offered, gainſaith the truth which ſaith, *Without me you can doe nothing*, Ioh.15.5.

But leauing the ſeuerall abſurdities of theſe opinions, wee will deale againſt them all in that wherein they agree, concerning the vniuerſalitie of grace: and eſpecially againſt the latter, which ſeemeth to be much approued euen of ſome of our owne countrey men, and alreadie hath gotten ſome patrones and defenders in our Church. Wherefore this matter being waightie in it ſelfe, and daungerous for feare of further infection, wee will not lightly paſſe ouer this place, but take ſome paines, firſt to anſwere the arguments vſed by the aduerſe part, and then bring foorth our owne.

Their arguments are of two ſorts, either drawne directly from ſome places of Scripture, or from ſome ſhew and apparance of reaſon: of the firſt in the firſt place.

*Argum.*1. Firſt, they obiect ſuch places of Scripture, where it is directly affirmed, that Chriſt died for all men.

1. *God will that all men ſhall be ſaued*, 1.Tim.2.4. and verſ.5. *Chriſt gaue himſelfe a ranſome for all men*: *Huber.theſ.*70. *Puck.ration.*83.

2. *Chriſt died for all*, 2.Cor.5.verſ.15. *Huber.theſ.*87. *Pucks.ration.*79.

3. *The Lord would haue no man periſh, but would haue all men come to repentance:* 2.Pet.3.9.*Pucks.ration.*90.*Huber.theſ.*93.

4. *Chriſt gaue himſelfe for vs all,*Rom.8.32.

5. *Chriſt did taſte death for all men,*Hebr.2.9.

Out of theſe and ſuch like places of Scripture,they inferre and conclude,that Chriſts death is effectuall to all,and that in the purpoſe of God he was giuen generally for all men.

Contra. Firſt, to theſe places wee will anſwere in generall, and then in particular: that Chriſt died for all men, the Scripture ſo affirming,wee denie not: but becauſe elſewhere the Scripture ſaith,that Chriſt died for his ſheepe, Ioh.chap.10. for the Church, Epheſ.chap.1. He prayeth not for the world,Ioh.chap.17.much leſſe died for it: leaſt now the Scripture ſhould ſeeme to be contrarie to it ſelfe,we muſt not take the letter,but follow the ſenſe,where we finde mention made of the vniuerſalitie of Chriſts death: Chriſts death therefore is ſaid diuerſly to be vniuerſall,or to be giuen for all men.

1. The death of Chriſt,*ſecundum ſufficientiam,*in reſpect of the ſufficiencie and the fulnes of redemption thereof,hath ſatisfied for all men: but *ſecundum efficientiam,*it is efficacious and effectuall onely to thoſe,which were fore-ordained to life in Chriſt; thus *Auguſtine* diſtinguiſheth: *Quod ad magnitudinem & potentiam precij, ſanguis Chriſti redemptio eſt totius mundi: quoniam tamen non omnes captiuitate eruti ſunt,redemptionis proprietas haud dubiè penes illos eſt, qui membra ſunt Chriſti,&c.* In reſpect of the greatneſſe and price, the blood of Chriſt is the redemption of the whole world: but becauſe all are not redeemed from captiuitie,the proper effect of redemption is onely wrought in the members of Chriſt,*Tom.7.ad articul.falſo.impoſit.*

Obiect. This is a vaine diſtinction of ſufficiencie,and efficacie, *Quia nil magis requiritur ad ſufficientiæ veritatem,quàm efficacitas:* For there can be no ſufficiencie, vnleſſe the ſame be effectuall, *Pucks.ration.*2.

Reſponſ. 1. There is as great difference betweene ſufficiencie,and efficacie,as betweene δύναμις, ϗ ἔργον, facultie or abilitie,and the worke: as a tree firſt is good,there is the ſufficiencie; then it bringeth forth good fruit,which is the efficacie:the tree may be good,though it haue not alwaies good fruit: ſo there may be a kinde of ſufficiencie without efficacitie. Secondly, we ſay that the death of Chriſt is both ſufficient and efficacious in it ſelfe, though it be not to thoſe that periſh for want of beleefe:and it is efficacious alſo to them in ſome ſort, for through Chriſt they enioy what good thing ſoeuer they haue,though not after that ſingular manner,as it is to the faithfull: *ſic Iunius ad ration.*3.*Puckſij.*

To this purpoſe Saint *Ambroſe lib.*3.*de fide cap.*4. *Ille quidem miſericordia ſua omnibus natus eſt,ſed perfidia hæreticorum fecit,vt non omnibus naſceretur,qui omnibus natus eſt:* He in mercie was borne for all,but the vnfaithfulnes of the heretikes is the cauſe,that he, which was borne to all,is not borne for all. Likewiſe,*lib.*5.*in Luc c.*7.*Si Chriſtus pro omnibus mortuus eſt, pro nobis tamen ſpecialiter paſſus eſt:* If Chriſt died for all,yet more ſpecially he hath ſuffered for vs. What is this ſpeciall ſuffring of Chriſt but his effectuall dying onely for the elect?

*Magiſt.ſentent.lib.*3.*diſtinct.*20.*liter.c. Chriſtus precium noſtræ redemptionis obtulit pro omnibus quantum ad ſufficientiam,ſed pro electis tantum,quantum ad efficaciam:* Chriſt offered vp the price of our redemption for all in reſpect of the ſufficiencie,but for the elect only as concerning the efficacie.This diſtinction is receiued by *Thomas,Lyra,*and the whole ſchoolemen:*Eſpenc.in* 1.*Tim.p.*36.

2. Chriſt is ſaid to haue died for all,and that effectually, that is for all the elect: for as there is an vniuerſalitie of the wicked, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *All ſeeke their owne, and not that which is Ieſus Chriſts,*Philip.chap.2.verſ.21.that is,all falſe teachers: ſo there is an vniuerſalitie of the faithfull: as Chriſt ſaith,Iohn 12.*When I am lift vp from the earth,I will draw all men vnto me,*meaning all beleeuers: *Omnes prædeſtinatos ad ſalutem:* All ordained to ſaluation, as *Auguſtine* expoundeth it, *Tractat.*53. Likewiſe Iſai.54.*They ſhall be all taught of God:* that is all the faithfull. So one ſaith, *Et populus Dei ſuam habet plenitudinem,&c. in electis & præſcitis ſua quædam cenſetur vniuerſitas,vt de toto mundo totus mundus,& de omnibus hominibus omnes homines videantur aſſumpti:* The people of God hath a certaine fulnes,and there is a kind of vniuerſalitie in the elect, that out of the whole world, a whole world, and from among all men, all men in ſome ſort ſhould be deliuered, *Ambroſ.de vocat.Gentium lib.*1.*cap.*3.

3. Chriſt is ſaid to haue dyed for all; and all men are ſaid to bee redeemed by his death, becauſe as many as are redeemed, doe obtaine redemption onely by Chriſt: ſo is that place to bee vnderſtood,1.Corinth.chap.12.verſ.6. *God worketh all in all,*not euery man hath all gifts; but becauſe, what good gift ſoeuer there is in any man, it commeth onely of God. So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Dictum eſt, omnes iuſtificari per Chriſtum, non quia omnes iuſtificantur in Chriſto, ſed qui iuſtificantur non aliter iuſtificantur, quàm in Chriſto; ſicut dicimus omnes homines intrare in domum per vnam ianuam, quia non intrant niſi per ipſam:* It is ſaid, many are iuſtified by Chriſt,not becauſe all are iuſtified in Chriſt, but they that are iuſtified,are not otherwiſe iuſtified,than in

Chriſt,as we ſay,all men went into the houſe by that doore,becauſe none went in,but by it: *Auguſtin.contra Iulian.lib.6.cap.12.*

4. When the Scripture vſeth in this caſe theſe generall termes,*omnes,omnia,* all men,all things, we muſt not vnderſtand them vniuerſally,as comprehending euery particular,but indefinitely,as for *omnes homines,*all men,we vnderſtand *omnia hominum genera,*all ſorts of men: this is *Auguſtines* rule alſo,*tractat.in Iohan.*53. So it is ſaid, that Chriſt healed *omnem morbum,* euery diſeaſe,that is, euery kinde of diſeaſe,Matth.4.23.*Decimatis omne olus:* You tithe all herbes,that is, euery kinde, Luk.11.42. *Omnis Iudæa exibat:* All Iudea went foorth vnto *Iohn,* Mark.15.that is,out of euery part of Iudea.

5. Chriſt is ſaid to haue dyed for all: in reſpect of the externall preaching of the Goſpell, and common oblation of grace vnto all,which notwithſtanding is not auailable or effectuall in all: as in the Goſpell the marriage feaſt was prepared for all; but all that were called came not: *For many are called*(ſaith our Sauiour) *few choſen,*Matth.22.So the grace of God,*ex peccato euocat omnes communiter, ſuos excitat ſingulariter,*doth call all men from ſinne generally,but his elect he ſtirreth vp after a ſingular manner,and effectually.

Obiect. If God doe offer Chriſt outwardly to all,and yet all be not thereby called,hee ſhould ſeeme to mocke and diſſemble with men, *Pucks.ration.*57.

Reſponſ. Firſt,the calling of God in it ſelfe is effectuall to all, if all had grace to lay hold of it: now, if God giue grace vnto ſome to obey their calling, and thereby to be conuerted, and not to others,we muſt not be inquiſitiue to ſearch, but leaue it vnto God, whoſe iudgements may be hid and ſecret,but they are alwaies moſt iuſt: for he hath mercie on whom he will. Secondly,though the calling of God worke not it proper and naturall effect in the incredulous,vnto their conuerſion;yet it is effectuall,*more accidentario,* accidentally, being made vnto them, through the hardnes of their owne heart,the ſauour of death vnto death. Thirdly,Saint *Ambroſe* witneſſeth for this diſtinction of generall and effectuall calling: *lib.2.de vocat.Gentium cap.8. Præter illam generalem gratiam parciùs & occultiùs hominum corda pulſantem,excellentiore opere,largiore munere,potentiore virtute vocatio ſpecialis exeritur,&c.*Beſide the generall grace more ſparingly and ſecretly beating vpon mens hearts, there is a ſpeciall calling more excellent in working, of a larger gift,and more mightie in vertue.

THE PARTICVLAR ANSWERE TO the former places.

TO the firſt,that God would haue all men to be ſaued,we haue anſwered before,queſt.2.of this Controuerſie, part.1. and to this effect, that it cannot bee literally vnderſtoode, that God would abſolutely haue all men to be ſaued,for why then ſhould not all be ſaued? *For who hath reſiſted Gods will?* Rom.9.19. Neither can it be anſwered here,as ſometime by the old Pelagians, that Gods will is not fulfilled, becauſe man will not: for this were to make men mightier than God. The meaning then of the place is this: firſt,that God offereth the externall meanes of ſaluation to all: which if they refuſe,they are in fault themſelues,God is not to be blamed. Secondly, the Apoſtle,as *Auguſtine* ſaith,by all men,vnderſtandeth all ſorts of men: as high and low,Kings,Princes,and the people, as it may appeare by that which goeth before in this place. Thirdly,in the ſame ſenſe Chriſt is ſaid to giue himſelfe a raunſome for all men,that is,for all ſorts of men,or for all the elect,or ſufficiently for all in generall.

In the ſecond place, 2.Cor.5.15. the Apoſtle ſheweth, that howſoeuer the death of Chriſt is ſufficient for all, yet it is effectuall onely to the faithfull, to them, *That from henceforth liue not to themſelues, but to him that dyed for them,*verſ.15. and to ſuch as are new creatures, verſ.17. But all are not new creatures in Chriſt, therefore for all and to all Chriſts death is not effectuall.

In the third place S. *Peter* ſpeaketh to the faithfull, whom he calleth verſ.1.beloued, and God is patient toward vs, ſaith he, verſ.9. *and would haue no man periſh:* that is, none of vs,none of the faithfull and elect: *Sic Iunius reſponſ.ad ration.*90. And againe, *The patience, long ſuffering,and bountifulneſſe of God, leadeth euery man to repentance:* Rom.2.4. *But thou* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *after thine hardneſſe,and heart that cannot repent,&c.* They therefore which abuſe and deſpiſe the patience of God, are themſelues the cauſe of their deſtruction: God is not to be charged with it.

In the fourth place, Rom.8.32. the Apoſtle ſaying, *Chriſt gaue himſelfe for vs all,* meaneth the vniuerſalitie of the faithfull and elect: whom he hath predeſtinate, called, iuſtified, verſ.30.

In the fift place, Heb.2.9. where the Apoſtle ſaith, that Chriſt did taſte death for all men, he afterward expoundeth himſelfe, verſ.10.ſaying, *That Chriſt brought many children to glory,*ſuch as are ſanctified,verſ.11.whom Chriſt vouchſafeth to call his brethren,verſ.12.and his children verſ.13. Theſe are not vniuerſally all men, but the faithfull and elect onely: Chriſt onely is the Prince of their ſaluation, whom he bringeth to glory, verſ.10.

*Argum.*2. Their ſecond generall argument is drawne from ſuch places of Scripture, where mention is made of the whole world, in the benefit of redemption: as Iohn 1.29, *Behold the lambe of God, that taketh away the ſinne of the world:* Iohn 6.51. *The bread that I will giue is my fleſh, which I will giue for the life of the world:* Iohn 12.47. *I came not to iudge the world, but to ſaue the world:* 2. Cor.5.19. *God was in Chriſt, and reconciled the world to himſelfe.* Theſe places are alleaged by *Hemingius lib. de vniuerſalitate gratiæ. Huberus, lib. theſeω: Puckſius, ration.*60.91. to proue the vniuerſalitie of the benefite of Chriſts death to all.

Anſw. Firſt, Chriſt is ſayd to take away the ſinnes of the world, in reſpect of the ſufficiencie of his death, which is able to ſatisfie in it ſelfe, not onely for the ſinnes of the world, but, as *Thom. Aquinas* ſaith, *ſi plures mundi eſſent*, if there were many worlds: yet is his death effectuall onely to thoſe that beleeue, and are ordayned vnto life. *Epiſtol. decret. Gaij. Effuſio iuſti ſanguinis Chriſti tam diues fuit ad precium, vt ſi vniuerſitas captiuorum in redemptorem ſuum crederet, nullum diaboli vincula retinerent:* The ſhedding of Chriſts righteous blood, was ſo rich to pay our ranſome, that if all the captiues did beleeue in their redeemer, none of them ſhould be held in the diuels bonds. Secondly, the world in Scripture is not alwayes taken for the vniuerſall companie of men both good and bad, but as it is ſometime taken onely for the wicked, as Iohn 14.30. *The prince of this world commeth, &c.* And Iohn 17.14. *The world hath hated them:* ſo alſo doth it ſometime ſignifie onely the elect companie diſperſed ouer the world: as Iohn 17.23. *That the world may know that thou haſt ſent me.* And againe, verſ.25. *The world hath not knowne thee, but I haue knowne thee, and theſe haue knowne that thou haſt ſent me.* So then there is a world that hath not knowne Chriſt, namely the wicked world: there is a world that hath knowne Chriſt, that is, the company of the elect: ſo *Abraham* is called the heire of the world, Rom.4.13. that is, the father of the faithfull, verſ.11. *Auguſtine* alſo thus writeth, *Tract. in Ioh.*53. *Mundus appellatur in malis hominibus, qui toto terrarum orbe diffuſi ſunt: appellatur mundus in bonis, qui ſimiliter toto terrarum orbe diffuſi ſunt: vnde dicit Apoſtolus, Deus erat in Chriſto mundum reconcilians ſibi:* The world is vnderſtood of wicked men, that are diſperſed ouer the world: the world alſo is named of good men, that are ſo likewiſe diſperſed; as the Apoſtle ſaith, God was in Chriſt reconciling the world to himſelfe. This world Chriſt came to ſaue, not to iudge, he gaue himſelfe for the life of this world: this is the reconciled world, as *Auguſtine* againe ſaith, *Mundus damnatus quicquid præter Eccleſiam: mundus reconciliatus Eccleſia:* The reconciled world is onely the Church: the damned world all thoſe that are beſide the Church.

Obiect. But Saint *Iohn* ſaith, *Chriſt is the propitiation for our ſinnes, and not for our ſinnes onely, but for the ſinnes of the whole world:* Chriſt then dyed not for the elect onely, (not for our ſinnes onely, ſayth the Apoſtle) but for all in the world: and therefore hee ſaith the whole world: *ſic Huber. theſ.*131.

Contra. Firſt, Saint *Iohn* in ſaying (not for our ſinnes onely, but, &c.) meaneth that Chriſt hath not ſatisfied by his death, for our ſinnes that now beleeue, ſaith the Apoſtle, but for as many as ſhall beleeue, while the world ſtandeth: as our Sauiour ſaith, *I pray not for theſe alone, but for them alſo which ſhall beleeue in me through their word:* Iohn 17.21. Secondly, by the whole world the Apoſtle may here as well vnderſtand the vniuerſall company of the faithfull, as he ſaith, *The whole world lyeth in wickedneſſe,* 1. Iohn 5.19. meaning the wicked onely. Therefore *Auguſtine* writeth well, *Epiſtol.*48. *Totus mundus in maligno poſitus eſt propter zizania, quæ ſunt per totum mundum, & Chriſtus propitiatio eſt peccatorum totius mundi propter triticum, quod eſt per totum mundum:* The whole world lyeth in euill, becauſe of the tares throughout the whole world, and Chriſt is the propitiation of the ſinnes of the whole world, becauſe of the good wheate throughout the world.

*Argum.*3. Their third generall argument is grounded vpon ſuch places of Scripture, where the fall of mankind by *Adam*, and the redemption by Chriſt are compared together: as Rom.5. verſ.18. *As by the offence of one the fault came vpon all to their condemnation: ſo by the iuſtifying of one the benefit abounded towards all men, &c.* And againe, 1.Cor.15.22. *As in Adam all die, ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made aliue:* Chriſts redemption then is as generall, as *Adams* fall; vnleſſe ye will ſay, that *Adams* ſinne exceedeth the merite of Chriſt. But all are dead in *Adam: Ergo,* all are redeemed by Chriſt: *Huber. Theſ.*48. *Suecan. de prædeſt. pag.*486.492.494. *& alibi.*

*Anſw.*1. *Auguſtines* expoſition may here ſafely be admitted, that all men are ſaid to be iuſtified by Chriſt, not that all men are actually iuſtified by him, but becauſe all that are iuſtified, are not otherwiſe iuſtified, then by him: as all that are dead, are dead in *Adam: Auguſt. de natur. & grat. cap.*40. And againe he ſaith, *Sicut in Adam omnes, &c.* as in *Adam* all die, &c. *Sicut omnes qui moriuntur, non niſi in Adam moriuntur, &c.* As all that die, do not die but in *Adam*; ſo all that are made aliue, are made aliue in Chriſt. *Auguſt. Hieronym.* So then as all that pertaine to *Adam*, in the firſt generation, are dead in *Adam*; ſo all that by regeneration and new birth are engraft into Chriſt, are made aliue by him. 2. The Apoſtle ſaith, that all they which are iuſtified by Chriſt, ſhall raigne in life by Chriſt, verſ.17. but all that are of *Adam* ſhall not inherite eternall life: *Ergo,* all are not vniuerſally iuſtified by Chriſt, neither dyed Chriſt in that ſenſe for all. 3. Neither doth it follow, that if more periſh by *Adam*, then are redeemed by Chriſt, that the grace of Chriſt ſhould be of leſſe force, then the ſinne of *Adam*. Firſt, becauſe they which haue no fruite in Chriſts death, are depriued thereof through their owne vnbeleefe, not for want of any ſufficiencie in the raunſome and price of redemption. Againe, though ſo many ſhould be ſaued by Chriſt, as are dead in *Adam*, yet herein grace ſhould be but equall to the ſinne of *Adam*: as many for as many: But now the Apoſtle preferreth grace, not in reſpect of multitude or number of the redeemed, but in a double regard. Firſt, *Adams* ſin brought death, grace by Chriſt giueth life: now it is an eaſier thing for many to periſh, then for one to be reſtored: *Adam* alone loſt himſelfe and all the world: but all mankind ioyned together cannot ſaue a ſoule: grace therefore is preferred in reſpect of the difficultie of the worke. In this ſenſe the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.5.17. If through the offence of one, death raigned; much more ſhall they, which receiue abundance of grace, reigne in life, &c. Secondly, the Apoſtle ſayth, *The fault came of one offence to condemnation*, verſ.16. that is, onely originall ſinne, which we deriue from *Adam*, maketh vs guiltie of condemnation: *but the gift is of many offences to iuſtification*: in Chriſt not onely our originall, but actuall ſinnes alſo are pardoned. This then is the preeminence of grace.

The other place, 1.Cor.15. is either to be vnderſtood of the reſurrection, or rather of the life of the Saints in glorie: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *all ſhall be made aliue in Chriſt*: not that they alreadie are: And in this ſenſe it maketh nothing for the vniuerſalitie of grace. And if we vnderſtand it of redemption purchaſed by Chriſt, by (*all*) here, the elect onely are ſignified, namely, they which are of Chriſt, as verſ.23. And ſo *Ambroſe* vpon this place expoundeth it, vpon theſe words, 1.Corinth.15. *Sicut in Adam,&c.* As in *Adam* all die: *Sicut Adam peccans mortem inuenit, & omnes ex eius origine tenuit: ita Chriſtus mortem vincens, omnibus qui ſunt ex eius corpore vitam acquiſiuit*: As *Adam* ſinning wrought death vpon all of his offſpring; ſo Chriſt hath purchaſed life to all that are of his body: *vel ſicut,&c.* or as in *Adam all*, both iuſt and vniuſt do die: ſo in Chriſt all, both beleeuers and vnbeleeuers ſhall riſe, though vnto puniſhment.

Argum.4. Their fourth argument out of Scripture, is from ſuch places, which ſeeme to extend the benefites purchaſed by Chriſts death generally to all.

Firſt they vrge that place, Ioh.1.9. This is the true light, that lightneth euery man which commeth into the world: *Ergo*, the light of grace is common to all: *Pucks ration.*55.

Anſw. Firſt, this place muſt be vnderſtood not of that ſingular and eſpeciall light of grace, which is giuen onely to the elect, but of the light of nature, or common grace, which is infuſed into all: for what light he meaneth, is plainely ſhewed before, verſ.4. *In it was life, and the life was the light of men*: he ſpeaketh of the naturall life and light, and that capacitie of reaſon, which is in all by nature. Secondly, if we ſhould vnderſtand the light of peculiar grace, then it would follow, that not onely grace is offered, but receiued of all: for this light is ſayd verily and indeed to lighten all. Thirdly, *Auguſtines* expoſition may here ſafely be receiued: *Illuminat omnes homines, i.omnis generis homines*: He lighteneth all men, that is, all ſorts of men: or thus, *Illuminat omnem hominem, quia niſi ab ipſo nullus illuminatur*: He lighteneth all men, becauſe there is none lightened but by him: *Enchirid.cap.*96.

Obiect.2. Rom.11.32. *God hath ſhut vp all vnder vnbeleefe, that he might haue mercie vpon all* Mercie then is ordayned for all.

Anſw. The meaning of the place is this, God will haue mercie vpon all, that is, both Iewes and Gentiles: for of them the Apoſtle entreateth throughout the whole chapter: *Intelligitur* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *de Iudæis & Gentilibus quos Deus prædeſtinauit*: It is to be vnderſtood of thoſe of the Iewes and Gentiles, whom God had predeſtinate: *de ciuitat.dei.lib.*21.*cap.*18.*&* 24.

Obiect.3. Coloſſ.1.20 It pleaſed God the Father,&c. *by him to reconcile all things to himſelfe,&c. both the things in earth, and the things in heauen, through the blood of his croſſe*: *Ergo*, Chriſt dyed for all: *Pucks*.82.

Anſw. Firſt, if they will ſo ſtrictly vrge this word, *omnia*, all things, Chriſt ſhall not onely be the redeemer of men, but of all things in the world. Secondly, this word therefore is to be reſtrained, according to the matter or ſubiect, wherof the Apoſtle entreateth: who hauing firſt ſet downe the worke of the creation, whereby all things viſible and inuiſible were created, verſ.16. he commeth then to the worke of redemption, which he extendeth not to all things viſible, and inuiſible, as he did the creation, but reſtraineth to the Church, whereof Chriſt is the head, verſ.18. which Church conſiſteth of two parts, of the Saints in heauen, and the Saints in earth, verſ.20. As the Apoſtle ſaith elſewhere: *Of whom is named the whole familie in heauen, and in earth*, Epheſ.3.15. The benefit of redemption therefore belongeth onely to the Church and familie of the Saints.

Obiect.4. Iohn 17.2. *Thou haſt giuen him power ouer all fleſh, that hee ſhould giue eternall life to all them that thou haſt giuen him*: *Ergo*, all fleſh is reconciled vnto God by Chriſt: *Huber.theſ.*161.

Anſw. Firſt, it followeth not, Chriſt hath power ouer all fleſh, therefore all fleſh is reconciled by Chriſt: for he hath power ouer all creatures in heauen and earth, euen ouer bruit beaſts, yet they haue no part in this reconciliation. Secondly, it is one thing to haue power giuen ouer all fleſh, another thing to haue men giuen vnto Chriſt out of the world, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Poteſtatem quidem omnis hominis accepit, vt liberet, quos voluerit; damnet, quos voluerit: ſed eos ſibi eſſe datos oſtendit, quibus omnibus det vitam æternam:* He hath receiued power ouer all men to deliuer whom he will, and to condemne whom he will: but they onely are giuen vnto him, to all whom he giueth eternall life: *in Iohan. tractat.* 111. Thirdly, that not all men, but onely ſome in this ſenſe are giuen vnto Chriſt, he himſelfe witneſſeth: *I haue declared thy name vnto the men, whom thou gaueſt me out of the world.* All the world therefore was not giuen vnto Chriſt, but a certaine number choſen out of the world. And thus much of their obiections out of Scripture: let vs now ſee ſome other of their arguments.

Argum. 2. Their ſecond generall argument is drawne from thoſe abſurdities and inconueniences, which do follow, as they imagine, vpon this doctrine, that God in his eternall counſell hath predeſtinate ſome vnto damnation, as he hath ordained others to life.

Obiect. 1. If God haue appointed ſome vnto damnation, and it is impoſſible that ſuch ſhould not ſinne, neither can Gods ſentence be altered: it ſhould ſeeme then, that they are not in fault themſelues, ſeeing they can no wayes eſcape the wrath of God: how then can it be auoided, but that God ſhould be the author of ſin? *Sic Huberus in theſib. Suecan. p.* 483. *&* 500.

Anſw. 1. I anſwere with *Auguſtine: Qui deficiunt, non ex opere Dei, ſed ex voluntate ſua deficiunt, nec impelluntur vt cadant, nec eijciuntur vt deſerant; caſuri tamen ab eo, qui falli non poteſt, præſciuntur:* They which fall away, or ſinne, do not fall away, by any thing that God doth or worketh, but of their owne will and voluntarie inclination; they are neyther compelled to fall, nor caſt off to that intent they ſhould forſake God: but God, who cannot be deceiued, onely foreſaw they ſhould fall. The fall of man therefore is voluntarie, and none the cauſe of it but himſelfe: God foreſeeth (from whoſe eyes nothing can be hid) that ſinne ſhould be committed in the world: but hee decreed it not, but onely foreordained the puniſhment of ſinne: And although ſin be euill, yet the puniſhment thereof, as it is appointed of God, is iuſt and good: *Non ipſe ignis æternus, qui cruciaturus eſt impios, malus eſt, habens modum & ordinem ſuum, ſed cruciatus eſt damnatis malus, quorum peccatis eſt debitus:* Euerlaſting fire, which ſhall torment the wicked, is not euill it ſelfe, being not without ſome meaſure, and order, but the torment is euill to the damned, to whoſe ſinnes it is due.

Artic. falſ. impoſit. 16.

De natura boni cap. 37.

Let vs heare for this matter the teſtimonie of *Suecanus* a Patron alſo of vniuerſall grace: *Deum indurare, aut iuſto odio deſtinare, quos vult; & homines interea ſponte, non coactè malefacere &c. ſimul ſubordinata non pugnantia:* Theſe two ſayings, for God to harden; and ordaine to be hated, whom he will; and for men notwithſtanding to doe euill willingly, not of conſtraint, are not contrarie; but one ſeruing and ſubordinate to another. *Noſtræ voluntates manent liberæ ſub diuina prouidentia: poſita prima cauſa, non tolluntur mediæ cauſæ, ſed potius ſtabiliuntur:* Our owne wils remaine free vnder Gods prouidence, the firſt cauſe doth not take away the ſecond, but rather eſtabliſheth them: *hæc ille de prædeſtinat. pag.* 622. His meaning is this, that though Gods will and decree be the firſt cauſe of all things, and ſo of the ſaluation, or damnation of men; yet are there ſecond cauſes, whereby Gods will is effected: as the corrupt will of man is the cauſe of ſinne, and ſinne the cauſe of damnation. It is not Gods will, that any man ſhould come to condemnation, who firſt willingly falling into ſin, doth not iuſtly deſerue the ſame. So then Gods decree is not the cauſe of ſin, but the corruption onely of mans will. Thus haue we the teſtimonie of an aduerſarie very cleare on our ſide.

S. *Ambroſe* alſo thus teſtifieth, *lib.* 2. *de vocat. Gentium. c.* 4. *Æterna Dei cognitio nulla nos vrget neceſſitate peccandi, &c.* The eternall knowledge of God, doth not vrge any neceſſitie to ſinne, neither doth iniquitie proceede from whence commeth equitie, &c. From the free will of men tranſgreſſion firſt tooke beginning.

Magiſt. ſenten. thus *lib.* 1. *diſt.* 41. *liter. E. Non reprobatio ita eſt cauſa mali, ſicut prædeſtinatio cauſa boni, neq; obduratio ita facit hominem malum, ſicut miſericordia bonum.* Reprobation is not ſo the cauſe of euill, as predeſtination is the cauſe of good: neither doth obduration ſo make a man euill, as mercie maketh him good.

Anſw. 2. But if God would (they ſay) men might be preſerued from ſin: why ſhould hee rather giue his grace to one, then to another? *Auguſtine* alſo very well anſwereth this matter: *Cur illum retineat, illum autem non retineat, nec poſſibile eſt comprehendere, nec licitum inueſtigare:* But why he withholdeth ſome from ſin, and not others, it is neither poſſible to comprehend, nor lawfull to enquire. The Apoſtle alſo may reſolue vs herein, who ſayth, according as God ſpake to *Moſes, I will haue mercie vpon whom I will haue mercie, and will haue compaſſion vpon whom I will haue compaſſion:* Rom. 9. 15. Other reaſon we muſt not be deſirous to know, neither ſhall we be euer able to comprehend.

Obiet. 2. But why ſhould God ſaue ſome, and not others, ſeeing they are all his creatures and workmanſhip? how is not God vniuſt, or partiall in ſo doing,and an acceptor of perſons? *Suecan.p.*480.*de prædeſtinat.*

Anſw. 1. Saint *Paul* herein doth ſatisfie them to the full: firſt he ſaith,*Who art thou O man,that pleadeſt againſt God?* Rom.9.20.It is an vnreaſonable thing,that the creatures ſhould call the creator to account,or demaund a reaſon of his doings. Secondly, hee ſheweth by the example of the potter,that God may with better right diſpoſe of his creature, as it pleaſeth him, than the potter maketh of one lumpe, veſſels of honour and diſhonour. Thirdly, the Apoſtle giueth a reaſon, which may content vs,why he electeth ſome,namely,to ſhew the richnes of his mercie, and why he reiecteth others,namely,that his power may be knowne,verſ.22.Gods glorie then,which ſtandeth partly in mercie,partly is ſeene in his iuſtice,cannot appeare to the full, but in the ſaluation of ſome,and damnation of others: he therefore that thinketh Gods dealing herein to be vniuſt,is an enemie to the glorie of God.

Anſw. 2. *Auguſtine* hath a ſingular ſpeech of this matter: *Nemo* (ſaith he) *iuſtitiæ Deum arguat, ſi vni indebitam donauerit gratiam, alteri reddiderit debitam pœnam: an audebit debitor creditorem iniquitatis arguere, ſi alteri donans, ab eo, quod debebat, exegerit?* Let no man ſeeme to charge or accuſe Gods iuſtice,if he giue grace to one vndue,and to another render puniſhment due and deſerued: ſhall the debtor accuſe the creditor of vniuſt dealing,if he forgiue one his debt, and exact of thee that which thou oweſt? *de prædeſt.lib.*1.4. Neither can God be charged with partialitie, or hauing reſpect of perſons,in that of his free grace and mercie he ſaueth ſome,and leaueth the reſt in their ſinnes: he is ſaid to reſpect perſons,that for ſome qualitie or outward circumſtance preferreth one before another: as the Iudge is ſaid to reſpect the perſon, when hee heareth the rich and the great men,before the ſmall and the poore,Deut.1.17. As *Samuel* being ſent to annoynt one of *Ieſſe* his ſonnes,reſpected the outward comely perſon of the elder brethren: But with God there is no ſuch reſpect of any ſuch outward condition or qualitie. Act.10.35.God is no acceptor of perſons,but in euery nation he that feareth God: that is, God reſpecteth not ẏ perſon of men,that is,of what kindred or countrie they are: So is it likewiſe taken,Rom.2.10,*There is no reſpect of perſons before God:* that is,whether they be Iewes or Gentiles.It is not therefore of any thing in men themſelues, that ſome are ſaued and not others, but of the free mercie of God: God ſeeth nothing in man, thereby to be moued to ſhew him mercie: therefore he reſpecteth no mans perſon: but all is of grace.

*Obiect.*2. The perſon of man betokeneth not onely ſome externall qualitie,or outward reſpect in man,but the eſſence and ſubſtance of man alſo: As in the Trinitie, the name of perſon is taken ſubſtantially.Therefore if God be no acceptor of perſons,one man cannot any waies be preferred before another: *Suecan.de prædeſtinat.p.*480.

Anſw. Firſt,the perſon of God and the perſon of man, are not well compared together: for as much as there is nothing accidentall in God;but whatſoeuer, is belonging to his eſſence: but ſo is it not in man,in whom many things are accidentall, and ſubiect to chaunge. Secondly, though the perſon in the Trinitie be ſubſtantiall,yet is it not all one with the ſubſtance of the Trinitie:for there is but one ſubſtance of the Trinitie; and if the perſon were the ſubſtance, then ſhould there be but one perſon alſo,which were great hereſie to affirme, and ſo are they ouerthrowne by their owne example. Thirdly,if they will ſo ſtrictly exclude all reſpect of man on Gods behalfe; how commeth it to paſſe,that beleeuers are ſaued,all vnbeleeuers damned? vnleſſe the reſpect of their faith make a difference between them,through the gracious and free acceptation of God.Wherefore God is ſayd not to accept the perſons of men no otherwiſe than I haue ſayd, that is, not to regard any thing in man,or of man, whereby originally one man ſhould haue a preeminence to another.

3. They are all Gods creatures,we graunt: but what then? muſt either all be ſaued,or ſhould God refraine from creating thoſe,whom he foreſaw ſhould fall? No,it is ſufficient that God is not the cauſe of their fall. And if God in his preſcience ſaw they ſhould fall,and ſhould for this cauſe deſiſt from creating them,that they might not fall: then ſhould the preſcience of God be deceiued in foreſeeing that to be,which ſhall neuer be. *Auguſtine* alſo doth very well touch this point:

Contr.artic. falſ. impoſit.3.4.

Creat homines ſecundum conſilium bonæ voluntatis ſuæ,reparaturus in multis,quod ipſe fecit,& puniturus, quod non fecit: God,according to the counſell of his good will,did create men,being to repayre in them that,which he had made,and to puniſh that, which he made not.

*Obiect.*3. If it be ſo, that God hath caſt lots ouer euery man, and hath alreadie decreed concerning their ſaluation or damnation; then all exhortation and preaching, and all endeuour to liue a godly life,is in vaine: for,*de vnoquoque fiet,vt prædeſtinatus eſt,* it ſhall befall euery man,as he is predeſtinate. So the Pelagians obiected, *de perſeuer.lib.*2.15.

Anſw. 1. The doctrine of predeſtination doth no more hinder godly endeuour and exhortation,than the doctrine of Gods preſcience and foreknowledge: *Sicut non deterremur,* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *à confitenda præſcientia Dei,&c.* As we are not terrified,or frayed from confeſſing Gods preſcience, becauſe whether men liue well or euill, ***tales erunt, quales præſciuit Deus***, they ſhall be none other then God foreſaw they ſhould be: ſo, ſaith he, we ought not for this cauſe to be driuen from confeſſing predeſtination, *Auguſtin.ibid.*

2. *Auguſtine* alſo in another place putteth this example: As (ſaith he) though the Apoſtle confeſſe, that God worketh in vs both the will and the deede, yet hee ceaſeth not euery where to exhort vs, both to will and worke thoſe things that pleaſe God. Our Sauiour Chriſt alſo biddeth vs to beleeue in him: *Ye beleeue in God, beleeue alſo in me*, Iohn 14. *Nec tamen eius falſa eſt ſententia:* And yet it is true which our Sauiour ſaith, That no man can come vnto him, vnleſſe his father draw him: for faith is the gift of God. So men notwithſtanding ought to endeuour themſelues to walke in obedience before God, although they be predeſtinate thereunto.

De perſeuerant.lib.2. cap.14.

3. Chriſt alſo (ſaith *Auguſtine*) teaching his Apoſtles to pray, further telleth them, that God knoweth what is needfull for vs, before we aske, and yet wee ought to pray notwithſtanding. So although God foreſaw and did predeſtinate the end of euery man, yet wee muſt exhort and ſtirre vp one another to all holines of life, thereby to make ſure our election, as Saint *Peter* ſaith, 2.Pet.1. verſ.10.

4. I will alſo adioyne Maſter *Philpots* learned and godly anſwere: Some (ſaith he) for an extreame refuge in their euill doing runne to Gods predeſtination and election, ſaying: If I be elected of God to ſaluation, I ſhall be ſaued, whatſoeuer I doe: but ſuch be great tempters of God, and abominable blaſphemers of Gods holie election, and caſt themſelues downe from the pinacle of the temple in preſumption, that God may preſerue them by his Angels through predeſtination. Such verily may reckon themſelues to be none of Gods elect children, that will do euill that good may enſue; whoſe damnation the Apoſtle ſaith, is iuſt: Gods predeſtination ought with a ſimple eye to be conſidered, to make vs more warily to walke according to Gods word: for this is the end and fruit of our election, ***That wee ſhould be holie and blameleſſe in his ſight***, Epheſ.1. *Epiſtol. ad congregat.Chriſtian.pag.*1832.

Gregorie hath an excellent ſaying, which may ſerue as a full anſwere to this obiection: as he is alleaged, *Cauſ.*23.*qu.*4.*c.*21.*Obtineri nequaquã poſſunt, quæ prædeſtinata non fuerunt, &c.* Thoſe things cannot be obtained, which are not predeſtinate: but thoſe things, which holie men effect by their prayer, were predeſtinate to be obtained by prayer: for predeſtination is ſo diſpoſed of God, that they which are elected ſhould come vnto it by labour. Wherefore predeſtination doth not take away the meanes, as prayer, inſtruction, exhortation, which tend vnto it.

*Obiect.*4. To what end commanded Chriſt, that the Goſpell ſhould be preached to euery creature, if it were not Gods meaning that all men ſhould come to the knowledge of the truth, and ſo be ſaued: otherwiſe the Lord ſhould ſeeme to purpoſe one thing and doe another? ***Sic Huber. in theſib.***

Contra. Firſt, God calleth all men generally by the preaching of the Goſpell, neither is God to be blamed, if they obey not their calling, which in it ſelfe is ſufficient, but they onely are in fault that refuſe it: As Saint *Ambroſe* well ſaith, ***In alÿs præualuiſſe gratiam, in alÿs reſiluiſſe naturam:*** That in ſome grace preuaileth, in ſome their owne nature reſiſteth. He ſpeaketh of thoſe, to whom the Goſpell is preached, *lib.2.de vocat.Gent.cap.*8. Secondly, it followeth not, that becauſe the Goſpell is preached to all, God hath decreed to ſaue all: for Chriſt commaunded his Apoſtles to preach vnto thoſe the Goſpell of peace, that ſhould notwithſtanding neither heare them nor receiue it, Matth.10.13. So *Ezechiel* is ſent to a people, that will not heare, Ezech.2.5. And why may not the Goſpell be preached in like ſort to many that ſhall periſh? Thirdly, the cauſes therefore why the Goſpell is preached to all, and yet all are not ordained to be ſaued, are theſe two chiefly: firſt, becauſe the elect and the reprobate are mixed together in earth, neither is it knowne vnto men, whether euery man appertaineth, therefore is the Goſpell offered to all, that ſome might be ſaued. And it is more agreeable to Gods mercie, that euen the reprobate ſhould haue the externall meanes of ſaluation offered vnto them for the elects ſake among them, than that the elect ſhould be defrauded thereof becauſe of the other. Of this *Auguſtine* writeth well: ***Correptio medicinaliter omnibus adhibenda eſt, etiamſi ſalus ægrotantis incerta ſit: vt ſi is, qui corripitur ad numerum prædeſtinatorum pertinet, ſit ei correptio ſalubre medicamentum; ſi autem non pertinet, ſit pœnale tormentum: de corrept.grat.cap.***13. The medicine muſt be giuen to all, though it be vncertaine who ſhall haue their health: that if hee that is rebuked be of the predeſtinate, his chaſtiſement ſhall be healthfull to him; if not, it ſhall be a penall torment. So then the ſecond reaſon is, that the wicked may be left inexcuſable, when as the word of God is preached vnto them, and they regard it not.

Huberus here obiecteth, *theſ.*304. If it be ſo, that the word of God be vnto ſome the ſauour of death vnto death, it were better neuer to heare it, than that the hearing thereof ſhould be to ſome to their condemnation.

Contra. 1. It is an abſurd conſequent, that the word ſhould not be preached at all, becauſe ſome profit not by it: by the ſame reaſon, becauſe ſome in the Sacrament doe eate and drinke their owne damnation,it might be inferred, that it were good for none to receiue it : or becauſe ſome abuſe meate and drinke to gluttonie and drunkenneſſe; that therefore none ſhould eate or drinke. 2. That it were better for the wicked, neuer to haue knowne the way of righteouſneſſe, than after they haue knowne it to turne away,&c.as Saint *Peter* ſaith, 2.Epiſt.2.21.We graunt: but it followeth not, that it were better not to haue it knowne at all: It is better, that by the preaching of the Goſpell ſome ſhould be ſaued,though other be left without excuſe, than by not preaching,to helpe to excuſe vnbeleeuers, none ſhould be ſaued.

Obiect.5. This obiection is not much differing from the former : Seeing that Baptiſme is offered to all : *Goe and baptize all nations,* Matth.28.ver.19. grace alſo together with Baptiſme is offered : for God would neuer haue inuited all men to Baptiſme,if he would not impart vnto them that grace,which is ſealed by Baptiſme : *Sic Heming.de vniuerſal.grat.pag.*75.

Contra. 1.That Baptiſme is auailable only to thoſe that beleeue,the Scripture teſtifieth,Mar.16. *He that beleeueth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaued?* And to beleeue is the worke of God, Ioh.6.29. And to them onely,that are ordained to euerlaſting life,is it giuen to beleeue, Act.13.48. Therefore to them onely is Baptiſme of efficacie. 2. As before we ſaid of the preaching of the Goſpel, ſo now of Baptiſme : that they are offered to all,that amongſt many,ſuch as are ordained to life, ſhould be ſaued : for it were not meete, that becauſe ſome are found abuſers and prophaners of the Sacraments,therefore they ſhould be denied to all. 3. If all in Baptiſme are verily partakers of grace,how are not all ſaued? If they anſwere,that through their owne negligence this grace is loſt, which is their onely anſwere here, *Heming.pag.75.* they ſpeake contrarie to the Scripture, which teſtifieth,that whom God loueth,he loueth to the end,Ioh.13.1. And that the gifts of God are without repentance,Rom.11. But of this more God willing afterward.

Obiect.6. The doctrine of predeſtination,ſay ſome,is a doctrine of deſpaire: for if it be ſo,that God hath decreed ſome to damnation from the beginning,what comfort now remaineth to thoſe that are in deſpaire,and diſtreſſe of conſcience,if we cannot aſſure them,that the mercie and grace of God is free for all men,and not denied to any?

Anſw. 1. The doctrine of predeſtination,is a true and ſound doctrine, yet not at all times, nor in the hearing of all perſons to be vttered : for ſo Saint *Paul* ſaith, *That he gaue vnto ſome milke, not ſtrong meate. for they were not able to beare it,* 1.Corin.3.2. The doctrine of predeſtination is ſtrong meate,and therefore not to be miniſtred to the weake and bruſed conſcience. *Hæc vna eſt cauſa tacendi verum,*(as *Auguſtine* ſaith) *ne peiores faciamus,qui non intelligunt, dum volumus eos,qui intelligunt, facere doctiores:* This is one cauſe of concealing the truth,leaſt we make them worſe,that vnderſtand not,while wee would teach thoſe, which are of better capacitie. He preſcribeth alſo the manner how predeſtination ſhould be taught and handled : namely, in the hearing of the faithfull,to entreate onely of election : But if any man be diſpoſed likewiſe to touch the other part of reprobation : *Non de ipſis,qui in populo audiunt,dicendum eſt per ſecundam perſonam, ſed de alijs ad ipſos per tertiam:* He muſt in no wiſe ſpeake in the ſecond perſon to thoſe that are preſent,but of others in their hearing in the third perſon, *lib.2.de perſeuer.cap.*23.

De perſeuer. lib.2.cap.16.

2. This doctrine notwithſtanding,there is ſufficient place for comfort : If any man doubt of his ſaluation, wee muſt neither build vpon a falſe ground, to comfort them; as to beare them in hand, that God hath a purpoſe to ſaue all men: nor yet referre them to Gods eternall decree, which is too ſtrong meate for them in that weake eſtate to beare: But as if a man ſhould denie that the fire is hot,or that the Sunne ſhineth,we would vſe no better argument, to perſwade him, than by experience of the effects, as how the fire burneth, and the Sunne giueth light : ſo in this caſe to aſſure a man of ſaluation,we would exhort him to vſe the ſecondarie meanes, as faith, repentance,to beleeue in Chriſt,and as the Apoſtle ſaith,to make his election ſure by good works: And by the experience of Gods mercie and goodnes,which he hath felt,to grow vp vnto the aſſurance of his fauour.

3. I will conclude with *Auguſtine,* who thinketh this doctrine of predeſtination to be a doctrine not of deſpayre and diſtruſt, but of comfort and confidence : *Abſit à vobis ideo deſperare de vobis,quoniam ſpem veſtram in ipſo habere iubeamini,non in vobis: An verendum eſt,ne tum de ſe homo deſperet,quando ſpes eius ponenda demonſtratur in Deo?* God forbid that you ſhould deſpayre of your ſelues,becauſe ye are willed to put your truſt in God,and not in your ſelues : Is it to be feared,leſt man ſhould then deſpayre of himſelfe, when hee is taught to place his hope and truſt in God? *de perſeuer.lib.2.cap.*23. For this the doctrine of predeſtination teacheth vs, that whatſoeuer is in vs, that is good,it neither is of our ſelues,nor yet commeth vnto vs by chaunce,but is beſtowed vpon vs freely, as God in mercie in the beginning had appointed.

Huberus further obiecteth thus : If it be ſo that Chriſt dyed not for all,but onely for ſome,then all comfort and conſolation is taken away: as if a man ſhould thus reaſon: Some men are elected to ſaluation in Chriſt,I am a man : *Ergo,*I ſhall be ſaued. This were a weake argument of comfort, concluding onely vpon particulars, *Huber.p.*20.97.

Contra. 1. If we ſhould draw our comfort immediatly from Gods eternall will and decree, our aduerſaries muſt needes fall into the ſame ſtraits of particularities : for it is certaine, that in the day of iudgement all ſhall not be ſaued, but ſome muſt goe into euerlaſting paine, others to eternall life, as God in the beginning had decreed. Wherefore there muſt be a certaine number of ſuch as are ordained to life. 2. To aſſure our ſelues then of our ſaluation before God, we muſt not runne immediatly vnto Gods ſecret decree and counſell, as though by ſome extraordinarie ſpeculation or reuelation, we could attaine to the knowledge thereof : but we muſt iudge of our election, by the fruites and effects thereof, as our faith, vocation, ſanctification : and this *Snecanus* ſheweth at large, *pag*.466. Our argument then of comfort grounded vpon the word of God, is this : Whoſoeuer beleeueth in Chriſt, ſhall be ſaued, I beleeue in Chriſt : *Ergo*, I hope to be ſaued ; So then our comfort ariſeth not from any particulars, but from the vniuerſall promiſes of God made to all thoſe which beleeue. But in the aſſumption of this argument, two things may trouble vs : firſt, if Sathan ſhall tell vs, that wee beleeue not, how we may aſſure our ſelues of faith. The remedie againſt this tentation is this: We muſt examine our faith by the fruits thereof: as 1.Ioh.2.3. *Hereby we are ſure we know him, if we keepe his commandements*. Neither are we to be diſmaied, though we finde in our ſelues ſome contrarie motions of feare, doubtfulnes, and ſuch like. But though our faith be yet imperfect, we muſt conſider how Chriſt did ſuccour and cheriſh the weake in faith, as it was written of him, Iſai.24. that hee ſhould *not breake the bruiſed reede, nor quench the ſmoaking flaxe* : as alſo we muſt pray continually with the Apoſtles, *Lord encreaſe our faith* ; and with him in the Goſpell : *Lord I beleeue, helpe my vnbeleefe*, Mark.9. The ſecond thing that may trouble vs, is, to know how we attaine to faith : for all haue not faith, as the Apoſtle ſaith, 2.Theſſ.3.2. Our remedie here, is to acknowledge faith, and all other gifts to come from God, not to thinke it ſtandeth in our owne power to beleeue : and therefore by faithfull prayer to ſeeke for this precious gift at Gods hands.

3. Who ſeeth not then, but that this is a more ſure and readie way vnto comfort, as wee haue ſhewed, then to beare men in hand, that God would haue all men to be ſaued, and that Chriſt dyed for all? So their argument of comfort ſtandeth thus : *Chriſt dyed for all, euen for thoſe that ſhall be damned, therefore he dyed for me*. What comfort now can a troubled conſcience reape by the death of Chriſt, ſeeing that notwithſtanding hee may be damned : and that Chriſt hath done as much for thoſe that ſhall be damned, as for other? May not the diſtreſſed conſcience iuſtly ſay vnto ſuch, *Miſerable comforters are ye, and phiſitions of no value?* Iob.13.4. And thus farre of their arguments, and obiections, that do maintaine the vniuerſalitie of the grace of God. Now we wil come, by euident teſtimonies of ſcripture, & other effectuall reaſons to eſtabliſh and make knowne the truth.

THAT CHRIST DIED ONLY for the elect.

OVr ſentence then is this, that whereas all men were by nature the children of wrath, and like to periſh in themſelues, God from the reſt hath according to his good pleaſure elected ſome, to whom he hath appointed Chriſt Ieſus to be their Mediatour and Redeemer. And here we are to conſider, firſt the beginning of election: ſecondly, the progreſſe thereof: laſtly, the end: The beginning, in that God according to his good pleaſure, elected his in Chriſt before the foundation of the world, Epheſ.1.4. The progreſſe, in that hee hath giuen the elect vnto Chriſt to be ſaued, and redeemed by him, Epheſ.1.5. *He hath predeſtinate vs to be adopted through Ieſus Chriſt* : The end is, that whom hee hath predeſtinate, (that is the beginning) called, iuſtified, (there is the progreſſe) *them alſo he hath glorified*, Rom.8.30. he hath purpoſed to bring them to glorie: that is the end. That now Chriſt onely was giuen to dye for the companie of the elect : not that it is not ſufficient for the whole world in it ſelfe, but becauſe the efficacie and benefit of Chriſts death is onely applied by faith vnto the beleeuers : and faith onely is of the elect : That therefore Chriſt died onely for the elect, it remaineth now to be proued. Our arguments we will diſtribute into three places: firſt we will produce direct places of ſcripture for our purpoſe. Secondly, reaſons grounded vpon ſcripture. Thirdly, we will ſhew the abſurditie of the aduerſarie opinion.

Firſt, our euident teſtimonies out of ſcripture are theſe : Firſt, Ioh.10.15. *Chriſt laieth downe his life for his ſheepe* : the elect onely are his ſheepe : *Ergo*.

Huberus denieth the aſſumption : ſaying, that all men are Gods ſheepe, and inheritance, who, if afterward they ſtray away from the Lords ſheepfold, the fault is in themſelues, *theſ*.1069.

Contra. But our Sauiour ſpeaketh of ſuch ſheep, as do heare his voyce, and follow him, and they will not follow a ſtranger, ver.5. They therfore that fall away, & follow any other, are not ẏ ſheep of Chriſts fold : therefore for ſuch ſheepe only he died, as finally are his : thoſe are the elect only.

2. Ioh.11.52. Chriſt died not for the nation onely, that is, of the Iewes, but, *That he might gather together in one the children of God that were ſcattered*. But the elect only are the children of God:

of whom he ſpeaketh againe, namely, of theſe diſperſed and ſcattered children, Ioh. 10.16. *Other ſheepe I haue alſo, which are not of this folde, them alſo I muſt bring, &c.* Theſe are the predeſtinate, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Erant prædeſtinati, nondum congregati:* They were predeſtinate, though not yet gathered together: *Auguſtin. ſerm. 50. de verbis Domini, in Iohan.*

3. Ioh. 15.13. Chriſt dyed onely for his friends; the elect onely, and ſuch as ſhall be ſaued, only are the friends of Chriſt. And if that place of the Apoſtle be obiected, Rom. 5. *That Chriſt died for vs, when we were yet enemies:* We anſwere with *Bernards* diſtinction, *Serm. 10. de Pſalm. Qui habitat: Chriſtus ſecundum tempus pro impijs & inimicis mortuus eſt, ſecundum prædeſtinationem autem pro fratribus & amicis:* Chriſt according to the diſpenſation of time died for the wicked and his enemies: but in reſpect of his predeſtination, for his friends and brethren.

4. S. *Paul* teſtifieth, Epheſ. 5. verſ. 26. That Chriſt gaue himſelfe for his Church, that he might ſanctifie it, &c. and hee is the Sauiour of his bodie, verſ. 23. But the elect only, and ſuch as ſhall be ſaued, are members onely of his bodie: *Ergo*, for ſuch onely he dyed.

Contra. Huberus anſwereth, that the Church is here taken for the whole aſſemblie of beleeuers, and vnbeleeuers, who all were ſanctified and waſhed with the blood of Chriſt, but afterward are defiled againe by their vnbeleefe: *Huber. theſ.* 1088.

Anſw. That Church which Chriſt ſanctifieth, and cleanſeth with his blood, he alſo glorifieth: to make it a glorious Church (ſaith the Apoſtle) without ſpot or wrinckle, verſ. 27. But the elect only and predeſtinate vnto life ſhall be glorified: *Ergo*, they only are the true Church, and liuely members of Chriſts bodie. Secondly, our reaſons and arguments grounded vpon the word of God, are theſe, and ſuch like which follow.

1. Chriſt dyed onely for thoſe that ſhould beleeue in him, Ioh. 3.16. But it is not giuen to all to beleeue in Chriſt, except only to the elect, which are ordained to life: *Ergo*, for them only Chriſt dyed. That faith is onely of the elect, it is thus proued: firſt, Matth. 13.11. *To you it is giuen to know the ſecrets of the kingdome, to them it is not giuen:* this knowledge then is not giuen to all. *Contra.* The meaning is, not that God in his eternall decree, had ordained knowledge vnto ſome, and denyed it to others, but that the miniſterie of the word being offered to all, ſome through their incredulitie refuſed the ſame, and ſo their hearts were iuſtly hardened: as the Apoſtle ſaith elſewhere, *That they did put away from them the word of God, which it was neceſſarie ſhould haue been firſt ſpoken vnto them, and ſo iudged themſelues vnworthie of euerlaſting life*, Act. 13.46. The reſt, which did not abuſe their naturall gifts of hearing and vnderſtanding, but willingly gaue eare vnto Chriſt, had power to beleeue in Chriſt, and to continue therein: *ſic Huber. theſ.* 826. *Suecan. p.* 522. *Anſ.* 1. That they which loue not the truth, are iuſtly giuen ouer of God to a reprobate ſenſe, we grant, as Saint *Paul* ſheweth, 2. Theſſ. 2.10. *Becauſe they would not receiue the loue of the truth, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions, &c.* 2. Yet men are not ſo the cauſe to themſelues of their beleefe, as they are of their incredulitie: but the cauſe and beginning is of God, as our Sauiour teſtifieth, Matth. 11.26. *It is ſo, O father, becauſe thy good pleaſure was ſuch.* The cauſe then why ſome vnderſtand the myſterie of the kingdome, is not in their willingnes, but in the good pleaſure of God: It is not a gift equally offered to all, which all may receiue, if they will; it is giuen to you, ſaith Chriſt, it is not giuen to them.

To this purpoſe S. *Ambroſe: Qui veniunt dei auxilio diriguntur, qui non veniunt ſua poteſtate reluctantur:* They that come are directed by Gods helpe; they which come not, by their owne power doe reſiſt, *lib. 2. de vocat Gent. c. 9.* And againe, *Tales fuerunt, qui ſunt attracti, quales hi, qui in ſua duricie ſunt relicti, ſed illis tribuit gratia ſtupenda quod voluit, iſtis retribuit veritas iuſta, quod debuit, &c.* They were the ſame, that are drawne, which they were, that remained in their hardnes: but grace giueth vnto them, as God would; iuſtice rendreth to the other as they deſerue. Wherefore though a man reſiſting the calling of grace, is the cauſe why hee beleeueth not, yet in them which obey their calling, it is of the grace of God that they beleeue.

Againe, Chriſt ſaith, Ioh. 10.26. *You beleeue not, for you are not of my ſheepe.* It is not therfore giuen to all to beleeue in Chriſt, but to his ſheepe onely, that is the elect, to whom hee giueth eternall life, verſ. 28.

Thirdly, Act. 13.48. *As many, as were ordained to eternall life, beleeued:* To beleeue therefore is giuen only to the elect, which are ordained vnto life.

Contra. Huberus thus expoundeth this place: they beleeued, which were ordained to life, that is, which followed the order appointed of God, whereby men ſhould be ſaued, that is, by the preaching of the Goſpell: for this, ſaith hee, is the ordinance of God, that they that beleeue the Goſpell ſhould be ſaued, *Huber. theſ.* 834.

Anſw. 1. If this be the meaning, that they beleeued that were ordained, that is, followed Gods ordinance, which was to beleeue, it is all one to ſay, they beleeued, that beleeued; and ſo there ſhould be a needleſſe repetition of the ſame thing. 2. If we vnderſtand it of faith and beleefe, yet it includeth an act of the ordainer, and they paſſiuely are ordained to beleeue: whereupon it will enſue, that they onely beleeued that were ordained to beleeue: for whereas they aſcribe vnto man an actiue power to beleeue; but this, to be ordained, is actiue in God, and paſſiue in man, it cannot be vnderſtood ſimply of the act of beleefe, but of the ordinance of God before going. 3. Though God as well ordaine the meanes, as the end, to the which the meanes doe leade; yet becauſe the end is here directly mentioned, namely, *to eternall life*, wee are thereby directed to vnderſtand the ordinance of the end, rather, or as well as of the meane: ſo that this muſt be the ſenſe, they that were ordained, that is, appointed of God to be ſaued eternally, beleeued: life eternall is the end, beleefe in Chriſt is the meane, the ordinance or foreappointment of God is the cauſe or beginning. Other not ſatisfying themſelues with the former expoſition, haue found out a new: *As many as were ordained, &c.* that is, many of the Gentiles, according to the ordinance of God, beleeued. So they vnderſtand this word (*quotquot*, as many, as) not of their particular perſons, that beleeued, but by way of diſtribution, of euery kind & ſort of men preſent: that is, euen the Gentiles alſo as well as the Iewes (as God had foreordained) beleeued: for it is not like, ſay they, that all, in the citie of Antioche, which ſhould be ſaued, were at this time conuerted, but ſome at one time, ſome at another: *Sic Heming.p.23.Suecan.p.527.*

Anſw. Firſt, they now are conſtrained to vſe that diſtinction, which they will not allow vnto vs: for whereas, wee interprete Saint *Pauls* ſaying, *God would haue all men to be ſaued,* of all ſorts of men, they vtterly reiect that ſenſe, and yet are driuen here to vſe it themſelues. Secondly, yet the word there vſed, πάντες, *omnes*, will better beare that ſenſe, then the word ὅσοι, *quotquot*, (as many, as) which we reade here: for the word (*omnis*) all, ſometime in Scripture ſignifieth, not euery particular, but euery kinde, as Luk.11.42. *Decimatis omne olus*, You tithe euery herbe, that is, euery manner of herbe. But whereſoeuer you ſhall reade, ὅστις, ὅσοι, *quiſquis, quotquot*, (as many as) it includeth euerie particular, as Luk.18.22. *Sell all that euer thou haſt:* Act.2.39. *As many as the Lord your God ſhall call:* Act.4.34. *As many as had lands, ſold them:* that is, euery one: and ſo muſt it be taken here. Thirdly, it cannot be vnderſtood here of euery kinde, that is, both Iewes and Gentiles: for they were all Gentiles that beleeued here, the Iewes openly reſiſted the Apoſtles. Fourthly, to their reaſon we anſwere: that it is not neceſſarie to reſtraine this ſpeech, *As many, as were ordained to life, beleeued*, to that preſent time: but as Saint *Luke* ſaith, Act.2.47. *God added from day to day to the Church ſuch as ſhould be ſaued:* ſo this may be ſpoken indefinitely, that by the preaching of the Apoſtle, ſo many firſt and laſt beleeued, as ſhould be ſaued. And yet if wee applie it to the preſent auditorie then, not to the whole citie, (for al the citie heard him not at once) we know nothing to the cõtrary, but that euery one of them that was ſaued in that aſſemblie, at that inſtant beleeued.

Our ſecond argument out of Scripture is this: for whom Chriſt is a Redeemer, for them alſo he is a Mediatour and aduocate: but hee is an aduocate onely for the elect, not for the reprobate: Ioh.17.19. *I pray not for the world, but for thoſe which thou haſt giuen me: Ergo*, Chriſt by his death onely redeemed the elect.

Contra. 1. *Huberus* anſwereth, that Chriſt prayeth not for the world, that is, that the workes and endeuours of the wicked and vnbeleeuers ſhould be approoued: yet ſaith he, *Pro mundo orandum eſt, vt conuertatur:* We muſt pray for the world, that it may be conuerted: *Theſ.925.*

Anſw. 1. Chriſt ſo farre forth prayeth not for the world, as he prayeth for his; but for his owne he prayeth, that they may be ſaued: verſ.24. *I will that they which thou haſt giuen me, to be with me where I am:* Therefore in that ſenſe he prayeth not for the world, that it ſhould be conuerted or ſaued: and therefore ſeeing the world hath no part in Chriſts mediation, and interceſſion, neither haue they any benefit by his redemption.

2. Chriſt prayeth onely for thoſe, which were giuen him out of the world, verſ.6.9. But all the world was not giuen vnto Chriſt to be ſaued: for how can the world be giuen out of the world? Againe, Chriſt giueth glorie, that is, *eternall life to thoſe that are giuen him*, verſ.22. but the whole world hath not eternall life, but thoſe onely that are elected thereunto: *Ergo*, the world is not giuen Chriſt to be ſaued, neither doth he pray for them.

3. Though wee in charitie may pray for the conuerſion of Turkes, Iewes, Infidels, out of the world: yet it followeth not that Chriſt did pray for the world: for hee knew who they were, that ſhould be ſaued, and ſo doe not we, and therefore we are to hope the beſt, euen of thoſe which are in the world.

4. *Origen* thus expoundeth this place, *hom.9.in Leuitic. Non exorat Chriſtus pro his, &c. pro illis exorat tantum, qui ſunt ſors Domini:* Chriſt prayeth not for them, &c. but onely for thoſe which are the Lords lot or portion.

*Contra.*2. *Hemmingius* anſwereth, that by the world here we muſt vnderſtand the peruerſe and obſtinate companie of the Iewes, which had alreadie wilfully refuſed grace offered vnto them, and ſo had committed ſin againſt the holie Ghoſt, Mark.3. for thoſe Chriſt prayeth not, pag.42.

Anſw. That Chriſt by the world vnderſtandeth not onely the wicked of that time, but all vnbeleeuers to the end of the world, it is thus ſhewed: As they are, which are giuen Chriſt, for whom he prayeth; ſo is the world to be vnderſtoode, for them which he prayeth not: but by thoſe that are giuen him he vnderſtandeth all beleeuers, not onely at that time, but to the end of the world, verſ.20. and 24. Therefore, by the world our Sauiour meaneth all vnbeleeuers whatſoeuer; and not the obſtinate onely of that time.

Contra.3. *Suecanus de prædeſtinat.p.660.* ſaith, that by the world Chriſt vnderſtandeth thoſe that doe contemne the benefit of Chriſts death, as Ioh.15.18. *If the world hate you, it hated me before you:* and ſo they exclude themſelues from grace offered in Chriſt, not that any ſimply are excluded before their vnbeliefe.

Anſw. Firſt, it is true, that there are none elected in the eternall counſell of God, but are ordained in time to beleeue, nor none excluded, but doe afterward by their owne malice and frowardnes iuſtly exclude themſelues from beliefe: yet it is certaine, that the number and companie of beleeuers is foreſeene and preordained of God, and ſo conſequently of the other alſo: as it may thus appeare: Chriſt praying for thoſe, that ſhall beleeue in him, verſ.20. ſaith, verſ.22. *I haue giuen them the glorie, &c.* and verſ.24. *I will, that they which thou haſt giuen me, &c.* They which as yet beleeued not, but ſhould beleeue, are alreadie giuen vnto Chriſt, and euen now glorified: what is this elſe, but that they are preordained of God, which ſhould beleeue in Chriſt, and that they are alreadie giuen vnto him, and glorified in the purpoſe of God? Secondly, wee will adioyne alſo the teſtimonie of *Auguſtine: Eſt mundus damnandorum, de quo ſcriptum eſt, ne cum mundo hoc damnemur,* 1.Cor.12. *pro iſto mundo non rogat, neque enim quò ſit prædeſtinatus, ignorat: eſt mundus ſaluandorum, de quo Apoſtolus, Deus erat in Chriſto mundum ſibi reconcilians, pro iſto mundo rogat, vt credat, &c tractat. in Iohan.*110. There is a world of the damned, of the which it is written, that wee be not damned with the world: for this world Chriſt prayeth not; for he was not ignorant to what end it was predeſtinate: There is a world of thoſe that ſhall be ſaued, of the which the Apoſtle ſaith, God was in Chriſt reconciling the world, &c. for this world Chriſt prayeth, that it may beleeue: *Ergo,* for this world Chriſt onely dyed.

Our third argument is this: Chriſt onely dyed for thoſe, to whom the benefit of his death verily and indeede is applied, and which finde life by his death: Ioh.17.19. *For their ſakes ſanctifie I my ſelfe* (that is, to be an acceptable ſacrifice vpon the croſſe) *that they alſo may be ſanctified.* And verſ.2. *Chriſt giueth eternall life to all that were giuen him:* But all the world is not ſanctified, or regenerate by Chriſt, nor yet commeth to eternall life, but onely thoſe that ſhall be ſaued: *Ergo,* Chriſt dyed not for the whole world, but for the elect onely, that ſhall be ſaued. Neither can it be anſwered, that Chriſt died for all, becauſe all may, if they will, beleeue; and ſo be ſaued: for Chriſt ſpeaketh not of a power or poſſibilitie onely to be ſanctified, and ſo ſaued, but of an actuall ſanctification, and ſaluation: they are verily ſanctified, for whom Chriſt ſanctifieth himſelfe, and he giueth eternall life indeede to all them that are giuen him: wherefore ſeeing that all men are not ſanctified, nor brought to eternall life, but ſuch as are indeed ordained to ſaluation; it followeth, that for them onely Chriſt died.

Argum.4. Chriſt died onely for thoſe that are appointed to ſaluation, for the death of Chriſt is a ſubordinate meane for the ſaluation of thoſe, whom God would haue ſaued: But all men in the world are not appointed to ſaluation, therefore Chriſt died not for all. It will be anſwered, that it is Gods will, that all men ſhould be ſaued by Chriſt, with this condition, ſo that they beleeue in him, and that God hath not made any ſpeciall election and ſeparation of ſome from the reſt, which ſhould be ſaued, but that indifferently all men are comprehended vnder Gods conditionall decree of election, that is, as many as ſhall beleeue. If then we can proue out of the word of God, that Gods election vnto life is not conditionall, but abſolute, in ſetting a certaine number apart, who onely ſhould haue power to beleeue, and ſo onely be ſaued by Chriſt, and none beſide, then it will appeare manifeſtly, that for them Chriſt onely dyed.

1. Our firſt place to proue an abſolute and particular election of ſome onely vnto life, is that Matth.22.14. *Many are called, but few choſen:* which place ſheweth, that although the externall meanes of ſaluation be offered to many, yet not all of them, but ſome onely are elected and choſen vnto life.

Hubertus anſwereth, that there is a generall election, and ſpeciall: the generall election is of all, which are called to the kingdome of God, and outwardly profeſſe obedience: the ſpeciall election is of thoſe which do obey their calling, and indeed perſeuere and continue in the faith to the end, *theſ.*734. So then his meaning is, that few are elected, not in reſpect of any election and ſeparation made in the counſell and decree of God, but becauſe ſome amongſt many perſeuere to the end.

Contra. Firſt, there can be no ſuch generall election: for what choiſe is there, when all indifferently are receiued? An election therefore implieth a receiuing of ſome, and a refuſing of others: all therefore cannot be elected. This were alſo to confound vocation, and election: Many are called, but not many are choſen: to ſay therefore that many are choſen, where Chriſt ſaith, *A few* *onely are choſen*, were to contradict his words. Secondly, if the ſpeciall election depend vpon mans perſeuerance and continuance, not this rather vpon the other; if ſome are ſaid to be elected, becauſe they perſeuere, and not rather to perſeuere becauſe they are elected; then are men the cauſe of their owne election, and they chuſe God firſt. But Chriſt ſaith contrarie, you haue not choſen me, but I haue choſen you: and S. *Iohn* ſaith, *not that we loued God, but he loued vs firſt*, 1. Iohn. 4. 10. Saint *Paul* alſo ſaith, *Who hath ſeparated thee?* 1. Corint. 4. 7. It is God that electeth and ſeparateth men one from another, and diſtributeth vnto them his gifts. And again, in the parable, Mat. 20. 15. *Is it not lawfull for me to doe as I will with mine owne?* The election therefore of ſome dependeth not vpon their owne will, but vpon the good will and pleaſure of God.

2 The ſecond place, Matth. 20. 23. *The kingdome of God ſhall be giuen vnto them, for whom it is prepared of my father:* The kingdome of God then is not prepared for all, but for ſome. Saint *Paul* alſo ſheweth, Rom. 9. 22. *That there are veſſels of wrath prepared to deſtruction, and veſſels of mercie prepared vnto glorie:* All therefore are not veſſels of mercie, neither are all prepared to glorie.

Suecanus anſwereth, *pag.* 602. that theſe places proue not any particular exception or reſtraint of ſome certaine men prepared to glorie, or of others to deſtruction, but that generally and indifferently, the kingdome of God is prepared for all that ſhall beleeue, and they that beleeue not, are prepared by their owne incredulitie to deſtruction.

Contra. We alſo grant, that none but beleeuers are prepared to glorie: but we make beleefe a conſequent and effect of their election and preparation to glorie: ſo that the number of beleeuers is as certaine before God, as certainly he hath decreed who ſhall be ſaued: for I aske, whence commeth it that wee haue faith? *it is not of our ſelues, but it is the gift of God*, Epheſ. 2. 9. And, *it is the worke of God to beleeue*, Ioh. 6. 29. If faith then be Gods gift, how is it that all haue not faith? but becauſe God giueth it not to all. And why is it not giuen to all? but that God in mercie hath choſen ſome, whom he purpoſeth to ſaue in Chriſt: And vnto theſe onely faith is giuen. If ye ſay, God giueth faith to all, but all receiue it not: then is Gods will reſiſted: for if he would haue all men beleeue, and they will not; then doth the will of man fruſtrate Gods will.

Huberus anſwereth, that all men are elected and adopted in Chriſt, *theſ.* 748. And that God giueth faith, conuerteth the heart, illuminateth, worketh effectually in all that are ſo elected, and made the veſſels of mercie, *theſ.* 867. But yet ſo that the veſſels of honour thus prepared of God, may be made the veſſels of diſhonor, *theſ.* 903. So the ſame veſſels are prepared of God to honor, of themſelues and Sathan to deſtruction, *theſ.* 870.

Contra. Firſt, thus it ſhall come to paſſe, that the veſſels of honor ſhall be prepared to deſtruction, which is contrarie to the text alleaged, *That the kingdome of heauen ſhall be giuen vnto them for whom it is prepared:* But by his ſaying, they that are prepared for it ſhall not haue it. Secondly, by this meanes alſo Satan is made ſtronger than God: for whom he prepareth to glorie, the other prepareth to deſtruction. But Chriſt ſaith otherwiſe, *none is able to pluck them out of mine hand*, Ioh. 10. 28

3 The third place: They onely are ordained to life, that are giuen to Chriſt: Ioh. 17. 2. *Chriſt giueth eternall life to all, that are giuen him:* but a certaine number taken out of the world, not the whole world is giuen to Chriſt, verſ. 6. thou gaueſt them me out of the world, thine they were, &c. *Ergo*, the number is certaine and definite before God, of them that ſhall be ſaued.

Suecanus anſwereth: Firſt, Chriſt ſpeaketh not here of eternall election, but of ſuch as were giuen him out of the world to be his Apoſtles, of which number *Iudas* was one, who was giuen vnto Chriſt, & yet periſhed: but they that by eternall election are giuen vnto Chriſt, periſh not, *p.* 724.

Contra. Firſt, that Chriſt ſpeaketh of thoſe that were giuen him eternally, it is plaine; becauſe, *to them Chriſt giueth eternall life*, verſ. 2. *he glorifieth them*, verſ. 22. *he will haue them to be where he is*, verſ. 24. But ſuch are eternally elected. Secondly, though *Iudas* may be ſaid in ſome ſenſe to be giuen to Chriſt in reſpect of his Apoſtleſhip; yet was he not giuen as the reſt of the Apoſtles: for of them Chriſt ſaith, that they kept his word, verſ. 6. that he was glorified in them, verſ. 10. they were not of the world, verſ. 14. But *Iudas* neither kept Chriſts word, neither yet was Chriſt glorified in him; and he was of the world: therefore they were giuen eternally to Chriſt, though *Iudas* was not.

Suecanus. Secondly, though wee vnderſtand here eternall election, whereby ſome were giuen vnto Chriſt, yet it implieth not a ſpeciall exception and choiſe of ſome perſons, but that all indifferently were giuen vnto Chriſt, that ſhould beleeue in him, *Suecan. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, Chriſt ſaying, the men, *which thou gaueſt me out of the world*, aſſigneth ſome ſpeciall perſons, that were giuen vnto him, namely his Apoſtles, as it is cleere by the text: And if ſome particular perſons were giuen vnto him, why may there not be a particular aſſignement, and cogniſance alſo before God of the reſt that are giuen vnto him? Secondly, where Chriſt ſaith, ſpeaking of his Apoſtles, *thine they were*, and *thou gaueſt them me*, verſ. 6. it ſheweth an abſolute election before God, without any reſpect of their faith: for firſt, Chriſt ſaith, *they are thine*, that is, by election; and then they are giuen to him, to know him, and beleeue in him, verſ. 8.

4. The fourth place: Philip.4.3. *Whoſe names are in the booke of life*: Apocal.17.8. *Whoſe names are not written in the booke of life from the foundation of the world:* Therefore ſome were elected in the beginning before God, ſome not elected.

Huberus anſwereth: that all are elected in Chriſt, and written in the booke of life, but with a condition; ſo that they beleeue, and continue in faith: whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that they which beleeue not, do loſe their ſaluation, and ſo are as not written in that booke, but are raſed out of it, *theſ.*917.

Puckſius alſo anſwereth to the ſame effect, that not to be written in the booke of life muſt be vnderſtood poſitiuely, not priuatiuely, that is, they are written and declared thorough their contumacie or contempt worthy of damnation: *ration.*96.

Cont. 1. The text is, *They are not written in the booke of life from the foundation of the world*: which firſt ouerthroweth *Huberus* anſwere, that ſaith, they were written, but after raſed out: for they were not written from the foundation of the world, not from the beginning, that is, neuer.

2. Secondly, it meeteth with the other cauill: for in that they were not written from the foundation, &c. it ſheweth, that they were ſhut out of the booke of life, before their contumacie or infidelitie appeared; and therefore their contumacie which appeared in the world, could not be the cauſe of their names not writing in the booke of life, which was done before the foundation of the world: And thus much of our reaſons and arguments deduced out of Scripture.

Laſtly, that Chriſt died only for the elect, this euidence we haue of antiquitie. 1. *Origen.hom.*9. *Leuitic.* alleadged before, affirmeth, that Chriſt prayeth onely, *pro illis, qui ſunt ſors Domini*; for them, that are the Lords lot or portion: *homil.*1 *in Cantic. Eccleſiam cætum omnium aduerte ſanctorum*: By the Church vnderſtand the company of all Saints. If the Saints onely make the Church, and Chriſt dyed onely for his Church, Epheſ.5.25. then conſequently he dyed onely for the Saints.

2. S. *Ambroſe lib.*5. *in Luc.c.*7. *Chriſtus pro omnibus mortuus, pro nobis tamen ſpecialiter paſſus*: Chriſt dyed for all, but more ſpecially ſuffered for vs. *In* 1.*Cor.*15. *Omnibus qui ſunt ex eius corpore vitam acquiſiuit*: He procured life to all of his body.

3. S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Electi ſunt ad regnandum cum Chriſto*: They were elected to raigne with Chriſt, *de corrept.& grat.c.*7. but Chriſt onely dyed for thoſe that ſhal raigne with him, Iohn 17.24. *Father I will, that they, which thou haſt giuen me, be with me, where I am.* Againe, Chriſt dyed onely, and gaue his life for his ſheepe, Iohn 10.11. the elect onely are the ſheepe of Chriſt, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *De ouibus iſtis, nec lupus rapit, nec fur tollit, nec latro interficit*: Of theſe ſheepe, neyther the woolfe ſnatcheth, nor the theefe taketh, nor the robber killeth, *tract.*48. *in Ioann.*

4. *Concil. Aquiſgranenſ.c.*14. *Chriſtus eccleſiam, quam precioſo ſuo ſanguine redemit, nunquam deſerturus eſt*: Chriſt wil neuer forſake the Church, which he hath redeemed with his precious blood: but they, which are neuer forſaken, are the elect.

5. *Concil.Wormatienſ. præfat. Eccleſiam catholicam precio ſui ſanguinis redemptam, cum eo credimus in perpetuum regnaturam*: We do beleeue that the catholike Church redeemed with the price of his blood, ſhall raigne with him for euer: but the elect onely ſhall raigne with him for euer.

6. *Bernard.ſerm.*9. *in Pſal.*90. *Chriſtus ſecundum tempus pro impijs mortuus, ſecundum prædeſtinationem pro fratribus & amicis*: Chriſt in reſpect of the time dyed for the wicked; in reſpect of predeſtination onely, for his brethren and friends.

7. *Cauſ.*33. *diſt.*4. *c.*8. *ex Auguſtino*: *Illi Chriſto intelliguntur dari, qui ordinati ſunt in vitam æternam*: They are vnderſtood to be giuen to Chriſt, which are ordained to eternall life: as our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith, Iohn 6.39. *This is the will of my Father, that of all, which he hath giuen me, I ſhould loſe nothing*: and againe, Ioh.11.52. *Chriſt dyed to gather together in one, the children of God, which were ſcattered*: he dyed then onely for the children of God, that is the elect.

8. *Magiſt. ſententiar.lib.*3. *diſtinct.*19. *G. Chriſtus omnes fideles per mortem reconciliauit*: Chriſt reconciled the faithfull by his death: *diſt.*31. *d. Chriſtus electos tantum ſicut ſe dilexit, eorumq; ſalutem optauit, &c.* Chriſt loued onely the elect as himſelfe, and deſired their ſaluation.

THE THIRD GENERALL ARGVMENT, AGAINST the vniuerſall and confuſed communitie of Redemption by Chriſt, drawen from the manifold inconueniences and abſurdities, which neceſſarily enſue and follow vpon this opinion.

ABſurdum 1. Firſt in affirming that Chriſt dyed vniuerſally for all that ſhould beleeue, and not for any ſpeciall elected ſort, they conſequently do hold, that God ſpecially and particularly elected none vnto ſaluation, but onely in generall, and indifferently all that ſhould beleeue.

And thus in effect, they take away predeſtination, making it to be a confuſed and conditional decree of God to ſaue whomſoeuer: This we are then to proue, that Gods election is certaine and definite, and that he knoweth and decreeth the number of the choſen.

First, we reaſon thus, whatſoeuer God did foreſee, that he was to do in the world, that alſo hee decreed and ordayned: Some things he foreſeeth onely, namely, ſuch thinges as are done in the world, and not by him, as euill and ſinfull workes: but whatſoeuer God doth in the worlde, hee both foreſaw and decreed: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Prædeſtinatione ea Deus præſcierat, quæ erat facturus, præſcire autem poteſt, quæ non eſt facturus*: God in predeſtinating did foreſee, that is, did both predeſtinate and foreſee, whatſoeuer he was to doe in the world; but he onely foreſaw the things that he was not to do, as all ſinnes whatſoeuer, *lib.2.de perſeuerant.cap.*10. But God in the beginning did foreſee the particular ende of euery man in the world: *The Lord knoweth who are his*: 2.Tim.2. verſ.19. that is, he knoweth the definite and certaine number of the elect: as *Auguſtine* alſo witneſſeth, *Non temerè quenquam creat Deus, aut quid de illis boni operetur ignoret*: God createth no man raſhly, neither is ignorant to what good vſe or purpoſe he hath made them, *cont.Iulian.lib.5.cap.3.* *Ergo*, God hath defined and decreed the particular number of ſuch, as ſhall be ſaued.

And for better proofe of the propoſition: firſt, we ſay further, that ſeeing the knowledge and will of God, are infinite, as he himſelfe; and that the attributes of God, receiue neither *magis vel minus*, more or leſſe, his wil is not greater then his knowledge, nor this more ample then the other, in their proper obiects: hereupon it followeth, that ſeeing God by his knowledge knoweth all things, which are to be knowen, ſo by his will he decreeth all things, that do fall vnder his decree, namely, ſuch things as are good, and to his glory: ſuch is the particular election of thoſe, that are ſaued: *Ergo*, by him it is decreed. 2. Further, there can be but two kindes of thinges, which are without the compaſſe of Gods decree, either what he knoweth not or what he doth not; of the firſt ſort there is none, becauſe God knoweth all thinges; of the ſecond, are all euill and ſinfull workes, which God hath no part in: But the particular election of men, is neither vnknowne nor vnwrought by God, but both knowne of him and wrought by him: *Ergo*, alſo decreed. 3. The particular end of the elect dependeth either of ſome fatall neceſſitie, ſome accidentall chance, or of the will of man, or it ſtandeth by Gods euerlaſting decree: there can be aſſigned no other cauſe: Not the firſt, for that were to tie God vnto ſecondary cauſes, for ſuch was the ſtoicall deſtinie; not the ſecond, for that were to ouerthrow Gods prouidence, by the which all things are gouerned, and not by chance: not the third, which were to aduance the creature aboue his Creator: and Saint *Paul* ſaith, It is not of the willer, nor the runner, &c. *Ergo*, Gods ſpeciall and definite decree muſt ſtand: As *Auguſtine* alſo concludeth: *Certè hic, vbi nulla eſt fati immobilitas, nulla fortunæ temeritas, nulla perſonæ dignitas, quid reſtat niſi miſericordia & veritatis profunditas?* Certainly in this caſe, where neither things are gouerned by fatall neceſſitie, nor by raſh vnaduiſed chance, what other cauſe remaineth then the profunditie of Gods mercy and truth? *Cont.Iulian.6.cap.5.* Fourthly, it skilleth not, concerning the matter in hand, namely, the particular and perſonall election of thoſe that ſhall be ſaued, whether wee vrge Gods preſcience onely or predeſtination: for if God did onely foreſee in particular, who, and how many, and of what condition, ſhould beleeue in Chriſt, and be ſaued; and that as God foreſaw, ſo it muſt be, that the ſame, ſo many, no other, no more ſhall beleeue, then God foreſaw; then muſt the number of the elect and beleeuers be as certaine, definite and determined, as if they yeelded to Gods decree herein: wherefore they muſt either doubt of Gods preſcience, or confeſſe a certaine determination of the number of the elect.

Secondly, we haue direct places of Scripture for particular election, Ioh.10.3. *Chriſt calleth his ſheepe by name*: they are all knowne particularly, and aſſigned to ſaluation as by name: The Apoſtles were perſonally elected of God, and giuen vnto Chriſt, Ioh.17.6. And as ſome of the elect be, ſo are the reſt, for there is one condition of them all. Saint *Paul* ſpeaking of certaine perſons his fellow labourers, amongſt whom hee nameth *Clement*, ſaith, *Their names are written in the booke of life*, Phil.4. *Ergo*, they were ſpecially and particularly elected. Further, the Scripture ſaith, that God calleth the ſtarres of the skie by their names; how much more the ſonnes of men, the children of ſaluation are particularly knowne vnto him: and if the haires of their head are numbred, much more themſelues.

The Preacher alſo ſaith: *I know, that whatſoeuer God ſhall doe, it ſhall be for euer: to it can no man adde, and from it can none diminiſh*: Eccleſ.3.14. But the election of ſuch as ſhall be ſaued is one of Gods workes: *Ergo*, to it can no man adde, or take from it, and ſo conſequently the number of the elect is certaine and determined: But if Gods election were left at large for all, then is it in mans power to adde vnto it, or take from it, as they are many, or few that apprehend and lay hold of their election.

Thirdly, we vrge that place of the Apoſtle, Roman.chap.9.verſ.13. *I haue loued Iacob, and hated Eſau*: which the Apoſtle referreth to the purpoſe of Gods free election before the children were borne, or had either done good or euill, verſ.11. Hence we conclude, that Gods election is not generall and indefinite, but particular and perſonall.

Firſt, it is here anſwered, that the particular perſons of *Eſau* and *Iacob* are not here vnderſtood, but that they are types of two people, the one of the Iſraelites, of whom Meſſiah ſhould come; the other of the Idumeans: that two people are here ſignified, their reaſons are theſe: Firſt, Geneſis 24.23. the Lord ſaith to *Rebecca*, two nations are in thy wombe: Secondly, the elder ſhall ſerue the younger, which was accompliſhed in their poſteritie, for *Iacob* in his owne perſon ſubmitted himſelfe to *Eſau*, *Huber.theſ.675. Suecan.p.565.* Thirdly, theſe words, *Iacob haue I loued, and hated Eſau*, were vttered by the Prophet *Malachy*, about 1400. yeares after the birth of the children, and therefore it cannot be, that the Prophet ſhould vnderſtand onely the perſons of *Iacob* and *Eſau*, that were dead ſo long before, *Suecan.p.566.* Fourthly, becauſe S. *Paul* ſpeaking of *Iſmael* and *Iſaac*, Galath.4. vſeth the word type or allegorie, in like maner *Eſau* and *Iacob* may be ſet forth for types in this place, *Suecan.*533.

Contra. 1. To admit that in *Iacob* and *Eſau* two people are prefigured, yet it followeth not, that their perſons are to be excluded: for whatſoeuer was foretolde of their poſteritie, it was firſt and in part true in them: As where it was ſaid, *Two nations are in thy wombe*: *Iacob* and *Eſau* were not bare types of two nations, but the beginners and progenitors, and two nations were euen now in their loynes: *The elder ſhall ſerue the younger*: ſo *Eſau* ſolde vnto *Iacob* his birthright, and reſigned vnto him in his owne perſon the ſoueraigneſhip. So in like maner, where God ſaith, *Iacob haue I loued, and hated Eſau*, Firſt, this diſtinction of loue and hatred appeared in *Iacob* and *Eſau*, and then in their poſteritie. Secondly, there are two ſorts of types, there is, *typus hiſtoricus, ſeu factus*, an hiſtoricall type which was done, *typus poeticus ſeu fictus*, a deuiſed and inuented type. In types of the ſecond kinde, that which is prefigured is not neceſſarie to be firſt true in the type: as Chriſt for the ſuddainneſſe of his comming is compared to a theefe, though the type in all reſpects properly agree not vnto him: In types of the firſt kinde, firſt, the example muſt be true, then the thing exemplified: as 1.Corinth.10.11. the olde Iſraelites that were puniſhed for their fornication, are types and examples to admoniſh vs, that we commit not fornication as they did, and be puniſhed likewiſe with them. So *Iſaac* and *Iſmael* are ſet forth as types, Galath.4. but firſt the thing exemplified by them is true in the types: As verſe 29. *As then he that was borne after the fleſh perſecuted him that was borne after the ſpirit, ſo it is now*: after the ſame maner *Iacob* and *Eſau* are ſet forth as examples, the one of Gods loue, the other of his hatred: which firſt muſt agree to their owne perſons. Thirdly, *Pharaoh* is ſet forth an example of the ſame thing, whereof *Eſau* is, namely, of the hatred of God: the perſon therefore of *Eſau* can be no more exempted here, then the perſon of *Pharaoh*. And that both the perſons of *Iacob* and *Eſau* are to be vnderſtoode, it appeareth by theſe circumſtances: Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the conception of theſe children in their mother *Rebecca*, and of their birth: but *Eſau* and *Iacob* perſonally were thus conceiued and borne, not the whole nations: ſecondly, vnto them this loue and hatred belongeth, that had yet neither done good, or euill: but this is ſpoken of the perſons of *Eſau* and *Iacob* verſe 11. *Ergo*, alſo the other.

Secondly, it is anſwered, that this loue and hatred, are to be vnderſtood only of temporall bleſſings, becauſe *Iacob* was made heire of the promiſed land, and *Eſau* refuſed; and in this reſpect the one was loued, the other hated, not that *Eſau* was eternally, but onely temporally refuſed: *Suecan.pag.*550. *Huberus theſ.*697. their reaſons are theſe: firſt, *Iacobs* bleſſing pronounced by his father, Gen.27.28. is onely of temporall things, *God giue thee the dewe of heauen, and the fatnes of the earth, &c.* Secondly, *Eſau* is bleſſed as well as *Iacob*: But if *Iacob* only had been heire of the ſpirituall bleſſings, they ſhould haue been denied to *Eſau*.

Contra. 1. That *Iacob* and *Eſau* are ſet forth as examples in ſpirituall things, it appeareth by the ſcope of the place; for how agreeth it with the Apoſtles purpoſe, to bring in examples of temporall things? verſe 8. he bringeth in a diſtinction, of the children of the fleſh, and the children of promiſe; theſe hoping to be iuſtified by faith, and to be partakers of the promiſe in Chriſt, the other remaining ſtill in their carnall ignorance and vnbeliefe: of thoſe two kinds, he propoundeth *Iacob* and *Eſau* as examples, the one of the children of promiſe, the other of the children of the fleſh: As *Eſau* had the carnal prerogatiue, but *Iacob* was made heire by promiſe. And that *Iacob* and *Eſau* doe exemplifie theſe two generations, it is confeſſed by *Hemmingius de grat. vniuerſ.p.*33. and by *Suecanus p.*533. Secondly, that theſe examples doe ſhadow forth ſpirituall things, it thus further appeareth: the Apoſtle to the Hebrues ſaith, that *by fayth Iſaac bleſſed Iacob and Eſau concerning things to come*, chap.11.20. but fayth is ſeene in things ſpirituall not temporall, it is of things inuiſible, not viſible, verſe 1. Againe, *Eſau* is called a prophane perſon, becauſe hee ſold his birthright, chap.12.16. It is not prophanenes to contemne things temporall, but ſpirituall. Saint *Ambroſe* doth take *Iacob* and *Eſau* for examples of Gods eternall election and reiection, *in 9. ad Roman, vnum elegit preſcientia, alterum ſpreuit, Eſau 1. & Iacob*. He did chuſe one in his preſcience, and deſpiſed another. The Maſter of the Sentences doth ſet them forth as examples of eternall election and reprobation, *lib.3.diſt.32.e.* Thirdly, now as touching their reaſons: firſt, *Iacob* is not onely bleſſed in things temporall, but in ſpirituall alſo: for he ſaith, *Bleſſed be he that bleſſeth thee, and curſed be he that curſeth thee*, Geneſ.27.29. In the very ſelfe ſame words, wherein the promiſe of Chriſt is made to *Abraham*, Gen.12.3. ſo that this muſt needes be ſpiritually vnderſtood: for otherwiſe we ſhall obſcure the moſt manifeſt promiſes of the Meſſiah, which were made to *Abraham*. Secondly, though *Eſau* haue a ſhare with his brother in his temporals, yet hath he no part in his ſpirituall bleſſing: *Eſau* alſo ſhall haue *of the fatnes of the earth, and of the dewe of heauen*: but *Iſaac* ſaith not vnto him, as before vnto *Iacob*, *Bleſſed be he that bleſſeth thee, &c.* Therefore the Apoſtle to the Hebrues concerning this ſpirituall bleſſing ſaith, that when *Eſau* would haue inherited the bleſſing, he was reiected: *neither found he any place of repentance, though he ſought it with teares*, chap.12.16. that is, his father by no meanes would reuoke that bleſſing, which he had giuen to *Iacob*: *Eſau* therefore was not bleſſed in like ſort as *Iacob* was.

Thirdly, it is anſwered: that theſe words, *Iacob haue I loued, Eſau haue I hated*, are to be vnderſtoode comparatiuely, not as though *Eſau* and his poſteritie were abſolutely reiected of God: but that God rather made choice of *Iacob*, of whoſe ſeede the promiſed Meſſiah ſhould come, then of *Eſau* and his ſeede, *Suecan.p.568. Heming.p.34.* Their reaſons are theſe: firſt, it is not neceſſarie in euery place in Scripture, where we reade of election and reiection, or reprobation, to referre it to eternall ſaluation or damnation, as Pſalm.78.verſ.67.68. *He refuſed the tabernacle of Ioſeph, and choſe not the tribe of Ephraim, but choſe the tribe of Iuda and mount Sion, which he loued*: Becauſe God preferred *Iuda*, it followeth not that the other tribes were condemned: So in this place though in compariſon of *Iacob*, *Eſau* be refuſed, yet is he not abſolutely reiected: *Huber, theſ.720.*

Anſw. Firſt, we graunt that the loue and hatred here ſpoken of in the perſons of *Iacob* and *Eſau* are comparatiuely to be vnderſtood: that *Eſau* is ſayd to be hated, not that God ſimplie hateth any, but becauſe *Iacob* is elected, and the other pretermitted; the one choſen, the other neglected: yet comparatiuely, not in reſpect of any ſuch temporall preeminence, but concerning eternall election, or pretermiſſion. Secondly, becauſe election ſometime implyeth a temporall preferring onely in reſpect of ſome ſpeciall and peculiar benefit, and is not neceſſarily alwaies referred to eternall ſaluation; it is therefore to be interpreted according to the ſcope and circumſtance of the place: as in the Pſalme alleaged, it is plaine, that the Pſalmiſt meaneth, that in reſpect of the Sanctuarie, which was placed at Ieruſalem, *Iudah* was elected, and *Ephraim* refuſed: So in this place the Apoſtle treating thorough the whole chapter, of the mercie of God vpon ſome, and his wrath vpon others, not in this or that reſpect, but ſimply, as they ſtand before God, would haue vs ſo to vnderſtand the inſtance of loue and hatred in the perſons of *Iacob* and *Eſau*: So is *Pharaoh* brought in an example of eternall hatred and reiection: ſo the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of veſſels of mercie prepared to glorie, and veſſels of wrath prepared to deſtruction: ſo are we to vnderſtand the loue of *Iacob* and hatred of *Eſau*.

Secondly, that *Eſau* was eternally hated, or reiected of God, it cannot be vnderſtoode of *Eſau* his poſteritie: for then all his ofſpring ſhould haue been caſtawaies: which is not true, for *Iob* is thought to come of *Eſau* his ſtocke, *Suecan.pag.574.* Neither is it true of *Eſau* his perſon: for if he had been eternally reiected, to what end was he circumciſed? *Suecan.p.574.* he liued alſo in his fathers houſe, who loued him, and he was obedient to his father: what reaſon had *Iſaac* to loue whom God hated? *Huber.theſ.709.* *Iſaac* alſo is ſaid by faith to haue bleſſed *Eſau*: which his bleſſing had been in vaine, if *Eſau* had been eternally reiected of God, *Suecan.p.588.*

*Anſw.*1. If in *Eſau* and *Iacob*, not their perſons onely, but their whole generations are to be conſidered, which if it be rightly vnderſtoode, we will not greatly gaineſay: yet it followeth not, that all of *Iacobs* carnall linage ſhould be likewiſe loued, and *Eſaus* poſteritie hated: for in *Iacob* we vnderſtand all the children of promiſe, though they be not of his carnall ofſpring; and in *Eſau*, all the children of the fleſh, though not deſcending of his ſtocke: So that in this ſenſe, as all they are not Iſrael, which are of Iſrael, as the Apoſtle ſaith, verſe 6. ſo all are not *Eſau*, that are of *Eſau*. And therefore *Iob*, though of *Eſau* after the fleſh, yet is the ſonne of *Iacob* by promiſe: And thus *Hemingius* expoundeth this place, *de vniuerſ. grat.p.33.*

2. Concerning *Eſau* his perſon; how he ſtandeth before God, whether in the ſtate of ſaluation, or damnation, though we hold it the ſafeſt, to leaue him vnto God, before whom he ſtandeth, or falleth; nor to affirme any thing raſhly without warrant: yet we may be bolde to proceede ſo far herein, as we haue the word of God to goe before vs. Firſt therefore their reaſons, which they bring in defenſe of *Eſau*, are very inſufficient: for *Eſaus* outward and temporall circumciſion, cannot exempt him from this hatred, no more then *Iſmael* was priuiledged by his circumciſion: *Who notwithſtanding was borne after the fleſh, and was a perſecutor of him that was borne after the ſpirit*: Gal.4. The Apoſtle himſelfe alſo diſtinguiſheth of circumciſion: that there is a circumciſion of the fleſh, and a circumciſion of the heart, Rom.2.28. The firſt *Eſau* had, the other he had not: for

though he had the ſigne of the couenant, yet the couenant it ſelfe he deſpiſed in ſelling his birthright, Geneſ.25.34. As touching *Eſau* his obedience to his father, firſt, it was not ſuch, as it ought to be; for then he would not haue married two wiues of the daughters of the Hittites, to vexe his parents withall, Gen.26.34.35. Secondly, that it was but in hypocriſie: as it may appeare, in that he purpoſed to ſlay his brother *Iacob* after his fathers death, Gen.27.41. which he would not haue done, if he had truely reuerenced his father: for he would haue loued his brother for his fathers ſake. Againe, when he vnderſtood that his father gaue his ſonne *Iacob* charge, not to marrie with the daughters of Canaan: *Eſau* like an hypocrite hauing already diſpleaſed his parents, in marrying with the daughters of Canaan, went and tooke to wife the daughter of *Iſmael*, Geneſ.28.9. So that nothing els kept *Eſau* in ſome awe to his father, but onely a hope of ſome temporall bleſſing, Gen.27.4. But *Iſaac* loued *Eſau*, would he loue him whom God hated? *Anſw.*1. It was a fatherly and in ſome ſort a carnall loue: *he loued him, for veniſon was his meate:* Gen.25.28. *Eſau* was an actiue and valiant fellow, and a good hunter, therefore *Iſaac* made account of him: he loued *Eſau* onely as a father, but *Iacob* beſide as a Prophet. 2. *Iſaac* loued *Eſau*, as *Abraham* loued *Iſmael*, and prayed, that he might liue in Gods ſight, Geneſ.17.18. yet both of them were refuſed: ſo *Samuel* being ſent to annoynt *Dauid* King, liked other of his brethren before, whom God liked not: theſe holy Prophets and Patriarches were men, and had their naturall affections. Thirdly, what if *Iſaac* did not ſee fully into the ſtate of his children as yet: for he did but as in a cloude behold things to come: ſo much was not reuealed to him, as afterward to the Prophets, *Iacob haue I loued, Eſau haue I hated*, Malach.1.2. And more to the Apoſtles, who doubt not to call him a prophane perſon, Hebr.12.16. for as the Patriarches and Prophets liued neerer to the times of our Sauiour Chriſt, ſo were their reuelations more full, and their viſions cleerer.

Now whereas it is ſaid, that *Iſaac* by faith bleſſed *Iacob* and *Eſau*; this doth no whit priuiledge *Eſau:* for it was *Iſaacs* faith, not *Eſaus:* and though he bleſſed both, yet not alike; for *Iacob* hath both a ſpirituall and temporall bleſſing: *Eſau* had onely a temporall, the ſpirituall he could not obtaine, no not with teares. Thus whatſoeuer can be ſaid for *Eſau*, is eaſilie remoued. Now againſt him thus much may be alleaged out of Scripture: firſt, *Eſau* contemned his birth-right, Geneſ.25, 24. and held it not ſo deare as a meſſe of pottage: wherefore the Scripture calleth him a prophane perſon, Hebr.12.16. this is firſt a fearefull ſigne of eternall damnation, to contemne and deſpiſe holy things: for ſuch as make a mocke of Chriſt, Hebr.6.6. (as *Eſau* did that deſpiſed this birthright in Chriſt) *and deſpite the ſpirit of grace*, Hebr.10.29. there remaineth nothing elſe, but a fearefull looking for of iudgement, verſe 27. Secondly, *Eſau* hated *Iacob*, he is become a perſecutor of the righteous, he hateth thoſe, whom God loueth, Geneſ.chap.27.verſe 41. So *Iſmael* perſecuted *Iſaac*, he that was borne after the fleſh, him that was after the ſpirit, Galath.4.verſe 29. Thirdly, *Eſau* was diſobedient to his parents, he maried heatheniſh women, daughters of Infidels, to vexe his parents withall: As the Apoſtle ſaith of the Gentiles, *God gaue them ouer to a reprobate minde, to doe thoſe things that were not conuenient*; *as being full of enuie, murther*, (ſo was *Eſau* toward *Iacob*) *diſobedient to parents*, ſo was he toward *Iſaac* and *Rebecca*, Rom.1.verſ.29.30. Fourthly, *Eſau* expecteth, and wiſheth his fathers death: *the dayes of mourning for my father will come ſhortlie:* as if he ſhould haue ſaid, I hope my father will not liue long; then will *I ſlay my brother Iacob:* Geneſ.27.verſ.41. Thus enuie in *Eſau* bringeth forth murther: and this murtherous heart continued toward *Iacob* twentie yeares: for ſo long ſerued *Iacob* in *Labans* houſe, Geneſ.31.verſ.38. And after at his returne he ſent a meſſenger to be reconciled to his brother *Eſau*, who came againſt him with foure hundred men with a purpoſe to haue ſlaine him, Geneſ. chap.32.verſ.6. but that at the inſtance of *Iacobs* prayer, by the mightie power of God, (in whoſe hands the hearts of kings are to turne them, as the veſſels vpon the waters, Prouerb. 21. verſ. 1.) his heart was mollified, and his affection relented towards his brother, Geneſ. 33. Laſtly, Saint *Paul* intreating of Gods eternall election, bringeth in the examples of *Iacob* and *Eſau*, the one loued, the other hated of God.

Thus by more euident coniecture, and likely arguments we are able to proue out of Scripture the finall reiection of *Eſau*, then they can ſhew the contrarie: And ſo conſequently, notwithſtanding all theſe humane deuiſes, we haue a moſt firme and euident teſtimonie for particular and perſonall election in this place, drawne from the example of *Iacob* and *Eſau*. And thus much of the firſt inconuenience that muſt needes enſue vpon this opinion concerning vniuerſall grace, which ouerthroweth the foundation of Gods predeſtination: which they doe as it were hang in the ayre, affirming that it is nothing elſe but an vniuerſall confuſed decree, as though God either did not know the particular ende of euery man, or knowing the ſame willed it not.

Now laſtly, that God hath from the beginning made a particular and abſolute election of ſome, and that Gods election is not generall and conditionall, it hath been the auncient doctrine of the Church.

1 *Ambroſe.* 1.*Timoth*.5. *Electos Angelos dicit, quia ſunt alij reprobi, non Dei Angeli, ſed diaboli,*

boli,&c. He ſaith elect Angels, becauſe there are ſome reprobate, not the Angels of God, but of the diuell. As there be then among the Angels ſome elect, ſome reprobate, ſo is it among men: but the election and reprobation of Angels was particular and certaine: *Ergo,* ſo is the election and reprobation of men.

2 Againe, *de vocat. Gentium lib.1.c.7. Multi diſcretionem illam, qua Deus alios eligit, alios non eligit, &c.* That diſcretion or ſeparation, whereby God hath choſen ſome, and not choſen others, many doe aſcribe to mans will. *Et lib.2.c.8. Hac altitudine diſcretionis dei non conturbabitur cor noſtrum, &c.* By this depth of Gods ſeparation or diſcerning of men our heart ſhall not be troubled, if wee ſtedfaſtly beleeue that Gods iudgement is iuſt. If there be then a ſeparation, and diſcerning of men in Gods euerlaſting decree; then are not al generally and conditionally elected: for this were not to make a ſeparation, but a confuſion of all together.

3 Saint *Auguſtine* to this purpoſe writeth very directly: *Tract.14. in Iohan. Eſt quidam populus præparatus ad iram dei, damnandus cum diabolo, &c.* There is a certaine people prepared to the wrath of God to be condemned with the diuell.

4 *Tract.43. Iſti morti æternæ prædeſtinati reſpondebant, &c.* Thoſe which were predeſtinate to euerlaſting death, anſwered, Thou haſt a diuell.

5 *Tract.*48. How ſaid he to thoſe, You are not of my ſheepe, *Quia videbat eos ad ſempiternum exitium præparatos, &c.* Becauſe hee ſaw that they were prepared to euerlaſting deſtruction, and not redeemed to eternall life by his blood. By theſe places it is euident what *Auguſtines* iudgement was, that Gods election was not indefinite or vncertaine, but that the end of euery man, whether to life or death, was determined and decreed in particular.

6 *Magiſt. ſenten. lib.1. diſt.43.E. Non vult Deus omnes homines iuſtificari, & tamen quis dubitat eum poſſe:* God will not iuſtifie all men, and yet who doubteth but he can. *Lib.2. diſt.21.f. Humana natura, ex parte redempta eſt:* Mans nature is redeemed but in part. If all be not redeemed, then all are not elected. *Lib.3. diſt.32.a. Magis diligit rationales creaturas, & de illis eas amplius, quæ ſunt membra vnigeniti:* God loueth reaſonable creatures more than vnreaſonable; and among the reaſonable, thoſe which are the members of his onely begotten ſonne. If all men be not loued alike, then are they not all elected alike.

THE SECOND INCONVENIENCE THAT followeth the opinion of vniuerſall grace.

ABſurd.2. The ſecond inconuenience that iſſueth out of this doctrine of vniuerſall election, is this, that Gods election ariſeth *ex præuiſa fide,* from the foreſight of their faith which ſhall be ſaued: *Hubertus theſ.786. Deus electionem ſuam non abſolutè ſtatuit, ſed defixit eam in filio ſuo, vt qui credunt in eum, ſalui fiant:* God hath not abſolutely made any election, but he hath founded it in Chriſt, that they which beleeue in him ſhould be ſaued; they that beleeue not, ſhould be damned. So *Hemmingius* ſaith: *Præſcientia Dei regula eſt electionis & prædeſtinationis:* The preſcience of God is the rule of election and predeſtination, *pag.*21. And againe, *Non quia præſciti & electi ſumus, credimus, ſed quia credimus, præſciti & electi ad vitam cenſemur:* Wee doe not beleeue, becauſe wee are foreſeene and elected, but becauſe wee beleeue wee were foreſeene and elected vnto life, *pag.*27. *Snecanus,* though he ſeeme in words to confeſſe, that *æternum eligendi propoſitum non dependet ex vlla noſtræ fidei, vel bonorum operum præuiſione:* that the eternall purpoſe of election dependeth not of the foreſight of our faith or workes, *pag.*461. yet he is driuen by the ſtreame of words to affirme as the reſt doe, that *fides continetur in Dei propoſito,* that faith is included in the purpoſe of Gods election, *p.*463. and that God vniuerſally ordained to ſaluation all that ſhould beleeue, *pag.*480. They would ground this their opinion concerning the foreſight of faith vpon theſe and ſuch like places of Scripture, as Rom.8.29. *Thoſe which he knew before, he predeſtinate to be like the image of his ſonne:* Predeſtination then is grounded vpon the foreknowledge of God: *Hemmingius de vniuerſalit. grat. pag.*29.

Contra. 1. We graunt with *Auguſtine,* that *prædeſtinatio ſine præſcientia eſſe non poteſt,* that predeſtination cannot be without preſcience in God, *lib.1. de prædeſtinat. cap.*10. And thus are they ioyned together in this place: but it followeth not, that one is the cauſe of another. 2. The text maketh directly againſt them: for he ſaith not, whom he knew before ſhould be like the image of his ſonne he predeſtinate; but, whom he knew before he did predeſtinate to be like his ſonne: ſo that this conformitie by faith vnto Chriſt is an effect and conſequent of their predeſtination. 3. Though we admit the former reading, yet haue they gained nothing: for the conformitie to the image of Chriſt conſiſteth in being made partakers of Chriſts ſufferings, whereof Saint *Peter* intreateth, 1.Pet.4.13. vnleſſe they therefore will affirme, that the foreſight of mens afflictions is the cauſe of their election, and ſo ioyne in opinion with the old Pelagians, that grounded election vpon the foreſight of good works, this place is not for their turne. 4. By the knowledge of God in ſcripture,the loue,liking,and approbation of God is often ſignified ; as Pſal.1. *The Lord kneweth the way of the iuſt*, that is, approueth it, Ioh.10.14. *I am the good ſhepheard, and know my ſheepe*, that is,loue them:ſo in this place,whom he knew before(whom he loued and fauoured) *he did predeſtinate.*

Againe, they obiect that place, Epheſ.1.4. *Hee hath choſen vs in him before the foundation of the world:* that is, God hath choſen thoſe whom he foreſaw ſhould beleeue in Chriſt,*Hemming.fol.26. pag.2.*

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle meaneth not,that we were ſo choſen in Chriſt, that is, for the foreſight of our faith in him, but that Chriſt was appointed of God, as the foundation , by whom our election ſhould be accompliſhed : as in the next verſ. *Hee hath predeſtinate vs to be adopted through Chriſt:* We were not firſt adopted in Chriſt,and then predeſtinate ; but firſt predeſtinate,and then choſen in Chriſt,verſ.11.*In whom we were choſen,when we were predeſtinate according to the purpoſe of him,&c.* Firſt,therefore there is the decree of election and predeſtination, grounded onely vpon the good pleaſure of God,verſ.5. then followeth the accompliſhment and execution of that decree by our adoption in Chriſt..

2 *Auguſtine* vpon theſe words,*He hath choſen vs in him that we ſhould be holy*,groundeth a cleane contrarie argument : *Non elegit, quos futuros ſciuit immaculatos,ſed elegit vt eſſemus ſancti,non quia futuri eramus,ſed vt eſſemus :* Hee did not chuſe thoſe whom hee ſaw ſhould be vnſpotted,but hee choſe them that they ſhould be holy,not becauſe they were holy, *lib.1. de prædeſtinat.c.*18. So then faith,holines,ſanctification,are fruits and effects of election,not cauſes thereof.

3 Chriſt Ieſus,or our faith in Chriſt foreſeene,cannot be the cauſe of our predeſtination, ſeeing Chriſt himſelfe, in reſpect of his office of redemption, and mediation, was predeſtinate,and preordained of God : the ſame thing then cannot be the cauſe of predeſtination and the obiect together,Chriſt Ieſus as the head,with his bodie,which is the whole companie of the elect,are the obiect of predeſtination,that is,thoſe which were predeſtinated : *Ergo*,he is not the cauſe. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith,*Chriſtus præclariſſimum lumen eſt gratiæ prædeſtinationis, qui, vt hoc eſſet, quibus tandem ſuis,vel operum vel fidei meritis,natura humana, quæ in illo eſt, comparauit? ſicut ergo prædeſtinatus ille vnus eſt,vt caput noſtrum eſſet, Rom.*1.4. *qui prædeſtinatus eſt filius Dei,ita multi prædeſtinati ſumus, vt membra eius eſſemus :* Chriſt is a notable light of the grace of predeſtination, in whom his humane nature deſerued not by the merit of his workes,or faith,to be ioyned to his Godhead: As he therefore was predeſtinate to be our head,Rom.1.4. predeſtinate the Sonne of God (that is in reſpect of his office and humanitie)ſo are wee predeſtinate to be his members,that is,without reſpect to our faith or workes, onely according to the good pleaſure of his will. And this ſhall be our firſt argument on the contrarie ſide,againſt this reſpectiue election,and further we proue it thus:

De prædeſt. lib.1.cap.15

Luk.12.31.*It is your fathers pleaſure to giue you a kingdome :* There is no other reaſon to be rendred,why God hath elected his children, and appointed them a kingdome,but this : *Complacuit patri*,it was your fathers pleaſure.

Iohn 15.16.*You haue not choſen me, but I haue choſen you :* Whereupon *Auguſtine* thus writeth : *Quod ſi autem ipſi primò crediderunt in eum,elegerunt eum, ipſe non elegit eos :* But if ſo be that they firſt beleeued in him,they choſe him,he choſe not them. Their onely anſwere here is, that this is to be vnderſtood not of their eternall, but temporall election to the office of their Apoſtleſhip.

Anſw. To this alſo *Auguſtine* anſwereth: *Elegit eos de mundo cùm hîc ageret in carne, ſed iam electos in ſeipſo ante mundi conſtitutionem:* He choſe them indeede out of the world when he liued in the fleſh : but they were choſen in himſelfe before the world was made,*lib.1.de prædeſtinat.cap.*17. Our Sauiour alſo ſaith,*I haue choſen you,and ordained you, that you goe and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit remaine :* This ſheweth that he ſpeaketh of their eternall election to ſaluation.

Thirdly,we haue a moſt direct place,Rom.9.11.where the Apoſtle ſaith,*That before the children were borne,and had done either good or euill,the Lord pronounced of them, Iacob haue I loued, Eſau haue I hated: Ergo*,in Gods eternall election, which goeth before our birth, there is no reſpect had vnto any thing that followeth after the birth, either faith,or workes : for the reaſon is generall againſt both.

Anſw. Suecanus anſwereth,that (theſe words) I haue hated *Eſau*,are as much, as *odiſſe decreui*, I haue decreed to hate,for God really and verily hateth none but for their ſin,*pag.*567. And therefore where the Scripture calleth *Eſau* a prophane perſon, the formall cauſe is added, for ſelling his birthright,Heb.12.16.*Suecan.pag.*590.

Contra. 1. We graunt that no man is verily condemned (which is the reall reprobation) but for his owne ſinne and wickednes : but here the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the decree it ſelfe, not of the execution ; the decree is before all time,the execution of the decree followeth in the time appointed : the execution followeth after the birth,and after men haue done good or euill. This therefore,which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of,which was determined before their birth,and before they had done any thing,is the abſolute decree of God. Neither is that place to the Hebrues any thing like vnto this: for there the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of any purpoſe or decree of God concerning *Eſau*, before any euill done, as hee doth here; but onely of an act of prophanenes committed in his life. And though we admit his interpretation, I haue hated, *that is, decreed to hate*: yet wee muſt vnderſtand the decree ſtill: that although reall hatred be cauſed by their owne ſinne, yet hatred or loue decreed, is grounded onely vpon the will and purpoſe of God: as the Apoſtle ſaith, *that the purpoſe of God might remaine, &c. by him that calleth*, verſ. 11. but if election ſhould be becauſe of faith foreſeene, it ſhould ſtand as much by the called, as him that calleth.

2 That this therefore pronounced concerning *Eſau* and *Iacob*, is to be vnderſtood onely of Gods eternall decree and free purpoſe without the foreſight of faith, or workes, not of the execution of the decree, alone, or of them both together; as *Suecanus* ſeemeth ſometime to affirme, *pag.* 572. thus it ſhall appeare by the opening of that which followeth.

Verſ. 14. The Apoſtle anſwereth an obiection, *Is there vnrighteouſneſſe then with God? God forbid.* Which obiection ariſeth vpon the former examples: If God then doe elect one and reiect another, neither of them hauing done either good or euill, but both being alike, how is hee not vnrighteous, in that he ordaineth not alike vnto thoſe that are in the ſame caſe? But if ſo that God preferreth ſome becauſe of their beleefe, and reiecteth others for their vnbeleefe, there were no ſuch occaſion to complaine of God as vnrighteous, or ſo to obiect, becauſe the cauſe of difference in Gods election is apparant, namely, the reſpect to their faith: and it is a iuſt and righteous thing, that God ſhould preferre beleeuers before vnbeleeuers: therefore if election depended vpon any ſuch foreſight, and not abſolutely vpon the will and purpoſe of God, there could be no ſhew of vnrighteouſnes in God, nor any cauſe ſo to obiect.

Hemingius maketh the meaning of the obiection to be this: that God ſhould ſeeme to be vniuſt, becauſe he doth not adopt and elect *Iſmael* and *Eſau* for his children for the merite of their workes, as well as *Iſaac* and *Iacob*, *pag.* 47.

Contra. The merit of faith is as well excluded as the merit of workes: and if God ſhould elect vpon the foreſight of faith, the ground of this obiection is as well remoued, as if he did elect vpon the foreſight of workes: for then God ſhould ſee ſomewhat more in thoſe that are elected, than in the other, that is, their faith, and ſo they ſhould haue no colour to charge God with vnrighteouſnes: This appeareth alſo by the verſe following.

Verſ. 15. *I will haue mercie on him, to whom I will ſhew mercie.* And verſ. 18. *He hath mercie on whom he will, and whom he will be hardeneth*: that is, ſaith *Hemingius*, God ſheweth mercie vpon thoſe that beleeue, who are ſaued only by faith, through the mercie of God in Chriſt, and he reiecteth al that refuſe to beleeue, and ſuffereth them to be hardened, *Heming. fol.* 49. *p.* 1. *Suecan.* 698. *& alibi.*

Contra. 1. Thus they applie theſe places only to the execution of Gods decree, and vnderſtand them only of that temporall difference, which God maketh in this world betweene beleeuers and vnbeleeuers: whereas the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of that difference, which God maketh in his eternall election: as may appeare by the examples of *Iacob* and *Eſau*, betweene whom there was a diſtinction made before they were borne: and to this end hee bringeth in the ſimilitude of the potter, verſ. 21. that as he hath power to make his veſſels not yet made, how he will; ſo God may appoint his creatures to ſuch purpoſes, as him pleaſeth, euen before they are: he hath not power to diſpoſe of them onely after they are made and borne. 2. If Gods mercie be decreed vpon the foreſight of faith, I aske them, whence is this faith? Is it of themſelues that beleeue, or of God, or of both? if it be of man, then God hath not mercie on whom he will, but vpon whom man will: becauſe it is (ſay they) in mans power to beleeue; and if he will beleeue, then will God ſhew mercie, and not elſe. And againe, whereas they ſay, God would haue all men to beleeue, and ſo be ſaued; it followeth that God hath mercie vpon all, conditionally if they beleeue: but the Apoſtle ſaith contrarie, that hee hath mercie vpon ſome, not vpon all, and that hee withholdeth his mercie from others, whom in his iuſt iudgement he hardeneth. But if faith be of God, and none can haue it, vnleſſe he giue it, what other reaſon is there, that he giueth it not to all, but becauſe he hath not elected all?

3 Neither is God ſaid to harden ſome mens hearts only by ſuffering them to be hardened, but as *Auguſtine* ſaith of *Pharao*: *Deus indurauit per iuſtum iudicium, Pharao per liberum arbitrium:* God hardened his heart by his iuſt iudgement, *Pharao* by his freewill. And againe, where *Dauid* ſaith, that God bade *Shemei* curſe him, *Auguſtine* ſaith thus: *Vtique non iubendo dixit ei, ſed quod eius voluntatem proprio ſuo vitio malam, in hoc peccatum iudicio ſuo iuſto & occulto inclinauit:* He did not commaund him ſo to do, but becauſe by his iuſt and ſecret iudgement, he did incline his will of it ſelfe corrupt, and wicked, to this ſinne: *de liber. arbit. cap.* 20. *&* 23. God therefore onely permitteth not as a looker on, but is an agent and a doer as a iuſt iudge, yet without ſinne.

Verſ. 16. *It is not in him that willeth or runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercie:* that is (ſaith *Hemingius*) it is not in him that willeth or runneth after the fleſh, but in him that willeth and runneth by faith, which is grounded vpon the mercie of God; who of meere loue gaue his ſonne to be the redeemer of the world, *pag.* 48.

Contra. 1. The oppoſition here is not betweene man willing by nature, and man willing by faith,but betweene man willing or running,and God ſhewing mercie. If it be all one for man to will according to faith,and for God to ſhew mercie, then is it Gods grace and mercie, that ſome men haue faith: for if to will according to the fleſh be one thing, and to will according to faith another, ſeeing all men are the ſame naturally and according to the fleſh,whence is it then,that ſome mens will is regenerate by faith? is it not of the grace and mercie of God? Mercie therefore is firſt ſhewed,and then faith is giuen: the foreſight then of faith is not the cauſe of grace and fauour. 2. It is Gods mercie you ſay, that Chriſt was giuen for the redemption of the world: but this is a common mercie,as ye hold,that Chriſt dyed for all men: is it not alſo a mercie of God to giue faith to beleeue in Chriſt? If you affirme only that common mercie: then is it not true,which the Apoſtle ſaith, that God hath mercie only on ſome,and hardeneth others; but God is mercifull to all alike in offering Chriſt both to beleeuers & vnbeleeuers. And concerning faith,if it be not Gods mercie that we haue it,then Gods mercie in giuing Chriſt,is nothing without our owne mercie vpon our ſelues in beleeuing in Chriſt: yea our owne mercie ſhall exceede Gods mercie, in as much as beleeuers haue more mercie than vnbeleeuers.If it be of Gods mercie,that we haue faith,why is not this mercie ſhewed to all,but that it pleaſed not God to elect all, but to receiue to fauour onely his choſen? Theſe patrons of vniuerſall and common grace, are neuer able,holding their opinion,to make all ſound here.

Verſ.19.*Thou wilt ſay vnto me, Why doth he yet complaine, who hath reſiſted his will?* verſ.20. *But who art thou ô man,that pleadeſt againſt God? ſhall the thing formed ſay to him that formed it, why haſt thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power of the clay to make of the ſame lumpe one veſſell to honour, another to diſhonour?* Hence we conclude,that euen ſo in the beginning God had power by ſpeciall election to appoint ſome vnto honour,pretermitting others and leauing them in diſhonour, and this of his owne freewill and purpoſe,not hauing any reſpect at all vnto man.

Hemingius anſwereth: That this ſimilitude holdeth not in euery point, but is brought in by the Apoſtle to ſhew the power of God, that hee is able to puniſh the contemners of his word, and vpon their repentance to renew them againe, as the potter, &c. And ſo is it applied by *Ieremie* chap.18: for otherwiſe ſimplie God maketh not the wicked, as the potter doth the baſer veſſels: *pag.*50.30.

Contra. 1. The obiection here moued,*Who hath reſiſted his will?* ſtandeth not with this interpretation, nor with *Hemingius* opinion: for if God would haue all men to beleeue,and ſo be ſaued; then is Gods will ouerthwarted,and his purpoſe is gainſaid,and his wil reſiſted,for he would haue all ſaued,and yet all are not ſaued. But the Apoſtle hauing ſet downe this principle, that God in the beginning elected whom he would, and left the reſt, whom he would not receiue to mercie: then this obiection is made,that ſeeing Gods will is performed in both,that whom hee would,are ſaued;whom he would not,remaine as they were: why then ſhould there be any complaint made of their diſobedience? vnleſſe therefore we make the Apoſtles ſcope to be this, the obiection hath no coherence at all with the precedent part.

2. This ſimilitude we do not vrge in all points: for man is otherwiſe by creation,than a piece of clay,but ſo farre onely,as it is applied by the Apoſtle as we haue ſhewed. *Ieremie* vſeth the ſimilitude ſomewhat to a diuers purpoſe, then the Apoſtle doth: for the Prophet ſetteth forth Gods power in the externall workes of his prouidence in the gouernment and adminiſtration of the world; as in the planting, and deſtroying of nations: the Apoſtle entreateth of the workes of Gods election,and predeſtination,verſ.11.*That the purpoſe might ſtand according to election.* Therefore Gods power is not here ſet forth toward thoſe that are now contemners, or beleeuers, but before they were ſuch.

3. As touching his reaſon: Though God make veſſels to diſhonour, that is, ordaine wicked men to puniſhment,yet he maketh them not wicked: they are wicked of their owne making,but the puniſhment due to their wickednes, which is eternall ſhame and diſhonor,is made and ordained of God: as Prou.16.4.*God made the wicked againſt the euill day.*

Verſ.22. What if *God to ſhew his power,&c. the veſſels of wrath prepared to deſtruction,and to declare the riches of his glorie vpon the veſſels of mercie,which he hath prepared to glorie? Ergo,* from the beginning ſome were prepared to glorie,ſome to deſtruction.

Suecanus ſaith,That none abſolutely before God are appointed to be veſſels of honour or diſhonour, but conditionally in Chriſt,*pag.*686. that is, as they ſhould beleeue or not beleeue in him. *Huberus* ſaith,That God indeede prepareth the veſſels of mercie,giuing them faith,and illumination,but they are made the veſſels of wrath of themſelues,and by Sathan. And therefore the Apoſtle chaungeth the phraſe, ſaying, that God prepareth the veſſels of mercie,but the other are prepared: *Theſ.*868.869.870.

Contra. 1. The veſſels of honor and diſhonor are ſimplie,not conditionally formed: elſe the Apoſtles ſpeech were impertinent, verſ.20. *Shall the thing formed ſay to him that formed it, why haſt* *thou made me thus?* But now if they were formed onely conditionally, which condition is performed not by the former, but by the thing formed; then are they formed by themſelues: but the Apoſtle ſaith they are formed of God: all condition then on their part is excluded. 2. Againe, as the potter of the ſame lumpe maketh veſſels of honour, or diſhonour, ſo God doth ordaine men of the ſame maſſe and condition in themſelues, ſome to honour, ſome to diſhonour: but now if God ſhould reſpect the faith of ſome, and the vnbeleefe of others, and ſo according to this foreſight ordaine them, they ſhould not be one lumpe, or of one mould, but diuers.

To *Huberus* wee anſwere: firſt, if God prepare the veſſels of mercie, and worke effectually in them, one of theſe two muſt needes be graunted; that God either prepareth all men generally for the veſſels of mercie, and they afterward are made by themſelues the veſſels of wrath, (which ſeemeth to be his opinion) then is the will of God reſiſted. If they ſay Gods will is conditionall, if they beleeue, yet this helpeth them not: for God giueth faith to all (as he ſaith) and ſo would haue all to beleeue: ſeeing then all doe not beleeue, Gods will is gaineſaid, and ouerruled: Or elſe if God prepare ſome and not others, by giuing faith and grace, whereof commeth this difference, but that God hath ſorted out ſome from the reſt by his eternall election?

2. *Huberus* ſeemeth to note a myſterie, in that the Apoſtle ſpeaking of the veſſels of wrath, vſeth another word, and in the paſſiue voyce, ſaying, σκεύη κατηρτισμένα, veſſels fitted or compoſed to deſtruction: but of the other he ſpeaketh actiuely, which God hath prepared, προητοίμασε. Firſt, for the change of the voyce which he obiecteth, it is nothing: for is it not al one to ſay, which he prepared, or which are prepared of him? And Matth.25.verſ.34.41. Both the kingdome of God, and euerlaſting fire are ſaid paſſiuely to be prepared of God. And for the word, both that which is here pronounced of the veſſels of mercie, is vſed in the Scripture of the preparation to deſtruction, Matth.25.41. And on the contrarie, the other word applied to the veſſels of wrath, is attributed to the faithfull, 1.Corin.1.10. *Be ye knit together,* κατηρτισμένοι: and he ſpeaketh to thoſe which are ſanctified in Chriſt, and Saints by calling, verſ.2.3. So that here the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not, how men by their owne wickedneſſe are fitted to damnation, but how they ſtand in the decree of God, how they are vnder the hands of the potter: the reddition of the ſimilitude muſt anſwere to the propoſition; the potter maketh himſelfe both kinde of veſſels, he maketh not the one, and the other maketh it ſelfe: ſo God decreeth both concerning the elect and reprobate.

Thus haue we opened the true ſenſe of this chapter, and freed it from the corrupt gloſſes of the contrarie minded: And ſo haue we a moſt cleere teſtimonie of the Apoſtle, for Gods free and gracious election, without any foreſight of faith or any thing elſe in vs. And thus *Auguſtine* expoundeth it: *Apoſtolus non ſolum fratres, ſed geminos, nec geminos ſolum, ſed vno concubitu fuſos in vtero comparauit, vt quoniam in nondum natis, aut aliquid operatis nulla eſſe poterant momenta meritorum, paria etiam eſſent parentum merita, quæ diuerſo tempore varia eſſe potuerunt: itaque Apoſtolus eos vaſa miſericordiæ vocat, vt totum, quicquid eſſent, ſecundum miſericordiam ſe eſſe cognoſcerent: De prædeſtinat. lib.1.cap.*10. The Apoſtle doth compare together not brethren onely, but twinnes borne at one birth: that becauſe in thoſe which were not yet borne, neither as yet had done any thing, there could be no difference of merit, and their parents merits were alike, which might haue been at diuers times vnlike: the Apoſtle therefore calleth them veſſels of mercie, that they might acknowledge all, whatſoeuer they had, to be of mercie.

Saint *Ambroſe in Tit.*3. vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle, *Secundum miſericordiam ſuam, &c.* According to his mercie he ſaued vs: *Hoc bonum, quod in Chriſtianis florere cernimus, de radice diuinæ pietatis oritur, &c.* This goodneſſe, which doth floriſh in Chriſtians, doth ariſe of the roote of the diuine pietie, or loue, for God by his mercie hath ſaued vs in Chriſt.

Againe, *de vocat. Gent. lib.1. cap.3. Non omnis Iſrael reprobatus, nec omnis electus, ſed partem cæcitas voluntaria auertit, partem ſibi illuminatio gratuita reſeruauit:* All Iſrael was not reprobated, nor all elected: but part through their voluntarie blindnes is turned aſide, part by gracious illumination is reſerued.

Hieron. apolog. ad Ruffinum: Non ait Apoſtolus elegit nos, &c. cum eſſemus ſancti, ſed vt eſſemus: The Apoſtle ſaith not he hath choſen vs, when we were holie, &c. but that we ſhould be holie.

Thus *Auguſtine* thought in the end of the grace of freenes of election, though hee had been ſometime of another minde, that God, though hee elected not by the foreſight of workes, yet, *Elegit fidem, vt quem ſibi crediturum præſciret, ipſum eligeret:* Yet hee elected their faith, that is, whom he foreſaw ſhould beleeue, him he elected. This ſometime was *Auguſtines* opinion, which he afterward retracted: *Sed nondum (inquit) diligentius quæſiueram, nec inueneram, qualis ſit electio gratiæ:* But yet I had not diligently ſearched, or found out, what to thinke of the election of grace: *lib.1. de prædeſtinat. cap.*3.

Auguſtine therefore being better reformed in iudgement thus writeth: *Electio gratiæ non ſolum opera humana, ſed fidem præuenit, ex qua omnia opera bona incipiunt:* The election of grace doth not onely preuent, or goe before mens workes, but before faith, where all good workes begin.

So I wiſh that they, which thinke now, as *Auguſtine* ſometime did, would not be aſhamed with *Auguſtine* to correct their erroneous opinion. It was counted in time paſt Semipelagianiſme, to aſcribe election to the foreſight of faith. *Bellarmine* a patrone of poperie yet abhorreth this opinion, and proueth at large, *Nullam eſſe cauſam in nobis prædeſtinationis*: That there is no cauſe in vs of our predeſtination, neither that God hath elected vs vpon the foreſight of our workes: *aut propter bonum vſum liberi arbitrij, aut gratiæ*: or for the good vſing of freewill, or grace: *Lib*.2.*de grat & liber.arbit.cap*.10. Is it not therefore a ſhame for Proteſtants, euen in a popiſh error to be more ſtiffe and reſolute, then a popiſh profeſſor? And thus much of this ſecond abſurditie: Wee will be ſhorter in the reſt.

THE THIRD INCONVENIENCE or Abſurditie.

ABſurd. 3. The patrones of vniuerſall grace, who affirme that God conditionally hath apointed all men to ſaluation, if they will beleeue, and that he would haue all men to beleeue: *Heming.de vniuerſal. grat.pag*.58. And that if all beleeue not, it is not for any defect of grace, but through their owne fault: *Suecan.de liber.arbit. pag*.408. They thus holding are driuen to confeſſe, that to beleeue, man hath power of himſelfe, by his freewill: for God offereth grace and faith to all, and it is in mans power to receiue, or refuſe it.

Hemingius further deliuereth his opinion thus: *That faith is both the gift of God, becauſe it is wrought by his holy ſpirit in thoſe that deſire it; it is alſo of mans free will, becauſe it is in the will of man to giue or withhold his conſent to and from the calling of God: And yet* (ſaith he) *this will, whereby we beleeue, is alſo Gods gift, becauſe it appertaineth to free will, which was giuen in the creation: ſo there are foure things, which concurre vnto faith, to heare the Goſpell, to conſent vnto it, to deſire grace offered, and to beleeue God, which promiſeth: all theſe are voluntary in man:* De vniuerſ.grat.pag.57. So hee concludeth, *that faith is partly the gift of God, becauſe he giueth his word, and inwardly moueth the heart; partly the worke of man, becauſe man*, volens credit, *beleeueth willingly, being once moued of the ſpirit*, à bonitate obiecti, *by the goodneſſe of the obiect: pag*.56. So his opinion is, *That the will of man is not onely paſſiue, but alſo actiue in the conuerſion of man*: de libero arbit.pag.118. *And as God worketh by teaching, inſpiring, mouing; ſo man worketh, by willing, conſenting, endeuouring: pag*.120.*lin*.1.2. So the beginning and occaſion of faith is of God, but the act and perfection of faith, in man.

Yet *Hemingius* much forgetting himſelfe, alloweth that ſaying of *Auguſtine: Liberi arbitrij eſt velle, tamen bene velle, gratiæ Dei eſt*: That it is in our free will, to will; but well to will, is of grace, *De liber.arbitr.pag*.98. And that of *Bernard* alſo he alloweth: *Deus eſt author ſalutis, liberum arbitrium tantum capax, nec dat illam niſi Deus, nec capere valet niſi liberum arbitrium*: God is the author onely and worker of ſaluation, free will is onely capable, none giueth but God, nor nothing is capable of it, but free will: *pag*.120. Thus he confeſſeth with theſe fathers, that mans free will is meerely paſſiue in diuine things, and onely receiueth, worketh nothing. And further he confeſſeth, *That a man regenerate and taught of God, may will that is good, by his free will, which hee hath of grace: pag*.114.*lin*.17. Here he ſaith, that free will to good is of grace: and thus he is contrary to himſelfe.

Suecanus likewiſe runneth in a maze, and confoundeth himſelfe: One while hee ſaith, *That grace and mans will worke together: and that men may reſiſt God, and of their owne motion giue aſſent vnto him*, Quantum ad ipſam naturalem volendi actionem in creatione inditam attinet: *By the very naturall action of the will, as it was giuen in the creation: De liber.arbitr.pag*.405. Yet with the ſame breath hee ſayth, that mans will is no efficient, or working cauſe of his conuerſion, but onely a principall ſubiect, *wherein the ſpirit of God worketh*: And that in ſpirituall actions, as in faith, regeneration, *A man vnregenerate neither vnderſtandeth, nor is able to do or will any thing: pag*.398. *And that the whole benefite of our conuerſion, in the beginning, midſt, and end, is neither begun nor finiſhed by our ſtrength, but is onely of grace: pag*.405. Thus they ſpeake and write contrary things, and blow hote and cold with one breath. But for all this, they cannot thus ſhuffle vp the matter, but we further vrge them thus.

Contra. They that affirme that God offereth grace and faith equally to all, and that God would haue all men to beleeue, and if they beleeue not, it is not for want of grace, but the fault is onely in themſelues: do conſequently hold, that to beleeue is either wholy or in part in mans power. The firſt, to affirme that faith is in mans power wholy without the gift of God, is Pelagianiſme, and maketh man the author of his owne ſaluation. Yet ſo holdeth *Puckſius*, one of the patrones of this opinion: but *Hemingius* and *Suecanus*, or other vniuerſall men, are not yet ſo groſſe. Their opinion is then, that faith is partly of God, partly of man, that conſenteth vnto the calling of God by his freewill. Againſt the which opinion we haue the decree of the *Arauſican.Concil*.2.*can*.5.*Si quis ſicut augmentum, ita & initium fidei, ipſum credulitatis affectum, &c.* If any man ſay, that as the encreaſe, ſo the beginning of faith, likewiſe the very inward diſpoſition to beleeue, whereby we beleeue in him, that iuſtifieth the vngodly, is not giuen vs by grace, and the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, which conuerteth our will from infidelitie to faith, but that it is naturally in vs, is contrary to the Apoſtle, who ſaith, We truſt that he which hath begun this worke in you, will finiſh it vntill the day of the Lord. This decree maketh both againſt thoſe, that affirme faith to be naturally in vs, as *Puckzius*, as alſo againſt them which aſcribe either the beginning of faith or the increaſe, or the diſpoſition to freewill, and not all to grace, as *Hemingius.* The abſurditie of which opinion, we further declare thus.

1. If it be in mans power to beleeue, whether do you vnderſtand man regenerate, or vnregenerate: Man vnregenerate is not able to beleeue, for the naturall man perceiueth not the thinges of the ſpirit of God, 1.Cor.2.14. And this is partly confeſſed by *Hemingius* and *Succanus*, as wee haue ſeene before. If man muſt firſt be regenerate before he can beleeue, how commeth it to paſſe, that ſeeing an equall meaſure of faith, and grace is offered on Gods behalfe vnto all, that all men are not regenerate? You will ſay, ſome are regenerate by grace: But why do ſome apprehend the grace of regeneration more then other? there is no power yet in their will, becauſe it is vnregenerate: muſt it not then be needes confeſſed, that God giueth a greater meaſure of grace to ſome, ſuch as he hath elected, then to other? And this the Apoſtle notably prooueth, where he ſaith: *God is the Sauiour of all men, eſpecially of thoſe which beleeue*, 1.Timoth.4.10. But if God for his parte offer grace no more to beleeuers, then vnbeleeuers, but in that they accept of grace offered themſelues, how is he after a more eſpecial ſort the Sauiour of beleeuers, more then of others? This place then inferreth of neceſſity a more ſpeciall grace and fauour of God toward them that beleeue.

2. That all cannot haue faith, but ſuch as are ordained and elected thereunto: theſe Scriptures are our warrant: Iohn 10.26. *Ye beleeue not, for ye are not of my ſheepe:* Iohn.12.39. *They could not beleeue, becauſe God had blinded their eies:* Act.13.48. *As many as were ordayned to eternall life, beleeued.* Their anſwers to theſe places wee haue ſeene before, that wee neede not to repeate them againe.

3. That faith and euery good gift, the beginning, perfection and end, is onely of God, thus alſo it is teſtified in the word of God: *It is not of him that willeth, or runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercie,* Rom.9.16. *It is God that worketh both the will and the deed,* Phil.2.13 *Without me you can do nothing,* Iohn 15.5. *No man can come vnto me, except my father draw him,* Iohn 6.44. *Hemingius* anſwereth, that God draweth, by ſetting before vs the promiſes of eternall life, and by miniſtring ſo excellent an obiect: *pag.*57. But after this manner God (you ſay) draweth all men: and ſuch drawing men may reſiſt, for all that are thus drawne by this common grace, follow not: But they that are drawne of God, as here our Sauiour ſpeaketh, muſt needes come vnto Chriſt, verſ.37. *All that the Father giueth me, ſhall come to me.*

To conclude this place, theſe patrones of common grace do fall into a flat point of Pelagianiſme, whoſe aſſertion was this: *Vitam æternam omnibus paratam eſſe, quantum ad Deum, quantum ad arbitrij libertatem, ab eis eam apprehendi, qui ſponte Deo crediderunt:* That life eternall, on Gods behalfe is prepared for all, and as for the libertie of freewill, they lay hold of eternall life, that of themſelues beleeue God: *In epiſtol. Proſper. ad Auguſtinum.* This did the old Pelagians hold, this do the new vniuerſaliſts affirme.

Hemingius pag.109.

Now to requite vs againe, for this charge, they accuſe vs of Manicheiſme, the Manichees tooke away the vſe of freewill altogether, and affirmed all things to bee done of neceſſitie, and conſequently made God the author of ſinne: to this opinion they ſay, we come neere.

Contra. We defie the monſtrous ſect of the Manichees and all Manicheiſme. Firſt we affirme, not all things to be done of abſolute neceſſitie: for though God haue decreed the ende of euery man, yet this no more bringeth a ſtoicall and fatall neceſſitie, then to ſay that God hath foreſeene all things (which they themſelues affirme:) for whether God onely foreſeeth, or beſide predeſtinateth, things cannot otherwiſe fall out, then hee hath foreſeene or appointed: yet it followeth not, that the yoke of abſolute neceſſitie is therefore layd vpon vs: for neither Gods preſcience nor predeſtination taketh away ſecond meanes and cauſes, as the libertie of mans will, and ſuch like, but rather eſtabliſheth them: for as God did foreknow and ordaine things to be done, ſo he willed and decreed, and foreſaw the meanes whereby they ſhould be done.

2. We make not God the author of ſinne, though he haue not elected all: for the not elected, being left to themſelues by the corruption of their owne will, fall into ſinne, which God foreſaw, but willed not, but the puniſhment of ſinne, he decreed before, and in his time will ſee executed.

3. Neither do we take away freewill: which we ſay is the beginning and fountaine of ſinne in man: ſo man hath a freewill, that is without conſtraint to do euill. And in good things wee exclude not the will of man: but man (we ſay) willeth, and by grace his will is reformed to will that that is good: So grace worketh, the wil of man is wrought: Man then hath a wil in good things, but altogether paſſiue: yet God otherwiſe worketh in man, then in bruite beaſtes, for they haue no

will or vnderſtanding at all, man hath, though corrupted. Hence are all thoſe precepts, and exhortations in Scripture, not that man of his owne accord is able to receiue them: but God ſpeaketh to men as a reaſonable creature, that naturally doth will, and vnderſtand, that they ſhould be ſtirred vp by ſuch exhortations, to ſeeke for further grace at Gods hand, to reforme and regenerate their wils to the obedience of his holy precepts. Thus then it appeareth, that wee are no Manichees. Other obiections concerning freewill, becauſe they are common to the Papiſts, and theſe new freewill men (which differ not much in this matter) I will reſerue to the treatiſe of freewill, which followeth. And yet, what ſaid I? that they much differ not? Nay, of the two theſe vniuerſall freemen are more erronious concerning this point of freewill, than the Papiſts.

1. The Papiſts make a diſtinction of ſufficient and effectuall grace on Gods behalfe, *Bellarm. lib. 1. de grat. cap. 2.* But theſe Vniuerſaliſts ſay that, on Gods behalfe, like effectuall grace is giuen to all, but their freewill maketh the difference, whereby ſome beleeuing, make this common grace to themſelues more effectuall: So they aſcribe more to freewill, namely, to make grace effectuall, than the Papiſts doe. 2. The Papiſts ſay, we haue freewill (yet ayded and aſſiſted by God) to doe good workes: theſe Vniuerſaliſts ſay, wee haue freewill to beleeue, which is a greater gift, than to doe good works, which are a neceſſarie conſequent of faith. 3. The Papiſts ſay, that the firſt grace whereby we are iuſtified, that is the beginning of iuſtification, is meerely of grace both in the giuer and receiuer: theſe Vniuerſaliſts ſay, that God indeede offereth grace, by mouing, and ſtirring the heart, but man by his freewill giueth conſent to his calling: ſo that the beginning of their calling is but free in behalfe of the caller, but it is of themſelues, that they are effectually called. And thus much of this third inconuenience.

That it is not in a mans power to beleeue, Saint *Ambroſe* thus further witneſſeth, *in 4. ad Galat.* vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle: *Seeing ye know God, or rather are knowne of God: Cum enim hi non quærerent Deum, aduocauit eos ad ſuam gratiam:* For when they did not ſeeke God, hee called them to his grace. *Lib. 1. de vocat. Gentium cap. 9. Licet inſit homini bonum nolle, tamen niſi donatum non habet bonum velle: illud contraxit natura per culpam, hoc recipit natura per gratiam:* Although it be in man to nill that is good, yet he cannot will that is good, vnleſſe it be giuen him.

THE FOVRTH INCONVENIENCE or abſurditie.

ABſurd. 4. Another conſequent of their opinion is, that as it is in mans power to beleeue, and obey his effectuall calling, ſo may he reſiſt it if he will. So *Hemingius pag. 117. lin. 17. The will of man being moued by the word of God, and the holy Ghoſt, may both obey and reſiſt the ſame.* The ſame is affirmed by *Suecanus de libero arbitrio pag. 405.* for they ſay, that the cauſe why all beleeue not that are called, is not at all for any want of grace on Gods behalfe, but it is onely in themſelues, that refuſe grace offered: *Suecan. pag. 919.*

Argum. Our Sauiour ſaith, *O Ieruſalem, &c. how often would I haue gathered thy children together, &c. and thou wouldeſt not?* Matth. 23. Wherefore if they would, they might haue been ſaued: It is therefore in mans power to reſiſt his vocation: *ſic Heming. pag. 117.*

Contra. 1. True it is, that it is not for any defect or want of grace on Gods behalfe, that many being called, beleeue not, but the defect is in themſelues: there is no defect properly in God: his calling is ſufficient vnto all; but that it is effectuall to ſome and not to others, it commeth of their owne corruption, and euilnes of nature, which God taketh away and healeth in whom he pleaſeth, and ſuffereth the reſt to remaine in their hardnes of heart.

2. There is a ſufficient calling for all, when God offereth the externall meanes of ſaluation, whereby all might come to ſaluation, if they had grace to apprehend: this calling may be reſiſted by men, whom God iuſtly leaueth to themſelues. There is alſo an effectuall calling, when as God worketh inwardly by the efficacie of his ſpirit, and draweth his elect, of vnwilling making them willing, to obey their calling: and thus are the elected onely called, and this calling cannot be reſiſted. So ſaith our Sauiour, *Many are called,* namely, ſufficiently on Gods behalfe, *but few are choſen,* that is, effectuallie called, as the elect onely are: The firſt calling was offered to Ieruſalem.

Here it will be obiected: firſt, This generall calling of God, if it be not effectuall to all, how is not God to be charged with the periſhing of thoſe, to whom it is not effectuall?

Anſw. God in no wiſe is chargeable therewith: for Gods calling in it ſelfe is ſufficient to all, it is for want of grace in themſelues, that it is not effectuall to them.

Obiect. 2. But why doth not God by the powerfull operation of grace, make it effectuall to all as to ſome? is he not now partiall?

Anſ. God is a debter to none: but whereas all by nature haue made themſelues the ſeruants of ſinne, if God in his iuſtice ſhould leaue them all to themſelues, he were not therefore to be iudged vniuſt. But now ſeeing hee of his infinite mercie ſaueth ſome, and giueth them his grace, it is not partialitie in him, who findeth nothing in man to be reſpected, but a work of his meere grace and fauour: for, as the Apoſtle ſaith, hee hath mercie on whom hee will, and whom hee will hee hardeneth.

3. That Gods effectuall and gracious calling of election cannot be reſiſted, thus the Scripture beareth witneſſe: Rom.9.19. *No man hath reſiſted Gods will:* But as the Pſalme ſaith, *Whatſoeuer it pleaſed him, that did he in heauen and earth.* Whom it pleaſed God therefore to ſaue, and call by his grace, they ſhall be ſaued and called.

Ioh.6.37. *All that my father giueth me, ſhall come vnto me.* And verſ.45. *Euery man that hath heard, and hath learned of the father, commeth vnto me:* Not that God ſaueth any man againſt his will, but, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Ex nolentibus volentes facit:* Of vnwilling he maketh them willing. *Auguſtine* further alſo writeth notably of this matter: *Non poteſt effectus miſericordiæ Dei eſſe in hominis poteſtate, vt fruſtra ille miſereatur, ſi homo nolit: quia ſi vellet etiam reluctantium miſereri, poſſet ita vocare, quomodo illis aptum eſſet, &c. Illi ergo electi, qui ſic vocati, vt vocantem non reſpuant: Cæteri non electi, quia non ſecuti, quantumuis vocati: ad Simplician. lib.1. quæſt.2.* It cannot bee in mans power to fruſtrate the efficacie of Gods mercie, if man will not: for if God alſo would haue mercie of thoſe, that ſtriue againſt his mercie, he could alſo call them, as it were meete for them: They therfore are elected of God, who are ſo called, that they refuſe not their calling: the reſt are not elected, which are called, but obey not. And thus much alſo of this inconuenience, that if man may fruſtrate Gods effectuall calling, that God ſhall not haue mercie, vnleſſe man will; then is the will of man ſtronger and of greater power, than Gods will is.

Laſtly, concerning theſe three points: firſt, that there is a generall calling which is ſufficient to all, and beſide that a ſpeciall calling effectuall only in ſome. Secondly, that the generall calling by the hardnes of mans heart may be made fruſtrate. Thirdly, that the effectuall calling of God can not be reſiſted. Saint *Ambroſe* doth thus witneſſe euidently.

Firſt, he ſaith, *lib.1. de vocat. Gent. c.2. Credimus ſecundum ſcripturas, &c.* We beleeue according to the Scriptures, that Gods prouidence was neuer wanting to the vniuerſall companie of men: *quæ licet exceptum ſibi populum ſpecialibus ad pietatem direxerit inſtitutis, &c.* which prouidence of God did yet giue ſpeciall directions vnto godlineſſe to his people, which hee had excepted from the reſt.

For the ſecond he thus teſtifieth: *Si quis non credit in Chriſtum, generali beneficio ipſe ſe fraudat, vt ſi quis clauſis feneſtris radios ſolis excludat:* If any man beleeue not in Chriſt, he doth defraud himſelf, as if a man ſhould ſhut the windowes to keepe out the Sunne-beames: *lib.2. cap.2.*

Thirdly, *lib.1. de vocat. Gent. cap.10. Nihil obſiſtere diuinæ gratiæ poteſt, quo minus id, quod voluerit impleatur:* Nothing can reſiſt the diuine grace, that it ſhould not fulfill whatſoeuer it would. And againe, *cap.9. Quantumlibet impiorum malignitas accuſetur reſiſtens gratiæ, &c.* Although the malignitie of the wicked be accuſed, as reſiſting grace; ſhall it be thought, that they deſerued grace, vpon whom it was conferred, or that grace, which ſubdued whom ſhe would, could not conuert thoſe, which remaine vnconuerted? they which were called, were the ſame, which they are that remaine in their hardnes of heart: *ſed illis tribuit gratia ſtupenda, quod voluit; iſtis retribuit veritas iuſta, quod debuit:* but grace gaue vnto them, what ſhe would; and iuſtice rendred to the other, what was due.

Auguſtine alſo thus witneſſeth: *Volenti ſaluum facere nullum hominum reſiſtit arbitrium:* Mans will is not able to reſiſt God, being willing, or purpoſed to ſaue: *De corrept. & grat. cap.14. ibid. Non eſt dubitandum voluntati Dei voluntates humanas reſiſtere non poſſe:* It is not to be doubted, but that mans will cannot reſiſt Gods will.

THE FIFT ABSVRDITIE.

ABſurd.5. Theſe patrones of vniuerſall and conditionall election and grace, which affirme that men are no otherwiſe elected, but with condition if they beleeue, and ſo long are they elected, as they continue in faith, doe conſequently alſo hold, that men may both loſe their election, and loſe their faith: and of the veſſels of honour, if they fall from faith, become veſſels of wrath: *Heming. pag.30.* And they which are written in the booke of life may be raſed out of it: *Huber. theſ.757.* The ſame alſo is maintained by *Suecanus*, that the elect may finally fall away from Chriſt. *pag.976.*

Arg.1. That election may be loſt, they would thus proue it out of Scripture: Exod.32.32. *Moſes* ſaith vnto God: *If thou wilt not pardon them, raſe me out of the booke which thou haſt written:* The Lord anſwered, *Him that ſinneth will I put out of my booke.* Neither *Moſes* would haue asked an impoſſible thing, neither would God haue ſo anſwered, if that they could not be raſed out of the booke of life that are written there: *Huber. theſ.766.*

*Anſw.*1. *Moſes* being carried away with an extraordinarie zeale of Gods glory, and loue to the people, forgetting himſelfe and his owne eſtate, wiſheth, that himſelfe ſhould periſh, rather then the people: yet it followeth not, that he could periſh: For after the ſame maner S. *Paul* with the like zeale wiſheth he were accurſed, ſo the Iewes might be ſaued, Rom.9.3. yet the Apoſtle was ſure that he could not periſh, nor be ſeparated from the loue of God, Rom.8.38. And he knew there was a crowne of glorie laide vp for him, 2.Tim.4.8. No ſuch thing therefore can be inferred vpon theſe extraordinarie examples of zeale. 2. But the Lord anſwering *Moſes*, ſaith, he will put out, &c. though *Moſes* might be carried away in zeale ſo to ſpeake, yet the Lord ſpeaketh aduiſedly. *Anſw.* Firſt, the Lord applieth his ſpeech vnto *Moſes* infirmitie at this time, and by way of conceſſion, ſaith vnto him, that if it were ſo, that ſome were to be put out of his booke, yet *Moſes* ſhould not, but they rather that ſinned. Againe, it is a metaphoricall ſpeech, for God hath indeede no ſuch booke, ſuch putting in or putting out: but by writing in that booke, the decree of ſaluation is ſignified; by not writing or blotting out, the decree of damnation: God will put them out that ſinne, that is, hath decreed their iuſt damnation: for otherwiſe to ſpeake properly they were neuer written in the booke of life, Apoca.17.8. Here we haue a direct teſtimony, that ſuch as are loſt, were neuer written in the booke of life; how dare then any man wreſt the Scripture to a contrary ſenſe, and ſo make it ſpeake contrary things? Or as *Auguſtine* interpreteth, *Non ſic accipere debemus, quòd quenquam Deus ſcribat in libro vitæ & deleat illum, ſi homo dixit, quod ſcripſi, ſcripſi; Deus quenquam ſcripſit, & delet? quomodo ergo ibi delentur? hoc dictum eſt ſecundum eorum ſpem, quia ibi ſe ſcriptos putabant:* We muſt not ſo take it, as though God writeth any in the booke of life, and blotteth them out again: for if a man ſaid, what I haue written, I haue written (ſo *Pilate* ſayd concerning the inſcription of the Croſſe) doth God write any, and blot out againe? how are they then blotted out? It is ſo ſaid in reſpect of their hope, becauſe they thought they were written there.

They alſo obiect that place, 1.Cor.9.27. *I beate downe my bodie, leaſt, &c. I my ſelfe ſhould be a reprobate: Ergo,* the elect may become a reprobate: *Pucks.rat.*77.

*Anſw.*1. That *Paul* was aſſured he could not be a reprobate, we haue ſhewed before, for he knew that there was a crowne of righteouſnes laid vp for him. 2. It is not then to be referred to the perſon of *Paul*, as though he feared any reprobation before God, but to his miniſterie, leaſt, if he ſhould doe himſelfe otherwiſe then he preached to others, his miniſterie ſhould be diſgraced, and reproued.

*Argum.*2. Now that faith alſo may be loſt, they ſhew it thus: 1.Corin.8.11. *Through thy knowledge ſhall the weake brother periſh for whom Chriſt dyed: Ergo,* a man may loſe his faith and ſo periſh: *Heming.pag.*24.

*Anſw.*1. None can finally or eternally periſh, whom Chriſt hath redeemed by his death: for Chriſt cannot loſe any thing of that which is giuen him, Ioh.6.39.17.12. 2. Therefore the Apoſtle here by periſhing vnderſtandeth not a finall deſtruction, but a ſhaking or weakning of their faith, which verſe 12. he calleth a wounding of their conſcience: now it is one thing to wound, another to ſlay: that this is the meaning, it may appeare by comparing this place with the like, Rom.14.15. *Deſtroy not him with thy meate for whom Chriſt dyed:* where the ſame word is vſed, μὴ ἀπόλλυε, deſtroy not: that is, thy brother is grieued, verſ.15. he ſtumbleth, is offended, or made weake, verſ.21. And againe, verſ.20. *Deſtroy not the worke of God for meates ſake:* the word is, κατάλυε: ſo then, ἀπόλλυε, and κατάλυε, deſtroy not, with the Apoſtle are all one: and to build vp is contrarie to deſtroy, as they are oppoſed, Gal.2.18. *If I build again the things that are deſtroyed:* So then, as to build vp and edifie our brother, is nothing elſe but to inſtruct and confirme his faith, ſo to deſtroy, is not to periſh his perſon, but to empaire his faith. 3. Or thus we may reade, *Through thy knowledge thy weake brother ſhall periſh:* that is, as much as in thee lyeth, by thy meanes thy weake brother might periſh, not that ſimplie or abſolutely he doth periſh. 4. Laſtly, S. *Paul* ſpeaketh not here of the eternall purpoſe of God, in them for whom he hath giuen Chriſt to die, but that, as he himſelfe giueth the rule, *Loue hopeth all things*, 1.Cor.13.7. ſo we ſhould thinke none other of our weake brother that beleeueth, but that Chriſt dyed for him: And that the Apoſtle thus ſpeaketh, not in reſpect of Gods ſecret decree in the death of Chriſt, but of that hope and opinion, that we ought one to haue of another, it appeareth, Rom.14.4. where the Apoſtle ſpeaking of Gods ſecret decree, ſayth, *Euery man ſtandeth or falleth to his owne maſter:* euery man ſtandeth not, but ſome ſtand, ſome fall: But in reſpect of the iudgement and charitable opinion of men, he ſaith, verſ.3. God hath receiued him: verſ.4. *He ſhall be eſtabliſhed: for God is able to make him ſtand:* yet in the ſame verſe, he ſaith, before God he ſtandeth, or falleth: but in the iudgement of men, euery beleeuer ſtandeth, is eſtabliſhed, and receiued: and ſo conſequently for him Chriſt dyed, verſ.15.

Contra. Now on the contrarie ſide, that both our election is ſure before God, neither that the faith of the elect, though it may fayle, and empayre, yet cannot vtterly be loſt, thus we are aſſured by the euident teſtimonie of Scripture.

*Argum.*1. Rom.11.29. *The gifts and calling of God, are without repentance:* Ioh.13.1. *Whom God loueth, he loueth to the end:* Ioh.10.29. *My father is greater then all, and none is able to take them out of my fathers hand: Ergo,* the elect cannot periſh,

Hemingius pag.65. anſwereth, that no man by violence can plucke the elect from God, yet they willingly may fall away: *Suecanus* alſo graunteth, that on Gods behalfe our election is ſure and immoueable, but not on mens behalfe, vnleſſe they continue, and hold faſt their faith to the ende: *pag.976.*

*Contra.*1. The text is, *My father is ſtronger then all:* he is then ſtronger then our ſelues, that neither willingly nor vnwillingly the elect cannot depart from God: *For I giue vnto them eternall life,* ſayth Chriſt, *and they ſhall neuer periſh:* Iohn 10.verſ.28. They can in no wiſe periſh, neither by force, nor by voluntarie declining from God: Ierem.32.40. *I will put my feare into their hearts, that they ſhall neuer depart from me:* Hoſh.2.19. *I will marrie thee for euer vnto me in righteouſneſſe.*

2 That Gods election is abſolutely ſure both on his owne behalfe, and on their part that are elected: our Sauiour teſtifieth, Iohn 6.39. *This is my fathers will, that of all which he hath giuen me, I ſhould looſe nothing, but ſhould raiſe it vp at the laſt day.* All that are elected, ſhall be aſſuredly raiſed vp to life eternall: And God, to ſuch, as he hath choſen, will giue grace to continue. They therefore that finally fall away, were not elected in the beginning: And that faith, which ſome haue made ſhipwracke of, 1.Timoth.1.19. is not the iuſtifying faith of the elect, but a temporarie, or hiſtoricall faith. Mens falling away from faith then, cannot make Gods election voyd: as the Apoſtle ſaith: *Shall their vnbeleefe make the faith of God without effect?* Rom.3.3.

3. We notwithſtanding confeſſe, that Gods election ſtandeth faſt, and is immutable in them that are elected, not by their owne ſtrength, but by the grace and gift of God, for of our ſelues we are mutable and changeable, readie to fall away, but that we ſtand by grace, as *Ambroſe* ſaith, *lib.2.de vocat.gentium.c.9. Si defectura erat fides tanti Apoſtoli, niſi pro eo Christus oraret, inerat ei profecto mutabilitas,&c.* If the faith of ſo great an Apoſtle ſhould haue fayled, if Chriſt had not praied for him, there was mutabilitie in him, for the vnchangeable firmenes of the minde is not to be found here.

Obiect. If they, whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, made ſhipwracke onely of a temporarie faith, that is, a faith in ſhew, or imagined, then they loſt nothing: And is it a ſinne worthie of eternall puniſhment, to loſe the image onely, and ſhew of faith? Againe, where S. *Paul* ſayth, *In the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith:* they may as well here alſo vnderſtand, a diſſembled and imagined faith: *Huber.theſ.243.*

Anſw. Firſt, though thoſe, which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, had not a true iuſtifying faith, and therefore could not make ſhipwracke of that which they had not, yet had they more then a bare image of faith: for they had a forme of knowledge, and the profeſſion of the trueth. Men alſo in ſome ſort may be lightened, *taſte of the heauenly gift, be partakers of ſome gifts of the holy Ghoſt, taſte of the word of God, and of the powers of the world to come:* Hebr.6.4,5. And theſe things not in ſhew onely, but in their kinde and meaſure in ſome ſort indeed, for it is but a taſte (as the Apoſtle ſaith) not as it were a full draught: and yet for all this they haue not a iuſtifying faith, which if they had, they could not finally fall away. Therefore though they haue but an image or ſhew of the liuely iuſtifying faith, which they indeed haue not, but ſeeme onely to haue, Luk.8.18. yet a kind of faith they haue indeed, which they make ſhipwracke of. Secondly, the Apoſtle here vnderſtandeth not a right iuſtifying faith, which worketh alwaies by loue, Galath.5.6. and is ioyned with a good conſcience, Rom.5.1. 1.Timoth.1.19. But theſe firſt had put away a good conſcience, and then made ſhipwracke of their faith. To this purpoſe S. *Ambroſe lib.2.de vocat Gentium c.2. Dignus erat perdere inutilem fidem, qui non exercuerat charitatem:* He was worthie to looſe an vnprofitable faith, which did not exerciſe charitie: ſuch a fruitleſſe faith then may be loſt. Thirdly, by faith in the place alleaged, the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth the forme of true doctrine, as it appeareth by the oppoſite member, they ſhall depart from the faith, that is, from the doctrine of the truth, and giue heede to the doctrine of diuels: So in this place *Hymenæus* maketh ſhipwracke of faith, that is, concerning the truth hath erred, 2.Timoth.2.18. And the Apoſtle ſheweth wherein he erred, ſaying, the reſurrection is paſt alreadie. Thus by making ſhipwracke of faith, the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth, the leauing of the trueth, and falling into error. Fourthly, and for this Apoſtaſie from the trueth, they deſerued eternall puniſhment, without their repentance: although the Apoſtle ſpeake not here of eternall damnation, but ſaith onely he had deliuered them to Sathan, that is, excommunicated them, for their amendment, to learne not to blaſpheme: as he decreed concerning the inceſtuous young man, 1.Corinth.5.5. who notwithſtanding afterward repented, and was reſtored.

*Argum.*2. 2.Timoth.2.19. *The foundation of God remaineth ſure, the Lord knoweth who are his.* We then thus reaſon: Gods preſcience cannot be deceiued: but God foreſawe in the beginning not onely in generall, but in particular, who ſhould be ſaued: *Ergo,* the ſame, and no other ſhall

Lib.de cor-rep.& grat. cap.7.

be ſaued: therefore none of the elect can periſh. So *Auguſtine* writeth: *Horum, qui electi ſunt, ſi quiſpiam perit, fallitur Deus, ſed nemo eorum perit, quia non fallitur Deus: horum ſi quiſpiam perit humano vitio vincitur Deus, ſed nemo eorum perit, quia nulla re vincitur Deus:* If any of the elect ſhould periſh, God is deceiued, but none of them periſheth, becauſe God is not deceiued: if any of them periſh, God is ouercome by the infirmitie of man; but nothing can ouercome God: therefore none of them periſheth. This argument drawne from the definite certaintie of Gods preſcience, hath not yet been anſwered by any of theſe Vniuerſaliſts: neither ſhall they euer be able to anſwer it.

Obiect. Doe we not ſee by experience, that many which beleeued, fall away; how is not faith then loſt, and election withall? We anſwere with *Auguſtine:* Firſt, they that finally fall away, neuer were endued with a right faith, nor elected of God: *Quibuſdam filijs ſuis Deus non dat perſeuerantiam, quia non ſunt de illis prædeſtinatis, qui verè ſunt filij promiſſionis:* Vnto ſome, which appeared to be Gods children, God giueth not grace to perſeuere, becauſe they are not of the number of the predeſtinate, which are the true children of promiſe. Secondly, but concerning the elect he ſaith: *Horum fides aut omnino non deficit, aut ſi deficit, reparatur, antequam vita iſta finiatur:* Their faith either faileth not at all; or if it doe, it is reſtored before their life be ended: *Lib. de correpț. & grat.cap.*7.8.

Saint *Ambroſe* alſo ſaith, *in* 8.*ad Roman. Qui credere videntur & non permanent in fide, à Deo electi negantur:* They which ſeeme to beleeue, and continue not in faith, are not elected of God: *Eſt qui ad tempus eligitur, ſicut Saul & Iudas, non de præſcientia, ſed de præſenti iuſtitia:* there is, that is choſen for a time, as *Saul* and *Iudas*, not of preſcience, but according to their preſent iuſtice.

Obiect. If then the elect cannot finally periſh, nor be depriued of their faith, to what end are all thoſe admonitions in Scripture, *Let him that ſtandeth take heed leaſt he fall: to him that ouercommeth will I giue a crowne? &c. Suecanus* to this anſwereth well, that theſe exhortations doe ſerue as meanes to preſerue our faith, and doe ſtirre vp in vs a care of godlines, whereby we may riſe vp in aſſurance daily of our election: pag.470. for though our election be alwaies ſure before God, yet is it not otherwiſe aſſured to vs, but by the effects and workes of our calling, 2.Pet.1.10. And though our ſaluation be certainely decreed before God, yet is it by meanes, ſuch as he hath appointed, accompliſhed toward vs. As Saint *Ambroſe* witneſſeth, *lib.* 2. *de vocat. gent. cap.* 10. *Quamuis quod ſtatuit Deus, nulla poſſit ratione non fieri, ſtudia tamen non tolluntur orandi, nec per electionis propoſitum liberi arbitrij deuotio relaxatur:* Although that which God appointeth cannot be but done, yet the ſtudie or deſire of prayer is not taken away, nor the deuotion of mans freewill releaſed by election.

And for the certaintie of election he further thus teſtifieth: *Lib.*2.*de vocat. gent.c.*9. *Sicut nullus infidelium in hac ſorte numeratus, ita nullus piorum ab hac ſorte diſcretus: de plenitudine quippe membrorum corporis Chriſti, præſcientia Dei, quæ falli non poteſt nihil perdit, &c.* As no vnbeleeuer is numbred in this lotte, ſo none of the godlie is ſeparated from it; for the preſcience of God, which cannot be deceiued, doth looſe nothing of the fulnes of the members of Chriſt.

Hierome Epiſt. ad Pammach. & Ocean. rehearſeth this to be one of the errors of *Origene*: that in the ende after diuers worldes, *Id ipſum fore Gabrielem, quod diabolum; Paulum, quod Caipham: Gabriel* ſhall be the ſame, that the diuell; and *Paul*, that *Caiphas*: *Huberus* hath the like ſaying, as I haue ſhewed before, that *Paul* and *Peter* were no more elected, then *Iudas*.

And thus much of this inconuenience, which they are driuen to confeſſe, namely, that election and faith may be loſt: whereupon follow many abſurdities, as we haue ſeene: Firſt, that by this meanes the preſcience and foreknowledge of God may be deceiued, if election, which he both foreſaw and decreed, may be altered. Secondly, Gods purpoſe of ſaluation is by mans infirmitie ouerthrowne: that if he hold not, neither doth the decree holde. Thirdly, it breedeth vncertaintie of ſaluation, and ſo deſpayre: for by this meanes the ſtrength of our hope is ſtayed vpon mans freewill: a miſerable hold for a diſtreſſed conſcience to ſtay vpon. Fourthly, the Vniuerſaliſts herein are more erronious then the Papiſts: for they confeſſe an abſolute and determinate certaintie of our election before God, though they deny a full perſwaſion and aſſurance thereof vnto men: but theſe deny both: Let vs now finiſh the reſt.

THE SIXT INCONVENIENCE.

A*Bſurd.*6. In ſaying that God onely purpoſed to ſaue thoſe that ſhould beleeue, and to condemne all vnbeleeuers, they conſequently affirme, that, *Incredulitas ſit vnica cauſa condemnationis*, that incredulitie is the onely cauſe of condemnation: *Huber.theſ.*187. And ſo they extenuate other ſinnes, as *Puckſius*: *In ſimplice ignoratione, aut incredulitate nullum eſt ſcelus:* In ſimple ignorance and vnbeleefe, there is no ſinne, *ration.*56. And againe, *Reſpectu peccati originalis, neminem æterna morte plecti:* That no man is puniſhed eternally for originall ſinne: *ration.*13. That mortalitie and other miſeries of this life, are onely the puniſhment of originall ſinne: *ration.1.& 5.* ***Suecanus*** alſo ſaith, that the originall corruption of mans nature, is not the foundation of reall reprobation, but the contempt of the grace of God: His reaſon is, becauſe then euery man ſhould be reiected, becauſe there remaineth originall corruption in all: *De prædeſtin.pag.655.*

*Contra.*1. That ſimple ignorance or incredulitie excuſeth not, S. *Paul* ſheweth, Rom.2.12. *As many as haue ſinned without the lawe, ſhall periſh without the lawe.* And verſe 14. *They hauing not the lawe, are a lawe to themſelues.* Here the Gentiles are not accuſed of wilfull contempt of grace, which was not preached vnto them, but onely of ſimple ignorance, yet are they worthie of condemnation. Secondly, that originall ſinne in it ſelfe deſerueth eternall death, it is at large declared by the Apoſtle, Rom.5.12. *By one man ſinne entred into the world, and death by ſinne.* And afterward he ſheweth what death, *The fault came of one offence to condemnation,* verſe 16. Thirdly, that originall ſinne is not the ground or cauſe of reall reprobation, and actuall condemnation, in part it is true, in part falſe: It is true, becauſe by the mercie of God it is not imputed to thoſe which are ſaued by Chriſt, as no other ſinnes are: It is falſe, firſt, becauſe, though originall ſinne be not imputed by grace, yet in it ſelfe it hath ſufficient matter of condemnation: againe, it is the ground of all actuall ſinne, and ſinne is the ground or cauſe of damnation: thirdly, vnto ſome it is the ground of reprobation, as vnto ſuch children of infidels, as are not ſaued by election of grace.

Now concerning wilfull incredulitie, and contempt of grace, that it is not the only cauſe of reprobation, I will briefly ſhew by theſe two arguments, *ab incommodo,* which follow.

Firſt, it will follow vpon this opinion, that all thoſe nations of the Gentiles, which had no knowledge of God, were freed from damnation, becauſe the Goſpell was not preached vnto them, as Act. 14. 16. *In times paſt God ſuffered the Gentiles to walke in their owne wayes,* verſe 17. *he notwithſtanding left not himſelfe without witneſſe, in that he gaue them rayne from heauen, &c.* They had no other witneſſe but the teſtimonie of the creatures: the word they had not, Act.17.30. *The time of this ignorance God regarded not:* Seeing therefore that grace was not offered them, they could not bee contemners of grace, and ſo conſequently by their opinion, were free from damnation.

Suecanus goeth about here rather to make an anſwere, then indeed anſwereth: All theſe nations which were ſtrangers from Iſrael, and from the promiſe, in the beginning contemned the grace of redemption offered, and refuſed the promiſe, and therefore were worthilie reiected: *De prædeſtinat.pag.665.*

Contra. Let it be graunted, that all nations at the firſt deſpiſed the promiſe (yet ſhall he neuer be able to proue, that in the time of the lawe, grace was vniuerſally offered to all people) how could their poſteritie after them be counted contemners of grace, which they neuer heard of? The parents actuall ſinnes, though they may be the cauſe of temporall puniſhment vpon the children, yet can they not, in the iuſtice of God, be the ground of their eternall reiection. And as for their originall corruption, it is confeſſed already, that it cannot be the foundation of reall reprobation. To this obiection therefore we expect a more ſufficient anſwere.

This obiection is ſtrongly vrged and enforced by Saint *Ambroſe: lib.* 1. *de vocat. gent, cap.5. Liberatur pars hominum parte pereunte, &c.* Part of mankinde is deliuered, the reſt periſheth; and if we will aſcribe this to the wils of men, that grace neglected the euill, and did chuſe the good: *Reſiſtet nobis innumerabilium cauſa populorum:* The condition of innumerable people will gainesay vs, vnto whom for many ages no light of heauenly doctrine did ſhine: neither can we ſay, that their poſteritie was better, of whom it is ſaid, the people, that ſate in darkenes, ſaw great light. As *Ambroſe* concludeth, that the Gentiles were not called for their merites, becauſe they ſate in darkenes, and had no heauenly light; ſo it may be inferred, that they could not contemne or deſpiſe that light which did not ſhine vnto them.

Secondly we obiect, concerning the infants both of the faithfull and infidels, that if vnbeleefe onely exclude from election, then are they not excluded, for they are not capable of faith, and therefore cannot deſpiſe faith and grace. To this obiection diuers anſwers haue been deuiſed, but none of them ſufficient.

Firſt it may be, and is anſwered of ſome, that infants are iudged according to the foreſight of their beleefe or vnbeleefe, if they had liued.

Contra. *Auguſtine* confuteth this, by that place of S. *Paul.* 2.Cor.5.10. *That euery man ſhall receiue according to the things done in the bodie:* he ſaith not, which were foreſeene ſhould be done, but which were verely done. Againe, Chriſt vpbraiding the vnthankfull cities that ſaw his workes, and repented not, ſaith, *If the great workes which haue been done in them, had been done in Tyrus and Sidon, they had repented, &c.* By this reaſon Tyrus and Sidon ſhould not haue been iudged, becauſe of the foreſight of their repentance.

De prædeſtinat.ſanctor. cap.12.

Secondly, It may be ſayd, that infants dying, though they be not ſaued, becauſe they haue no faith, yet are they not damned, but they ſhall haue a certaine kinde of beatitude, though not in the kingdome of heauen.

Contra. But this alſo is ouerthrowne by S. *Paul*, Rom. 5. where he ſheweth, that by one mans ſinne, death came vpon all to condemnation: and therefore children, if they be not ſaued, are neceſſarily damned. This alſo is confuted by *Auguſtine lib de bon. perſeueran. cap.* 12.

Thirdly, *Suecanus* anſwereth concerning the children of the faithfull, that they are all elected, and belong vnto the promiſe, Gen. 17. 7. *I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeede:* S. *Paul* alſo calleth them holy, 1. Cor. 7. 14. p. 667. As for the children of infidels, he leaueth them vnto God, who may deale with them (he ſaith) extraordinarily, and further he defineth not their ſtate: pag. 675.

Contra. 1. Concerning the children of the faithfull that dye in their infancie, we affirme that they all by nature are ſubiect to eternall damnation, and if God adiudge any of them to condemnation he doth it iuſtly: which we leaue vnto Gods ſecret iudgement: yet we are of charitie rather to iudge, that the infants, whom God calleth to himſelfe, and ſo preuent the curſe of ſinne, are ſaued, becauſe they are vnder the couenant. And here we vnderſtand not onely thoſe children to be vnder the couenant, whoſe immediate parents were beleeuers, but if any of their predeceſſors in former times beleeued, for the promiſe of grace is made to a thouſand generations, Exod. 20. But whereas *Suecanus* holdeth all the children of the faithfull, both thoſe that dye, and they that remaine, that they are elected; whereas we ſee, that many righteous mens children doe fall away from God: how can it be? vnles they will affirme, that men may fall away from election, which how abſurd it is, we haue ſhewed before. Againe, though the children of the faithfull be ſaued by the couenant of grace, yet are they not by faith: faith then alone is not the obiect of election, as they affirme.

2 Concerning Infidels children, it is ſtrange that *Suecanus* ſo much forgetteth himſelfe, as to ſend vs to Gods extraordinarie and ſecret working; whereas he telleth vs, I am ſure aboue an hundred times in his booke, *De prædeſtinatione*; that God dealeth not with vs in the matter of predeſtination, *Secundum abſolutam ſuam, aut extraordinariam potentiam*, according to his extraordinarie power, *pag.* 677. *aut occulta ſua voluntate*, or after his ſecret will, *ſed ex lege ſui fœderis in ſacra ſcriptura patefacti, pag.* 633. but after the lawe of his couenant ſet forth in Scripture: What meaneth he then in the predeſtination of infidels children to ſend vs to Gods extraordinarie worke, and ſecret will? he ſhould haue ſhewed vs ſomewhat reuealed in Scripture.

But to helpe him a little: we affirme, that euen children of Infidels, whom it pleaſeth God, may ordinarily be elected: firſt, ſuch children of Infidels, whoſe immediate parents were vnbeleeuers, but their former anceſtors were faithfull, may be ſaued by the couenant of grace, which is made to a thouſand generations: the reſt that are ſaued, whoſe progenitors were altogether Infidels, are ſaued by Gods ſecret election: vnto the which *Suecanus* is faine to flye for the reſolution of this queſtion. And thus much alſo of this inconuenience.

Saint *Ambroſe* thus enforceth this obiection concerning infants: *Lib. 1. de vocat. Gent. cap. 5. Reſpice ad vniuerſalem multitudinem paruulorum, &c.* Look vnto the vniuerſall multitude of little ones: which all before the vſe of vnderſtanding and freewill, ſome goe vnto eternall happines being regenerate, others to perpetuall miſerie being not borne againe: If you confeſſe originall ſinne, they are all guiltie: if you ſeeke for innocencie, they are all without fault: *non inuenit, quod diſcernat humana iuſtitia, ſed habet, quod eligat inenarrabilis gratia:* Humane iuſtice can find nothing, to diſcerne or make difference, but the vnſpeakable grace findeth ſomewhat to elect. The election of children is grounded onely vpon the grace of God, here is no foreſight, or reſpect had vnto faith.

THE SEVENTH INCONVENIENCE.

A*Bſurd.* 7. If it were ſo, that God elected ſo many, as he foreſaw ſhould beleeue, and vpon this foreſight cauſed the Goſpell to be preached vnto them, and that God reiected thoſe whom he foreſawe would not beleeue, and therefore ſuffered them to abide in ignorance ſtill, it were no myſterie or ſecret at all in our faith, why God hath choſen ſome, and refuſed others: for the reaſon is apparant, becauſe ſome beleeue, and others doe not. But Saint *Paul* acknowledgeth here a great & vnſearchable myſterie, that ſeeing al are ſhut vp in vnbeliefe, and ſo are in the ſame common caſe, yet God hath mercie onely on whom he will. Whereupon the Apoſtle in admiration of this great ſecret, crieth out, *O the deepnes of the riches of the wiſedome and knowledge of God! how vnſearchable are his iudgements, and his waies paſt finding out?* Rom. 11. 33. To this place our aduerſaries anſwere diuerſly.

First *Puckſius* ſaith, that the Apoſtle crieth not out in admiration, as not finding a ſolution concerning the queſtion, why ſome were choſen, others refuſed: for it had been a thing vnworthie ſo great an Apoſtle, ſo to leaue his diſputation imperfect: but thus rather, hauing fully diſcuſſed this doubt, that the cauſe why ſome are refuſed, is their diffidence onely and diſtruſt, he giueth thankes to God for the finding out of this ſolution, from whoſe wiſedome hee had learned it: *ration.76.*

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle bringeth no ſuch ſolution here, as he dreameth of, as though the cauſe were in the beleefe or vnbeleefe of men, why God had mercie on ſome, and not on others: nay rather the contrarie appeareth, becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith, *All men are ſhut vp in vnbeleefe:* they are all by nature alike, none in themſelues more worthie of fauour then other: And therefore all is aſcribed to Gods mercie: but mercie is free, and therfore not cauſed by any deſert of faith, or works. 2. That the Apoſtle falleth into an admiration, the manner of his ſpeech declareth: and he plainly confeſſeth this doctrine farre to exceede all humane reach: *Gods wayes* (he ſaith) *are vnſearchable, and paſt finding out:* Is not this cauiller therefore aſhamed, to confeſſe that doctrine to be eaſie and plaine, which the Apoſtle calleth deepe, profound, and vnſearchable? 3. Neither doth the Apoſtle leaue his diſputation imperfect, but it is perfect and abſolute: (if we vnderſtand ſuch perfection, as man in this life may attaine vnto) for otherwiſe if the knowledge of the greateſt Prophets and Apoſtles in this life be compared with the reuelations of the life to come, it is imperfect: *We know in part, and propheſie in part, when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part ſhall be aboliſhed,* 1.Cor.13.9,10. Neither doth Saint *Paul* commit any thing vnworthie his Apoſtleſhip, in ſubiecting himſelfe to the depth of Gods iudgements: but here ſheweth himſelfe an example of that, which hee teacheth others, *That no man preſume to vnderſtand aboue that which is meete to vnderſtand, but that he vnderſtand according to ſobrietie,* Rom.12.3. Neither was it a diſgrace to the Apoſtle to be ignorant of ſome part of Gods counſell, no more, then where elſe he ſaith, he *heard words which cannot be ſpoken, which are not poſſible for men to vtter,* 2.Cor.12.4. If he could not vtter that which hee heard and ſawe, how much more that, which was not at all reuealed vnto him, but kept ſecret in Gods counſell?

Secondly, ***Hemingius*** ſaith, The waies of God are here ſaid to be vnſearchable, becauſe they can not be found out by the wit of man: *For the naturall man perceiueth not the things that are of God:* But yet it followeth not, but that in the word of God, whatſoeuer is neceſſarie to ſaluation to be knowne is reuealed: as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *We haue the minde of Chriſt,* 1.Corin.2.16. *Sic Hemingius pag.52. Suecan.pag.762.*

Contra. Firſt, that all things neceſſarie to ſaluation are reuealed in the Scriptures, we graunt, *for they are able to make vs wiſe to ſaluation, and perfect to all good workes,* 2.Tim.3.15.17. But to know the cauſe why God electeth ſome, and not others, is not any part of this neceſſarie knowledge, but rather a point of curioſitie. Secondly, that the myſterie of ſaluation, though not reuealed to fleſh and blood, yet is diſcerned by the ſpirituall man in the Scriptures we graunt, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, 1.Cor.2.10.16. yet are there ſome ſecrets of God which are not reuealed in this life, neither to the regenerate, nor vnregenerate, of the which ſort this is, whereof the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh: he meaneth that theſe waies of God, concerning the ſecrecie of election, are ſimply vnſearchable of all; as it may appeare by that which followeth: *Who hath knowne the minde of God, or who was his counſeller, or who hath giuen vnto him, firſt? &c.* But no man either naturall or ſpirituall hath been Gods counſeller, to know his minde, or hath giuen vnto him firſt: where the Apoſtle ſecretly excludeth all manner foreſight in our election, of faith or workes in men; for then they ſhould haue giuen vnto God firſt, which here is denied. Laſtly, the Apoſtle breaketh out into this admiration, not in the perſon of the carnall man, but in his owne perſon as ſpiritual, and confeſſeth, that euen vnto himſelfe the waies of God herein were vnſearchable.

Thirdly, ***Huberus*** anſwereth firſt, after a ſcoffing manner, that wee may as well in other queſtions concerning faith and the Sacraments, as why all men profit not by hearing the Goſpell preached, why all that are baptized, are not ſanctified, why all doe not receiue the Eucharist worthily, wee may anſwere in theſe queſtions, as in this of election, very compendiouſly, *ô abyſſus, ô abyſſus!* O depth! but afterward he giueth vs a more ſober anſwere: There be, ſaith he, two ſort of profound things in the workes of God. Some things ſo profound, that God hath kept the knowledge therof to himſelfe, whereof there is nothing reuealed in Scripture. Another ſort of profound things there is, when as we know that God hath done this or that, but the cauſe thereof wee know not, neither are able to ſearch: we know them, τὸ ὅτι, that they are, but not δι' ὅτι, why they are: As in this example whereof the Apoſtle intreateth: that the Gentiles were firſt reiected, and the Iewes called, and afterward the Gentiles choſen and the other refuſed, wee knowe it ſo to be done, but wherefore we know not, the cauſe thereof is vnſearchable, *Huber.theſ.937.947.948.* So *Suecanus* ſaith, that the Apoſtle here doth reſtraine humane raſhnes, that we ſhould not be too buſie in ſearching out the cauſe of Gods workes. Pag.762.

Contra. 1. ***Huberus*** ſcorneth not vs, but ſcorneth the Apoſtle, who though in al other queſtions in religion, he were able to giue a diuine anſwere, as appeareth notably in his heauenly epiſtles, yet in this caſe of Gods ſecret iudgements, giueth no other anſwere but this, *ô abyſſus!* We in like manner, in other matters concerning our faith, where the word of God goeth before vs, wee truſt by Gods grace, are able to frame ſome reaſonable anſwere, and neede not to ſay *abyſſus:* (As to the queſtions propoſed) the effect of preaching, the efficacie of Baptiſme, the ſacramentall grace, are extinguiſhed in vnworthie men through their vnbeleefe and other ſinnes, whereof they haue not repented, which although they be not the chiefe cauſe of their reiection, yet are they of their actuall condemnation; yet in this profound matter, why God hath mercie on ſome, and not on other ſome, we are not aſhamed to anſwere with the Apoſtle, *ô abyſſus!* Secondly, their diſtinction we miſlike not: it maketh for vs, and againſt them: for vs, wee acknowledge in the worke of election, τὸ ὅτι, that God hath in his eternall counſell elected ſome, and not others, but διότι, why and for what cauſe God hath ſo done, we know not, but hold it to be vnſearchable: And particularly who are damned, who are ſaued, it is ſimply a profound ſecret: we neither know, ὅτι, that this man, or that, is ſaued or damned (though there be a meanes for euery man to know it in himſelfe) much leſſe doe wee know, διότι, the cauſe or reaſon thereof. It maketh againſt them, for they take vpon them to ſet downe the cauſe of the election of the Gentiles, and reiection of the Iewes, and generally of all men, the foreſight of faith in the one; and vnbeleefe or contempt of grace in the other: And ſo they make the iudgements of God eaſie and plaine, and not vnſearchable at all.

De vocat. gent. lib. 2. c. 3. I will conclude this place with that ſaying of *Ambroſe*, or who elſe was the author of that booke, *Altitudo diuitiarum ſapientiæ & ſcientiæ Dei, cuius imperueſtigabiles viæ, ſic ſemper miſericordiam & iudicium temperauit, vt ſecretiſſima æterni conſilij voluntate noluerit in omnibus, ſuper omnes generationes, aut ſuper omnes homines, æquales donorum ſuorum eſſe menſuras. Quæ autem cauſæ ſint harum diſſimilitudinum ſanctis ſcripturis non loquentibus quis loquetur? patienter & æquanimiter ignoretur, tam remotum ab humana cogitatione ſecretum, in quo ſcientia Pauli Apoſtoli, à diſputatione tranſijt ad ſtuporem:* The depth of the riches of the knowledge and wiſedome of God, whoſe wayes are vnſearchable, hath ſo tempered his mercie and iudgement, that in the ſecret will of his eternall counſell, hee would not haue an equall meaſure of his gifts to be beſtowed vpon all men: but what might bee the cauſe of this difference, the Scriptures not ſaying any thing, who can ſpeake? Let vs with patience be content to be ignorant of ſo great a ſecret: wherein the knowledge of the Apoſtle *Paul* giueth place, and leauing to diſpute beginneth to wonder. Thus doth this father expound this place of the Apoſtle.

Saint *Auguſtine* likewiſe counteth the doctrine of predeſtination a great ſecret: *de corrept. & grat. cap. 16. Cur hunc retineat, non illum, nec poſſibile eſt comprehendere, nec licitum veſtigare:* Why God doth keepe one from falling, and not another, it is not poſſible to comprehend, nor lawfull to enquire. And againe, *Cur hunc potius quam illum liberet, ſcrutetur qui poteſt, iudiciorum eius tam magnum profundum, ſed caueat præcipitium:* Why God doth deliuer one and not another, let him ſearch out, that can, ſo great a depth of Gods iudgements; but let him take heede of a downfall: *ad Simplician. lib. 1. qu. 6.*

Saint *Hierome* alſo thus writeth: *ad Cteſiphont. Quam quidem quæſtionem Apoſtolus ad Romanos, ſcribens ventilat, ignorans hæc, & Dei concedens ſcientiæ, &c.* Which queſtion the Apoſtle handleth to the Romanes, being ignorant of this ſecret, and giuing place to the knowledge of God.

Origen hom. 12. in Geneſ. Cur antequam ex vtero procederent, &c. Why it is ſaid by the Prophet, *Eſau* haue I hated, *Iacob* haue I loued, before they came out of their mothers wombe? *Hæc ſupra noſtram linguam ſunt, & ſuper auditum veſtrum, &c.* Theſe things exceede my tongue, and your hearing.

Cauſ. 33. diſtinct. 4. c. 8. ex Auguſtin. in talibus rebus exclamamus, quam inſcrutabilia ſunt iudicia eius, &c. In theſe matters, we crie out, How vnſearchable are his iudgements? &c.

Magiſt. lib. 1. diſt. 40. d. Non aperit, ſed miratur Apoſtolus dicens, ô altitudo &c. The Apoſtle doth not open this matter, but wondreth at it, and crieth out, O the depth of the riches of the wiſedome of God! &c.

Laſtly, Saint *Ambroſe* thus moſt excellently writeth: *Cum Apoſtolus hæc diuinorum operum myſteria quodam mentis ſuæ profudiſſet exceſſu, &c.* When the Apoſtle had in the exceſſe of his minde or meditation vttered theſe myſteries, he endeth his expoſition with aſtoniſhment, and wondring at that he had ſaid, he exclaimed, O the depth, &c. omitting nothing of theſe things, whereof wee muſt not be ignorant, and handling nothing, which it is not lawfull to know: for there are many things in the adminiſtration of Gods workes, whoſe effects only are ſhewed, the cauſes lying hid, *vt cum pateat quid geritur, non pateat cur geratur,* that when it is apparant what is done, yet it appeareth not wherefore it is done, &c.

And thus hitherto in the Church of God, hath the doctrine of predeſtination been taken for a great ſecret, and hidden myſterie; which now in the opinion of theſe men, is an eaſie, plaine and common point of religion: and thus by humane reaſon they will comprehend the deepe things of God, and therefore becauſe with the Apoſtle, wee ſay that Gods iudgements in electing whom he will,and refuſing as it pleaſeth him, are vnſearchable, they ſcorne and deride both vs and our faith. But we hold this in religion to be a great abſurditie,to meaſure diuine myſteries by humane wit,and by reaſon to vnderſtand that which is by faith to be beleeued. Thus farre of the abſurdities,and ſtrange concluſions, which the patrons of vniuerſall ſauing grace doe maintaine.

1 That God hath created men without any particular knowledge or determination of their ende.

2 That God electeth vpon the foreſight and foreknowledge of faith.

3 That it is partly in mans power by the ſtrength of his freewill to beleeue.

4 That a man may reſiſt the effectuall calling of God.

5 That the elect may become reprobates,and ſo loſe both their election and faith.

6 That contempt of grace is the onely cauſe of reprobation,whereas many nations neuer had grace offered,and ſo could not contemne it: and infants beſide are not capable of faith, which therefore they cannot deſpiſe.

7 They affirme the doctrine of Predeſtination to be eaſie and plaine,and within the compaſſe of mans vnderſtanding: All theſe inconueniences they are forced to graunt, who affirme that Chriſt died effectuallie for all men vniuerſallie, and not for thoſe onely whom he ordayned to life.

To theſe we may adioyne other abſurdities: firſt,that if Chriſt died for all,and yet all be not ſaued by Chriſt,it followeth, that Chriſt for ſome dyed in vaine: this *Huberus* willingly granteth, *theſ.*1123. But the Scipture ſaith, that Chriſt loſeth nothing of all, that is giuen him, Iohn 6. 39. but all that he gaue himſelfe for,are giuen vnto him. Secondly,that the efficacie of Chriſts death may be made fruſtrate by man: confeſſed by *Huberus theſ.*1124. denied by Saint *Paul, ſhall their vnbeleefe make the faith of God without effect?* Rom.3.3. Thirdly,that in reſpect of Chriſt there is no difference betweene the reprobate and the elect, ſeeing he died effectually for both, graunted by *Huberus pag.*1127. denied by the Apoſtle, *God is the Sauiour of all men* (for he faueth both men and beaſt,as being the preſeruer of that which he hath made) *ſpecially of thoſe that beleeue*, 1.Tim.4.10. *Ergo*, God hath done ſomewhat more ſpecially for beleeuers as their Redeemer, then for other men,as their Creator.

Toſſan.theſ.21

I will then conclude this place with that ſaying of *Auguſtine, Quomodo iſtis dixit, non eſtis ex ouibus meis? quia videbat eos ad ſempiternum exitium præparatos, non ad vitam æternam ſui ſanguinis precio comparatos:* How did our Sauiour ſay vnto ſome,you are not of my ſheepe? becauſe he ſaw, they were prepared to euerlaſting deſtruction,not appoynted to life eternall by the price of his blood: *Tractat. in Iohan.*48. Here *Auguſtine* teſtifieth two things, both that the wicked and vnbeleeuers are ordayned to euerlaſting death,and that the blood of Chriſt was onely ſhed for the heires of ſaluation.

Laſtly,I will adioyne the ſeale of this doctrine, that is the teſtimonie of the holy martyrs: *Iohn Careleſſe* thus profeſſeth his faith, *I beleeue that Chriſt did effectuallie dye for all thoſe that effectually beleeue,and repent, and for none other, Fox.* pag.1920.col.1.

Thus haue I ſufficiently (I truſt) maintained this auncient truth concerning the efficacie and benefit of Chriſts death ordained onely for the elect: wherein (I doubt not) but that they which are ſomewhat wauering,and not yet ſetled in iudgement, may ſoone be reſolued, if on the one ſide they doe conſider the ſubſtantiall groundes,and euident demonſtration of the truth,and on the other the weakenes of their proofes,the diuerſitie of opinion in themſelues,and the neceſſary conſequence of ſo many abſurdities, that follow vpon the opinion of vniuerſall or common grace. Wherefore I wonder, that ſome heretofore thoroughly perſwaded of the trueth, ſhould now begin to ſtagger in opinion: to whom may be applyed that ſaying of the Apoſtle, *I maruell that ye are ſo ſoone remoued away to another Goſpell,* Galath.1.6. Againe, *Who hath bewitched you,that you ſhould not obey the trueth, to whom Ieſus Chriſt was before deſcribed in your ſight?* Galath.3.verſ.1. Wherefore the death of Chriſt being ſo euidently deſcribed vnto vs in Scripture, to appertaine onely to the elect: let vs therein reſt,and leauing all other ſtrange and new opinions,which may diſturbe our peace,and diſtract ſimple mindes, let vs from henceforth follow the truth in loue; which God graunt.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE cauſe of Predeſtination.

The Papiſts.

OVr aduerſaries are not all of one opinion concerning this matter. The Rhemiſts affirme, that God doth neither elect nor reprobate any,but in reſpect of their workes either good or euill: Concerning election thus they write, *Chriſt doth not appoynt any by his abſolute and eternall election,to be partakers of the fruite of his redemption,* without any reſpect or condition of their owne

24.Error.

workes, obedience or freewill. *Rhem. Heb.5.ſect.9.* Concerning reprobation alſo, thus they ſay: *God doth not hate or reprobate any man, but for ſinne, or the foreſight thereof, Rhem. Rom.9.ſect.2.*

Bellarmine is of a contrarie iudgement to the Rhemiſts, ſo well they agree together: for he confeſſeth that the election of Gods Children dependeth onely of the gracious will of God without any reſpect to their workes: he graunteth, *electos eſſe gratis, ante omnem operum præuiſionem*, that they are elected freely, before any foreſight of their workes, *lib.2. de grat. cap.*10. And he doth not onely affirme it, but proueth it by many arguments, and at large confuteth the contrarie opinion. But for reprobation, his ſentence is this, *Partim ad ſolam Dei voluntatem, partim ad peccata præuiſa referendam eſſe:* That is partly to be referred to the will of God, partly to the foreſight of ſinne: not wholy to either, but in part to both. *cap.*16.

And further he explaineth his mind thus: there is, ſaith he, *reprobatio negatiua*, a negatiue reprobation; as thus, God hath no will or purpoſe to ſaue the wicked: There is alſo *reprobatio poſitiua*, a poſitiue reprobation, as when God doth ordaine ſome, not onely not to be ſaued, but to be condemned: the firſt act of reprobation dependeth onely of the will of God, without any reſpect had vnto men: the ſecond is cauſed by the foreſight of ſinne, *ibid.*

And here we doe not much miſlike the Ieſuites opinion in this matter as agreeable to ours, and not much differing from the trueth, as euen now ſhall be ſeene: ſo that in this place we haue no great cauſe to contend with *Bellarmine:* but our whole buſines is with the Rhemiſts.

Firſt, for their ſentence concerning election, that it ariſeth onely from the foreſight of our workes, they reaſon thus, the Apoſtle ſaith, *He is made the author of ſaluation, to all that obey him:* Heb.5.9. They are not elected we ſee, without condition of obedience: To the ſame purpoſe alſo is alleaged by ſome that place of the Apoſtle, 2. Tim.2.20. *In a great houſe, &c. and ſome veſſels are for honor, ſome for diſhonour, if any man purge himſelfe from theſe, he ſhall be a veſſell of honour:* here we ſee, that by free will and good works a man is made a veſſell of honour.

Anſw. Firſt, God in deede electeth all that ſhall be ſaued, not with any condition on their own behalfe, but on his owne behalfe, for vnto them; whom he chuſeth he will giue grace to obey, will to beleeue, and power to doe that he appointeth.

Secondly, good workes are the effects and fruites that follow Predeſtination, Rom.8.30. *Whom he hath predeſtinate he hath called, whom he hath called, he hath iuſtified, &c.* Therefore they can be no cauſe of election.

Bellarm. cap. 13. reſponſ. ad 2. teſtimon.

Thirdly, a better anſwere cannot be found, then that which *Bellarmine* maketh: the Apoſtle ſaith not, that a man by purging himſelfe from vice is made a veſſell of honour, but onely, that he is, or ſhall be: that is, is knowne ſo to be, for our faith and obedience are no cauſe why the Lord elected vs: but they are meanes certificatorie, and infallible arguments to aſſure vs of our election: as S. *Peter* ſaith, *Make your election ſure, &c.* Epiſt.1.10.

Argum.2. Rom.8.29. *Thoſe which he knew before, he predeſtinate to be made like to the image of his ſonne, &c. Ergo,* Gods preſcience is the cauſe of predeſtination.

Anſw. Firſt, God in deede doth know in his preſcience all thoſe, which are predeſtinate to life: for how can they be predeſtinate, if they be not knowne. Secondly, the Apoſtle ſaith not he knew them before to be like, &c. but he did predeſtinate them to be like his ſonne: this conformitie then is an effect of their Predeſtination, not a cauſe. Thirdly, Gods preſcience here may be taken for the knowledge of approbation: as Iohn 10. Chriſt is ſaid to know his ſheepe, that is to loue them, approue them: So Pſalm.1. God is ſaid to know the way of the righteous.

Argum.3. Matth.20. *Call the labourers and giue them their reward, Ergo,* heauen is ordayned for mens good workes.

Anſw. Firſt, this place ſheweth that good workes are the way vnto heauen, wherein we muſt walke; but not, that the decree of life hath reſpect to good workes: There is difference then betweene the decree of predeſtination, and the execution thereof: good workes goe before the poſſeſſion of heauen, but not before the decree and ordination.

Secondly, S. *Ambroſe* out of this place frameth a contrary argument, prouing thereby, that election is altogether of grace without any reſpect to workes. *Lib.1. de vocat. gentium. c.3. Hora vndecima intromiſſis in vineam, &c.* They which were ſent into the vineyard at the eleuenth houre, by the diuine indulgence were made equall to the labourers of the whole day, not paying the price of their labour, but ſhewing the riches of his goodnes to thoſe, whom he choſe without workes. Let vs now ſee on the other ſide, what they can ſay concerning reprobation.

Argum.1. The Apoſtle ſaith, *Wrath, and indignation ſhall be vpon the ſoule of euery man that doth euill,* Rom.2.9. therefore the reprobation of the wicked hath relation to their euill workes.

Anſw. S. *Paul* ſpeaketh not in this place of the decree of reprobation made againſt the wicked; but of the execution rather of that decree: the euill workes then of wicked men, are not the onely cauſe of their reiection, which is an abſolute acte of Gods owne will, yet are they a iuſt cauſe of their damnation; that although wrath and indignation be decreed againſt them from the beginning,

ginning, yet this ſentence is not executed vpon them, before by their euill workes comming betweene,they haue worthilie deſerued the damnation decreed againſt them.

*Argum.*2. To condemne a man without cauſe, is an vniuſt thing, and therefore it is farre off from God who is moſt iuſt,to condemne the wicked without reſpect to their ſinnes.

Anſw. Firſt, there is great difference betweene damnation it ſelfe,and the decree or ſentence of damnation : God indeede condemneth none without their deſerts : for there is no man which is condemned in hell,but by his euill life before worthily deſerued it : and ſo it is moſt true,which *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Bonus eſt Deus, iuſtus eſt Deus, poteſt aliquos ſine bonis meritis liberare, quia bonus eſt, non poteſt quenquam ſine malis meritis damnare,quia iuſtus eſt* : God is good, and God is iuſt, he may ſaue a man without any good workes of his,becauſe he is good;but he cannot condemne any man without his euill deſerts,becauſe he is iuſt: *cont. Iulian.*3.18. Secondly, but as for the decree and ſentence of condemnation, it is no vniuſt thing for God, as it pleaſeth him to diſpoſe of his creature,whether to honour,or diſhonour : as the potter hath right and power to make of the ſame clay veſſels either to honorable,or vile vſes,Rom.9.21.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt,that the election of the faithfull proceedeth onely from the mercifull and gracious will of God without any foreſight of their good workes as any cauſe thereof: we proue it thus.

*Argum.*1. That which is the effect of our election, cannot be the cauſe thereof: but good workes are the fruites and effects of our election : *Ergo*. This is proued by Saint *Paul*: *God hath choſen vs in Chriſt before the foundation of the world, that we ſhould be holy*, Epheſ.1.4. vpon the which words *Auguſtine* writeth vs, *Elegit nos vt eſſemus ſancti, non quia futuri eramus, ſed vt eſſemus, & ſecundum bonam voluntatem ſuam,non noſtram,quæ bona eſſe non poſſit,niſi ipſe ſecundum bonam voluntatem ſuam vt bona fieret, ſubueniret* : He hath choſen vs,ſaith the Apoſtle,that we ſhould be holy, not becauſe he ſaw we ſhould be holy,but to the end we might be holy, and according to his good pleaſure, not after our owne will, which could not be good vnleſſe he according to his good will ſhould aſſiſt vs to make it good. So then our holines and obedience is a fruite and effect of our election,not a cauſe thereof,neither is there any freewill or good diſpoſition in man,till God make it free and good.

*Argum.*2. The Apoſtle ſaith, Our election, *is not of the willer, or of the runner, but of God that ſheweth mercie*,Rom.9.16. *Ergo*, the mercie of God is the only ground of our election : for if our faith or workes ſhould be for any ſuch end or purpoſe foreſeene, it ſhould be of the willer, and runner,which the Apoſtle denieth. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith : *Quia per gratiam liberantur, non vaſa meritorum ſuorum, ſed vaſa miſericordiæ nominantur*: Becauſe they are ſaued or deliuered by grace, they are called not veſſels of their owne merites,but veſſels of grace, *de natur. grat. lib.*1.c.5. Yea the Rhemiſts confeſſe againſt themſelues,that Gods meere mercie is ſeen in the elect: *Rom.9 ſect.*2. *Ergo*, our election is a worke of Gods meere mercie: there is then no reſpect at all had to our works,for then it were not of Gods meere and ſole mercy.

*Argum.*3. Luke 12. *It is your Fathers pleaſure to giue you a kingdome* : Iohn 15. *You haue not choſen me, but I haue choſen you*: but if men be choſen for their good workes,then they ſhould chooſe God firſt. Rom.11.14. *I haue reſerued or left to my ſelfe ſeuen thouſand, &c.* hee ſaith not, they are reſerued,but I haue reſerued:ſo then ſaith the Apoſtle, *there is a remnant,through the election of grace*: if of grace, then not of workes.

Likewiſe Rom.9.11. the Apoſtle propoundeth the examples of *Iacob* and *Eſau*,of whom it was ſaid, *Iacob haue I loued, Eſau haue I hated, before they were borne, and before they had done good or euill, that the purpoſe of God might remaine according to election,not by workes*: *Ergo*,Gods election is not vpon the foreſight of any mans workes.

Obiect. Theſe are examples of temporall, not ſpirituall bleſſings, and *Iacob* and *Eſau* ſignifie two people, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the election or reprobation of any in particular.

Contra. 1. It is euident, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of election, not in temporall things,but to euerlaſting glory : verſ.23. *That he might ſhew the riches of his glory vpon the veſſels of mercie, prepared vnto glory*. 2. So likewiſe he entreateth of particular election, and reprobation, as may appeare by the example of *Pharao*, who is brought in as an inſtance of particular reiection.

*Argum.*4. *Bellarmine* that mightily impugneth this opinion, vſeth diuers effectuall reaſons out of Scripture, to proue election to proceed onely of grace : I will brieflie repeate them.

1. None can be ſaued without faith : but faith is the gift of God : *Ergo*,election is the free gift of God. It will be anſwered, that faith is not giuen to all, becauſe all will not receiue it, but they which do obey their calling (for God calleth all, and giueth all ſufficient helpe to beleeue, if they will) are foreſeene that they will beleeue, and ſo predeſtinate. *Contra.* Though God do offer vnto all generall and ſufficient meanes of their calling, yet none can beleeue, vnleſſe God effectually worke in them : Iohn 10. *Ye beleeue not,becauſe ye are not of my ſheepe*.

2. Without the gift of perſeuerance, none can be ſaued,Matth.10. *He that endureth to the end*

ſhall be ſaued: but perſeuerance is the free gift of God; of grace, not of workes: nor yet giuen to all: Iohn 13.17. *If yee know theſe things, bleſſed are yee, if yee do them: I ſpeake not of you all, I know whom I haue choſen: Ergo*, election vnto life is of grace.

3. Infants dying, ſome are ſaued, ſome condemned, hauing done yet neither good nor badde: *Ergo*, election is not of workes: it will be anſwered, that Infants are predeſtinate according to the foreſight of their workes, which they ſhould haue done, if they had liued: and beſide, Infants are not condemned to hell, but haue a place of reſt appointed for them, though they be not ſaued. *Contra.* 1. The Apoſtle ſaith, Euery man muſt receyue according to the things done in the fleſh, 2.Cor.5.10. not foreſeene to be done. 2. Againe S.*Paul* ſheweth, that death and condemnation are the reward of originall ſinne, Rom.5.16. vnto which Infants are ſubiect being borne in originall ſinne: if then they are not ſaued, they are condemned.

4. Chriſt as he was man was freely predeſtinate to be the Sonne of God Rom.1.4. man Chriſt could not deſerue by any workes to be the Sonne of God: *Ergo*, his members alſo are freely predeſtinate.

5. If men were elected by the foreſight of their works, then it ſhould be no myſterie nor matter of admiration as the Apoſtle maketh it, Rom.11.33. for the reaſon is euident, why God electeth ſome and not others, namely becauſe of their workes that are foreſeene. *Bellarm.lib.2.de grat.cap.*12.

Secondly, concerning the decree of reprobation, our ſentence is this: firſt, that as eternall ſaluation is from the beginning ordained for the elect, ſo eternall deſtruction is decreed for the reprobate: for we cannot but affirme, that God both our firſt Creator, and laſt Iudge, did both foreſee and appoint the end of euery creature. Secondly, God doth reiect the wicked two wayes, *conſilio*, in his eternall counſell, and *facto*, by the execution of his counſell and decree, which ſhal be in their actuall damnation: his counſell or decree of reiection is alſo twofold, it is eyther *decretum præteritionis*, the abſolute decree in paſſing by or not chooſing ſome, but leauing them in their owne nature: And this is called reprobation in two reſpects: firſt, by way of compariſon, becauſe he that is not loued or leſſe loued, is ſaid to be hated, as Gen.29.31. *Iacob* is ſaid to deſpiſe *Lea*, that is, he loued her not as he did *Rachel*: and Deut.21.15. if a man haue two wiues, *one beloued, the other hated &c.* that is, not ſo much loued: ſecondly, it is ſo called becauſe of the ende and euent, becauſe reprobation and damnation followeth vpon the decree of preterition. There is alſo *decretum ex præſcientia*, the decree of reprobation iſſuing out of Gods preſcience and foreknowledge: who as he did foreſee in the beginning the obſtinacie and wickedneſſe of men, ſo hee preordayned in his iuſtice the ſame to be puniſhed: as a Iudge foreknowing and vnderſtanding the wickedneſſe of a malefactor, may iuſtly with himſelfe ordaine his puniſhment, before hee be brought forth in open iudgement. From hence wee obſerue theſe three things: firſt, the difference betweene thoſe two decrees: the decree of preterition or omiſſion is not the efficient cauſe of damnation, but onely an antecedent or forerunner to it: the proper cauſe of damnation is the ſinne of the creature: the externall or accidentall cauſe is the iuſtice of God, that cannot otherwiſe chuſe, but puniſh ſinne: but the decree of preſcience, according to the foreſight of their ſinnes, that are reiected, doth ordaine and procure vnto them moſt iuſtly eternal damnation: *Pœnam Deus decreuit, & ordinauit efficienter vt iuſtus iudex:* God as a iuſt Iudge, is the efficient cauſe by his decree of the puniſhment, *Iun.reſponſ.ad ration.*72. Secondly, we muſt note the difference betweene the decree of election and reprobation: for men are elected without any foreſight of their works, but they are not reiected without reſpect to their workes: God did both foreſee and ordayne both the godly life and glorious ſaluation of the elect, as the proper cauſe of them both; but as for the ſinnes of the reprobate, God foreſaw them onely: their iuſt and deſerued puniſhment, he both foreſaw, and did ordaine: ſo that, *cauſa perditionis ab hominibus interna, ſalutis à Deo externa eſt:* the cauſe of mens perdition is inward in themſelues, the cauſe of their ſaluation is externall from God, *Iun.reſponſ.ad ration.*16. Thirdly, the decree of preterition, that is, of not chuſing ſome, which *Bellarmine* calleth negatiue reprobation, is a free act of Gods will, without reſpect had to the creature; but the decree according to Gods foreknowledge, hath relation vnto their works: ſo that the decree of reprobation, as it dependeth not abſolutely altogether vpon Gods will, without reſpect had vnto the ſinne and rebellion of the reprobate, ſo neither doth it ſpring onely from the foreſight of ſinne, as the *Rhemiſts* affirme, that God doth not reprobate any but for ſinne.

Argum. The Lord ſaith, I haue loued *Iacob* and hated *Eſau, before that the children were borne, or had done either good or euill*, Rom.9.verſ.11. As God loued *Iacob*, ſo he hated *Eſau*: but he loued *Iacob* freely, without reſpect to his good workes: *Ergo, Eſau* was hated, that is, not loued or choſen of God, without any foreſight of his euill works. This place then is as ſtrong to proue the free and voluntary act of reprobation, as it is for free election.

Auguſtine putteth the caſe of two twinnes: *Quorum vnus aſſumitur, alius relinquitur, diſpar eſt* *exitus, merita communia :* One of them is receiued, the other forſaken, their end is farre vnlike, and yet the works of them both are the ſame: Two Infantes die in their infancie, one before Baptiſme, and ſo as the Papiſts hold, is damned; another after Baptiſme, and is ſaued : the workes of them both are alike: if therefore their predeſtination ſhould depend of the foreſight of their works onely, good or euill, they ſhould both haue the ſame end.

And as we ſee it to be in children, ſo ſaith *Auguſtine: Hoc & in maioribus fieri nequaquam cunctemur :* We neede not to doubt, but that God euen ſo dealeth with men of greater yeeres: therefore he thus concludeth : *Inueſtigabilis ergo eſt Dei miſericordia, qua cuius vult miſeretur, nullis eius præcedentibus meritis; & inueſtigabilis veritas, qua quem vult obdurat , eius præcedentibus meritis, ſed cum eo cuius miſeretur, plerunque communibus :* Therefore vnſearchable is the mercie of God, whereby hee hath mercie on whom he will, no merites of his going afore: and vnſearchable is his trueth, whereby he hardeneth whom he will, his deſerts going before, but the very ſame with his, vpon whom God hath mercy, *de perſeueran. lib.2.cap.*11. It remaineth then, that neither election, nor reprobation are decreed, becauſe of mens workes that are foreſeene, but do proceede from the free will and Counſell of God.

Laſtly, I will adde one other reaſon out of *Auguſtine,* to ſhut vp this place withall : *Si humanum genus, quod creatum primitus conſtat ex nihilo, non cum debita mortis & peccati origine naſceretur, & tamen ex eis creator omnipotens in æternum nonnullos damnare voluit interitum, quis omnipotenti Creatori diceret, cur feciſti ſic?* If that mankind , which in the beginning God created of nothing, were not by nature ſubiect both to ſin, and death, and yet the almighty Creator would condemne ſome to euerlaſting deſtruction , who would ſay vnto him, Lorde why haſt thou done ſo ? His opinion is this, that though there were no matter of condemnation naturally in man , yet God by the right of his Creatorſhip, might diſpoſe of his creature as hee thought beſt, whether vnto death or life: Therefore the decree of reprobation is not cauſed onely by the foreſight of mens works : but iſſueth immediatly from the eternall will and counſell of God.

Laſtly, that election is onely of grace, S. *Ambroſe* is a notable witneſſe, *lib.1.de vocat. Gentium. cap.5.* ſpeaking of Infants, of whom ſome are ſaued and elected , others refuſed , he thus concludeth: *Non inuenit, quod diſcernat humana iuſticia, ſed habet, quod eligat inenarrabilis gratia :* Humane iuſtice can finde nothing whereby to diſcerne them , but vnſpeakable grace findeth how to elect them. And againe, *Omnibus hominibus cuiuſlibet generis &c. cauſa percipiendæ gratiæ voluntas Dei eſt, apud quem ratio electionis abſcondita eſt, &c.* The cauſe of receiuing grace vnto all men , of what kind ſoeuer, is the will of God, with whom the reaſon of election is hidde and ſecrete, their merites beginning from that grace, which they receiued without merites.

De prædeſt. lib.1.cap.16.

Lib.2.c.3. Datur ante vllum laborem, vnde quiſq; mercedem accipiat, ſecundum ſuum laborem, &c. It is giuen before any labour, whereby according to their labour euery man ſhall receiue reward.

Againe, *lib.1.c.3. Tales fuerunt, qui ſunt attracti, &c.* They which are called, are the ſame , that they which remaine in their hardneſſe : *Illis tribuit gratia ſtupenda quod voluit; iſtis retribuit veritas iuſta, quod debuit : vt iudicium Dei magis inſcrutabile ſit in electione gratiæ, quam in retributione iuſtitiæ:* Grace giueth to them, as ſhe would ; Iuſtice rendreth to the other, that which is due: that the iudgment of God ſhould be more vnſearchable in the election of grace, then in the retribution of iuſtice.

Secondly, that actuall reprobation is decreed to none without their deſerts : that although election cannot be merited, yet that damnation is deſerued, the ſame father thus witneſſeth , *lib.2.de vocat. Gent.c.1. Nec damnati iuſta eſt querimonia , nec iuſtificati verax eſt arrogantia, ſi vel ille dicat non meruiſſe ſe pœnam, vel iſte aſſerat meruiſſe ſe gratiam, &c.* Neyther can the damned iuſtly complaine, nor the iuſtified truely boaſt ; if either he ſay he hath not deſerued puniſhment, or the other, that he hath deſerued grace: *& cap.9. Cum illos propria nequitia demergat ad pœnam, iſtos Dei gratia perducat ad gloriam :* Seeing their wickedneſſe doth caſt them downe into paine, and grace bringeth the other to glorie.

Likewiſe *Auguſtine,* as he is alleaged, *cauſ.23.qu.4.c.24. Nec de iudicio Dei querimur, quo deſerit meritos deſeri, & miſericordiæ eius gratias agimus, qua liberat non meritos liberari:* Neyther do we complaine of the iudgement of God, whereby he forſaketh thoſe that deſerued to be forſaken, and we giue thankes to his mercie, whereby he deliuereth thoſe , which deſerued not to be deliuered.

Thus we conclude, that actual reprobation is not decreed to any, nor executed without reſpect to their deſerts ; yet the electing of ſome, and the not electing of others dependeth onely of the abſolute will and purpoſe of God, as I haue ſhewed.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, OF THE CERtaintie of Predeſtination.

The Papiſts.

25.Error. 1. THere are two parts of this queſtion : firſt, whether Gods decree, concerning the election of men, be certaine and vnchangeable : Secondly, whether a man in this life may in himſelfe be aſſured of his election. The firſt our aduerſaries dare not plainly affirme: for it were great blaſphemie openly to ſay, that Gods decree may be changed: yet they do in circumſtance of ſpeech affirme it : as *Rhemiſt. Act.27. ſect.3.* (*Men cannot be ſaued, though they be predeſtinate, vnleſſe they keepe Gods commandements.*) As though it were poſſible for men predeſtinate, not to keepe the commandements of God, or in the end not to be ſaued. Likewiſe it was concluded in the Councel of Trent, *ſeſſ.6 can.*23. that the grace of iuſtification may be loſt, which is as much to ſay, that a man may loſe his predeſtination : for none are iuſtified, but whom God before hath predeſtinate, Roman. 8.30. They cannot therefore fall away from the grace of iuſtification, vnleſſe they fall away from predeſtination.

The Proteſtants.

THat the decree of God, concerning ſuch as ſhall be ſaued, remaineth ſure and certaine, and that it is impoſſible for any of the Elect to fall away, the Scripture euery where proueth.

Argum. Whom God loueth, he loueth to the end, Iohn 13.1. The gifts and calling of God are without repentance, Rom. 11.29. *My Father is greater then all, and no man is able to take them out of his hand,* Iohn 10.29. *Ergo,* our election is certaine, for with God there is not ſo much as any ſhadow of change, Iam. 1.17.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Horum qui electi ſunt, ſi quiſpiam perit, fallitur Deus, ſed nemo eorum perit, quia non fallitur Deus :* Of the Elect, if any periſh, God is deceiued : but none of them can periſh, becauſe God cannot be deceiued, *De correp. & grat. cap.*7. This ſentence is repeated in the decrees. *cauſ.*33. *diſt.*2. *de pœnit. c.*25.

Many other places to this purpoſe are cited out of *Auguſtine* by *Eſpencaus* a popiſh writer, *commentar. in 2. Timoth. pag.*51. as *lib.*18 *de ciuitat. Dei. c.*51. *Ex eis quos praſciuit Deus, perire nullus poteſt :* None can periſh of thoſe, whom God hath foreknowne : *lib.*20. *c.*8. *Nunquam ab illo eccleſia ſeducetur prædeſtinata & electa ante mundi conſtitutionem :* The Church predeſtinate and elected before the conſtitution of the world, ſhall neuer be ſeduced from God : *de catechizand. rudib. c.*11. *Satis fixum corde debet retineri, nullum ex Ieruſalem illa periturum eſſe, quia qui perierat, ex illa non erat:* It muſt be held as fixed in the heart, that none of that Ieruſalem can periſh, becauſe he that periſheth, was not of it.

Aquinas is very ſound in this matter ; *part.*1. *qu.*23. *artic.*3. *ad.*2. & 3. *Prædeſtinatum abſolutè quidem, & ſecundum ſe conſideratum, poſſe in peccato mortali emori. &c.* That he, which is predeſtinate being abſolutely and in himſelfe conſidered, may die in mortall ſinne, and periſh, *non tamen ex ſuppoſitione, ſeu in ſenſu compoſito,* but not by way of ſuppoſition, or in the compound ſenſe, that is, Gods euerlaſting will and decree beeing preſuppoſed : For certaine it is, that the predeſtinate of themſelues are ſubiect to fall ; but Gods decree of their ſaluation conſidered, they can neuer fall.

The ſame *Aquinas, qu.*24. *artic.*3. *Simpliciter in libro vitæ ſcriptos nunquam deleri, &c.* That ſimply, they which are written in the booke of life, cannot be blotted out : but they are ſaid to be blotted or raſed out, which are written there not by predeſtination, but in reſpect of their preſent iuſtice : that this blotting out is to be referred to the opinion of men, not to the veritie it ſelfe and knowledge of God.

Their owne Decrees agree : *Cauſ.*23. *qu.*4. *c.*24. *Eſſent prædeſtinati ſi eſſent reuerſuri :* They ſhould be predeſtinate, if they were to returne : *Ergo,* becauſe they returne not, they are not predeſtinate.

*Cauſ.*33. *diſt.*2. *de pœnitent. Nullus eorum ex bono in malum mutatus finit hanc vitam:* None of them being changed from good to euill, endeth his life : *diſt.*4. *c.*10. *Ex his nemo ſeducitur :* None of thoſe which are elected, are ſeduced.

The Maſter of Sentences euidently concludeth, for the certaintie of predeſtination, *lib.*1. *diſtinct.*40. *b. Non poteſt vtrumq; ſimul eſſe, vt aliquis ſit prædeſtinatus & non ſaluetur, &c.* Both of theſe cannot be together, that one ſhould be ſaued, and not predeſtinate; or one to be predeſtinate, and yet damned : *ibid. C. Non poteſt eſſe vt ab æterno ſit prædeſtinatus, & modò non ſit prædeſtinatus:* it cannot be, that one ſhould from euerlaſting be predeſtinate, and yet now not be predeſtinate. Thus I truſt this point is euery way cleared as touching the certaintie of the decree of predeſtination.

The Papiſts.

FOr euery man to be aſſured infalliblie that hee ſhall be ſaued without ſpeciall reuelation, is a moſt damnable, falſe illuſion, and preſumption, *Rom.*8. *ſect.*9. They call it a faithleſſe perſwaſion of ſaluation,to be confident of Gods grace and ſaluation,and *fides dæmoniorum*,not *Apoſtolorum*,the faith of diuels,not of Apoſtles,*Rhemiſt.*1.*Corin.9 ſect.9.* So the Tridentine Councell calleth *certitudinem remiſſionis peccatorum, vanam, & ab omni pietate remotam fiduciam*,the certaintie of remiſſion of ſinnes,a vaine and faithleſſe perſwaſion. And therefore euery man, *De gratia formidare,& timere poteſt*,may ſtand in doubt,and be afraide,whether he be in the ſtate of grace, *ſeſſ.6. cap.9.*

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* ſaith: I know nothing by my ſelfe, yet am I not thereby iuſtified: *Paul* durſt not aſſure himſelfe,whether he were iuſtified,*Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Paul was moſt ſure of Gods grace, and his iuſtification through faith, Rom.8.38. He is perſwaded that nothing can ſeparate him from the loue of God in Chriſt: but hee doth acknowledge,that he is not iuſtified by his faithfull labours in the Goſpell,or any other works of his own, although he were cleere in conſcience.

*Argum.*2. Philip.2.12. *Worke your ſaluation with feare and trembling: Ergo*,men muſt not be ſecure of their ſaluation.

Anſw. We doe not teach men to walke ſecurely,or preſume of their election, but wee proteſt vnto them, that ſeeing men are predeſtinate vnto good workes, that vnleſſe they be carefull to leade an holie life, they cannot aſſure themſelues to haue part in predeſtination: yet wee teach men notwithſtanding,aſſuredly to beleeue the promiſes of God made to all thoſe that beleeue,to be ſaued. And this confidence doth very well agree with the feare of God. See theſe arguments anſwered more at large in the ſecond part of iuſtification,queſt.2.argum.3. and 4. Then as *Proſper* well ſaith: *ſentent.6.ad capitul.Gallor. Gratia non abolet arbitrium, ſed adolet:* Grace doth not aboliſh mans will and endeuour,but cheriſh it.So predeſtination doth not make men more ſecure, but more carefull.

The Proteſtants.

OVr ſecuritie of ſaluation is no vaine preſumption, but an aſſurance vpon the word of God, that through faith in God,and walking in that way which God hath appointed vs,wee ſhall vndoubtedly come in the end to eternall life.

*Argum.*1. As our election is certaine, ſure, and vndoubted before God: ſo it is the Lords pleaſure,that euery Chriſtian while hee liueth, may and ought in himſelfe to be aſſured thereof by a liuely faith: as Saint *Peter* teacheth vs to labour and giue our diligence to make our calling and election ſure,2.Pet.1.10.

*Argum.*2. Rom.8.38. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *I am ſure,that neither death nor life,&c.ſhall ſeparate vs from the loue of God in Chriſt Ieſus: Ergo*,the Apoſtle was certaine of his ſaluation.

Rhemiſt. Firſt,the Apoſtle ſpeaketh onely in generall: as if he ſhould haue ſaid, So many as are elected,cannot certainly periſh.

Anſw. It is falſe,for the Apoſtle pronounceth particularly of himſelfe: as more plainly,2.Timoth.4.8. *From henceforth there is laid vp for me a crowne of righteouſnes.*

Rhemiſt. Secondly,Saint *Paul* might haue this perſwaſion by ſome eſpeciall reuelation.

Anſw. The ground of the Apoſtles perſwaſion is none other, but that which is common to all the faithfull,the loue of God in Chriſt. And ſo *Auguſtine* interpreteth this place,writing thus: *Iſti, ſignificati ſunt ad Timotheum,&c.* Theſe, of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, are ſignified in another place to Timoth.2.2.19.The foundation of God remaineth ſure, the Lord knoweth who are his: *Ergo*,this aſſurance and confidence is common, though not in the like meaſure to all faithfull Chriſtians. So the Apoſtle ſaith,2.Tim.4.8.that there was a crowne of righteouſneſſe laid vp not onely for him, but for all thoſe which loue his appearing. De correpi. & grat.cap.7.

Bernard alſo telleth vs, what this reuelation is: *Hoc non fit,niſi reuelante ſpiritu per fidem homini æternum dei propoſitum ſuper ſua ſalute futura: quæ ſane reuelatio non eſt aliud, quam infuſio gratiæ ſpiritualis,per quam facta carnis mortificantur:* This is not brought to paſſe, but by the ſpirit of God reuealing vnto a man by faith,the eternall purpoſe of God concerning his ſaluation: which reuelation is nothing elſe but the ſpirituall infuſion of grace, whereby the deedes of the fleſh are mortified,&c. *Epiſtol.*108. So then a man by reuelation of the ſpirit commeth to the knowledge of his ſaluation: but not by any ſpeciall or extraordinarie reuelation, but that which is by faith, and worketh mortification, which is common to all the faithfull. See more of this,part.2.of Iuſtification,queſt.2.

Auguſtine alſo ſaith: *Quia non ſecundum merita noſtra ſed illius miſericordiam firma eſt promiſſio, nemo debet cum trepidatione prædicare,vnde non poteſt dubitare:* Becauſe the promiſe remaineth ſtedfaſt, not by our workes,but his mercie: we muſt not with trembling and fearefulnes pronounce that, whereof we cannot doubt. No marueile then if Papiſts doubt of their ſaluation,becauſe their confidence is built vpon their workes: but if they would with the faithfull of God, renounce their owne workes, and be content to ſubmit themſelues to the faith of Chriſt, they would not thinke it ſo ſtraunge a thing,for Chriſtians to haue a full and ſtedfaſt perſwaſion of their ſaluation.

Bernard alſo ſaith: *Pignus ſalutis donat ſpiritus, reddens teſtimonium ſpiritui tuo quod filius Dei ſis: qui certiſſima ſigna prædeſtinationis tuæ cordi tuo imprimat & oſtendat.ſerm.2.in die Pentecoſt.* The holie ſpirit giueth vs a pledge of our ſaluation,giuing teſtimonie to thy ſpirit,that thou art the ſonne of God:which doth imprint,and ſhew to thy heart moſt ſure ſignes of thy predeſtination. If a man may haue ſure ſignes of his predeſtination, how is hee not ſure and certaine of his predeſtination?

Saint *Ambroſe* alſo thus teſtifieth *de obit.Theodoſ.Fidelis Deus, quæ ſeruis ſemel præparat, non ſubtrahit,&c.* God is faithfull,what he once prepareth for his ſeruants he taketh not away:if our faith remaine,the promiſe alſo holdeth:See O man the grace of God toward thee, *in terris quateris,& in cœlo poſſides:* thou art ſhaken, or toſt in earth, and haſt a poſſeſſion in heauen, let thy heart be where thy poſſeſſion is.

See this truth ſealed by the holie Martyrs: Maſter *Tyndal* ſaith thus: *Chriſt is thine, and all his deedes are thy deedes: neither canſt thou be damned,except Chriſt be damned with thee: neither can Chriſt be ſaued,except he be ſaued with thee: Fox pag.*1248.

Maſter *Bradford: Know for a certaine,that as the diuell goeth about nothing ſo much, as to bring you in doubt,whether you be Gods childe:ſo whatſoeuer ſhall moue you to admit that dubitation,be aſſured,the ſame to come of the diuell: Fox pag.*1640.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CONTROuerſie, of the grace and gifts of God.

THe ſeuerall queſtions handled in this part,are theſe: firſt,whether the grace of God,whereby we are made acceptable vnto him,be a qualitie inherent in vs. Secondly,of the diſtinction of ſufficient and effectuall grace, and wherein the efficacie of grace conſiſteth. Thirdly,of the diſtinction of grace *operantis,cooperantis,*helping and working grace.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER Grace be a qualitie inherent.

The Papiſts.

27. Error. THe Ieſuite ſetteth downe this diſtinction of grace: There is *gratia gratis data,& gratia gratum faciens:* Grace freely giuen,and they are ſuch ſpirituall gifts of wiſedome, knowledge, vtterance,and ſuch like, which are giuen rather for the benefit of others: there is alſo grace,whereby we are made acceptable vnto God,the grace of iuſtification; which grace *Bellarmine* defendeth to be,*qualitatem per modum habitus in homine permanentem,* a qualitie,in manner of an habite, reſiant and permanent in man,*de grat.lib.*1.*cap.*3.

*Argum.*1. The Apoſtle ſaith, *As by one mans diſobedience many were made ſinners, ſo by the obedience of one ſhall many be made righteous,*Rom.5.19. But wee are made ſinners, not by the imputation of *Adams* vnrighteouſnes,but by ſinne inherent,and permanent in vs: *Ergo,* we are iuſtified,not by the imputation of the righteouſnes of Chriſt, but by iuſtice or righteouſnes inherent in vs, *Bellarm.cap.*4.

Anſw. Firſt, I marueile that the Ieſuite hath ſo ſoone forgotten himſelfe: for before he denied, that originall ſinne is a poſitiue qualitie in man: *lib.*5.*de amiſſ.grat.cap.*15. Here he affirmeth the contrarie,that it is a qualitie or habite inherent in vs, which is all one,as if he had ſaid, it is a poſitiue qualitie: for what is it to be inherent,or permanent in vs,but the ſame, which he calleth poſitiue? Secondly,Saint *Paul* in this place compareth the things themſelues together, that as by *Adam* we are made ſinners, ſo we are iuſtified by Chriſt: not the manner how they are done. This note of ſimilitude then, *ſo by the obedience of one man,*doth not inferre a likenes or equalitie in euerie reſpect, but wherein they are compared. The Ieſuite therefore can no more gather vpon this (*ſo*) as hee doth, that our righteouſnes by Chriſt muſt be inherent,as our ſinne by *Adam* is,then that naturally we ſhould be iuſt by Chriſt,as we are euill naturally by *Adam:* or that vniuerſally all men ſhould be ſaued by Chriſt,as all are dead in *Adam:* or that Chriſt ſhould free vs from the mortalitie of bodie,as *Adams* ſinne hath made vs ſubiect to death, and corruption. As this(*ſo*) doth not enforce a neceſſitie of theſe things,ſo neither of that inſtance, which the Ieſuite vrgeth. Thirdly, that the Ieſuite may more fully vnderſtand our minde, euen in this point alſo, in ſome ſort,the ſimilitude may hold: for as in originall ſinne there are two things,the guilt of *Adams* ſin, which though it were not by vs actually committed, yet is ours by propagation, and the corruption or deprauation of nature,which is the fruit of *Adams* diſobedience,verily and really graft in vs: ſo in our iuſtification are two things; firſt,the imputation of the righteouſnes of Chriſt, which anſwereth to the propagation of *Adams* ſinne,and the effects or fruits of this righteouſnes, that is, holines and ſanctification; which is an imperfect iuſtice inherent in vs: yet not by this, but by

Chriſts iuſtice imputed, are we made iuſt before God : as by the propagation of *Adams* ſinne wee are properly made ſinners, Rom.5.12. The corruption of our nature being the fruite and effect, or puniſhment rather of *Adams* diſobedience in his poſteritie.

*Argum.*2. Our Sauiour ſaith, Ioh.7.38. *He that beleeueth, out of his belly ſhall flow riuers of waters of life.* The Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.5.5. *The loue of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghoſt,&c.* 1.Iohn 2.20. *Ye haue an oyntment from him that is holie,&c.* 1.Iohn 3.9. *His ſeede remaineth in him.* This fountaine, oyntment, ſeede, what is it elſe but an habite of grace inherent, whereby wee are made acceptable to God? *Bellarm.cap.*2.

Anſw. In thoſe places the Scripture ſpeaketh not of the firſt grace of iuſtification, whereby we are accepted before God, but of the ſecond grace of ſanctification, whereby we are approued vnto men, which is a conſequent of our iuſtification by faith : as Ioh.7.39. *This ſpake he of the ſpirit, which they that beleeue in him ſhould receiue.* And Rom.5.1: *We are firſt iuſtified by faith in Chriſt, then the loue of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the holie Ghoſt,* verſ.5. So then the fountaine, oyntment, ſeede, that is in the regenerate, doth ſignifie their ſpirituall ſtate and ſtrength wrought in them by the iuſtification of faith : ſo that they are firſt iuſtified by faith, and then theſe graces are conferred and beſtowed vpon them.

The Proteſtants.

THat grace whereby we are iuſtified, and made acceptable before God, is not a qualitie inherent or dwelling in vs, but we are made iuſt by the imputation of the righteouſnes of Chriſt: that righteouſnes which is in vs, is imperfect, and not able to iuſtifie vs before God.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *He hath made him to be ſinne for vs, that knew no ſinne, that wee ſhould be made the righteouſnes of God in him,* 2.Cor.5.21. Out of this place this argument may be drawne: As our ſinnes were made Chriſts, ſo is his righteouſnes made ours : but our ſinnes were not habitually inherent in him, but onely imputed : *Ergo,* his righteouſnes, and the grace whereby wee are iuſtified, is not inherent in vs, but imputed onely.

*Argum.*2. If wee are iuſtified by faith onely, then this iuſtifying grace is by imputation only, not inherent in vs : but faith onely iuſtifieth : *Ergo.* The propoſition is thus prooued : Faith iuſtifieth either formally and actually as a qualitie inherent, or inſtrumentally or paſſiuely, as it apprehendeth the iuſtice of Chriſt : but it doth not iuſtifie, as it is a qualitie or grace wrought in vs, for the Apoſtle ſaith, *not of workes,* Epheſ.2.9. Therefore faith, as a worke in vs iuſtifieth not : for then other ſpirituall graces, as loue, hope, ſhould iuſtifie as well as faith : if faith then onely iuſtifie inſtrumentally, as it apprehendeth Chriſt, then doth the propoſition follow, that the grace, whereby we are iuſtified, is not inherent in vs, but in Chriſt apprehended.

That faith onely iuſtifieth, the Apoſtle euidently proueth, Rom.3.28. *Wee conclude that a man is iuſtified by faith without the workes of the law.* And if they anſwere, that the workes of the lawe are here excluded, not the workes of grace : Saint *Paul* elſewhere doth alſo exclude ſuch workes : *By grace are ye ſaued through faith, not of workes,&c.* And afterward hee ſheweth what workes : *Euen good workes, which God hath ordained vs to walke in: theſe are workes of grace.* But of this matter, wee ſhall entreate (God willing) more at large, when we come to handle that waightie controuerſie of Iuſtification by faith. Other arguments alſo for this matter which wee haue in hand, wee will bring forth, in the queſtion of inherent iuſtice.

We will conclude here with that ſentence of *Auguſtine : Iuſtitia ſit, ſed ex gratia ſit, à Deo tibi ſit, non tua ſit: ſacerdotes (inquit) tui induantur iuſtitia: veſtis accipitur, non cum capillis naſcitur, pecora de ſuo veſtiuntur:* Let there be righteouſnes, but let it be of grace, let it be of God, let it not be thine owne : Let thy Prieſts (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) be cloathed with righteouſnes : cloathing is receiued outwardly, it groweth not in vs, as our haire, nor as the ſheepe are cloathed of their owne : *De verb. Apoſt. ſerm.*15. So then iuſtifying grace is no more ours or inherent in vs, than the veſture or garment, which wee are cloathed with, which is not in vs, but onely adhereth, and is applied to vs.

We want not here the teſtimonie of ſome of their owne writers, as *Albertus Pighius* thus teſtifieth, *lib.*5. *de liber. arbitrio. In ſcholis imaginantur gratiam dei qualitatem aliquam increatam animæ à deo,&c.* In the ſchooles they thinke that the grace of God is a qualitie created in the ſoule, either the ſame with the habite of charitie, or diuerſe from it : *quæ commentitia vniuerſa exiſtimo,&c.* which I thinke all to be but fained, and to haue no warrant or authoritie from the Scriptures.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE DISTINction or difference of ſufficient and effectuall grace.

The Papiſts.

BEllarmine thus diſtinguiſheth them: *gratia ſufficiens,* ſufficient grace, is when God doth ſo call 28.Error.
and ſtirre vp a man, ayding and aſſiſting him by his direction and protection, and working

together with him, that the man thus called, hath power to will that which is good, but yet in deede willeth it not: *gratia efficax*, effectuall grace is that, whereby a man ſo ayded, aſſiſted, and called, doth will indeed and performe that which is good, *lib.*1. *de grat. cap.*2. This then is the Ieſuites opinion, that Gods internall vocation, and his ſpeciall grace inwardly working, is not to all effectuall, but ſufficient onely: being ſufficient for their conuerſion, but yet not in deede effecting it.

Argum. The Lord ſaith thus by the Prophet *Iſay: What could I haue done any more to my vineyard, that I haue not done vnto it? I looked that it ſhould bring forth grapes & it bringeth forth wilde grapes*, Iſay 5.4. The like place we haue Matth. 23.37. *O Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem, which killeſt, &c. how often would I haue gathered thy children together, as the Henne, &c. and thou wouldeſt not:* Theſe had grace neceſſarie and ſufficient to their conuerſion, for the Lord ſaith, *What could I haue done more*, and I would haue gathered them together; yet were they not conuerted: this grace then, whereby they were called, was ſufficient; yet not effectuall, *Bellarm. cap.*11.

Anſw. Theſe places alleaged are not vnderſtoode, of the internall calling, or of grace inwardly working, but onely of the externall calling, and oblation of grace, and the ſupplie of all neceſſarie outward meanes to ſaluation. As the Prophet *Iſay* ſpeaketh of hedging the vineyard, caſting out the ſtones, planting it with the beſt plants, ſetting vp a watch tower: that is, they had the watchmen the Prophets, alſo the beſt plants, the true worſhip and ſeruice of God, they had the law and the Prophets, and all ſtones, that is externall impediments, which might hinder them, were remoued: So our Sauiour ſaith, that he would haue gathered them together by his preaching, and by the voice of the Goſpell, as the Henne by her clocking doth call her chickens, but they refuſed, and reſiſted, as they likewiſe ſerued the Prophets, and other meſſengers of God, ſent vnto them.

We graunt then, that the externall meanes of ſaluation in themſelues may be and are ſufficient to all, but effectuall onely to thoſe, to whome God giueth his eſpeciall grace: and in this ſenſe we doe not much miſlike this diſtinction: but we deny any ſuch difference of the internall grace, whereby God calleth, ſtirreth vp, aſſiſteth, moueth, directeth the hearts of men: this grace cannot be ſufficient in any, but it muſt needes alſo be effectuall. Yet here we deſire not to be miſtaken, but further doe enlarge our meaning thus: Firſt, we denie not altogether this diſtinction of ſufficiencie and efficacie: it hath place in the externall calling, and common grace offered to all, which is ſufficient to many, but effectuall onely to the elect: but not in the inward ſpirituall calling. Secondly, we graunt a diuers meaſure of inward grace in the effectuall calling of the elect, and admit ſome degree in their ſpirituall calling, which though it be not alike effectuall in all that are ſo called, yet is it effectuall. Thirdly, we confeſſe, that ſomewhat may be inwardly wrought by Gods ſpirite euen in hypocrites: but we affirme, that no inward temporarie gift wrought in them is ſufficient to their ſaluation: for hereupon it would follow, that they might reſiſt their inward powerfull, ſufficient calling, and that the abſence of their owne will onely maketh it without effect: that therefore there is no ſuch powerfull inward working grace ſufficient onely, but that the ſame is effectuall alſo, we ſhew it thus.

The Proteſtants.

Argum. 1. THe Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, *I will runne the way of thy commaundements, when thou ſhalt enlarge my heart*, Pſalm. 119.32. *Draw me, and we will runne after thee*, Cantic. 1.3. And S. *Paul* ſaith, *Whom he hath predeſtinate, he hath called, whom he hath called, he hath iuſtified*, Rom. 8.30. All theſe places proue that the internall calling of God is alwaies effectuall: After drawing and enlarging the heart, followeth running, after vocation, immediatly enſueth iuſtification.

Argum. 2. The grace of God is not in vaine in any: as S. *Paul* ſaith, *His grace that was in me, was not in vaine*, 1. Corinth. 15.10. But if ſo that the grace of God inwardly mouing and calling men, ſhould fayle in the effect, then ſhould it be in vaine: *Ergo*, it is effectuall in all the children of God, in whom it ſo worketh.

Let *Auguſtine* ſpeake: *Lex extra hominem ſcripta vt eum terrificet, gratia in homine eſt, vt eum intrinſecus iuſtificet:* The lawe is written without man to terrifie him, grace is within man inwardly to iuſtifie him, *de ſpirit. & liter. cap.*17. As terror then outwardly followeth the knowledge of the Lawe, ſo iuſtification alwaies followeth grace inwardly working: it is therefore alwaies effectuall where it is ſufficient, ſpeaking of the inward and ſpirituall calling. Alſo in another place he ſaith: *Quando Deus docet, ſic docet, vt ſcienda ſciamus, aperiendo veritatem, ſic docet vt facienda faciamus, inſpirando ſuauitatem:* When God teacheth, he ſo teacheth, that things which are to be knowne we doe know, God opening the trueth to vs, and things which are to be done, we doe, by inſpiring a deſire into vs, Pſalme 118. con. 17. Gods inward teaching then by his holy ſpirite is alwaies effectuall in his children, and in none of them it is ſufficient, but together alſo effectuall.

*Magiſter ſentent. lib.*1. *diſt.*17. *liter. K.* thus teſtifieth, *Spiritus ſanctus non ſolum non habenti, verum etiam habenti non incaſſum permittitur, non habenti quidem, vt habeatur, habenti, vt amplius habeatur:*

The holy ſpirit is not giuen in vaine neyther to him, that hath it not; nor to him, that hath: to him that hath not, that he may haue him, to him that hath him, that he may haue him in greater meaſure: Wherefore the inward calling of the ſpirit is alwayes effectuall.

AN APPENDIX OR SECOND PART OF THIS queſtion, wherein the efficacie of grace conſiſteth.

The Papiſts.

29.Error. *Bellarmine* dare not attribute the efficacie of grace onely to free will, that this ſhould be the cauſe, why that grace in ſome worketh effectually, in ſome others it doth not, becauſe ſome giue their free aſſent vnto grace working in them, other withhold it: for then (ſaith he) it ſhould reſt in mans power, whether Grace ſhould be effectuall or not: Neither doth he thinke, that God onely is the cauſe of this efficacie, by drawing and framing our willes to conſent to his grace: But this efficacie, he ſaith, partly dependeth of Gods inward perſwaſion, partly of the free aſſent of the will, *Deus*, (ſaith the Ieſuite) *quos efficaciter trahere decreuit, eam ſuaſionem adhibet, quam videt congruere ingenio eorum:* God doth vſe that perſwaſion to thoſe, whom he purpoſeth effectually to call, which he knoweth beſt to fit their humour, and which it is moſt like they will agree vnto, *Bellarmin. cap.* 12. So thus in the Ieſuites opinion, God is not a drawer, or worker of mans will, but a mouer, and perſwader onely.

Argum. If God ſhould not onely moue and perſwade men by his ſpirite, but alſo produce and worke in them the very act of willing: then ſhould there be no freewill in man to doe any thing: and ſo no action in man ſhould be voluntarie, but of neceſſitie and conſtraint, becauſe man is not left to himſelfe, to giue his aſſent freely, but his will is determined of God, *Bellarmin. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, it is no abſurditie at all, to ſay that in man by nature there remaineth no freewill at all, to that which is good: for our Sauiour ſaith, *Without me you can doe nothing*, Iohn 15.5. but to giue our conſent or will vnto good is ſomewhat, therefore of our ſelues without Chriſt we cannot doe it. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Cum de libera hominis voluntate loquimur, de illa ſcilicet, in qua homo factus eſt, loquimur:* When we ſpeake of mans freewill, we meane that, wherein man was created: *de natur. grat. cap.* 57. He graunteth no other freewill to good, but that, which was once in *Adam*, and is now vtterly loſt. But of this more, by Gods grace, in the queſtion of Freewill.

Secondly, although God onely doth conuert and incline the will of man to goodnes, yet for all this, man worketh willingly, not of neceſſitie or conſtraint: for our Sauiour ſaith, *If the Sonne make you free, ye ſhall be free indeede*, Iohn 8.36. God of vnwilling maketh vs willing.

And here we refuſe not the diſtinction of their owne gloſſe, *Cauſ. 23. qu. 4. c.* 24. There are two kindes of neceſſitie: *Simplex vna, altera conditionalis:* A ſimple neceſſitie, as it is neceſſarie that all men be mortall; conditionall, as when I ſee a man walke, it is neceſſarie he ſhould walke, not neceſſarie by the nature of the thing, for ſimplie it is not neceſſarie to walke, but in reſpect of the condition, becauſe I ſee him or know him to walke: ſo in reſpect of Gods knowledge, and working grace, there is a conditionall neceſſitie, but no ſimple or abſolute neceſſitie in the things themſelues, which yet doe retaine their owne libertie: Thus farre, and to this purpoſe the Gloſſe.

The Proteſtants.

GOd onely is the cauſe, that his grace worketh effectually, and is not in vaine in vs: neither doth he onely moue and perſwade, but actually worketh the aſſent and inclination of the will.

Argum. 1. It is *God that worketh in vs, the will and the deede*, Philip. 1.13. God worketh: this is more then to moue or perſwade: *Deus operatur in nobis velle:* God worketh in vs to will: what is this elſe, but, *producere ipſum actum volendi:* To bring forth the very act of willing, which the Ieſuite denyeth, *cap.* 12. So the Scripture ſaith, that God opened the heart of *Lydia, that ſhe attended to thoſe things that Paul ſpake*, Act. 16.14. To open the heart, is more then to moue, or ſtir the heart: it betokeneth rather an actuall operation, and inclination of it. Further, thoſe places which are alleaged to proue that the efficacie of grace doth not depend wholy vpon the aſſent of our will, doe likewiſe ſhew; that mans will herein worketh not at all, but the whole worke in making grace effectuall, is to bee aſcribed to the ſpirite of God: as Iohn 6.45. *Euery man that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, commeth to me*, Pſalm. 94.12. *Beatus homo quem tu erudieris, &c. Bleſſed is the man, whom thou teacheſt O Lord:* 1. Cor. 4.7. *Who ſeparateth thee, what haſt thou, that thou haſt not receiued?* Theſe texts doe as well proue that no part of the diuine worke is to be imputed to mans will, as that the whole is not: for if Gods teaching onely cauſe vs to come vnto him, and make vs bleſſed, if God onely ſeparate vs, &c. then it is of Gods ſpirit onely, that grace worketh in vs effectually.

together with him, that the man thus called, hath power to will that which is good, but yet in deede willeth it not: *gratia efficax*, effectuall grace is that, whereby a man ſo ayded, aſſiſted, and called, doth will indeed and performe that which is good, *lib.*1.*de grat.cap.*2. This then is the Ieſuites opinion, that Gods internall vocation, and his ſpeciall grace inwardly working, is not to all effectuall, but ſufficient onely: being ſufficient for their conuerſion, but yet not in deede effecting it.

Argum. The Lord ſaith thus by the Prophet *Iſay: What could I haue done any more to my vineyard, that I haue not done vnto it? I looked that it ſhould bring forth grapes & it bringeth forth wilde grapes*, Iſay 5.4. The like place we haue Matth.23.37. *O Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem, which killeſt, &c. how often would I haue gathered thy children together, as the Henne, &c. and thou wouldeſt not*: Theſe had grace neceſſarie and ſufficient to their conuerſion, for the Lord ſaith, *What could I haue done more*, and I would haue gathered them together; yet were they not conuerted: this grace then, whereby they were called, was ſufficient; yet not effectuall, *Bellarm.cap.*11.

Anſw. Theſe places alleaged are not vnderſtoode, of the internall calling, or of grace inwardly working, but onely of the externall calling, and oblation of grace, and the ſupplie of all neceſſarie outward meanes to ſaluation. As the Prophet *Iſay* ſpeaketh of hedging the vineyard, caſting out the ſtones, planting it with the beſt plants, ſetting vp a watch tower: that is, they had the watchmen the Prophets, alſo the beſt plants, the true worſhip and ſeruice of God, they had the law and the Prophets, and all ſtones, that is externall impediments, which might hinder them, were remoued: So our Sauiour ſaith, that he would haue gathered them together by his preaching, and by the voice of the Goſpell, as the Henne by her clocking doth call her chickens, but they refuſed, and reſiſted, as they likewiſe ſerued the Prophets, and other meſſengers of God, ſent vnto them.

We graunt then, that the externall meanes of ſaluation in themſelues may be and are ſufficient to all, but effectuall onely to thoſe, to whome God giueth his eſpeciall grace: and in this ſenſe we doe not much miſlike this diſtinction: but we deny any ſuch difference of the internall grace, whereby God calleth, ſtirreth vp, aſſiſteth, moueth, directeth the hearts of men: this grace cannot be ſufficient in any, but it muſt needes alſo be effectuall. Yet here we deſire not to be miſtaken, but further doe enlarge our meaning thus: Firſt, we denie not altogether this diſtinction of ſufficiencie and efficacie: it hath place in the externall calling, and common grace offered to all, which is ſufficient to many, but effectuall onely to the elect: but not in the inward ſpirituall calling. Secondly, we graunt a diuers meaſure of inward grace in the effectuall calling of the elect, and admit ſome degree in their ſpirituall calling, which though it be not alike effectuall in all that are ſo called, yet is it effectuall. Thirdly, we confeſſe, that ſomewhat may be inwardly wrought by Gods ſpirite euen in hypocrites: but we affirme, that no inward temporarie gift wrought in them is ſufficient to their ſaluation: for hereupon it would follow, that they might reſiſt their inward powerfull, ſufficient calling, and that the abſence of their owne will onely maketh it without effect: that therefore there is no ſuch powerfull inward working grace ſufficient onely, but that the ſame is effectuall alſo, we ſhew it thus.

The Proteſtants.

*Argum.*1. THe Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, *I will runne the way of thy commaundements, when thou ſhalt enlarge my heart*, Pſalm.119.32. *Draw me, and we will runne after thee*, Cantic.1.3. And S. *Paul* ſaith, *Whom he hath predeſtinate, he hath called, whom he hath called, he hath iuſtified*, Rom.8.30. All theſe places proue that the internall calling of God is alwaies effectuall: After drawing and enlarging the heart, followeth running, after vocation, immediatly enſueth iuſtification.

*Argum.*2. The grace of God is not in vaine in any: as S. *Paul* ſaith, *His grace that was in me, was not in vaine*, 1.Corinth.15.10. But if ſo that the grace of God inwardly mouing and calling men, ſhould fayle in the effect, then ſhould it be in vaine: *Ergo*, it is effectuall in all the children of God, in whom it ſo worketh.

Let *Auguſtine* ſpeake: *Lex extra hominem ſcripta vt eum terrificet, gratia in homine eſt, vt eum intrinſecus iuſtificet:* The lawe is written without man to terrifie him, grace is within man inwardly to iuſtifie him, *de ſpirit. & liter.cap.*17. As terror then outwardly followeth the knowledge of the Lawe, ſo iuſtification alwaies followeth grace inwardly working: it is therefore alwaies effectuall where it is ſufficient, ſpeaking of the inward and ſpirituall calling. Alſo in another place he ſaith: *Quando Deus docet, ſic docet, vt ſcienda ſciamus, aperiendo veritatem, ſic docet vt facienda faciamus, inſpirando ſuauitatem:* When God teacheth, he ſo teacheth, that things which are to be knowne we doe know, God opening the trueth to vs, and things which are to be done, we doe, by inſpiring a deſire into vs, Pſalme 118. con.17. Gods inward teaching then by his holy ſpirite is alwaies effectuall in his children, and in none of them it is ſufficient, but together alſo effectuall.

*Magiſter ſentent.lib.*1.*diſt.*17.*liter.K.* thus teſtifieth, *Spiritus ſanctus non ſolum non habenti, verum etiam habenti non incaſſum permittitur, non habenti quidem, vt habeatur, habenti, vt amplius habeatur.*

The holy ſpirit is not giuen in vaine neyther to him, that hath it not; nor to him, that hath: to him that hath not, that he may haue him, to him that hath him, that he may haue him in greater meaſure: Wherefore the inward calling of the ſpirit is alwayes effectuall.

AN APPENDIX OR SECOND PART OF THIS queſtion, wherein the efficacie of grace conſiſteth.

The Papiſts.

29. Error. *Bellarmine* dare not attribute the efficacie of grace onely to free will, that this ſhould be the cauſe, why that grace in ſome worketh effectually, in ſome others it doth not, becauſe ſome giue their free aſſent vnto grace working in them, other withhold it: for then (ſaith he) it ſhould reſt in mans power, whether Grace ſhould be effectuall or not: Neither doth he thinke, that God onely is the cauſe of this efficacie, by drawing and framing our willes to conſent to his grace: But this efficacie, he ſaith, partly dependeth of Gods inward perſwaſion, partly of the free aſſent of the will, ***Deus***, (ſaith the Ieſuite) ***quos efficaciter trahere decreuit, eam ſuaſionem adhibet, quam videt congruere ingenio eorum:*** God doth vſe that perſwaſion to thoſe, whom he purpoſeth effectually to call, which he knoweth beſt to fit their humour, and which it is moſt like they will agree vnto, *Bellarmin.cap.*12. So thus in the Ieſuites opinion, God is not a drawer, or worker of mans will, but a mouer, and perſwader onely.

Argum. If God ſhould not onely moue and perſwade men by his ſpirite, but alſo produce and worke in them the very act of willing: then ſhould there be no freewill in man to doe any thing: and ſo no action in man ſhould be voluntarie, but of neceſſitie and conſtraint, becauſe man is not left to himſelfe, to giue his aſſent freely, but his will is determined of God, *Bellarmin.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, it is no abſurditie at all, to ſay that in man by nature there remaineth no freewill at all, to that which is good: for our Sauiour ſaith, ***Without me you can doe nothing***, Iohn 15.5. but to giue our conſent or will vnto good is ſomewhat, therefore of our ſelues without Chriſt we cannot doe it. ***Auguſtine*** ſaith, ***Cum de libera hominis voluntate loquimur, de illa ſcilicet, in qua homo factus eſt, loquimur:*** When we ſpeake of mans freewill, we meane that, wherein man was created: *de natur.grat.cap.*57. He graunteth no other freewill to good, but that, which was once in *Adam*, and is now vtterly loſt. But of this more, by Gods grace, in the queſtion of Freewill.

Secondly, although God onely doth conuert and incline the will of man to goodnes, yet for all this, man worketh willingly, not of neceſſitie or conſtraint: for our Sauiour ſaith, ***If the Sonne make you free, ye ſhall be free indeede***, Iohn 8.36. God of vnwilling maketh vs willing.

And here we refuſe not the diſtinction of their owne gloſſe, *Cauſ.23.qu.4.c.24.* There are two kindes of neceſſitie: ***Simplex vna, altera conditionalis:*** A ſimple neceſſitie, as it is neceſſarie that all men be mortall; conditionall, as when I ſee a man walke, it is neceſſarie he ſhould walke, not neceſſarie by the nature of the thing, for ſimplie it is not neceſſarie to walke, but in reſpect of the condition, becauſe I ſee him or know him to walke: ſo in reſpect of Gods knowledge, and working grace, there is a conditionall neceſſitie, but no ſimple or abſolute neceſſitie in the things themſelues, which yet doe retaine their owne libertie: Thus farre, and to this purpoſe the Gloſſe.

The Proteſtants.

God onely is the cauſe, that his grace worketh effectually, and is not in vaine in vs: neither doth he onely moue and perſwade, but actually worketh the aſſent and inclination of the will.

*Argum.*1. It is ***God that worketh in vs, the will and the deede***, Philip.1.13. God worketh: this is more then to moue or perſwade: ***Deus operatur in nobis velle:*** God worketh in vs to will: what is this elſe, but, ***producere ipſum actum volendi:*** To bring forth the very act of willing, which the Ieſuite denyeth, *cap.*12. So the Scripture ſaith, that God opened the heart of *Lydia, that ſhe attended to thoſe things that Paul ſpake*, Act.16.14. To open the heart, is more then to moue, or ſtir the heart: it betokeneth rather an actuall operation, and inclination of it. Further, thoſe places which are alleaged to proue that the efficacie of grace doth not depend wholy vpon the aſſent of our will, doe likewiſe ſhew; that mans will herein worketh not at all, but the whole worke in making grace effectuall, is to bee aſcribed to the ſpirite of God: as Iohn 6.45. ***Euery man that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, commeth to me***, Pſalm.94.12. ***Beatus homo quem tu erudieris, &c. Bleſſed is the man, whom thou teacheſt O Lord:*** 1.Cor.4.7. ***Who ſeparateth thee, what haſt thou, that thou haſt not receiued?*** Theſe texts doe as well proue that no part of the diuine worke is to be imputed to mans will, as that the whole is not: for if Gods teaching onely cauſe vs to come vnto him, and make vs bleſſed, if God onely ſeparate vs, &c. then it is of Gods ſpirit onely, that grace worketh in vs effectually.

Argum. 2. We will deſire no better proofe, then the Ieſuites owne confeſſion: who being preſſed with that place, Iohn 6. *Euery one, that hath heard, and learned of my father, commeth vnto me,* verſe 45. thus anſwereth, *Infallibilitas effectus, non habet pro cauſa ſtudium diſcipuli, ſed excellentiam magiſtri, ſicut allegat dominus ibidem prophetiam Iſaiæ, erunt omnes docibiles Dei:* The infallibilitie or certaintie of the effect, ariſeth not of the deſire and ſtudie of him that is taught, as the cauſe thereof, but of the excellencie of the teacher, as in the ſame place our Lord Chriſt alleageth the Propheſie of *Iſay, They ſhall be all taught of God,* Iohn 6.45. *Bellarmin. cap.* 12. And againe he ſaith: *Si eadem motione accepta vnus credit, alter non credit, longe maiorem habuit Dei gratiam, is qui credit, quam qui non credit:* If by one, and the ſelfe ſame motion inwardly receiued, one man beleeue, another doth not, ſurely he that beleeueth hath a greater grace of God, then he which beleeueth not: *de grat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 13. *reſponſ. ad obiect.* 3. Here *Bellarmine* aſcribeth the efficacie of grace, to the excellencie of the teacher, and to the greatnes of grace, which ſome haue, and others haue not: It is then of God onely, nothing of our ſelues, that grace worketh effectually in vs.

Auguſtine alſo ſaith: *Alia eſt cauſa iam credentis in Deo, alia non credentis, qui enim non credit, verum lumen videre non poteſt, niſi Deus prius in corde eius ſpiritu ſuo illuxerit: atque ita non eſt volentis, aut currentis, ſed miſerentis Dei:* There is another reaſon of him, that beleeueth in God, and of him, that beleeueth not: for hee that beleeueth not, cannot ſee the true light, vnleſſe God firſt doe lighten his heart with his ſpirite: and ſo it is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercie: *cont. Pelagian. art.* 3. The cauſe then of beleefe, is onely the illumination of Gods ſpirite: for if any thing were to bee aſcribed to man, it ſhould not be wholy of him that ſheweth mercie, but ſomewhat alſo of the willer, and the runner, which the Apoſtle denieth.

Concil. Arauſican. 2. *can.* 2. *Si quis ſine gratia Dei, credentibus, volentibus, deſiderantibus, ſtudentibus miſericordiam dicit conferri, non autem diuinitus per inſpirationem ſpiritus in nobis fieri, reſiſtit Apoſtolo qui dicit, quid habes, quod non accepiſti?* If any man ſay that mercie is conferred vpon thoſe that beleeue, deſire, ſtudie, &c. of themſelues without the grace of God, and not rather wrought in vs by the inſpiration of the ſpirit, reſiſteth the Apoſtle which ſaith, what haſt thou, which thou haſt not receiued? It is the inward inſpiration then of God, not our voluntarie conſenting, that grace is effected in vs.

Their owne decrees alſo thus teſtifie: *Part.* 3. *diſt.* 4. *c.* 154. *Qui dixerit gratiam Dei, qua iuſtificamur, &c.* Hee that ſaith, that the grace of God, wherewith wee are iuſtified by Ieſus Chriſt, is onely of force to forgiue vs our ſinnes, not that we ſhould not commit them afterward, let him be accurſed. If it be the grace of God, that both taketh away our ſinnes alreadie done, and keepeth vs from committing the like, what is left vnto mans will? *Ibid. c.* 155. *Qui dixerit, &c.* Hee that ſaith the grace of God doth helpe onely to reueale vnto vs the will of God, whereby wee knowe what to deſire, and what to ſhunne, and that thereby we are not enabled to doe that wee knowe, let him be accurſed. Grace then doth not onely moue or perſwade, or reueale vnto the will what is to be done, but giueth power to doe it.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE DISTINCTION of Grace into *gratiam operantem, & cooperantem, vel adiuuantem*: grace-working, and grace-helping.

The Papiſts.

30. Error BEllarmine thus doth define and diſtinguiſh them: *Gratia operans eſt, quæ facit vt velimus:* It is the working grace, which maketh vs to will, that which is good: *Gratia cooperans, quæ facit, vt quæ voluerimus, impleamus:* Helping grace, or grace working together with vs, is that, which cauſeth vs to fulfill, or doe that, which wee will or deſire: *Bellarmine cap.* 2. This then is his minde, that God onely worketh the beginning of euery good action; that is, the conſent of the will: but the accompliſhment of the action is not onely of God, but he worketh together with man.

Argum. The Ieſuite would illuſtrate his matter by this ſimilitude: As if it were expedient for a man to ſayle into the Eaſt countries, and yet hee is vnwilling, his friend commeth, and perſwadeth with him, and prouideth things needfull for the nauigation, as money, victuals, and ſuch like: though his friend may ſay, I onely was the cauſe, that hee tooke this nauigation in hand, yet can hee not ſay, that I onely caried or conueyed him vnto that place, but helped him onely: So ſaith hee, God onely worketh the beginning of any action by perſwading the will, but hee is helping onely and aſſiſtant to man in the finiſhing thereof, *lib.* 1. *de grat. cap.* 13.

Anſw. Firſt, this ſimilitude is very inſufficient, and the things here compared are altogether vnlike: for what preſumption is it, to match the doing of man with the power of God? Firſt, man draweth onely by perſwaſion, he hath no power ouer an others heart: but God is greater then our heart, he doth not onely applie perſwaſion to it, but bendeth and turneth it: as *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Deus magis habet in poteſtate hominum voluntates, quam ipſi ſuas:* God hath greater power ouer the willes of men, then they haue themſelues. Secondly, all the helpes that man prouideth, or miniſtreth for any action, are externall: But God is ayding and aſſiſting euery where by his power, and worketh mightily in the inward man. We ſee then the inſufficiencie of this ſimilitude.

De corrept. & grat. cap. 14.

*Anſw.*2. Though it were a fit and meete compariſon, yet we know that ſimilitudes proue not, no more doth this: it needeth not therefore any large confutation.

The Proteſtants.

THis diſtinction of grace, that it ſhould be ſometime the principall, chiefe, and onely working cauſe in man, and another while but ayding, and aſſiſting onely, and that man ſhould bee ioyned with God as a fellow worker in any good action, wee holde it to bee a blaſphemous doctrine: that the will of man worketh together with grace, as it is, *cauſa phyſica,* a naturall cauſe of ſuch actions as are wrought by man, not reſpecting the qualitie and goodnes of them, but the worke onely, we deny not: but the grace of God onely is, *cauſa moralis,* the morall cauſe of euery good action. As they are but actions and operations, ſo they proceede from the will of man: but as they are good or commendable, they are the workes onely of grace.

Argum. God worketh the will and the deede, Philip.2.13. As he worketh the will, ſo alſo he worketh the deede; the will of God alone worketh: *Ergo.* Againe, That God may be all in all, ſaith the Apoſtle, 1.Corinth.15:28. But God ſhould not bee all in all in euery good action, if man ſhould be ioyned as a fellow worker. S. *Iames* ſaith, *Euery good and perfect gift is from aboue:* 1.17. therefore no good gift, or worke is from below, that is of man, either in part, or in whole. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Sine me nihil poteſtis facere:* Without me, you can doe nothing: of the which words *Auguſtine* writeth thus: *Non ait ſine me difficilè poteſtis facere, aut ſine me nihil poteſtis perficere, ſed ne facere quidem:* Hee ſaith not, without me you can hardlie doe any thing, or without me, you cannot finiſh any thing, but you are not able to doe it at all: *cont.* 2. *Epiſtol. Pelag. lib.*2.*cap.*8.

But if ſo that in any good action God ſhould worke part, and man part; then might man worke ſomewhat, that is his part, without Gods helpe: And if God doe but helpe to worke, what is that elſe, but to giue power more eaſilie onely to worke; as though man, without that helpe, yet more hardly and difficultlie of himſelfe might doe it? But all this is contrarie to that ſaying of our Sauiour, *Without me you can doe nothing.*

Saint *Ambroſe* here hath an excellent teſtimonie, *Epiſt.*84. *Gratia Dei tota repellitur, niſi tota ſuſcipitur, &c.* The grace of God is wholy refuſed, if it bee not wholy receiued: and as hee is no faithfull man which in any one poynt diſſenteth from the catholike veritie; *Sic extra gratiam efficitur, qui aliquid de eius plenitudine diffitetur;* So hee is without grace, which doth deny any thing of the fulnes thereof: Grace then worketh fullie, and not in part onely.

*Decret. part.*3. *diſtinct.*4. *c.*156. *Quicunque dixerit, &c.* Whoſoeuer ſaith, that the grace of iuſtification is giuen, that, what we are bid to doe by freewill, *Facilius impleamus per gratiam,* we ſhould doe more eaſilie by grace; let him bee accurſed. If Gods grace doe but helpe to worke, what doth it elſe but onely make vs more eaſilie to worke, which this canon condemneth.

The Maſter of ſentences maketh both theſe, the working grace and helping grace, all one grace and gift, *Lib.*2.*diſt.*26.*liter.l.* I then reaſon thus: if it be all one grace, it worketh alwaies alike: but it worketh alone in preparing the will; as the Maſter alleageth out of *Auguſtine: Per ſolam gratiam, que eſt in fide Chriſti poſita, præparatur voluntas, &c.* The will is prepared by grace alone, which conſiſteth in the faith of Chriſt: *Ibid. diſt.*26.*liter. d. Ergo,* it alſo worketh alone in helping and aſſiſting the will. Therefore both the firſt worke in preparing the will, and the ſecond in enabling the will, is onely of grace.

THE THIRD PART OF THIS CONtrouerſie of freewill.

THe ſeuerall queſtions are theſe. Firſt, of the nature, condition and qualitie of freewill. Secondly, of the power of freewill. Firſt, in naturall things. Secondly, in morall duties. Thirdly, in ſpirituall.

Argum. 2. We will deſire no better proofe, then the Ieſuites owne confeſſion: who being preſſed with that place, Iohn 6. *Euery one, that hath heard, and learned of my father, commeth vnto me,* verſe 45. thus anſwereth, *Infallibilitas effectus, non habet pro cauſa ſtudium diſcipuli, ſed excellentiam magiſtri, ſicut allegat dominus ibidem prophetiam Iſaiæ, erunt omnes docibiles Dei:* The infallibilitie or certaintie of the effect, ariſeth not of the deſire and ſtudie of him that is taught, as the cauſe thereof, but of the excellencie of the teacher, as in the ſame place our Lord Chriſt alleageth the Propheſie of *Iſay, They ſhall be all taught of God,* Iohn 6.45. *Bellarmin. cap.* 12. And againe he ſaith: *Si eadem motione accepta vnus credit, alter non credit, longe maiorem habuit Dei gratiam, is qui credit, quam qui non credit:* If by one, and the ſelfe ſame motion inwardly receiued, one man beleeue, another doth not, ſurely he that beleeueth hath a greater grace of God, then he which beleeueth not: *de grat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 13. *reſponſ. ad obiect.* 3. Here *Bellarmine* aſcribeth the efficacie of grace, to the excellencie of the teacher, and to the greatnes of grace, which ſome haue, and others haue not: It is then of God onely, nothing of our ſelues, that grace worketh effectually in vs.

Auguſtine alſo ſaith: *Alia eſt cauſa iam credentis in Deo, alia non credentis, qui enim non credit, verum lumen videre non poteſt, niſi Deus prius in corde eius ſpiritu ſuo illuxerit: atque ita non eſt volentis, aut currentis, ſed miſerentis Dei:* There is another reaſon of him, that beleeueth in God, and of him, that beleeueth not: for hee that beleeueth not, cannot ſee the true light, vnleſſe God firſt doe lighten his heart with his ſpirite: and ſo it is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercie: *cont. Pelagian. art.* 3. The cauſe then of beleefe, is onely the illumination of Gods ſpirite: for if any thing were to bee aſcribed to man, it ſhould not be wholy of him that ſheweth mercie, but ſomewhat alſo of the willer, and the runner, which the Apoſtle denieth.

Concil. Arauſican. 2. *can.* 2. *Si quis ſine gratia Dei, credentibus, volentibus, deſiderantibus, ſtudentibus miſericordiam dicit conferri, non autem diuinitus per inſpirationem ſpiritus in nobis fieri, reſiſtit Apoſtolo qui dicit, quid habes, quod non accepiſti?* If any man ſay that mercie is conferred vpon thoſe that beleeue, deſire, ſtudie, &c. of themſelues without the grace of God, and not rather wrought in vs by the inſpiration of the ſpirit, reſiſteth the Apoſtle which ſaith, what haſt thou, which thou haſt not receiued? It is the inward inſpiration then of God, not our voluntarie conſenting, that grace is effected in vs.

Their owne decrees alſo thus teſtifie: *Part.* 3. *diſt.* 4. *c.* 154. *Qui dixerit gratiam Dei, qua iuſtificamur, &c.* Hee that ſaith, that the grace of God, wherewith wee are iuſtified by Ieſus Chriſt, is onely of force to forgiue vs our ſinnes, not that we ſhould not commit them afterward, let him be accurſed. If it be the grace of God, that both taketh away our ſinnes alreadie done, and keepeth vs from committing the like, what is left vnto mans will? *Ibid. c.* 155. *Qui dixerit, &c.* Hee that ſaith the grace of God doth helpe onely to reueale vnto vs the will of God, whereby wee knowe what to deſire, and what to ſhunne, and that thereby we are not enabled to doe that wee knowe, let him be accurſed. Grace then doth not onely moue or perſwade, or reueale vnto the will what is to be done, but giueth power to doe it.

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE DISTINCTION of Grace into *gratiam operantem, & cooperantem, vel adiuuantem*: grace-working, and grace-helping.

The Papiſts.

30. Error

BEllarmine thus doth define and diſtinguiſh them: *Gratia operans eſt, quæ facit vt velimus:* It is the working grace, which maketh vs to will, that which is good: *Gratia cooperans, quæ facit, vt quæ voluerimus, impleamus:* Helping grace, or grace working together with vs, is that, which cauſeth vs to fulfill, or doe that, which wee will or deſire: *Bellarmine cap.* 2. This then is his minde, that God onely worketh the beginning of euery good action; that is, the conſent of the will: but the accompliſhment of the action is not onely of God, but he worketh together with man.

Argum. The Ieſuite would illuſtrate his matter by this ſimilitude: As if it were expedient for a man to ſayle into the Eaſt countries, and yet hee is vnwilling, his friend commeth, and perſwadeth with him, and prouideth things needfull for the nauigation, as money, victuals, and ſuch like: though his friend may ſay, I onely was the cauſe, that hee tooke this nauigation in hand, yet can hee not ſay, that I onely caried or conueyed him vnto that place, but helped him onely: So ſaith hee, God onely worketh the beginning of any action by perſwading the will, but hee is helping onely and aſſiſtant to man in the finiſhing thereof, *lib.* 1. *de grat. cap.* 13.

Anſw. Firſt, this ſimilitude is very inſufficient, and the things here compared are altogether vnlike: for what preſumption is it, to match the doing of man with the power of God? Firſt, man draweth onely by perſwaſion, he hath no power ouer an others heart: but God is greater then our heart, he doth not onely applie perſwaſion to it, but bendeth and turneth it: as *Auguſtine* allo ſaith, *Deus magis habet in poteſtate hominum voluntates, quam ipſi ſuas:* God hath greater power ouer the willes of men, then they haue themſelues. Secondly, all the helpes that man prouideth, or miniſtreth for any action, are externall: But God is ayding and aſſiſting euery where by his power, and worketh mightily in the inward man. We ſee then the inſufficiencie of this ſimilitude.

De corrept. & grat.cap.14.

Anſw.2. Though it were a fit and meete compariſon, yet we know that ſimilitudes proue not, no more doth this: it needeth not therefore any large confutation.

The Proteſtants.

THis diſtinction of grace, that it ſhould be ſometime the principall, chiefe, and onely working cauſe in man, and another while but ayding, and aſſiſting onely, and that man ſhould bee ioyned with God as a fellow worker in any good action, wee holde it to bee a blaſphemous doctrine: that the will of man worketh together with grace, as it is, *cauſa phyſica,* a naturall cauſe of ſuch actions as are wrought by man, not reſpecting the qualitie and goodnes of them, but the worke onely, we deny not: but the grace of God onely is, *cauſa moralis,* the morall cauſe of euery good action. As they are but actions and operations, ſo they proceede from the will of man: but as they are good or commendable, they are the workes onely of grace.

Argum. God worketh the will and the deede, Philip.2.13. As he worketh the will, ſo alſo he worketh the deede; the will of God alone worketh: *Ergo.* Againe, That God may be all in all, ſaith the Apoſtle, 1.Corinth.15:28. But God ſhould not bee all in all in euery good action, if man ſhould be ioyned as a fellow worker. S. *Iames* ſaith, *Euery good and perfect gift is from aboue:* 1.17. therefore no good gift, or worke is from below, that is of man, either in part, or in whole. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Sine me nihil poteſtis facere:* Without me, you can doe nothing: of the which words *Auguſtine* writeth thus: *Non ait ſine me difficile poteſtis facere, aut ſine me nihil poteſtis perficere, ſed ne facere quidem:* Hee ſaith not, without me you can hardlie doe any thing, or without me, you cannot finiſh any thing, but you are not able to doe it at all: *cont. 2. Epiſtol. Pelag. lib.2.cap.8.*

But if ſo that in any good action God ſhould worke part, and man part; then might man worke ſomewhat, that is his part, without Gods helpe: And if God doe but helpe to worke, what is that elſe, but to giue power more eaſilie onely to worke; as though man, without that helpe, yet more hardly and difficultlie of himſelfe might doe it? But all this is contrarie to that ſaying of our Sauiour, *Without me you can doe nothing.*

Saint *Ambroſe* here hath an excellent teſtimonie, *Epiſt.84. Gratia Dei tota repellitur, niſi tota ſuſcipitur, &c.* The grace of God is wholy refuſed, if it bee not wholy receiued: and as hee is no faithfull man which in any one poynt diſſenteth from the catholike veritie; *Sic extra gratiam efficitur, qui aliquid de eius plenitudine diffitetur;* So hee is without grace, which doth deny any thing of the fulnes thereof: Grace then worketh fullie, and not in part onely.

Decret. part.3. diſtinct.4. c.156. Quicunque dixerit, &c. Whoſoeuer ſaith, that the grace of iuſtification is giuen, that, what we are bid to doe by freewill, *Facilius impleamus per gratiam,* we ſhould doe more eaſilie by grace; let him bee accurſed. If Gods grace doe but helpe to worke, what doth it elſe but onely make vs more eaſilie to worke, which this canon condemneth.

The Maſter of ſentences maketh both theſe, the working grace and helping grace, all one grace and gift, *Lib.2.diſt.26.liter.1.* I then reaſon thus: if it be all one grace, it worketh alwaies alike: but it worketh alone in preparing the will; as the Maſter alleageth out of *Auguſtine: Per ſolam gratiam, quæ eſt in fide Chriſti poſita, præparatur voluntas, &c.* The will is prepared by grace alone, which conſiſteth in the faith of Chriſt: *Ibid.diſt.26.liter.d. Ergo,* it alſo worketh alone in helping and aſſiſting the will. Therefore both the firſt worke in preparing the will, and the ſecond in enabling the will, is onely of grace.

THE THIRD PART OF THIS CONtrouerſie of freewill.

THe ſeuerall queſtions are theſe. Firſt, of the nature, condition and qualitie of freewill. Secondly, of the power of freewill. Firſt, in naturall things. Secondly, in morall duties. Thirdly, in ſpirituall.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE NATVRE and definition of freewill.

BEllarmine defineth freewill after this manner: *Eſt libera poteſtas vnum præ alijs eligendi, vel reſpuendi, intelligenti naturæ attributa, &c.* It is a free or abſolute power, to chuſe, or refuſe one thing before another, giuen of God vnto a reaſonable and vnderſtanding nature, or creature. We miſlike theſe poyntes in this definition: firſt, concerning the power of freewill, as well in chuſing, as refuſing: ſecondly, of the obiect of freewill, that it is naturally, as it is now to be found in man, inclined as well to good as euill: thirdly, concerning the qualitie and condition of freewill, that it is actiue, and not paſſiue: fourthly, of the ſubiect of freewill. Of theſe in their order.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE POWER of freewill.

The Papiſts.

31.Error. THere is, *duplex libertas*, a double kinde of libertie: *libertas à neceſſitate*, a libertie or freedome from neceſſitie, as when it is in our power to will, or not to will, indifferently to chuſe, or refuſe this or that, as to walke, to ſitte, to goe, none of all theſe being neceſſary, but ſubiect to our will and choice: *libertas à coactione*, a freedome from coaction, or conſtraint, is when, that we doe is of neceſſitie, and we cannot chuſe but doe it, yet we doe it willingly. As a man cannot chuſe but ſinne, yet he ſinneth voluntarily, he is not conſtrained thereunto: *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that in the freewill of man, there muſt be a freedome not onely from coaction, but from neceſſitie: *lib.3.de grat.cap.4.*

Argum. Eccleſ.15.14. *God made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counſell, he hath ſet water and fire before thee, ſtretch out thy hand, to which thou wilt: before man is life and death, good and euill, what him liketh, ſhall be giuen him: Ergo,* the freedome of mans wil, is not onely not conſtrained, but hath no neceſſitie, ſeeing it is in his power, to chuſe or refuſe what him liketh, *Bellarmin.cap.5.*

Anſw. 1. We graunt ſuch a free will to haue been giuen to man in his creation, but is now loſt by his fall: as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Lex in Paradiſo non poneretur ſeruanda, niſi liber eſſet eam tam velle, quam nolle ſeruare, ſed ſicut per ſe lapſus eſt, non continuò per ſe, i. propriam voluntatem, reſurgere poteſt:* A law ſhould not haue bin giuen man in Paradiſe to keepe, vnleſſe he had been free, eyther to wil, or nil to keepe it: but as man did fall of himſelfe, ſo he cannot riſe of himſelfe, that is, by his owne will, *Cont.Pelag.articul.3.*

2. You muſt preſſe vs with more waightie authorities, then thoſe out of Apocryphal ſcriptures, ſuch as the booke of Eccleſiaſticus is, if you would winne any credite to your cauſe: for the authoritie of ſuch bookes bindeth vs not.

Whereas *Bellarmine* alleageth diuers Fathers to proue the libertie of free will, not onely from coaction and conſtraint, but from neceſſitie, eyther to good or euill: they are ſo to be vnderſtood, that they eyther ſpeake of the ſtate of man in his perfection, or of the will of man, as it is by regeneration of grace, not by corruption of nature, or els by neceſſitie vnderſtand coaction and compulſion, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Liberum hominis arbitrium ab omni neceſſitatis vinculo vindicamus, &c.* Wee do redeeme mans will from all bond of neceſſitie: that is, as he expoundeth it, *ſub fato ſtellarum, &c.* We place no mans birth vnder the fatall deſtinie of the ſtarres, *lib.2.cont.Fauſtum.c.5.* By neceſſitie he vnderſtandeth a fatall deſtinie and compulſion: from ſuch neceſſitie we alſo free the will of man.

The Proteſtants.

A Freedome of will from neceſſitie we graunt to haue been in our firſt parents, whereby it was in their power, to haue choſen eyther the good, or the euill way: But ſince that by *Adams* tranſgreſſion the whole power of nature was ſhaken, and all the gifts and graces of creation decayed; there remaineth no freenes of will vnto good in man, but onely a voluntary promptneſſe and inclination to euill without conſtraint.

Argum. This *haue I found*, ſaith the Preacher, *That God hath made man righteous, but hee hath ſought many inuentions*, Eccle.7.31. I know, ſaith Saint *Paul*, that in me, that is, my fleſh, dwelleth no good thing, Rom.7.18. Theſe places proue, that, howſoeuer it was with man in his creation, now by nature there remaineth no good thing in him: and therefore no inclination to that which is good.

We are not able, ſaith the Apoſtle, *to thinke any thing of our ſelues, but our abilitie or ſufficiencie is of God*, 2.Cor.3.5. Vpon the which wordes *Auguſtine* writeth thus, *Non idonei ſumus cogitare aliquid* *(dicit Paulus:) minus autem eſt cogitare quam cupere : neque ait non ſumus idonei, aliquid magnum, aut perfectum cogitare, ſed ne aliquid, cui contrarium eſt nihil* : Wee are not fit, to thinke any thing ſaith the Apoſtle, but it is farre leſſe to thinke, then to deſire : neither ſaith he, we are not fit to thinke any great matter, but not any thing, the contrary whereof is nothing. If we are not then by nature able to thinke any good, much leſſe to will it. Cont. 2. epiſt. Pelag. 2.8.

Bernard thus writeth : *Nemo putet ideo dictum liberum arbitrium,&c.* Let no man thinke it is called free will, becauſe it hath equall power to good and euill; for then neither God, which cannot be euill, nor the diuell, which cannot be good, ſhould haue free will : but therefore it is called free, becauſe none can be good or euill, *niſi volens*; but willingly, *lib.de liber.arbit.*

S. *Ambroſe* alſo is an euident witneſſe : *lib.1.de vocat.Gent.c.9. Licet inſit homini bonum nolle, tamen niſi donatum, non habet bonum velle :* Although it be in mans power to nill that is good; yet hee cannot will that is good, vnleſſe it be giuen him : the one he hath by corruption of nature, the other he receiueth by the operation of grace. Againe, *Non in poteſtate noſtra eſt cor noſtrum & noſtræ cogitationes:* Our heart and our thoughtes are not in our owne power : *de fug.ſecul.c.1. Voluntas mutabilis quæ non ab immutabili voluntate regitur, tanto citius propinquat iniquitati, quanto acrius intenditur actioni :* The mutable wil, vnleſſe it be gouerned of the immutable will, doth ſo much nearer approch to iniquitie, as it worketh more intendedly : *Cui committi nihil aliud quam dimitti :* For a man to be committed to his will, is all one, as to be dimitted or forſaken : *Nihil in ſuis viribus habet, niſi periculi facilitatem :* Mans will hath nothing of it owne power, but the facilitie of daunger: *de vocat.Gent.lib.1.c.2.* Then it followeth, that the will of man, by nature cannot chooſe but to do euill : What is this elſe but a neceſſitie not of coaction, but of deprauation ?

Bernard yet ſpeaketh more euidently : *Serm 81.in Cantic. Anima malo libera neceſſitate & ancilla tenetur et libera; ancilla propter neceſſitatem, libera propter voluntatem, &c.* The ſoule is by an vnhappy free neceſſitie, both bond and free; bond becauſe of neceſſitie, (it cannot otherwiſe chooſe) free, becauſe it is voluntary.

Peter Lombard lib.2.diſt.25.liter.e. Liberum videtur dici arbitrium, quia ſine coactione & neceſſitate valet appetere,&c. It ſeemeth that free will is ſo called, becauſe without coaction and neceſſitie it doth deſire,&c. He taketh coaction and neceſſitie for all one, and ſo affirmeth the will to be free from coaction; which wee alſo graunt.

Thomas 1.part.qu.82.art.2.ad 3. ſaith, *Per peccatum periiſſe libertatem gratiæ, non libertatem naturæ, quæ eſt à coactione :* By ſinne the libertie of grace is loſt, not the libertie of nature, which is from coaction.

Alphonſ.de caſtro lib.9. Libertas, quæ opponitur neceſſitati, ſeu, vt verius dicam, coactioni : That is libertie, which is oppoſed againſt neceſſitie, or more truely coaction. Theſe popiſh writers ſeeme to affirme a libertie onely in the will from coaction and compulſion.

THE SECOND PART, OF the obiect of Free will.

The Papiſts.

Bellarmine ſaith, *Voluntatis proprium & primarium obiectum bonum eſſe, ſiue aliquid apprehenſum ſub ratione boni*, that the proper and principall obiect of the will of man, is that which is good, or that appeareth, or is ſo taken to be : and ſo he determineth, *Per arbitrium non expeti mala, ſed bona:* That by free will not euill things, but good are deſired, *lib.de grat.3.cap.12.* 32.Error.

Argum. The inclination of the will vnto his obiect is naturall, and therefore God is the author thereof: If God be the author, then it is good : the will of man then is not naturally enclined to euill, for ſo the inclination thereof ſhould be euill, which God hath made, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. That naturall power which God hath giuen to men, generally to will, to thinke, to deſire, to hate, to loue, muſt needs be good, becauſe it is of God; but the execution of this power in the abuſe thereof, by willing and chuſing euill, and refuſing and hating good, ariſeth of the corruption of our nature, and is euill; neither is God to be charged with it. We diſtinguiſh then betweene the naturall gift, and the vſe thereof, betweene the nature of man, as it was created of God, and the corruption thereof : to haue power to will, is a naturall gift giuen of God; but to will that is euill, is an abuſe of that power, cauſed in vs by the corruption of our nature.

Argum.2. The obiect of the appetite or deſire, is that, which is deſireable; but that which is good, is onely appetible or deſireable : *Ergo*, onely *bonum*, that which is good is the obiect of the will or deſire, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw.1. The propoſition is partly true, partly falſe : for if by (deſireable) that is vnderſtood which ought to be deſired in right, it is falſe; if that which is *(de facto)* deſired, we graunt it. Secondly, for the aſſumption; if it be vnderſtood of that which is naturally good : ſo it is true, that by the inſtinct of nature, euery creature deſireth that, which maketh for the conſeruation thereof;

of; but this is not to the point in queſtion: But if he meane that which is morally, and verily, and truely good, the aſſumption is falſe; for that which is good in this ſenſe is not onely, nor yet at all by nature deſired.

The Proteſtants.

THat man by freewill may chuſe things naturally good, as for the preſeruation of his life, and maintenance of his ciuill eſtate, and ſhun the contrarie, that is, things hurtfull vnto his life, we doe eaſily grant; ſeeing it is a general gift of nature, euen beſtowed vpon vnreaſonable creatures, to diſcerne what is good, and what hurtfull vnto them: and in this ſenſe wee denie not, but that the proper obiect of the will, namely in naturall and ciuill matters, is to couet good, or at the leaſt, which appeare ſo to be: But yet concerning things morally good, that is, vertuous and godly acts, the will of man hath no inclination thereunto naturally, but is prone to euill onely: Neither is the will deceiued in taking vice for vertue, and following euill, in the name of good. Some indeede may pretend ſome naturall or ciuill good, as profit, or pleaſure, but not that which is morally, that is verily & truly good: As he that ſtealeth, is perſwaded it is for his profit, which is a ciuill good; but he cannot think, that therein he doth iuſtly, which is the morall good. An adulterer propoundeth to himſelfe pleaſure in that ſinne: but he doth not ſo much as imagine, that hee can be chaſt in committing adulterie, which is the morall vertue. Wherefore wee doubt not to conclude, both that mans freewill naturally hath no inclination to that which is truly good. And againe, *Malum, etiam ſub ratione mali, proprium obiectum voluntatis eſſe*: That euill, that is, ſinne, euen as it ſinne, is the proper obiect of the will, by reaſon of the corruption of nature.

Argum. 1. That the wicked are naturally inclined to euill, euen as it is euill, the Scripture teacheth vs: *It is a paſtime to a foole to doe wickedly*, Prou. 10.23. *A foole maketh a mocke of ſin*, Prou. 14.9. The wicked perſon is not deceiued in taking vice for vertue, but doth naturally as verily loue vice, as by grace the righteous embraceth vertue: *Woe vnto them* (ſaith the Prophet) *that ſpeake good of euill, and euill of good, which put darknes for light, and light for darknes*, Iſai. 5.20. The Prophet cryeth not out againſt thoſe, which ſinne of ignorance and ſimplicitie, taking euill for good: but againſt ſuch, which doe ſinne of malice, and willingly and wittingly commend euill, euen becauſe it is euill, and hate that is good, for the goodnes ſake; *Which draw iniquitie with cordes of vanitie*: but if they were ſeduced by error in taking one thing for another, they ſhould be led themſelues, and drawne into ſinne: but now the Prophet ſaith, They doe hale and draw ſin to themſelues, as with cart-ropes.

Argum. 2. *Auguſtine* in his booke of Confeſſions, is not aſhamed to confeſſe how that he was accuſtomed to ſteale apples in his childhood and yonger yeeres, when as he both might haue had better at home, and hauing ſtolen them, he caſt them to the hogges: ſo that (ſaith hee) whereas theeues, adulterers, and the like, doe propound to themſelues in their euill doing, ſome end or other: *Ego nihil hîc amaui præter furtum*: I loued nothing elſe but theft it ſelfe, *lib. confeſſ. 2. cap.* 4. For *Auguſtine* neither did it for pleaſure, for he had better fruite at home; nor for profit, for hee caſt them to the ſwine. Wherefore ſinne, euen as it is ſinne, is naturally the obiect of the will.

Likewiſe the diuell loueth euill becauſe it is euill: the wicked hate and deteſt God, who is good: *Ergo*, the will may both deſire that which is euill, and hate and deteſt that which is good.

1. *Bellarmine* anſwereth: Firſt, *Auguſtine* in his theft loued the ſinne, but vnder the ſhew of ſome
delectable good, becauſe hee reioyced to deceiue his neighbour with the reſt of his companions.
2. Secondly, the diuell loueth our ſinne, but vnder the ſhew of ſome good to himſelfe, thinking it
3. profitable to himſelfe, that many periſh. Thirdly, the wicked hate God, but vnder the ſhew or colour of euill, becauſe they hold him a ſeuere Iudge, *Bellarm. cap.* 12. *reſp. ad* 2.4 *argum.*

1. *Contra*. Firſt, *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Nihil amaui*: I loued nothing but the theft it ſelfe. He could beſt expreſſe his owne meaning, wherefore hee ſimply loued and deſired that which was euill: if hee made a ſport to deceiue his neighbours, this was no morall good thing, but a carnall and ſenſuall delight onely: and ſo wee denie not, but euen in ſinne there is a ſhew of ſenſuall delight and pleaſure, but not of any morall or true vertue.

2. Secondly: Firſt, the diuell procureth our euill, not for hope of any eaſe to himſelfe, for hee is paſt all hope of eaſe or releaſe, but to doe vs hurt. It is ſaid, that *death came into the world thorough the enuie of the diuell* vnto vs, Wiſd. 2.24. not through ſelfeloue to himſelfe. Secondly, this were to extenuate the malice of Sathan, as though he ſought not our deſtruction ſo much to doe vs hurt, as to benefit himſelfe. Thirdly, this good which Sathan is ſaid to ayme at, is not any morall good, or true vertue, but a malitious and Sathanicall delight. Fourthly, but if in our euill Sathan pretend good, what good can he imagine in his owne deſperate ſinne? The Scripture ſaith, *he is a lyar, and the father thereof*, Ioh. 8.44. Then as the father in his childe, ſo he delighteth in ſin as his owne, and deſireth it, euen as it is euill.

3. Thirdly: firſt, the wickedeſt man, that liueth, is by nature perſwaded, that God is good, and therefore cannot hate him, as euill: but their wicked nature abhorreth God, as good. So the Scripture

ture ſaith,that *the iuſt man is an abomination to the wicked,*Prou.29.27.he hateth him for his vertue ſake: And the Lord himſelfe thus ſaith to the wicked: *Is thine eye euill, becauſe I am good?* Mat.20. verſ.15.Here goodnes it ſelfe is hated of the wicked.

Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Homo niſi donatum non habet bonum velle:* Man cannot deſire that is good, vnleſſe it be giuen him: *de vocat. Gent.lib.2.cap.9. Nulla ſpecies cuiuſquam virtutis occurrit, quæ ſine dono diuinæ gratiæ,&c.* There is no ſhew of any vertue occurrent,which is deſired without the gift of the diuine grace,*ibid.*Therfore morall goodnes is not the proper obiect of the will by nature.

Peter Lombard: Eſt libertas non vera,&c. There is a libertie not good to doe euill, when reaſon diſſenteth from the will,iudging that not to be done, which the will deſireth: *lib.2.diſt.25.liter.k.* How can that ſeeme good to the will,which reaſon iudgeth to be euill?

Guiliel.Ockam(one of their ſchoolemen) affirmeth with vs,that the wil may be carried to deſire euill, *ſub ratione mali,*as it is euill: *in lib.3.ſenten.qu.13.diſt.3.*

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER THE END IT SELFE be the obiect of the will, and whence the will is moued to deſire the end.

The Papiſts.

33.Error. FIrſt,*Bellarmine* affirmeth,that the end,as eternall life, is not properly the obiect of the will,but the meanes tending to the end. His beſt reaſon is out of *Ariſtotle* his Ethikes,*lib.3.cap.2.* No man conſulteth to be happie,but of the meanes how he may be happie.

34.Error. Secondly,the loue or deſire to the end(he ſaith)is a naturall act of the will,not infuſed or inſpired of God,but naturally imprinted in the will. His reaſon is this, becauſe if this deſire be an act of the will,then it muſt proceede actiuely: but if it ſhould be inſpired or added beſide the naturall inclination,it ſhould be paſſiue:*Bellarm.lib.3.de grat.cap.14.*

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, 1. We ſay that the end is the firſt and chiefeſt thing in the deſire and intention. 2. There is difference betweene the deſire and deliberation, betweene will and counſell. Conſultation is of the meanes to effect that which the will intendeth, or deſireth: and ſo your Philoſopher is to bee vnderſtoode. 3. The Scripture teſtifieth with vs: Saint *Paul* ſaith, *I deſire to be diſſolued,and to be with Chriſt,*Philip.1.23.*which is beſt of all.* What is the end,but that, which is beſt of all,to be with Chriſt,which here is the obiect of the Apoſtles deſire? Your owne Scripture alſo ſaith,Eccleſiaſtic.15.14. *Before man is life and death,good and euill,what him liketh ſhall be giuen him.* Life and death are ſet before man, as the obiect of his will: which are the very ends themſelues. 4. We reade in the Goſpell,how *Thomas* ſaid vnto our Sauiour, Ioh.14.5. *We know not whither thou goeſt,how then can we know the way?* We ſee then, that firſt the end is to be knowne and deſired, and then the way. Our Sauiour anſwereth, *I am the way,the truth,and the life:* whereby is ſignified, that Chriſt is to be deſired,not onely as the way,but as the end, which is life. As *Ambroſe* vpon theſe words, *Sequimur te Domine, ſed vt ſequamur accerſi,&c.*We follow thee Lord, but fetch vs,that wee may follow thee: no man doth aſcend without thee,thou art the way,the truth,the life, the poſſibilitie,faith,reward: *de bon.mort.c.12.* Chriſt then is to be followed,as the way and the life,as both the truth, and faith, and reward.

Secondly, 1. The will is actiue in reſpect of his proper obiect: but it is paſſiue, as it is moued and ſtirred of God. 2. The Scripture is euident, that the deſire of comming to, and being with Chriſt,both of the way and end,is not naturall,but aboue nature, from God. Iohn 6.44. *No man commeth to me,vnleſſe the father draw him:* The loue of Chriſts appearing is rewarded with a crowne of glorie,2.Tim.4.8.but no naturall gift is ſo rewarded. 3. Saint *Ambroſe: Nulla ſpecies cuiuſquam virtutis occurrit,quæ ſine dono diuinæ gratiæ habetur:* There is no ſhew of any vertue, which is had or deſired without the gift of the heauenly grace: *Ergo,* the end, which is ſaluation, which is not without a ſhew of vertue, is not deſired without grace. 4. *Capreolus*(one of their ſchoolemen) thinketh,that this deſire of the will is wrought onely by God,and is altogether paſſiue in that reſpect: *in 2.ſent.diſt.24.qu.1.*

THE THIRD PART, OF THE QVALITIE AND condition of freewill,whether it be actiue or paſſiue.

The Papiſts.

35.Error. BEllarmine affirmeth,that the will of man is neither paſſiue onely, nor partly actiue,and partly paſſiue: *ſed ſimpliciter & abſolutè actiuum:* but ſimply and abſolutely actiue. Of the ſame opinion are diuers of the Schoolemen,as *Thomas Aquinas,Scotus,Henricus,Capreolus,Ferrarienſ.*as they are cited and alleaged by *Bellarmine,lib.3.de grat.cap.10.*

Argum. If freewill ſhould be paſſiue, and not actiue, that is, if it be not a perpetuall agent and working cauſe, but ſhould it ſelfe ſuffer, and receiue, and be wrought vpon by other cauſes: then can it not be free, for it is not in the power of the patient, or of that which ſuffereth, to doe this, or that, but in the power of the agent, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, wee graunt, that in what things ſoeuer the will of man naturally is free, there it worketh freely, and ſo actiuely, as namely in all euill actions: But vnto good things, it hath naturally no freedome at all, but is made free onely by grace: and therefore we denie, that in this caſe, it is either free by nature, or of any actiue power. Secondly, not onely grace worketh vpon the will of man, but naturally alſo the vnderſtanding moueth the will actiuely, vnleſſe (contrarie to nature) the will rebell againſt the reaſon and vnderſtanding.

The Proteſtants.

THe will of man we cannot abſolutely determine to be either actiue or paſſiue in working: for as the obiect of the will is, and the thing that is willed, ſo is the will it ſelfe affected: for in euery thing which is willed, or deſired, wee are to reſpect two things: the generall power of willing and deſiring, without any reſpect vnto good, or euill; and the qualitie of the obiect, the goodnes, or euilnes thereof. If we conſider the generall power, whereby we thinke, wee will, we deſire this, or that; ſo is the will of man free and actiue, whether it be good or euill, that is ſo willed: if we reſpect the qualitie of the obiect, as if it be euill, which is deſired, here alſo is the will of man both free, and actiue: But if it be good, the will is onely paſſiue: it hath no naturall inclination vnto good things, vnleſſe it be drawne by the ſpirit of God working in vs. So then, *velle in nobis eſt*, to will is in our owne power, *bene velle à Deo*, to will as we ſhould, is of God.

Argum. Iohn 8.36. *If the Sonne make you free, then are you free indeed.* Philip.2.13. *It is God, which worketh in you both the will, and the deede.* The will of man then in good things worketh not, but is wrought; it maketh not it ſelfe free, but is made free: *Ergo*, it is not in this caſe actiue, but onely paſſiue, receiuing power from another cauſe.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Voluntas humana non libertate conſequitur gratiam, ſed gratia potius libertatem:* The will of man doth not by the freeneſſe therof obtaine grace, but by grace obtaineth freedome: *de correption.& grat.cap.*8. The freedome then of the will, is the worke and effect of grace: *Ergo*, it is paſſiue, for the effect, or the thing wrought or cauſed, doth ſuffer in reſpect of the efficient and working cauſe.

Petrus Lombard compareth freewill to the ground, grace vnto raine: *Terræ mentis noſtræ, i. libero arbitrio voluntatis, infunditur pluuia diuinæ benedictionis:* The raine of the heauenly bleſſing is infuſed into the ground of the minde, that is, freewill: But the earth in reſpect of the raine that falleth, is paſſiue, and not actiue.

Eſpenc.in 2.ad Timoth.p.40.b. Paſſiua promiſſi expectatio hominum eſt: The paſſiue expectation of the promiſe is of men. Faith then, which is the act of the will and vnderſtanding, is paſſiue.

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER THE VNDERſtanding or intelligence doe worke actiuely vpon the will of man.

The Papiſts.

36.Error. BEllarmine to maintaine his owne conceite, that the will of man is onely actiue, not paſſiue, doubteth not to denie, *voluntatem moueri à ratione*, that the will is moued by reaſon: or that the intelligent part doth *actum voluntatis effectiue producere*, produce and effect the act of the will: *lib.3.de grat.cap.*10.

Argum. The intelligent part worketh neceſſarily, or is a neceſſary cauſe, then it would follow, that to will is neceſſarie, not free, if the vnderſtanding moue the will neceſſarily, as it doth: *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, the vnderſtanding doth not alwaies worke neceſſarily: for the will and deſire many times rebelleth againſt reaſon, and is not alwaies moued or perſwaded by the vnderſtanding. Secondly, though it ſhould worke neceſſarily, yet the will may retaine the freedome ſtill: for not neceſſitie, but coaction and compulſion take away libertie: as grace worketh neceſſarily vpon the will, that is, ſurely effectually, yet grace taketh not away freewill.

The Proteſtants.

THat the vnderſtanding or intelligent part mooueth the will of man actiuely, it is euident.

Argum. That which is the life of man is the agent and actiue worker in mans will: for all actions proceede from the life: but the reaſon and vnderſtanding is the life, becauſe it is the light: for *the life is the light of man*, Iohn 1.4. *Ergo.*

Againe, that wherein Gods image properly conſiſteth, is the chiefe agent and mouer: but the image of God is in the minde the ſeate of knowledge: and *the renewing of the minde is in knowledge after the image of him, that created him*, Coloſſ.3.10. *Ergo*, the vnderſtanding is the mouer of the will.

Auguſtine reſembleth the vnderſtanding to the man, the will to the woman: *Mulier dicitur mater viuorum, id eſt, animalis pars eſt mater rectè factorum, cum conuerſa fuerit ad mentem*: The woman is ſaid to be the mother of all liuing, that is, the naturall or ſenſuall part, is the mother of all good acts, being conuerted to the ſoule: *lib.2.de Geneſ.cap.21*. The minde then worketh actiuely vpon the will, which is the ſenſuall part.

Diuers of the Schoolemen hold the will to be paſſiue in reſpect of the vnderſtanding that moueth it, though it be actiue in reſpect of the obiect which is wiſhed or deſired: *ſic Gabriel.in 2.ſent. diſt.25.qu.vnic. Petrus Paludan.in 4.ſent.diſt.49.qu.3.*

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE ſubiect of freewill.

The Papiſts.

37.Error. B*Ellarmine* affirmeth, that freewill is incident onely to reaſonable creatures, which no man denieth, and hee confeſſeth that there is freewill in God and in the Angels: and to this purpoſe alleageth theſe places, Pſalm.135.6. *Whatſoeuer pleaſed the Lord, that did he in heauen and earth.* Epheſ.1.11. *Which worketh all things, according to the counſell of his owne will: cap.16*. Hence hee concludeth, that the will of God is moſt free not onely from coaction and compulſion, but from all kind of neceſſitie: and he blameth *Bucer* and *Caluin* for aſcribing a neceſſitie to the will or works of God: *lib.3.de grat.cap.15.16.*

Anſw. Firſt, wee willingly affirme, that Gods will worketh moſt freely, that is, without any conſtraint, and this out of theſe places is concluded, but not that Gods will is free from all neceſſitie: for it is neceſſary that God ſhould not will any thing that is euill. Secondly, *Bellarmine* alloweth *Lombards* definition of freewill: *Liberum eſt ad vtrumlibet*: It is free to either part, *cap.5*. And in the ſame place he proueth, that it is not ſufficient for the will to be free from coaction, but from *neceſſitie* alſo: then it muſt follow in their ſenſe, that Gods will muſt be free to either part, both to good and euill, which were blaſphemie to affirme.

The Proteſtants.

WE neither tie God to a fatall neceſſitie, as the Heathen Philoſophers did: neither doe wee affirme, as he ſlaundereth *Caluin* to ſay, that God can doe no more, than he doth: for as *Iohn* ſaith, *he could of ſtones raiſe vp children to Abraham*, Matth.3. Neither doe wee denie, that God hath a freewill, but not ſuch a freewill as the Papiſts define: which is free to either part, free both from coaction, and from all neceſſitie: free to good and euill.

Argum. That which is impoſſible to God is neceſſarie, *It is impoſſible for God to lye*, Hebr.6.18. *Ergo*, it is neceſſarie that he ſhould not lye. That which God doth not, neither can doe, hee willeth not: *God tempteth no man to euill*, Iam.1.13. he neither doth nor can: *Ergo*, his will here is not *libera ad vtrumlibet*, free vnto each part. From this neceſſitie of not willing or doing euill, Gods will then is not free. Wherefore let them chuſe which they will, that either God hath no freewill, or that freewill is not free from neceſſitie, though it be from compulſion or coaction.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Si illa definitur neceſſitas, &c.* If we define that to be neceſſitie, as when wee ſay it is neceſſarie, that this thing ſhould be ſo, we neede not feare leaſt this neceſſitie ſhould take away the freedome of will: for neither doe we put Gods foreknowlege vnder neceſſitie, when we ſay, it is neceſſarie God ſhould know all things afore: *lib.5.de ciuitat.Dei cap.10*. *Auguſtine* denieth not, but that there is a kinde of neceſſitie in God; a neceſſitie determined, not conſtrained; implied, not enforced. So the fathers, when they exclude neceſſitie from God, they meane a fatall and preſcribed or naturall neceſſitie, not otherwiſe: as *Gregor.Nyſſen.lib.de fat.cap.vlt. Omnipotens neq; natura neceſſitate, neque legis praſcripto operatur*: The Omnipotent worketh neither by neceſſitie of nature, nor preſcript of law. *Ambr.Operatur pro libero voluntatis arbitrio, non pro neceſſitatis obſequio*: He worketh according to the freedome of will, not thraldome of neceſſitie.

Pet.Lombard. in the ſame ſenſe ſaith: *Deus non neceſſitate, ſed libera voluntate omnia facit, &c.* God not of neceſſitie, but of his freewill worketh all things. By neceſſitie hee vnderſtandeth *coaction*. *Liberum arbitrium dicitur, quia ſine coactione & neceſſitate*: It is called freewill, becauſe without coaction and neceſſitie it willeth: *lib.2.diſt.25*. Wherefore ſeeing God truly hath freewill, and the elect Angels haue freewill; as in the ſame place *Lombar. Multo liberius erit arbitrium, quod non poteſt ſeruire peccato*; Will ſhall be much more free, when it cannot ſerue ſinne: It followeth, that neceſſitie onely, where no coaction or compulſion is, doth not take away the libertie and freedome of the will.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE power of freewill.

THere are three kindes of humane actions: Some are naturall, and ciuill,as to walke,to ſit,to ſow,to plant,to make warre & ſuch like: Some are moral,ſuch are the actions which appertaine to vertue,or vice; as to giue almes,to liue chaſtly,contrarie to the which are theſe,to ſteale, to commit adulterie; with the like: Some are diuine and ſupernaturall,as to beleeue,to hope,to loue,&c. This queſtion then hath according to this diuiſion three parts: firſt, of the power of freewill in naturall and ciuill actions: ſecondly,in morall: thirdly,in diuine and ſupernaturall.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE POWER of freewill in naturall things.

THis part of the queſtion is diuided into other particulars: as firſt, whether the deitie and power of God may be knowne by the light of nature. Secondly,whether man haue freewill in naturall things.

THE FIRST POINT, WHETHER THE GODhead may be knowne by the light of nature.

The Papiſts.

38.Error. BEllarmine not contented with *Caluine* his iudgement of this matter,who graunteth that by the light of nature generally the Godhead may be knowne,addeth further,*Verum & vnum deum naturaliter poſſe cognoſci,& non ſolum deum in communi,&c.* That the true and onely God naturally may be knowne,and not onely after a common and generall manner. And likewiſe hee ſaith yet furthermore,that to this naturall knowledge and demonſtration of God, a man may *nullo labore aſſentiri,* giue his aſſent without any labour,and neede not,*auxilio gratiæ ſpeciali,*any ſpeciall helpe or aſsiſtance of grace thereunto,*Bellarm.lib.4.de grat.cap.2.*

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Anſw. Theſe places proue a generall and confuſed knowledge of God by the creatures,which we graunt,but ſuch a particular, and manifeſt light of knowledge,which the Ieſuite ſtriueth for, they prooue not: *they might* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *haue groped after God:* but men vſe to grope and feele in the night, and in the darke: and this naturall light ſerueth onely to make men without excuſe.Rom.1.20.*Ad hoc,*ſaith the Apoſtle,*vt ſint ipſi inexcuſabiles:* It cannot bring them to any cleere,or perfect knowledge of God. So we reade in the booke of *Iob: All men ſee it,and behold it a farre off,*Iob.36.25,that is, the light of nature is but a dimme and obſcure light,as when a man beholdeth a thing a farre off.

The Proteſtants.

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This then is our opinion,that by the light of nature it may be knowne,both that God is,and that he is almightie,iuſt,eternall,&c. For otherwiſe he ſhould not be knowne to be God: See the iudgement of *Beza.annot.Rom.1.20.* With what face then can the Ieſuite open his mouth againſt vs,as though we condemned the light of nature,and knowledge of the creatures?

But ſuch a naturall knowledge,that is,a particular,ſpeciall,manifeſt,direct knowledge of God, which the Ieſuite vrgeth, we cannot approue, nor yet that a man, without ſpeciall grace, can giue his aſſent vnto ſuch naturall knowledge, and come to know his Creator thereby.

Argum. 1. Firſt, that the light of nature is not ſo full, cleare, and perfect, that it is able to bring vs to the true knowledge of God, we learne out of the Scripture: Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *No man commeth to the Father but by me,* Iohn chap. 14. verſ. 6. The true knowledge of God is not reuealed vnto vs, but by Chriſt: the light of nature leadeth vs not to Chriſt, therefore not to the true knowledge of God.

Argum. 2. Secondly, that man of himſelfe, without Gods ſpeciall gift, cannot make vſe of this naturall knowledge of God, and ſubſcribe to the ſame, and giue aſſent in his heart, it is cleare alſo out of the word of God: he was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not, Ioh. 1. 10.

Bellarmine anſwereth: 1. This place is vnderſtood of the ſonne of God the ſecond perſon of the Trinitie: which myſterie of the Trinitie, we graunt, cannot be knowne by the light of nature, *Bellarm. cap.* 3.

Contra. The Euangeliſt ſpeaketh here of the creation of the world: *The world was made by him:* and yet they knew not their Creator: this notwithſtanding is a point of naturall knowledge, to confeſſe God to be the Creator and Gouernour of the world: *for the power of God is ſeene by the creation of the world,* Rom. 1. 20.

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Contra. The Euangeliſt in very direct tearmes ſpeaketh of that light of nature, which is in men, verſ. 4. *The life was the light of men,* and *This is the true light that lightenth euery man that commeth into the world,* verſ. 9. The Ieſuite then doth ſhamefully abuſe this place, in applying it vnto vnreaſonable creatures.

Bellarm. 3. Laſt of all, the Ieſuite thus playeth the interpreter, by the darkneſſe we vnderſtand, *Homines ignorantes, & peccatores,* ſinfull and ignorant men, which perceiued not this light, not becauſe they could not, but becauſe they would not.

Contra. Neither can this expoſition hold: for the Euangeliſt ſheweth the condition of all men, what they are by nature, euen full of darkeneſſe and ignorance, as it may appeare by comparing the ninth verſe, *This is the light, that lightneth euery man:* he meaneth then not ſome, but all. Secondly, not to comprehend, noteth a want of power, not of will; as to comprehend, ſheweth a preſence of abilitie or power: *That ye may be able to comprehend,* Epheſ. chap. 3. verſ. 18. *vt poſſitis,* ſaith the Apoſtle, that ye may; not, *vt velitis,* that you will. Laſtly, we graunt alſo that it is true, *noluerunt comprehendere,* they would not comprehend: but that is not all: for the Euangeliſt declareth two things, wherein the miſerable ſtate of man by nature is ſeene; both that men are vnable though they would to comprehend, and vnwilling though they could, to receiue the light: for the firſt, hee ſaith, οὐ κατέλαβεν, *non comprehenderunt,* They comprehended not, that is, they could not, verſ. 5. and for the other, οὐ παρέλαβον, *non receperunt,* they receiued not, that is, they would not, verſ. 11. As not to comprehend ſheweth a defect of power; ſo not to receiue, importeth a want of will. Thus, notwithſtanding this ſmoake and miſte, which the Ieſuite rayſeth, this place remaineth cleere both againſt the ſufficiencie of natural light in it ſelfe, and the voluntary aſſenting thereunto on mans behalfe.

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Eſpenc. a learned popiſh writer, vrgeth that place of S. *Paul* to this purpoſe, 2. Timoth. 2. 7. *The Lord giue thee vnderſtanding in all thinges. In omnibus humanis rebus ſcilicet, maximis & minimis:* in all humane matters great and ſmall. And he further thus alleageth out of *Lactantius*; *Falſum intelligere ſapientia eſt, ſed humana, &c.* To vnderſtand that is falſe, is a point of wiſedome, but humane; beyond this degree man cannot proceed: to know the trueth is a point of diuine wiſedom,

to

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE power of freewill.

THere are three kindes of humane actions: Some are naturall, and ciuill,as to walke,to ſit,to ſow,to plant,to make warre & ſuch like: Some are moral,ſuch are the actions which appertaine to vertue,or vice; as to giue almes,to liue chaſtly,contrarie to the which are theſe,to ſteale, to commit adulterie; with the like: Some are diuine and ſupernaturall,as to beleeue,to hope, to loue,&c. This queſtion then hath according to this diuiſion three parts: firſt, of the power of freewill in naturall and ciuill actions: ſecondly,in morall: thirdly,in diuine and ſupernaturall.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE POWER of freewill in naturall things.

THis part of the queſtion is diuided into other particulars: as firſt, whether the deitie and power of God may be knowne by the light of nature. Secondly,whether man haue freewill in naturall things.

THE FIRST POINT, WHETHER THE GODhead may be knowne by the light of nature.

The Papiſts.

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THE SECOND POINT, WHETHER MAN HAVE freewill in ciuill and naturall things.

The Papiſts.

39.Error. THis the Ieſuite affirmeth, and it is the common opinion of that ſide, that in naturall and ciuill actions man hath a free and abſolute will, whether to good or euill, they reaſon thus:

Argum. 1. It is in mans power to do ſome things, which he doth not, and againe to leaue ſome things vndone in ciuill matters, which he doth: *Ergo*, there is freewill in ſuch things: God ſaith to *Salomon, Becauſe thou haſt asked wiſedome, and haſt not asked long life, &c.* 1. King. 3. 11. So *Peter* ſaith to *Ananias, After it was ſold, was it not in thine owne power?* Act. 5. 4. Here we ſee *Salomon* might haue done that which hee did not, that is, asked riches, and long life, and not wiſedome: and *Ananias* might haue left that vndone which he did, as to haue ſold his poſſeſsions, and to bring the money to the Apoſtles: *Bellarm. lib. 4. de grat. cap. 7.*

Anſw. Firſt, though in ciuill indifferent matters to will and purpoſe, be in mans power, yet to doe or not to doe, to execute what he hath purpoſed, is not ſo in his power: for the Wiſeman maketh a manifeſt difference betweene theſe two: *The thoughts of the heart are in man, but the anſwere of the tongue is of God*, Prou. 16. 1. Man purpoſeth, but God diſpoſeth.

Secondly, it was not in *Salomons* power of himſelfe to aske wiſedome of God, rather then any other thing: but his will and deſire was thereto directed of God: for if the Lord put into *Salomons* minde to aske, who ſaid vnto *Salomon*, appearing to him in a dreame, *Aske what I ſhall giue thee*, 1. King. 3. 5. much more was it inſpired into him, what he ſhould aske. And concerning the other example: for a man to ſell or not to ſell, being a meere ciuill and indifferent action, it is freely in his power: but to ſell to good and godly vſes, to helpe the neceſsitie of others, as the brethren did in the Apoſtles time, was in them a worke of grace: *All that beleeued were in one place, and had all things common*, Act. 2. verſ. 44. They were beleeuers that did ſo, faith wrought it in them. And againe, Act. 4. verſ. 33. *Great grace was vpon them all, neither was there any among them that lacked.* It was a worke of grace then, that men ſold their lands, to relieue the wants of others.

Argum. 2. The Scripture giueth vnto man free election and choiſe of things, which cannot be
1.2. without freewill. Firſt, Ioſh. 24. 15. *Chuſe you this day whom ye will ſerue.* Secondly, 2. Sam. 24. 12. *I*
3. *offer three things vnto thee, chuſe of them, which I ſhall doe vnto thee.* Thirdly, Matth. 19. *If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commaundements.* Luk. 19. *If any man will follow me, let him denie himſelfe.*

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, 1. The people had not power of themſelues to chuſe the way of the Lord: but God had firſt choſen them. Deut. 4. 37. *Becauſe he loued the fathers he choſe their ſeede:* and here the people anſwere, *We will ſerue the Lord, for he is our God*, verſ. 18. Firſt, hee was their God in chooſing them, and giuing grace; and then they choſe the Lorde. Secondly, this place otherwiſe would enforce an abſolute election in diuine matters, and not in ciuill onely, which were a groſſe error: for this choiſe of the people was of the ſeruice and religion of God.

2. Secondly, *Dauids* will is directed by faith to make choiſe to fall into Gods hands: for (ſaith he) *his mercies are great*, verſ. 14. His faith and confidence in Gods mercies directeth his choiſe.

3. Thirdly, 1. Thoſe places are vnproperly alleaged to prooue freewill in ciuill matters: to *enter into life*, and *to follow Chriſt*, are not ciuill, but ſpirituall and diuine: will hee then conclude that a man hath power of himſelfe to follow Chriſt, and enter into heauen? blaſphemous is the mouth, that ſo affirmeth. 2. Why the precepts of Scripture are thus ſet forth vnto man, Saint *Ambroſe* excellently ſheweth: *Non ob aliud vnquam datur præceptum, niſi vt quæratur præcipientis auxilium; voces docentium, literæ paginarum Deo ſeruiunt, non carent eius virtute cui ſeruiunt: & quando id quod iubetur ab obediente perficitur, tunc effectus diuini operis declaratur:* The precept is giuen, that the helpe of the precept giuer may be ſought; the voyce of the teacher, the letters of Scripture doe miniſter vnto God; neither doe they want his vertue, whom they ſerue: and when that is fulfilled, which is commaunded, the operation of the diuine worke is declared, *epiſt.* 84. The precepts then of Scripture proue not a freewill in man, but onely ſtirre vs vp to ſeeke for his helpe to performe the precept, that giueth it.

Argum. 3. Here a great troupe of both Greeke and Latine fathers is brought in for the proofe of freewill. I anſwere: firſt, it is certaine that ſome of the Greeke fathers aſcribed too much to freewill, more I thinke than the Papiſts dare acknowledge: as in the Homilie vnder *Chryſoſtomes* name vpon the ſtorie of *Zacheus: In te eſt vt poſſis, quia in te eſt vt velis, &c.* It is in thy ſelfe to be able to doe, becauſe it is in thee to will to doe. If it be in vs, what neede grace? Secondly, the fathers extoll freewill, hauing to deale with the contrarie hereſie of the Manichees, who imputed ſin vnto nature, and not to mans will. Thirdly, the fathers affirming freewill, either ſpeake of the ſtate of man in his firſt creation: as *Baſile* alleaged ſaith, *Anima voluntariam adepta vitam, &c.* The ſoule hauing obtained a voluntarie life, was created according to the image of God. Or elſe they meane the freedome of will by grace: as *Epiphan. hæreſ.* 16. *Liberum arbitrium exhibuit nobis Deus, &c.* God hath giuen vnto vs a freewill, ſaying, If ye will obey and heare, ye ſhall eate the good things of the land. This libertie or freedome, as I ſhewed before out of *Ambroſe*, is wrought in vs by grace. Or laſtly, they ſpeake of a libertie of will free from compulſion or violence, as *Chryſoſtome ſerm.* 2. *de fato: Dæmon dicit, Non eſt in te, quod extendas manum, ſed neceſſitate & vi id agis:* The diuell ſaith, It is not in thee to extend thy hand, but thou doeſt it of neceſsitie and force. And S. *Hierome* cited *in* 26. *Ierem. Liberum homini ſeruatur arbitrium ne ex præſcientia eius, quaſi ex neceſſitate cogatur, &c.* Mans freewill is reſerued, ſo that he is not conſtrained as of neceſsitie by Gods preſcience to doe this or that. In any of theſe three ſenſes if the fathers be vnderſtood, according to their owne minde, we doe willingly conſent: that man in his creation had freewill; that by grace now alſo mans will is made free and; that by nature mans will is free from compulſion or conſtraint.

The Proteſtants.

WE here diſſent from our aduerſaries in two points: Firſt, wee graunt, that in ciuill matters, being in themſelues indifferent, there is a freewill in man, as to eate, to labour, to ſit, to goe, to plant, to build: but to doe any of theſe to any good, or godly end, as to labour, thereby to auoide ſtealing, to goe vnto prayer, to build houſes for poore people onely of charitie, without opinion of merit, theſe godly actions are not of our ſelues, but wrought in vs by the ſpirit.

Secondly, wee affirme, that although in ſuch things mens thoughts or deuiſes, are free; yet ſo are not their actions: it is not as free for men to doe, or not to doe, as to will, or not to will.

Argum. 1. *The heart of man purpoſeth his way, but the Lord doth direct his ſteps,* Prou. 16. 8. *Many deuiſes are in mans heart, but the counſell of the Lord ſhall ſtand,* Prou. 19. verſ. 21. I know, *that the way of man is not in himſelfe, neither is it in man to direct his ſteps,* Iere. 10. 23. S. *Iames* alſo reproueth them which ſay, to morrow I will goe into the citie: *Ye ought to ſay, if the Lorde will, I will doe this or that,* Iam. 4. 14. By theſe places we gather, that it is not in mans power to doe what himſelfe willeth, or purpoſeth, and therefore he hath not a free and abſolute will in theſe things.

Anſw. It is one thing to haue *liberam electionem,* a free choiſe of things, another to haue *liberam exequutionem,* freely to execute that which a man willeth: theſe places ſhew, that man hath not power freely to execute his will: his will or purpoſe may be free notwithſtanding in it ſelfe, *Bellarm. cap.* 11.

Contra. The Ieſuite hath made here an anſwere contrarie to himſelfe: for before hee thus defined, *liberum hominem,* a freeman, or a man of freewill, *qui pro arbitrio facit, vel non facit,* which doth or not doth, this or that, according to his owne pleaſure, *cap.* 7. *argum.* 2. But here forgetting what he ſaid before, he limiteth freewill within the compaſſe of the minde and purpoſe, not extending it to the action or execution: ſaying to this effect, that the purpoſe of man is free; but to accompliſh or execute his purpoſe he hath not free or abſolute power: which is the very ſame, that wee affirmed before: that howſoeuer mens thoughts in meere ciuill and naturall things are left vnto them free, yet ſo are not their actions.

Argum. 2. Iſay. 26. 12. *Thou haſt wrought all our workes for vs.* Rom. 11. 36. *Of him, through him, and for him are all things.* 1. Corin. 12. 6. *God worketh all in all: Ergo,* the diſpoſition of the will is of God.

Bellarm. Mans freewill, and Gods grace doe worke together: like as without the light a man cannot ſee, yet the light being preſent, it is in a mans power to open his eyes and ſee, or to ſhut his eyes and not ſee: ſo the grace of God preſuppoſed, yet it is in mans will to chuſe or refuſe: *Bellarm. cap.* 11. *obſeru.* 2.

Contra. Firſt, this gloſſe is contrarie to the text: for if God worke all our workes for vs, if hee worke all in all, then our will worketh nothing: how worketh God all, if hee worke not all, but with a fellow helper? Secondly, the reaſon is not alike betweene the gifts of nature, and the gifts of grace: for the power to ſee, to heare, is once giuen in the nature of man, and to the execution thereof, there neede no ſpeciall direction, but the generall aſſiſtance of Gods prouidence: but in the workes of grace, as in the diſpoſing of the will to good, the ſpeciall aſſiſtance of Gods ſpirit is neceſſarie: a man may ſhut his eyes againſt the light, but a man cannot ſhut his heart againſt the effectuall working of grace. Thirdly, this was the hereſie of the Pelagians: *Ita dei gratiam ponunt, vt non per ſingula opera eius nitamur auxilio:* They did ſo affirme the grace of God, that wee neede not for euery worke Gods aſſiſtance: but referred themſelues to freewill, which was once giuen them. Their ſentence was this, that it was the grace and gift of God, that they had freewill: but after this gift once giuen, the execution and diſpoſition of it was in themſelues: *Hieron. epiſt. ad* to the which a man cannot attaine of himſelfe, vnleſſe he be taught. The Philoſophers attained that which was the higheſt point of humane wiſedome, to vndeaſtand, what God was not, but yet attained not to ſay, what God was: *ex citat. Eſpenc. comment. in 2. Timoth. p. 26 liter. f.* Wherefore the knowledge of nature concerning God, is obſcure, doubtfull, imperfect, not able to giue direction to the mind, without inſtinct of grace.

THE SECOND POINT, WHETHER MAN HAVE freewill in ciuill and naturall things.

The Papiſts.

39.Error. THis the Ieſuite affirmeth, and it is the common opinion of that ſide, that in naturall and ciuill actions man hath a free and abſolute will, whether to good or euill, they reaſon thus:

Argum. 1. It is in mans power to do ſome things, which he doth not, and againe to leaue ſome things vndone in ciuill matters, which he doth: *Ergo,* there is freewill in ſuch things: God ſaith to *Salomon, Becauſe thou haſt asked wiſedome, and haſt not asked long life, &c.* 1. King. 3. 11. So *Peter* ſaith to *Ananias, After it was ſold, was it not in thine owne power?* Act. 5. 4. Here we ſee *Salomon* might haue done that which hee did not, that is, asked riches, and long life, and not wiſedome: and *Ananias* might haue left that vndone which he did, as to haue ſold his poſſeſsions, and to bring the money to the Apoſtles: *Bellarm. lib. 4. de grat. cap. 7.*

Anſw. Firſt, though in ciuill indifferent matters to will and purpoſe, be in mans power, yet to doe or not to doe, to execute what he hath purpoſed, is not ſo in his power: for the Wiſeman maketh a manifeſt difference betweene theſe two: *The thoughts of the heart are in man, but the anſwere of the tongue is of God,* Prou. 16. 1. Man purpoſeth, but God diſpoſeth.

Secondly, it was not in *Salomons* power of himſelfe to aske wiſedome of God, rather then any other thing: but his will and deſire was thereto directed of God: for if the Lord put into *Salomons* minde to aske, who ſaid vnto *Salomon,* appearing to him in a dreame, *Aske what I ſhall giue thee,* 1. King. 3. 5. much more was it inſpired into him, what he ſhould aske. And concerning the other example: for a man to ſell or not to ſell, being a meere ciuill and indifferent action, it is freely in his power: but to ſell to good and godly vſes, to helpe the neceſsitie of others, as the brethren did in the Apoſtles time, was in them a worke of grace: *All that beleeued were in one place, and had all things common,* Act. 2. verſ. 44. They were beleeuers that did ſo, faith wrought it in them. And againe, Act. 4. verſ. 33. *Great grace was vpon them all, neither was there any among them that lacked.* It was a worke of grace then, that men ſold their lands, to relieue the wants of others.

Argum. 2. The Scripture giueth vnto man free election and choiſe of things, which cannot be
1.2. without freewill. Firſt, Ioſh. 24. 15. *Chuſe you this day whom ye will ſerue.* Secondly, 2. Sam. 24. 12. *I*
3. *offer three things vnto thee, chuſe of them, which I ſhall doe vnto thee.* Thirdly, Matth. 19. *If thou wilt*
enter into life, keepe the commaundements. Luk. 19. *If any man will follow me, let him denie himſelfe.*

1. ***Anſw.*** Firſt, 1. The people had not power of themſelues to chuſe the way of the Lord: but God had firſt choſen them. Deut. 4. 37. *Becauſe he loued the fathers he choſe their ſeede:* and here the people anſwere, *We will ſerue the Lord, for he is our God,* verſ. 18. Firſt, hee was their God in chooſing them, and giuing grace; and then they choſe the Lorde. Secondly, this place otherwiſe would enforce an abſolute election in diuine matters, and not in ciuill onely, which were a groſſe error: for this choiſe of the people was of the ſeruice and religion of God.

2. Secondly, *Dauids* will is directed by faith to make choiſe to fall into Gods hands: for (ſaith he) *his mercies are great,* verſ. 14. His faith and confidence in Gods mercies directeth his choiſe.

3. Thirdly, 1. Thoſe places are vnproperly alleaged to prooue freewill in ciuill matters: to *enter into life,* and *to follow Chriſt,* are not ciuill, but ſpirituall and diuine: will hee then conclude that a man hath power of himſelfe to follow Chriſt, and enter into heauen? blaſphemous is the mouth, that ſo affirmeth. 2. Why the precepts of Scripture are thus ſet forth vnto man, Saint *Ambroſe* excellently ſheweth: *Non ob aliud vnquam datur praeceptum, niſi vt quaeratur praecipientis auxilium; voces docentium, litera paginarum Deo ſeruiunt, non carent eius virtute cui ſeruiunt: & quando id quod iubetur ab obediente perficitur, tunc effectus diuini operis declaratur:* The precept is giuen, that the helpe of the precept giuer may be ſought; the voyce of the teacher, the letters of Scripture doe miniſter vnto God; neither doe they want his vertue, whom they ſerue: and when that is fulfilled, which is commaunded, the operation of the diuine worke is declared, *epiſt.* 84. The precepts then of Scripture proue not a freewill in man, but onely ſtirre vs vp to ſeeke for his helpe to performe the precept, that giueth it.

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The Protestants.

WE here diſſent from our aduerſaries in two points: Firſt, wee graunt, that in ciuill matters, being in themſelues indifferent, there is a freewill in man, as to eate, to labour, to ſit, to goe, to plant, to build: but to doe any of theſe to any good, or godly end, as to labour, thereby to auoide ſtealing, to goe vnto prayer, to build houſes for poore people onely of charitie, without opinion of merit, theſe godly actions are not of our ſelues, but wrought in vs by the ſpirit.

Secondly, wee affirme, that although in ſuch things mens thoughts or deuiſes, are free; yet ſo are not their actions: it is not as free for men to doe, or not to doe, as to will, or not to will.

Argum.1. The heart of man purpoſeth his way, but the Lord doth direct his ſteps, Prou.16.8. *Many deuiſes are in mans heart, but the counſell of the Lord ſhall ſtand*, Prou.19.verſ.21. I know, *that the way of man is not in himſelfe, neither is it in man to direct his ſteps*, Iere.10.23. S. *Iames* alſo reproueth them which ſay, to morrow I will goe into the citie: *Ye ought to ſay, if the Lorde will, I will doe this or that*, Iam.4.14. By theſe places we gather, that it is not in mans power to doe what himſelfe willeth, or purpoſeth, and therefore he hath not a free and abſolute will in theſe things.

Anſw. It is one thing to haue *liberam electionem*, a free choiſe of things, another to haue *liberam exequutionem*, freely to execute that which a man willeth: theſe places ſhew, that man hath not power freely to execute his will: his will or purpoſe may be free notwithſtanding in it ſelfe, *Bellarm.cap.11.*

Contra. The Ieſuite hath made here an anſwere contrarie to himſelfe: for before hee thus defined, *liberum hominem*, a freeman, or a man of freewill, *qui pro arbitrio facit, vel non facit*, which doth or not doth, this or that, according to his owne pleaſure, *cap.7.argum.2.* But here forgetting what he ſaid before, he limiteth freewill within the compaſſe of the minde and purpoſe, not extending it to the action or execution: ſaying to this effect, that the purpoſe of man is free; but to accompliſh or execute his purpoſe he hath not free or abſolute power: which is the very ſame, that wee affirmed before: that howſoeuer mens thoughts in meere ciuill and naturall things are left vnto them free, yet ſo are not their actions.

Argum.2. Iſay.26.12. *Thou haſt wrought all our workes for vs.* Rom.11.36. *Of him, through him, and for him are all things.* 1.Corin.12.6. *God worketh all in all: Ergo*, the diſpoſition of the will is of God.

Bellarm. Mans freewill, and Gods grace doe worke together: like as without the light a man cannot ſee, yet the light being preſent, it is in a mans power to open his eyes and ſee, or to ſhut his eyes and not ſee: ſo the grace of God preſuppoſed, yet it is in mans will to chuſe or refuſe: *Bellarm. cap.11.obſeru.2.*

Contra. Firſt, this gloſſe is contrarie to the text: for if God worke all our workes for vs, if hee worke all in all, then our will worketh nothing: how worketh God all, if hee worke not all, but with a fellow helper? Secondly, the reaſon is not alike betweene the gifts of nature, and the gifts of grace: for the power to ſee, to heare, is once giuen in the nature of man, and to the execution thereof, there neede no ſpeciall direction, but the generall aſſiſtance of Gods prouidence: but in the workes of grace, as in the diſpoſing of the will to good, the ſpeciall aſſiſtance of Gods ſpirit is neceſſarie: a man may ſhut his eyes againſt the light, but a man cannot ſhut his heart againſt the effectuall working of grace. Thirdly, this was the hereſie of the Pelagians: *Ita dei gratiam ponunt, vt non per ſingula opera eius nitamur auxilio:* They did ſo affirme the grace of God, that wee neede not for euery worke Gods aſſiſtance: but referred themſelues to freewill, which was once giuen them. Their ſentence was this, that it was the grace and gift of God, that they had freewill: but after this gift once giuen, the execution and diſpoſition of it was in themſelues: *Hieron. epiſt. ad*

Cteſiphont. *Bellarmine* ſeemeth not to be farre off from this hereſie, that matcheth the naturall faculties of the ſenſe,and the ſpirituall diſpoſition of the will together: as though a general aſſiſtance of Gods power and prouidence ſufficed to the one,as well as to the other.

Aug.artic.3. contr.Pelag. Laſtly, *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Fatemur quidem liberum eſſe in omnibus hominibus arbitrium,habens quidem iudicium rationis,non per quod ſit idoneum,quæ ad Deum pertinent, ſine Deo aut inchoare,aut perficere; ſed tantum in operibus vitæ præſentis, tam bonis, quam malis; bonis dico, quæ bono naturæ oriuntur, vt velle manducare, laborare,domũ fabricare,&c.* We confeſſe a kind of freewill to be in all men,which hath the iudgement of reaſon,not by the which it is fit either to begin,or to finiſh without Gods helpe, things appertaining to God,but only in the workes of this life preſent, both good and euill; ſuch good things I meane,as haue a naturall or ciuill goodnes,as to will or purpoſe to eate,to labour, to build an houſe. With this teſtimonie,both theſe points are confirmed, which we haue now alreadie ſufficiently prooued out of Scripture. Firſt, *Auguſtine* graunteth a freewill in naturall things,ſo farre onely as they are naturally or ciuilly good,not as they are referred vnto God or any godly worke. Secondly,the execution of theſe naturall actions he doth not attribute to mans freewill,but the purpoſe onely and deſire, as *velle laborare, manducare,* to will to labour, to will to eate,and ſo of the reſt.

Saint *Hierome epiſt.ad Cteſiphont.* ſheweth what the power of mans will is in naturall things: the Pelagian obiected thus: *Si voluere curuaro digitum,ſtare,ſedere,&c.ſemper mihi dei auxilium neceſſarium eſt?* If I will bow my finger, ſtand,ſit,&c. is the helpe of God alwaies neceſſarie? He anſwereth thus: *Audi ingrate, immo ſacrilege, Apoſtolum prædicantem:* Heare thou vngratefull man,&c. the Apoſtle thus preaching,*Whether we eate or drinke,or whatſoeuer we doe elſe,let all be done to the glorie of God.* So then euen in theſe ciuill workes Gods aſſiſtance is neceſſarie.

Ambroſe alſo thus teſtifieth,*epiſt.*84.*Quaſi homo auxilio dei in quadam actionum ſuarum parte egeat, in quadam non egeat,&c.* As though man needed Gods helpe in ſome part of his actions, in ſome not: or that there were any time,or moment,wherein it were not pernicious and hurtfull to him, if the ſpirit of God were wanting: *Ergo*,euen in the direction of ciuill actions the preſence of the ſpirit is neceſſarie,if in no action,nor any time he can be wanting.

AN APPENDIX, AS TOVCHING THE NAME and difference of freewill before mans fall and after.

The Papiſts.

40.Error. Firſt, concerning the name of freewill, *Bellarmine* greatly complaineth, that ſome haue very boldly chaunged the name of freewill,calling it *ſeruum arbitrium*,bond will: his reaſon is, becauſe the fathers haue alwaies vſed the name of freewill in the defence of the faith: but it is not like,that the Church would haue vſed it, if it had been an offenſiue and vnfit name,*Bellarm.lib.*4.*cap.*6.

41.Error. Secondly,hee doubteth not to affirme,*Poſt lapſum hominem eſſe liberi arbitrij ſi fuit ante lapſum:* That man hath freewill after the fall,as well as he had it before.His reaſon is this,becauſe the prouidence of God is alleaged by *Caluine* to be the onely impediment of freewill: but Gods prouidence was as well before mans fall as after: *Bellar.lib.*4.*cap.*8.*argum.*6. Thus in *Bellarmines* opinion,man hath freewill as well after his fall,as before.

The Proteſtants.

Firſt, 1. That the name of freewill was very much vſed of ancient time by the fathers we grant, for they had to deale with the wicked Manichees,& other heretikes,who made the beginning of ſin in the euilnes of nature,not in the corruption of mans will; therfore againſt thẽ they maintained the name and nature of freewill;ſo long this name had not only a tolerable,but a neceſſary vſe: but now ſeeing it is abuſed to ſignifie an aptnes and libertie in mans will by nature to doe good,we may deale with it,as *Hezekiah* did with the braſen Serpent, which though it had a good beginning,yet becauſe in proceſſe of time it was abuſed to ſuperſtition,hee cauſed it to be broken downe.By the ſame example we may leaue and chaunge the vſe of this name of freewill.

2. The Scripture doth call mans will and man himſelfe by nature *bond*, and ſpeaketh of no freedome or libertie but by grace: Rom.6.20. *Ye were the ſeruants of ſinne: Serui peccati:* What is this elſe but to ſay, *ſeruum arbitrium*, your will was bond,or ſeruant to ſinne.

3. *Concil.Arauſican.*2.*c.*13. *Quod amiſſum eſt,&c.* That which is loſt cannot be reſtored, but by him,that firſt gaue it, as the truth ſaith: *If the Sonne make you free, ye are free indeede,* Ioh.8.36. The Scripture acknowledgeth no libertie of the will but by grace: wherefore the name of freewill by nature,is contrarie both to the ſenſe and phraſe of Scripture, and in that vnderſtanding may be refrained,and diſcontinued.

Secondly, 1. That man after his fall enioyeth freewill as he did before,is contrarie to the Scripture: Eccleſiaſt.7.31.*God hath made man righteous,but he hath added many inuentions.* And the image of God, after the which man was created, whereof his holie and freewill was a part, is by *Adams* fall decayed, and renewed in Chriſt, Coloſſ. 3.18.

2. Neither doth *Caluine* or any other ſay, that Gods preſcience or prouidence is an hindrance to the libertie of mans will: but we confeſſe with *Ambroſe: Æterna dei, & ſemper tranquilla cognitio nulla nos vrget neceſſitate peccandi, nec inde manat iniquitas, vnde iuſticia:* Gods eternall and ſtayed knowledge, doth not vrge vs with any neceſſitie to ſinne, neither doth iniquitie proceede from whence iuſtice commeth, *lib.2.de.vocat.Gent.cap.*10. It is not then Gods preſcience, but mans own corruption, that hath ſpoyled him of the libertie of will giuen in the creation: that which God foreknoweth, muſt neceſſarily come to paſſe, for otherwiſe it ſhould not haue been foreknowne: but his foreknowledge is not the cauſe thereof.

3. That *Adams* freewill by his fall is loſt, and that man hath not the ſame libertie of will before and after his fall, it is plentifully teſtified, by Councels and Fathers. *Arauſican.2.c.8. Liberum arbitrium per peccatum primi hominis infirmatum & læſum:* Freewill by the ſinne of the firſt man is weakened and wounded. *Can.25. Per peccatum primi hominis ita inclinatum & attenuatum fuit liberum arbitrium:* Freewill is ſo attenuate and degenerate by the ſinne of the firſt man, that no man can loue God, or beleeue in God, as hee ought, vnleſſe grace preuent him. *S. Ambroſe in Luc.*15. *Prodigus viuendo luxurioſè conſumpſit omnia ornamenta naturæ:* The prodigall childe by liuing riotouſly hath conſumed all the ornaments of nature. *Peter Lombard.* rehearſeth this ſentence out of *Auguſtine,* and giueth conſent to it: *Libero arbitrio malè vtens homo, & ſe perdidit & ipſum:* Man vſing euill freewill, hath loſt both it and himſelfe: *lib.2.diſt.25.liter.H.* Wherfore *Bellarmine* moſt abſurdly inſinuateth, that man after his fall may haue freewill as well as before.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE POWER OF the minde naturally in morall duties.

FIrſt, of the vnderſtanding and knowledge, which man hath by nature of theſe things: ſecondly, of the power of his will.

THE FIRST POINT, WHETHER MAN NATVrally doth vnderſtand what is true or falſe, good, or euill, in morall duties.

The Papiſts.

THe Ieſuite affirmeth, that a man by his naturall ſtrength may know, vnderſtand and iudge, *aliquod verũ morale,* what is true, at ſometimes, in morall duties, and to be followed, and ỹ not only generally, but in particular, as when and how to do iuſtly, how to giue almes: And further he addeth, *Actio voluntatis ei vero conformis, erit actio virtutis:* That if the will do follow the vnderſtanding, in this naturall iudgement of the truth, it will bring forth a vertuous action. This then is his opinion, ỹ naturally the mind of mã vnderſtandeth, which are true vertuous actions, *lib.5.de grat.* 42. Error.

*Argum.*1. The Apoſtle ſaith, *When they knew God, they did not glorifie him as God,* Rom.1.21. *Ergo,* the Gentiles had the knowledge of God naturally by the creatures, and might thereby haue been preſerued from idolatrie, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, a knowledge of the Creator by the creatures, we graunt, but an obſcure, imperfect, a generall and confuſed knowledge onely, ſeruing to make men inexcuſable, as the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ.20. but not able to bring them to the right worſhip of God, as the Ieſuite ſuppoſeth: for the Goſpell onely, as S. *Paul* defineth, *is the power of God to ſaluation:* that is, the only effectuall meanes to bring vs to know God vnto ſaluation. This naturall knowledge of God, though the Gentiles had conſented to it, could neuer of it ſelfe haue brought forth a vertuous act.

2 *Bellarmine* confeſſeth himſelfe, that a man cannot beleeue in God, *ſine ſpeciali gratiæ auxilio,* without ſpeciall aſſiſtance of grace: *lib.6 cap.*1. nor yet ſo much as thinke, much leſſe doe of himſelfe any thing, *quod ad pietatem pertinet,* which belongeth to godlines, *cap.3.lib.5.reſponſ.ad arg.*1. but ſo to know God, as thereby to be able to abſtaine from Idolatrie, belongeth to godlines, and is a fruit iſſuing from beleefe: therefore it is not in mans power: And yet the contrary is here affirmed by the Ieſuite, *Potuiſſe Gentiles per cognitionem vnius Dei ex creaturis acceptam abſtinere à cultu Idolorum:* That the Gentiles by the naturall knowledge of God in the creatures, might haue abſtained from the worſhip of Images. Bellarmi gainſt himſelf.

*Arg.*2. *The Gentiles which haue not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, they hauing not the law, are a law to themſelues, which ſhew the effect of the law written in their harts, their conſcience alſo bearing witneſſe, &c.* Rom.2.14.15. Here the Apoſtle ſheweth, that the Gentiles, hauing not the law written, yet by the naturall light of reaſon did know ſome thinges, which appertained to honeſt liuing, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt, wee denie not, as wee haue alreadie declared, but that the Gentiles naturally had ſome knowledge of right, and wrong, of good and euill, and did naturally ſuch thinges: but this knowledge and practiſe of theirs was farre from bringing forth any vertuous action, or good acceptable worke (which is the thing the Ieſuite ſhould haue prooued) becauſe they had no faith, without the which it is not poſsible to doe any acceptable worke, Hebr. 11. verſ. 6.

Secondly, this place as well ſheweth, that the Gentiles had power naturally as well to doe, as to know ſuch things: but it is impoſſible to performe the workes of the law naturally, as *Beliarmine* himſelfe ſheweth: *Non poſſe ſolis natura viribus adimpleri præcepta moralia omnia, ſecundum ſubſtantiam operis:* That by the power only of nature, the morall precepts cannot be kept, as touching the ſubſtantiall, that is, the externall worke, *cap. 5. Ergo,* neither the knowledge of morall precepts is obtained onely by the inſtinct of nature.

The Proteſtants.

A Light of nature wee acknowledge, whereby naturally men, after a darke and obſcure manner, may vnderſtand, in morall actions, ſome reſemblance and likelihoode of equitie and truth: And the Gentiles directed by theſe naturall principles, were able to prouide by their lawes againſt adulterie, murther, theft, and ſuch notorious diſhoneſtie of life: But that there is any ſuch naturall diſtinct or effectuall power or knowledge in man, whereby he is able to bring foorth any good or vertuous act, we hold it as a great vntruth.

Argum. 1. The Apoſtle ſaith, *We are not ſufficient of our ſelues to thinke any thing, but our ſufficiencie is of God,* 2. Cor. 3. 5. Therefore it is not in mans power naturally to thinke or conceiue that which is good.

Anſw. Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of ſuch thoughts as concerne godlines, and appertaine to life eternall, which we graunt, are not in mans power: not of morall duties, *Bellarm. cap.* 3.

Contra. 1. Saint *Paul* vnderſtandeth all good thoughts whatſoeuer are in man, that they are of God: for elſewhere he ſaith, *that euery thought muſt be brought into captiuitie to the obedience of Chriſt,* 2. Cor. 10. 5. But if man had any good thought of himſelfe, what neede it be ſubdued to the obedience of Chriſt? In ſaying (*euery thought*) hee ſheweth, that without Chriſt, all our thoughts and motions are rebellious.

2. As though morall duties doe not appertaine alſo to godlines of life: as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Godlines is great gaine, if a man be content, &c.* Contentment of minde, and auoiding of couetouſnes, which the Apoſtle treateth of here, is a morall vertue, yet Saint *Paul* calleth it godlines.

3. What if we graunt, that godly workes, and morall duties are two diſtinct things: yet they are both of God: *for euery good giuing is from aboue,* Iam. 1. 17. And *Paul* among the fruits of the ſpirit, reckoneth vp goodneſſe as well as faith, Galath. 5. verſ. 22. that is, the goodneſſe and honeſtie of life, in thought, will or deede, is as well wrought in vs by the ſpirit, as faith in religion.

Argum. 2. *The imaginations of the thoughts of mens hearts, are only euill continually,* Gen. 6. 5. *Ergo,* man hath by nature no good thoughts.

Anſw. The thoughts of mens hearts are ſaid to be euill, becauſe *vt plurimùm ſunt mala,* they are for the moſt part euill, *Bellar. cap.* 3.

Contra. 1. If it had been written in generall termes thus; the thoughts of mans heart are euill, the Ieſuites anſwere would haue ſeemed more probable: but ſeeing the Scripture ſaith, *they are onely euill,* and that continually, they cannot be partly good and partly euill, or good at one time, and euill at another, but wholy and onely euill, and alwaies. Wherefore if this ſcripture be true, then is his anſwere falſe, and impertinent to this place.

2. We haue other teſtimonies of ſcripture, that doe witneſſe with this text, which wee haue alleadged: *God hath made man righteous, but they haue ſought many inuentions,* Eccleſ. 7. 31. All righteouſnes then is of God, the inuentions which man followeth are vaine. The Goſpell ſaith, *The light ſhineth in darknes, and the darknes comprehended it not,* Ioh. 1. 5. The trueth is the light, the minde of man by nature is darknes: if the minde naturally vnderſtandeth the truth, then ſhould darknes comprehend the light.

Laſtly, the Pſalme ſaith, *There is none, that would vnderſtand and ſeeke God,* Pſal. 14. 2. *Ergo,* man hath no vnderſtanding of good things by nature.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Nemo recte ſapit, recte intelligit, niſi acceperit ſpiritum ſapientia & intellectus:* No man can vnderſtand aright, or truely be wiſe, vnleſſe he haue receiued the ſpirit of wiſdome, and vnderſtanding, *Epiſt.* 105. Therefore true and right vnderſtanding is not ingraft by nature, but wrought by grace.

S. *Ambroſe, ſerm.* 10. *in Pſal.* 119. vpon theſe wordes, Giue me vnderſtanding, that I may learne thy commandements: *Si Propheta intellectum ſibi dari poſtulat, quis tam arrogans, qui profiteatur in ſua poteſtate eſſe intelligentiam, &c.* If the Prophet deſire vnderſtanding to be giuen him, who is ſo arrogant, as to profeſſe that intelligence or vnderſtanding is in his owne power?

Pet.Lombard. Rectè dicitur homo naturalitèr velle bonum, quia in recta & bona voluntate conditus eſt: A man is well ſaid naturally to will that is good, becauſe he was created in a good and right will: the naturall will and knowledge of that is good, he referreth to the ſtate of man in creation, not to his preſent condition of corruption.

Many of the Schoolemen are of this iudgement, that no morall trueth can be knowne of humane vnderſtanding now in the ſtate of nature corrupted, without Gods ſpeciall helpe: *ſic Gregor. Ariminenſ.in 2.ſen.diſt.*26 *qu.*1.*art.*1.*concluſ.*2. *Capreol.in* 2.*diſtinct.*28.*qu.vnic,artic.*3. *Gaſpar Caſſalius, lib.*1.*de quadripar.iuſtitia,c.*32. So that for this trueth we want not euidence from our aduerſaries themſelues.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE POWER OF FREE-will in morall dueties, two Queſtions.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER A MAN without faith and ſpeciall helpe from God may performe any thing morally good, if no tentation aſſault him.

The Papiſts.

43.Error. B*Ellarmine* doubteth not ſo to affirme that a man naturally without faith, both with ſpeciall aſſiſtance from God, and without it, can performe ſome morall good worke, if no tentation let: for a man by nature alone without Gods helpe cannot reſiſt tentation, *c.9.*

*Argum.*1. God doth reward morall workes done without faith; as the Ægyptian Midwiues 1.
are rewarded for ſauing the male children of the Hebrewes, Exod.1.21. 2.*Nabuchadnezzar* is re- 2.
compenſed for his ſeruice done vnto God, in the beſieging and ouerthrow of Tyrus, Ezech.29.
verſ.20. *I haue giuen him the land of Egypt for his labour, becauſe he wrought for me.* 3. Dan.4.24. 3.
Redeeme thy ſinnes by mercie to the poore: Here the almes of an Infidell doth auert the temporall pu-
niſhment: *Ergo,* it was a good worke. 4. Rom.2.14. *The Gentiles hauing not the Law, do by nature*
the things contayned in the law: the Gentiles by the light of nature did the workes of the law: *Ergo,*
without faith, ſome morall workes of the law may be performed, *Bellarm.lib.5.de grat.c.9.*

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, 1. They were not the Ægyptian Midwiues, but the Midwiues of the Hebrew women, verſ.15. *Bellarm.* therefore is herein groſlie deceiued. 2. This worke of theirs was not without faith, verſ.21. *They feared God:* wherefore it is impertinently alleaged, for the probation of morall good workes without faith.

2. Secondly, 1. It may wel be, that *Nabuchadnezzar* went againſt Tyrus, by the ſecret inſtinct of God, as *Necho* king of Egypt, (whom *Ioſias* vnaduiſedly went againſt) going vp againſt Carchomis, was commanded of God to make haſte, 2.Chron.35.21. Then this example is vnfitly alleaged for morall workes done by nature. 2. It followeth not, that becauſe hee wrought for God, that it was a good ſeruice: ſo Sathan did execute Gods will vpon *Iob,* and the Iewes in putting Chriſt to death, yet neyther I truſt did well. 3. Neyther doth the temporall reward proue it to be a good worke: ſeeing that the wicked are temporally recompenſed without deſert, with raine and Sunſhine, Matth.5.45. and *Ahab* by his temporarie and worldly repentance deferred Gods wrath, 1.King.21.29. but it was no good worke, being but *a worldly ſorrow,* riſing rather from the feare of Gods iudgments vpon his houſe, then from the deteſtation of ſinne: and *worldly ſorrow* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *cauſeth death,* 2.Cor.7.10. that is, helpeth not to ſaluation, but tendeth rather vnto periſhing. 4. Such a ſeruice, ſuch a reward; a bloodie ſeruice in ſacking of Tyre, is rewarded with a bloodie victorie in ouercomming Egypt. 5. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Non officijs ſed finibus virtutes à vitijs diſcernendæ ſunt, ſi enim non propter hoc facit homo bonum, &c.* Vertue is to be diſcerned from vice, not by the officious act, but by the vertuous end: if then a man doth good not for that end he ſhould, he ſinneth, *cont. Iulian.*43. Therefore vnleſſe it can be proued, that *Nabuchadnezzar* ſacked Tyrus for obedience to Gods will, not for reuenge of his owne malice, or of an ambitious deſire to enlarge his kingdome, it was no good worke.

3. Thirdly, 1. the text is to be read, *breake off*, not *redeeme*, for ſo is the hebrue word פרק *parach* taken, Geneſ.27.40. where *Iſaack* ſaith to *Eſau,* Thou ſhalt breake his yoke from thy necke. 2. We confeſſe, that in the Infidels, their almes, and ſuch like good woorkes in ſhew, were much better then their manifeſt ſinnes, and that to breake off ſuch ſinnes, by ſuch workes, it was commendable; yet it followeth not, that they were good. 3. Theſe almes deedes, in that *Daniel* by the ſpirit of God gaue this counſell, ſhould alſo haue proceeded, not from his naturall inclination, but from the inſtinct of the ſpirit: as *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Colligitur ipſa bona opera, quæ faciunt, non ipſorum eſſe, ſed illius, qui bene vtitur malis; ipſorum eſſe peccata, quibus bona male faciunt:* It is gathered, that good workes, which Infidels do, are not theirs, but his, which well vſeth that, which is euill, but

the ſinne is theirs, whereby they do good things euill, ***cont. Iulian. lib.*4.*cap.*3.** 4. Hee ſaith againe, *Nec miſericordia ſemper eſt bona, propter quam meruit Saul à Domino miſericorde damnari:* Neyther is mercie or almes alwayes good, for the which *Saul* deſerued of the mercifull Lord to be damned, *ibid.* 5. The auerting of a temporall puniſhment, doth not proue it ſimplie to be good: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Cui non datur ſemper viuere, quid prodeſt bene viuere?* What doth it profite a man to liue well, if he liue not euer? *in Iohan.*45. Wherefore theſe temporall works profited not infidels, and conſequently were not good, becauſe they auayled not to euerlaſting life.

4. Fourthly, 1. Some of the fathers expound that place of the Apoſtle, of ſuch of the Gentiles aswere conuerted to the faith: As *Origen, Si videris Gentes ad Ieſum venire & credere ei, &c.* If thou ſeeſt the Gentiles come vnto Chriſt and beleeue in him, and fulfill the worke of the law, &c. doubt not to ſay that Ieſus hath written the law in theſe ſtones, ***hom.*9.*in Ioſua.*** So alſo *Auguſtine* anſwereth the Pelagians; they are ſaid to do the things of the law, *Quia ex Gentibus venerunt ad Euangelium*: Becauſe they came from among the Gentiles to the Goſpell, ***cont. Iulian.*4.3.** But I do not greatly vrge this interpretation. 2. We ſay, that they among the Gentiles, that followed the light of nature, wanted not ſome ſpeciall helpe, though they had not faith, which helpe others among them had not: So S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Quod illuminante gratia inuenerunt, obcæcante ſuperbia perdiderunt:* That which they found by illuminating grace, they loſt by blind pride, *de vocat. Gent. lib.*2.*c.*2. The better ſort then among them, had a certaine meaſure of illumination, which all had not, which they by the pride of their heartes corrupted. 3. But our more full anſwere is this, that it followeth not, becauſe the Gentiles did by nature ſome thinges agreeable to the law, as appertaining to iuſtice, temperance, mercie, therefore their workes were good: they did things that had a ſhew of goodneſſe, but not with a good minde: they were not then good workes, no more then the almes, faſting, prayer of the Phariſees, were good workes; which were not done of conſcience, but for the praiſe of men: and as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Tolerabilius in die iudicij punientur &c.* They ſhall be more eaſily puniſhed in the day of iudgement, becauſe naturally, they did the things of the law: ***cont. Iulian. lib.*4.*c.*3.** And this is that the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom. 2. 15. ***Their thoughts accuſing one another or excuſing:*** not excuſing from the whole puniſhment, but in making their puniſhment leſſe or more eaſie, as *Auguſtine* expoundeth.

The Proteſtants.

THat a man without faith and grace, by the inſtinct of nature onely, cannot do any thing that is good before God, whether he be aſſaulted by any ſpeciall temptation or not: it is thus euident out of Scripture.

1. *Argum.* 1. Pro. 15. 8. *The ſacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord.* 2. Gen. 6. 5. *The*
2. *imaginations of the thoughtes of mans heart are onely euill continually.* 3. Pſal. 13. 3. *All are gone out of*
3. *the way, there is none that doth good, no not one.*
4. 4. Ierem. 17. 9. *The heart is wicked and deceitfull aboue all thinges.*
5. 5. Matth. 7. 18. *A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruite:* but euery man by nature is a corrupt tree. Likewiſe Luke 6. 45.
6. 6. Iohn 3. 6. *That which is borne of the fleſh is fleſh.*
7. 7. Iohn 15. 5. *Without me yee can doe nothing.*
8. 8. Rom. 14. 23. *Whatſoeuer is not of faith, is ſinne.*
9. 9. Hebr. 11. 6. *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.*
10. 10. Tit. 1. 15. *To the vnbeleeuing nothing is pure.* 1. Iohn 2. 16. ***All that is in the world, is the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, the pride of life.*** All theſe places do ſtrongly conclude, that man by nature without fayth, is apt to doe nothing but euill: I will examine *Bellarmines* anſwere to theſe Scriptures.

1. 1. *Bellarm.* The argument followeth not, The ſacrifices of the wicked are an abomination: *Ergo,* their morall workes: For there is great difference betweene the one and the other. Sacrifices muſt be offered with a pure conſcience, and to this end, to pleaſe God; but to morall workes neyther is required: not the puritie of conſcience; neyther in their almes is there any other end, but to helpe the needie: ***Bellarm. c.*10.*reſp. ad loc.*1.**

Contra. 1. Betweene ſacrifices and almes deedes, there is no difference in this behalfe, for the Apoſtle calleth *diſtribution* to the poore a Sacrifice, Hebr. 13. 16. 2. Hee ſaith, To do good and diſtribute forget not, *for with ſuch ſacrifices God is pleaſed*: wherefore ſuch almes deedes as God is not pleaſed with, as was the almes of the Phariſees, are no good workes: for, if *they do good,* they are acceptable to God. 3. Neyther can the worke be good, where the conſcience is defiled: as S. *Paul* ſheweth, Tit. 1. 15. that nothing is pure to vnbeleeuers, becauſe their conſcience is defiled.

2. 2. *Bellarm.* The meaning of the place is, that the moſt part of their thoughts were euill, not all: for it followeth, verſ. 9. that *Noe* was a iuſt and vpright man; *reſp. ad loc.*2.

Contra. 1. The text is, all the *imaginations* of mans heart are euill; how then is he not aſhamed to contradict Scripture, and ſay, *not all.* 2. This place may be expounded by that, Pſal.14.3. *There is none that doth good, no not one:* Here I truſt there is no exception of any, as they are by nature. 3. *Noe* was iuſt, but not by nature, verſ.8. *Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord:* he was by nature the ſame that others, but changed by grace. 4. So notwithſtanding this, all the imaginations of mans heart are euill by nature, as it is ſo expounded, *c.*8.21. *Mans thoughtes are euill from his youth.*

3. 3. *Bellarm.* This place concludeth not, that there is no man that doth any good morall worke; but none, that is iuſt: for one or two good workes make not a iuſt man, that hath many ſinnes beſide, *reſponſ.ad loc.*3.

Contra. 1. The words are very direct, there is *none that doth good,* and with a repetition, *no not one:* doth he not moſt impiouſly now contradict Scripture, in ſaying; Yes, *ſome do good* by nature? 2. If they be not iuſt nor righteous, how can they bring forth any righteous or good worke; for an euill or corrupt tree cannot ſend forth any good fruite, Matth.5.18. 3. S. *Paul* is the beſt expounder of this place, Rom.3.12. they are become *altogether* vnprofitable, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν, if they bee wholy or altogether vnprofitable, how can they bring forth any good or profitable worke?

4. 4. *Bellar.* Mans heart is ſaid to be euill or wicked, not becauſe it can do no good moral worke, but for that it is the fountaine and originall of euill: as Chriſt ſaith, Matth.15.19. Out of the heart come euill thoughts, murders, &c. *reſponſ.ad argum.6.*

Contra. 1. If the heart be the fountaine of euill, it can bring forth no good: Iob.14.4. *Who can bring a cleane thing out of filthineſſe, no not one:* Iam.3.12. *The ſame fountaine cannot bring forth bitter water and ſweete:* but if mans heart being the fountaine of euill, as he confeſſeth, ſhould worke any good thing, the ſame fountaine, contrary to the Apoſtle, ſhould ſend out bitter and ſweet water. 2. In the ſame place our Sauiour ſayth, *theſe are the thinges which defile a man:* if then an euill heart defile a man, how can that be cleane which commeth from him? Our Sauiour ſayth againe, *Cleanſe firſt the inſide of the cup, that the outſide may be cleane,* Matth.23.26. The inſide is the heart, the outſide are the workes, which cannot be cleane, as long as the heart is vncleane: and the heart is not cleanſed or purified, but by faith, Act.15.9.

5. 5. *Bellar.* 1. Chriſts meaning is, not that an euill tree can bring forth no good fruite at all, but for the moſt part and ordinarily it bringeth forth euill fruite. 2. The euill tree is the euilneſſe of nature, the good tree is the goodneſſe of nature: When a naturall man doth good, it is not of the concupiſcence or corruption of nature, which is the euill tree, but *ex bono naturæ*, of the goodneſſe of nature, which is the good tree. 3. An euill tree can bring forth no good fruit, that is, an euill man can doe no good worke meritorious of life and ſaluation, *Bellar.reſp.ad arg.7.*

Contra. Firſt, Chriſts meaning is that an euill tree, that is an euill man, can bring forth no good fruit at all: Firſt, Matt.12.33. *Make the tree good, and his fruit good:* the tree then muſt firſt be made good, before the fruit can be good. Secondly, *How can ye ſpeake good things* (ſaith Chriſt) *when ye are euill?* verſ.34. If an euill man can ſpeake any good thinges, our Sauiour had not reaſoned well. Thirdly, Luk.6.44. *Neither of thornes gather men figs, nor of buſhes grapes.* Like as then a thorne doth not ordinarily, but not at all bring forth figs, nor a buſh grapes: ſo an euill heart cannot moue any thing that is good. Fourthly, thus *Auguſtine* expoundeth: When *Iulian* the Pelagian, had propounded this example, whether it be ſinne in an Infidell to clothe the naked? *Auguſtine* anſwereth thus: *Vtrum hoc male facit, vel bene? &c.* Whether doth he this well, or euill? If you ſay euill, you cannot denie, but he ſinneth: if well, then an euill tree bringeth forth good fruit: *cont.Iulian.*4.3. In *Auguſtines* iudgement then an euill tree cannot bring forth any good fruit at all.

Secondly, 1. It is a moſt groſſe anſwere and contrarie to Scripture, that a mans will or heart by nature is both a good and euill tree: for the good tree is expounded to be the good treaſure of the heart, Matth.12.35. And Saint *Paul* ſaith, that this good treaſure, which we carrie in earthen veſſels, is *the light of the knowledge of God in Chriſt*, 2.Cor.4.6. Say if you dare alſo that this treaſure of knowledge is in man by nature. 2. That the good tree is not by nature, but planted by grace, the Scripture euery where teſtifieth, Matth.15.13. *Euery plant, which God hath not planted, ſhall be rooted out.* God pulleth not vp good trees, but he pulleth vp whatſoeuer is not planted by grace: for that is Gods planting: *Ergo,* the plant of nature is not a good plant. Iohn 15.3. You are cleane, that is, good branches by the word, *Ergo,* not by nature: verſ.16. *I haue ordained, that ye goe and bring forth fruit: Ergo,* they are not ſo ordained by nature.

Thirdly, no good worke is meritorious of life and ſaluation, yet euery good worke is rewarded euerlaſtingly: Matth.10.42. *He that giueth a cup of cold water in the name of a diſciple, ſhall not loſe his reward.* Ioh.15.16. *I haue ordained, that you goe and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit remaine.* The fruit then that remaineth not, and ſhall not be rewarded of Chriſt, is no good fruit.

6. 6. *Bellarmine,* a naturall man, doth not alwaies in euery worke obey the fleſh, but he may doe ſomething of his naturall propenſion to good, not of his vitious concupiſcence: *reſp.ad arg.8.*

Contra. Firſt, whatſoeuer is in man, is either of the fleſh, or of the ſpirit, the carnall part or regenerate: I aske then, whether a naturall man can worke by the ſpirite? I thinke they are not ſo abſurd: for then, if a man be by nature borne of the ſpirite, regeneration or ſecond birth were not neceſſary, contrary to our Sauiour, Iohn 3.3. *Except a man be borne againe, &c.* Then it followeth, that a naturall man working by the fleſh, doth nothing but that which is carnall and euill: *for the fleſh luſteth againſt the ſpirit, the ſpirit againſt the fleſh, and theſe are contrarie one to the other*, Galat.5. verſ.17. but good is not contrarie to good: therefore of the fleſh there is nothing good. 2. S. *Paul* ſaith, that in the fleſh there dwelleth nothing that is good, Rom.7.18. and euery man doth eyther ſow to his fleſh, or ſow to the ſpirite: but hee that ſoweth to the fleſh, *ſhall of the fleſh reape corruption*, Galath.6.8. a naturall man cannot ſow to the ſpirite; therefore ſowing onely to the fleſh, he reapeth nothing but corruption.

7. 7. *Bellar.* Without Chriſt we can do no good worke tending to ſaluation; but morall good workes we can, *reſponſ.ad loc.9.*

Contra. This anſwere S. *Paul* quite ouerthroweth, in the place euen now alleaged, Galath.6.8. *He that ſoweth to the fleſh, ſhall of the fleſh reape corruption; he that ſoweth to the ſpirit, ſhall of the ſpirite reape life euerlaſting.* The workes then of nature, if they be of the ſpirite, are tending to euerlaſting life; if of the fleſh, they are tending to corruption: but a good worke is not a corrupt worke or tending to corruption; therefore the works of the fleſh, are no good workes: neither are there any good fruites, which remaine not vnto life, Iohn.15.16.

8. 8. *Bellarm.* The Apoſtle by faith, vnderſtandeth not here that faith, whereby wee beleeue in Chriſt, but a perſwaſion of the conſcience, whereby wee are perſwaded a thing to be lawfull, *reſp. ad argum.*10.

Contra. Auguſtine anſwereth; for after this manner the Pelagians obiected, *Si hoc de cibis intelligendum putes, &c.* If you thinke this is to be vnderſtood of meates: yet the Apoſtle by this general ſentence, would proue this ſpeciall ſinne concerning meates, as it is elſewhere written, *without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God,* Hebr.11.6.*cont. Iulian.*4.3.

9. 9. *Bellarm.* Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God to eternall ſaluation; but yet the goodneſſe of mans nature, and the workes proceeding from it, doe alſo pleaſe God, *reſponſ. ad argument.*15.

Contra. 1. He is contrarie to himſelfe, for he graunted before, *reſponſ.ad* 1.*argum.* that the ſacrifice and other morall workes of a naturall man, *Deo non placeant,* do not pleaſe God, and yet here hee ſaith; God by them may be pleaſed. 2. That God is not any way pleaſed with vs, without Chriſt, the Scripture is euident, Rom.5.9. *We ſhall be ſaued from wrath by him*: Epheſ.2.2. *We were by nature the children of wrath*: Can the children of wrath pleaſe God? 3. If he ſpeake of the naturall goodneſſe of the creature, as it is created of God, I anſwere with *Auguſtine,* that if in this ſenſe man is good: ſo the diuell alſo, as he is an Angell, is good, and conſequently doth pleaſe God.

10. 10. *Bellarm.* 1. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh of meates, which are vncleane to thoſe that haue an vncleane conſcience, and are not wel perſwaded of them. 2. Or if it be taken generally, then this is the ſenſe, that all the works of Infidels are vncleane, namely, ſuch which proceede from their infidelitie. 3. S. *Iohn* ſpeaketh of man, not as he is Gods creature, but as he is a ſinner and louer of the world; for in man as he is Gods creature, there be many good things, as his will, vnderſtanding, *reſponſ.ad loc.*14.16.

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh generally of all the workes of infidels, verſ.16. They are abominable, diſobedient, to *euery good worke reprobate.* 2. All the works of Infidels muſt needs proceede from their infidelitie, ſeeing their mindes *and conſciences are defiled,* which is the reaſon the Apoſtle giueth, that nothing is pure vnto the impure. 3. We ſpeake not of the ſubſtance of nature and naturall faculties, which are good as created of God, not onely in men, but in diuels; therefore this anſwere is not to the purpoſe: the Apoſtles argument is very firme and ſtrong: That euery man is eyther a louer of the worlde, or a louer of God; a naturall man, cannot loue God, *which is the fruite of the ſpirite,* Galath.5.22. and hee that loueth the worlde, loueth that which is in it, and nothing elſe, as the concupiſcence of the eye, of the fleſh, *the pride of life*: *Ergo,* a naturall man neyther loueth, nor followeth any thing els. Thus notwithſtanding all theſe popiſh gloſſes, and hereticall ſhiftes, the trueth confirmed by Scripture remayneth, that a man by nature hath no inclination to good, neyther without faith can perfourme any thing acceptable to God.

Auguſtines iudgement, I haue diſperſedly ſhewed in theſe ſeuerall anſweres: S. *Ambroſe* thus teſtifieth vpon theſe words, Act.3.16. *Faith which is by him, hath giuen this man,* ὁλοκληρίαν, *integram ſanitatem,* perfite health: *Totum ergo, ſiue palam per cooperatoris gratiæ, ſiue occultè per ſubminiſtrationem ſpiritus, &c.* The whole therefore, whether outwardly by the fellow-worker of grace, or ſecretly by the miniſtration of the ſpirite, he beginneth, encreaſeth, finiſheth, whoſe husbandrie and building we are, *de vocat. Gent. lib. 1. c. 8.* If Chriſt then worke all in vs by faith, then nature is able to worke no good thing at all.

Hierom. dialog. 3. aduerſ. Pelagian. vpon theſe wordes, *I am the vine:* Like as the braunches doe wither, being cut off from the roote: *Ita omnis fortitudo marceſcit, ſi à dei auxilio deſeratur:* So all mans ſtrength withereth and periſheth, if it be forſaken of Gods helpe: *Ergo,* nature (without Gods helpe) can doe nothing.

Their owne Canons thus teſtifie: *Cauſ. 1. qu. 1. c. 26. Vbi Chriſtus non eſt fundamentum, nullum boni operis eſt ſuperædificium:* Where Chriſt is not the foundation, there is no building of any good worke.

Pet. Lombard. agreeth: *Quæ ſine fide fiunt, bona non ſunt, quia omne bonum placet Deo:* Thinges done without faith are not good, becauſe euery good thing pleaſeth God: but without faith God is not pleaſed, *lib. 2. diſt. 41. liter. A.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE POWER of freewill in morall duties.

The Papiſts.

44. Hæreſ. Man, euen as it now ſtandeth with him in the ſtate of corruption, hath freewill in morall duties, to chuſe the good, and refuſe the euill, that is, to embrace vertue, and eſchue vice, *Bellarm. lib. 5. cap. 14.* Wee will firſt examine their arguments, whereby they vrge certaine abſurdities and impoſſibilities, which would follow, as they think, if there ſhould be no freewill, and then we will anſwere their allegations out of Scripture.

Argum. 1. Sinne is either neceſſarie or voluntarie: if the firſt, it cannot be auoided, and ſo conſequently is no ſinne: if the ſecond, it may be auoided: *Ergo,* man hath freewill, he may auoide ſin if he will, *Bellarm. cap. 14.*

Anſw. This was the very ſame obiection, which the Pelagians, and freewill-men vrged *Auguſtine* withall many yeeres agoe: *Si peccata caueri non poſſunt, peccata non ſunt:* If ſinnes cannot be auoided, they are no ſinnes. And againe *Iniuſtè iudicarentur homines, ſi ea non faciunt, quæ iubentur impoſſibilia:* Men ſhould be vniuſtly condemned, if they doe not theſe things which are commaunded being impoſſible. To this obiection, we neede no better anſwere, than *Auguſtine* himſelfe maketh.

1 *Poſſibile & facile præceptum fuit Adamo datum, ex quo contempto omnes ex eo peccatum traxerunt: Adam* receiued both an eaſie and poſſible commaundement, by the contempt and diſobedience whereof, all men are become ſinners: *cont. Iulian. 3. 18.* And againe he ſaith, *Arbitrij libertas ſemel data eſt homini, ſed quia peccauit voluntas, ſequuta eſt peccantem, peccatum habendi neceſſitas:* Man had once freewill giuen him, but becauſe he ſinned willingly, there followed as a reward of his ſinne, a neceſſitie of ſinning, *cont. Celeſtinum de perfect. iuſtit. Auguſtine* therefore teacheth vs to denie this conſequent: Sinne is neceſſarie: *Ergo,* it is no ſinne. Becauſe that this neceſſitie of ſinne is not by creation, but commeth by the corruption of nature, and proceedeth from *Adams* voluntarie tranſgreſſion.

2 *Poteſt caueri peccatum, poteſt reſiſti, ſed opitulante illo, qui non poteſt falli:* Sinne may be reſiſted, it may be auoyded, but by his helpe and aſſiſtance, who cannot be deceiued. *Duobus modis cauetur corporis malum, vt non accidat, & ſi acciderit, cito ſanetur: ſic vt non accidat peccatum cauemus dicendo, ne nos inferas in tentationem; vt cito ſanetur, dicimus, dimitte nobis:* Two waies we take heede of the bodily diſeaſes, that neither we fall into them; and if we doe, eftſoone to be healed: ſo that we fall not into ſinne, we take heede in ſaying, leade vs not into temptation; that we may be healed from our ſinne, we pray, forgiue vs our ſinnes, &c. *de natur. grat. cap. 67.* Thus alſo we learne out of *Auguſtine* to deny this other conſequent, ſinne may be auoided: *Ergo,* we haue freewill: for ſinne is ſhunned by grace working in vs, not by our owne power.

3 A third conſequent alſo in this argument fayleth: Sinne is voluntarie, therefore it is not neceſſarie; ſay they, it may be auoided. It followeth not: for our will is free, not *à neceſſitate,* from neceſſitie, but *à coactione,* from conſtraint or compulſion: Men ſinne voluntarilie, that is, willingly of their owne accorde, not ſo voluntarily as that they may chuſe whether they will ſinne or no.

4 The diuels and damned ſpirites cannot but doe euill, and wickedly, it is therefore in them of neceſſitie, yet they doe verily and truly ſinne: It is then no good conſequent, if men doe euill of neceſſitie, they in ſo doing ſinne not, becauſe they can no otherwiſe chuſe. To this *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that it is true in generall, that the diuels doe euill neceſſarily; it is falſe in particular, becauſe all the euill which they doe, they doe not of neceſſitie: for it is in their power not to doe many things which they doe, *Bellarm. cap. 14.*

Contra. Firſt, if it be not true in particular, that diuels doe euill of neceſſitie, neither is it true of men,for they haue greater power to leaue ſome ſinne vndone, which they doe, then the euill ſpirits haue,becauſe their nature is not ſo corrupt,neither are they ſo voyde of all goodnes, as the diuels are. Secondly, if it be true but in generall, that the diuell ſinneth of neceſſitie, and yet is properly ſayd to ſinne,it is ſufficient for our purpoſe; for then that propoſition is not true in generall, *Si neceſſarium eſt, non eſt peccatum.* If it be neceſſarie, it is no ſinne: for it may be neceſſarie in generall ſaith the Ieſuite,and yet ſhall be ſinne.

Bellarmine further would make vs beleeue, that in defending of freewill they are farre off notwithſtanding from the hereſie of the Pelagians: I pray you let vs ſee how?

The Pelagians affirmed, that a man by freewill might, *vitare omnia peccata,* auoide and eſchew all ſinnes: but they holde, *vitari poſſe ſingula peccata, non omnia,* that not all ſinnes, but that euery ſinne may be auoided.

Contra. I pray you,what great difference is there now betweene theſe two? The Pelagians ſay, that all ſinnes in all men by freewill may be auoided: the Papiſts holde, that euery ſinne in euery man, may by freewill be auoyded? Euery man hath not all ſinnes, but euery man hath ſome ſinnes: which ſome notwithſtanding to him,that hath no more, are all his ſinnes. If euery man then may by his freewill take heede of euery his owne ſinnes, then of all his ſinnes: for if there bee any one ſinne,which it is not in his power to eſchew,by the Ieſuites rule,it is no ſinne. Therefore vntill the Ieſuite can better diſcharge himſelfe,we muſt needes tell him, that there is not one haires breadth betweene the Pelagian and popiſh hereſie about freewill.

*Argum.*2. If there were not in man freewill, there ſhould be no place left for reward or puniſhment: for if a man doe euill of neceſſitie, he deſerueth no puniſhment,and if he doe well vnwillingly,he is worthie no rewarde: *Bellarm. cap.*15.

Anſw. The very ſame obiection was moued to *Auguſtine: Vbi neceſſitas, ibi non eſt corona:* Where there is neceſſitie, there is no crowne, or reward. He anſwereth: 1. *In recte faciendo ideo nullum eſt vinculum neceſſitatis, quia libertas eſt charitatis, quæ diffuſa eſt in cordibus noſtris per ſpiritum ſanctum:* In well doing there is no bond of neceſſitie, becauſe freedome or libertie commeth of loue,which is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghoſt: *Auguſt. de natur. grat. cap.*67. that is, God of vnwilling maketh vs willing, and inſpireth a loue and deſire of good things into our hearts: and thus the reward is giuen to thoſe that worke willingly,yet of grace. 2. Alſo puniſhment is due vnto ſinne,though men by nature cannot chuſe but ſinne: the Apoſtle ſheweth the reaſon: *By one man ſinne entred into the world, and death by ſinne,* Rom.5.12. *Adams* ſinne was voluntarie, and therefore worthie of puniſhment: the ſame ſinne, with death,the reward thereof, *Adam* hath propagated to his poſteritie: ſo that wee are both partakers of the ſinne, and the puniſhment.

*Argum.*3. If there be no freewill,then all men ſhould either be good or euill; and if they be good,none ſhould be better then other; if they be euill,none ſhould be worſe then other: whereof then is this difference that ſome are good,ſome euill; and ſome are euill in the meane, ſome in the extreame, but from the libertie of mans will. Gods election is not the cauſe: for without freewill election maketh none good? for then infants and mad men might be good by election without freewill, *Bellarmin.c.*16.

Anſw. Firſt,the difference and ſeparation of men,the Apoſtle ſheweth to proceede onely from God,and not from the will of man, 1.Cor.4.7. *Who ſeparateth thee, what haſt thou, which thou haſt not receiued?* Secondly,it is true that election requireth freewill to make men good: but then will is firſt made free by grace; as *Ambroſ. Virtus nolentium nulla eſt, ipſa gratia hoc agit, vt in eo, quem vocat primam ſibi famulam præparet voluntatem:* Indeede vertue in thoſe that are vnwilling there is none,but grace firſt of all maketh the will an obedient ſeruant in them which are called: *lib.*2. *de vocat. gent.c.*9. Thirdly, and in that infants hauing no freewill yet are ſaued by election,it ſheweth, that not freewill maketh the difference,but election. Fourthly,the cauſe then why ſome are good, ſome euill, is becauſe all haue not grace; the reaſon why ſome are better then others, is,that all haue not the ſame meaſure of grace,as *Ambroſe* excellently ſaith, *Præter illam generalem gratiam parciùs & occultiùs hominum corda pulſantem, excellentiore opere, largiore munere, potentiore virtute vocatio ſpecialis exeritur:* Beſide that generall calling,more ſparingly beating vpon mens hearts, the ſpeciall calling ſheweth it ſelfe by a more excellent operation, a larger gift, a ſtronger power, *lib.*2. *de vocat. gent. c.*8. There is then a generall calling and a ſpeciall, a more excellent worke of the ſpirite,and a leſſe excellent,a larger gift, and a ſmaller: as is the difference of the grace that worketh,ſo is the difference in them vpon whom it worketh. Now let vs ſee what places of Scripture they obiect againſt vs.

*Argum.*1. The lawe ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine: Honor thy father and mother,&c.* and many other precepts there are in the word of God, which were giuen in vaine,if man had not freewill to chuſe or refuſe them: *Bellarm.cap.*18.

Anſw. Firſt,the precepts of the law are not giuen in vaine, though it lye not in mans power to keepe them: for the vſe and end of the law is as a Schoolemaſter to bring vs to Chriſt, Galat.3. verſ.24. So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Ad hoc lex præcepit iſta,vt cum in his implendis homo deficeret,non ſe extollat ſuperbia tumidus, ſed ad gratiam confugiat fatigatus*: For this cauſe did the law commaund theſe things,that man ſeeing himſelfe to faile in the fulfilling thereof, ſhould haue no cauſe to ſwell in pride,but being wearied in himſelfe, to flye to grace for ſuccour: *cont.Celeſt.de perfect.iuſtit.* Secondly,againe he ſaith, *Homo gratia iuuatur,ne ſine cauſa voluntati eius iubeatur*: Man is aſſiſted by grace,leſt his will ſhould be commaunded in vaine. Man hath not freewill of himſelfe,but is enabled by grace to doe that is commaunded.

De grat.& liber.arbit.c.6.

Argum.2. The Scripture offereth diuers promiſes vnder certaine conditions: as Iſay.1.19. *If ye conſent and obey,ye ſhall eate the good things of the land.* Matth 19. *If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commandements.* If it be in our power to performe theſe conditions,then haue we freewill: if not, to what end are they propounded? *Bellarm.cap.19.*

Anſw. Firſt,if theſe conditions be poſſible,then it is poſſible to keepe the commaundements, which the Apoſtle denieth: for therefore is euery one that is of the workes of the lawe vnder the curſe,becauſe they cannot keepe it,Galath.3.10. Secondly,by this argument,a mans freewill is ſufficient to performe theſe conditions without grace: for if man cannot performe them of himſelfe, the ſame queſtion remaineth, why they are propounded to him,that cannot keepe them. Thirdly, *Auguſtine* ſheweth the reaſon of theſe conditionall precepts: *Vt eſſet vbi homo ſe inſpiceret,&c.* That man might therein behold himſelfe, and know which way to turne himſelfe, *quare gratularetur, quid precaretur,* for what to giue thankes,and what to pray for, or begge, *epiſt ad Hieronym.* Theſe are ſufficient cauſes of theſe precepts, that man may ſee his owne infirmitie and weakenes,and pray for grace to aſſiſt him, and giue thankes for the ſame receiued. Fourthly, againe,whereas the Pelagians obiected this very place vrged, Iſay.1.19. Saint *Auguſtine* maketh this anſwere: *Non ob aliud ſuperbis data iſta præcepta ſunt, quam vt in ſuis viribus deficientes in quibus confidebant, liberatorem requirerent*: Theſe precepts were for no other cauſe giuen to the proude Iewes,then that failing in their owne ſtrength,wherein they truſted,they ſhould ſeeke for an helper or deliuerer, *cont.Celeſtin.de perfect.iuſtit.*

Argum.3. The Lord ſaid to *Cain*: *Vnto thee his deſire ſhall be ſubiect, and thou ſhalt rule ouer him,* Geneſ.4.7. This the Ieſuite ſaith muſt bee vnderſtoode of ſinne, that it ſhould be in his power, and if hee would,hee might ſubdue and ouercome it: *Ergo,* there is freewill in man, *cap.22.Bellarm.*

Anſw. Firſt,this place cannot in any good ſenſe be applied to ſinne, but is more fitly and properly referred to *Abel*,ouer whom the Lord giueth vnto *Cain* the dominion of the birthright: for firſt,the text is, *his deſire,&c.* which very improperly ſhould be ſpoken of ſinne, which is a thing deſired,it hath no deſire: ſecondly,becauſe this promiſe made to *Cain* (if we vnderſtand it of ſin) was neuer accompliſhed, *Thou ſhalt rule ouer it*: and ſo God ſhould be found vntrue of his promiſe. Secondly,if we ſhould admit the Ieſuites expoſition, that the Lord here meaneth ſin, *Auguſtines* interpretation commeth neerer the trueth,who readeth thus: *Ad te conuerſio eius, i. nulli alij tribuat peccatum, quam ſibi.& tum quiſque dominatur peccato, cum id ſibi non defendendo præpoſuerit, ſed pœnitendo ſubiecerit*: The conuerſion, or the turning thereof, ſhall be towards thee: that is,let him attribute his ſinne to none elſe,but to himſelfe: and then euery man ruleth ouer ſinne, when he doth not preferre it,by defending it, but by repentance doth bring it vnder: *De ciuitat. Dei.lib.15.cap.7.*

Argum.4. Euery where in the Scripture God complaineth of the ſtubbornes and wickednes of men: Ierem.32.23. *They obeyed not thy voyce, nor hearkened to thy law.* Matth.23.37. *How often would I haue gathered thy children together, and thou wouldeſt not?* Act.7.51. *O ye of vncircumciſed hearts and eares.* If it be in a mans power not to ſinne, then hath he freewill; if it be not,God complaineth in vaine,ſeeing man cannot otherwiſe chuſe. 2. Againe,Deuter.30.14. *This commaundement is not hid from thee,neither farre off,it is in thy mouth and in thy heart to doe it*: *Ergo,*man hath freewill to keepe Gods commaundements, *Bellarm.lib.5 de grat.cap.20.*

Anſw. Firſt,God iuſtly complaineth of the wickednes of men, becauſe, though it be not in their power to beleeue without grace, yet it is in their power to reſiſt grace: as *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Qui veniunt dei auxilio diriguntur; qui non veniunt, ſua poteſtate reluctantur*: They that come,are directed by Gods helpe; they that come not, reſiſt by their owne power, *lib.2.de vocat.Gent.cap.9.* Secondly,though now *Adams* poſteritie be yoked with a neceſſarie bondage of ſinne, yet in him that firſt tranſgreſſed it was voluntarie, and therefore they are iuſtly blamed. So *Bernard* ſaith, *ſerm.81.in Cantic.* *Neſcio quo miro modo ipſa ſibi voluntas in deterius mutata neceſſitatem faciat,&c.* I cannot tell how it commeth to paſſe,that the will being corrupted by ſinne,doth make a neceſſitie to it ſelfe,that neither neceſſitie,ſeeing it is voluntarie,can excuſe the will,nor the will being entiſed,can exclude neceſſitie. And Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Conuenientiſſ.eſt,vt malum meritum prioris eſſet natura ſequentis,&c.* It is moſt conuenient, that the euill merit of the firſt ſhould be the nature of the next: *de liber.arbit.lib.3.cap.20.* So then it is a voluntarie neceſſitie wherewith *Adams* ſeede is enwrapped: and therefore is iuſtly blamed. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* expoundeth that place in Deuter. of the worde of faith, Rom.10.8. *This is the word of faith,which we preach:* If then obedience of the law be by faith, it is of grace, and not of mans freewill.

1. *Argum.5.* Firſt, Deuter.30.19. *I haue ſet before you life and death, therefore chuſe life, &c.* Ioſh.24.
2. verſ.15. *Chuſe you this day whom ye will ſerue.* Secondly, 2.Cor.9.7. *As euery man purpoſeth in his hart,*
3. *let him giue not grudgingly, or as of neceſſitie:* Almes then proceedeth from a mans freewill. Thirdly, 1.Corin.7.37. *He that ſtandeth firme in his heart, that he hath no neede, but hath power ouer his owne will, and hath ſo decreed in his heart, that hee will keepe his virgine, &c. Ergo,* it is in a mans power to keepe his virginitie, *Bellarm.cap.23.*

Anſw. Firſt, this choiſe and election was not in their owne power: 1. but as the Apoſtle expoundeth this place, *the word is in thy heart,* that is the word of faith, Rom.10.8. By the word of faith then they made this choiſe. 2. The people alſo anſwere, *God forbid,* or farre be it from vs, *that wee ſhould forſake the Lord,* verſ.16. which is a ſecret inuocation, and a calling for grace to be directed in their choiſe. 3. If *Abrahams* ſeruant praieth to be directed to make a good choiſe of a wife for his maſters ſonne, Geneſ.24. how much more haue wee neede to be directed by grace in the heauenly choiſe? 4. How elſe ſhould that Scripture be true: *It is not in man to direct his way,* Iere.10. verſ.23. if the choiſe were in a mans freewill.

Secondly, almes muſt proceede from a willing and cheerefull heart: but it is God which firſt maketh the heart willing by his grace: as the Apoſtle ſheweth in the ſame place, verſ.8. *God is able to make all grace abound towards you:* Verſ.15. *Thankes be vnto God for his vnſpeakable gift:* which hee expoundeth, verſ.13. to be their liberall diſtribution.

This very anſwere S. *Auguſtine* made to the Pelagians, vrging that place to *Philemon,* verſ.14. *That it be not as it were of neceſſitie, but willingly: Quaſi aliter ſit voluntarium, &c.* As though it is otherwiſe become willing, or voluntarie, but that God doth worke in vs the will and deede, according to his good pleaſure: *cont.Celeſtin.de perfect.iuſtic.*

Thirdly, 1. The place is not to be vnderſtood of keeping or not keeping a mans virginitie: but the Apoſtle giueth a rule for parents when to keep their virgines and daughters vnmaried, when to beſtow them in mariage. Thus *Auguſtine* expoundeth this place, ſhewing that it is vnuſuall in the ſcripture to take a *virgine* for *virginitie, 57.quaeſt.ſuper Numer.* So alſo *Theophylact. Primaſius, Sedulius,* with others, expound it; as *Eſpenc.* ſheweth, *de cland.matrim.cap.7.*

2. The circumſtance of the place giueth this ſenſe: firſt, *If it be vncomely that his virgine paſſe the flower of her age,* 36. this ſhould be improperly ſpoken of a mans virginitie, which is not ſo limited to the flower of age. Secondly, the Syriake tranſlation readeth, *Si non tradiderit eam viro,* If hee hath not giuen her to a husband: But how can a mans virginitie be giuen to a husband? Thirdly, the Arabian tranſlation, verſ.37. readeth in ſtead of *virgine, daughter,* to put all out of doubt.

3. If it ſhould be ſo vnderſtood of a mans virginitie, it maketh more againſt freewill, than for it: for euery man hath his proper gift, verſ.7. and here his will dependeth vpon his owne need or neceſſitie: verſ.36. *If neede ſo require* let them be married: verſ.37. *If hee hath no neede, but hath power ouer his owne will,* he may keepe his virgine. So then, whether it be referred to the neede of his virgine, that is daughter, or to his own neceſſitie, his will is not abſolutely to diſpoſe, but as his occaſion and neede is. This text then is improperly alleaged for freewill.

4. Thus alſo *Auguſtine* anſwereth the Pelagiãs, obiecting the very ſame place, 1.Cor.7.36. *Quod vult faciat,* Let him doe what hee will, 1. *Quaſi pro magno habendum ſit velle nubere, &c.* As though it were ſo great a matter to haue a will to marrie, where the queſtion is of the aſſiſtance of the diuine mercie. 2. *Aut prodeſt aliquid velle, &c.* Or as though it profited any thing here to will, vnleſſe God by his prouidence, whereby he gouerneth all things, do ioyne the man and the woman: *cont.Celeſtin.de perfect.iuſtic.*

Laſtly, *Bellarmine* heapeth vp a great companie of fathers as witneſſes for freewill: to whom I make this generall anſwere: Firſt, that ſome of them are counterfeit authors, as *Clemens,* alleaged c.25.3. Secondly, ſome had their notable errors, as *Origen, Tertullian.* Thirdly, ſome were led with the error of their time, as *Chryſoſtome,* and ſome other Greeke fathers, which attributed too much to mans freewill. And hereof *Eſpencaeus* a learned Papiſt doth well admoniſh vs: *Hîc & penè vbique Graeci* περὶ τȣ͂ αὐτεξουσίȣ *cautè legendi:* Heere and almoſt euery where the Greekes of freewill muſt be cauteloully read, that it is no marueile, that in their catalogues of hereſie *Pelagius* is not reckoned. Fourthly, ſome of them extoll freewill, hauing to deale with the contrarie hereſie of the Manichees, who altogether tooke away the vſe of mans will, imputing ſin to the neceſſitie of nature. Thus *Auguſtine* is to be taken in his bookes againſt the Manichees: as he confeſſeth himſelfe *lib.1.retract.* that in his booke againſt *Adamantius,* he affirmed, *In hominis eſſe poteſtate,* That it is in mans power to chaunge his will: whereas (ſaith he) this power is of God. So *Hierome* excuſeth himſelf for enueying ſo much againſt mariage in his booke againſt *Iouinian. Aliud eſt* γυμναστικῶς *ſcribere, aliud* δογματικῶς, *aliud docere diſcipulum, aliud vincere aduerſarium:* It is one thing to write of ſtrife, another for inſtruction; one thing to teach a learner, another to confute a gainſayer, *apolog. ad Pammach.* Fiftly, ſome haue retracted afterward, which before they had written of freewill: as *Auguſtine* retracteth that ſaying in his bookes *ad Simplician. Quamuis ſit in vniuſcuiuſq; poteſtate vt velit, non tamen vt poſſit:* Though it be in euery mans power to will, yet not to doe, or be able: for (ſaith he) the will alſo muſt be prepared of God, *lib.2.retract.* Sixtly, the reſt of the fathers ſpeake of freewill: firſt, either as it was giuen to *Adam* in the creation. Secondly, or as it is made free by grace. Thirdly, or as it is free onely from compulſion and conſtraint: all which we graunt.

The Proteſtants.

THat man hath no freewill of himſelfe in morall duties, to chuſe the good, and refuſe the euill, to embrace vertue, and decline from vice, but as he is wholy directed and gouerned by the ſpirit of God: and that not only the beginning of our calling is of God, but that the drawing and inclining of the will and conſent thereunto, is a worke alſo of the ſpirit: thus we make it euident by the word of God.

*Argum.*1. Pſalm.119.36. *Incline mine heart vnto thy teſtimonies, and not to couetouſnes: Ergo,* it is God that inclineth the heart.

Anſw. 1. God inclineth the heart, by inward perſwaſion, and inuiting, ſo that notwithſtanding it is left in the power of the will to conſent vnto Gods calling: *Bellarm.cap.29.reſponſ.ad teſtim.*3.

Contra. 1. The Prophet *Dauid* in the ſame place ſaith, *Deduc me in ſemita*· Leade me in the path of thy commaundements, verſ.35. And our Sauiour ſaith, that his father muſt draw vs, or elſe we cannot come vnto him, Iohn 6.44. Theſe phraſes of Scripture, to incline, to leade, to draw, doe ſignifie a more forcible and powerfull calling, than is found in the bare act of perſwading, inuiting, alluring, &c. 2. If God ſhould onely call vs by perſwaſion, he ſhould haue no greater power in mouing vnto good, then Sathan hath in tempting to euill: for Sathan alſo dealeth by perſwaſion: *Suadere & ſollicitare poteſt diabolus, cogere non poteſt, non extorquet à nobis conſenſum, ſed petit:* The diuell doth ſollicite and perſwade, he cannot conſtraine vs, he doth not extort or wring from vs our conſent, but craueth it: *Auguſt.homil.*12. 3. If God onely moue the heart by enticiſing and alluring it, not by an actuall drawing and enforcing, then man ſhould haue greater power ouer his will, than God hath: for many times the will of man without perſwaſion, of it voluntarie motion is inclined to euill: but God is greater than the heart. And *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Deus magis habet in ſua poteſtate hominum voluntates, quam ipſi ſuas:* God hath greater power ouer the wils of men, then they haue themſelues: *de corrept.& grat.cap.*14. *Ergo,* God worketh otherwiſe in the will than by perſwaſion.

Anſw. 2. God indeede doth worke in vs by his grace to giue our conſent to his calling: *Sed hoc facit adiuuando infirmitatem, non tollendo libertatem:* But in thus doing, he helpeth our infirmitie, he taketh not away our freedome or libertie, *Bellarm.ibid.* So his opinion is, that grace and our freewill worke together.

Contra. 1. One of the Ieſuites anſwers ouerthroweth the other: for before he ſaid, *Inclinat Deus corda noſtra non regendo, ſed ſuadendo:* God inclineth the heart, not by enforcing it, but by perſwading: but here he ſaith, *Quid aliud facit Deus, cum nos inclinat, quam operari vt conſentiamus?* What elſe doth God, what he inclineth vs, then ſo worke, that we giue our conſent? To worke then and to doe, is more than to moue and perſwade. 2 Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Without me you can doe nothing:* as a braunch cut off from the ſtocke withereth, and is altogether fruitleſſe, Iohn 15.5,6. And Saint *Paul* ſaith, *That in his fleſh dwelleth no good thing,* Rom.7.18. that is, in the naturall man: *Ergo,* there is no good motion in the wil of it ſelfe, but all goodnes is wrought in vs wholy by grace: it is not then partly of our ſelues, and partly of grace. So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Laborant homines inuenire in voluntate, quid boni ſit noſtrum, quod non ſit ex Deo; quod quomodo inueniri poſſit ignoro:* Men doe labour to finde ſome goodnes in the will, that ſhould be of our ſelues, and not of God: but I am altogether ignorant how any ſuch thing ſhould be found: *lib.1.cont.Pelag.cap.*18.

*Argum.*2. *The ſeruants of ſinne are not free, but by nature we are all the ſeruants of ſinne,* Rom.6.17. *Ergo,* we are not free, and ſo conſequently by nature haue no freewill.

Bellarmine: The ſeruice of ſinne is contrarie to the libertie from ſinne, but it taketh not away the libertie of nature, but that notwithſtanding a man by his freewill, aſſiſted by Gods helpe, may ſhake off the ſeruitude of ſinne, *reſponſ.ad 4.teſtim.cap.29.*

Anſw. 1. Neither doe wee conclude from this place, that the libertie of nature is taken away from freewill: for as your Maſter diſtinguiſheth, there is *libertas gratiæ à peccato, libertas naturæ à neceſſitate: lib.2.diſt.25.q.* There is a libertie of grace from ſinne, and a libertie of nature from neceſſitie, coaction or conſtraint. Wee graunt that mans will worketh freely, that is without conſtraint, but not freely, that is without ſinne.

2. That mans will is a ſeruant to ſinne the Apoſtle ſheweth, verſ.19, becauſe all our members

were ſeruants to iniquitie : if all, then the will alſo, which is a member and facultie of the ſoule. And verſ.20.*When ye were ſeruants to ſinne, ye were freed from righteouſnes:* If then the mans will by nature be ſinfull and ſo voide of righteouſnes, how can it haue any inclination at all vnto it?

3. If the will cannot riſe from ſinne vnleſſe it be ayded by grace, then is it not free. A priſoner, though he be not fettered, yet if the priſon doores be ſhut, ſo that he cannot come forth, vnleſſe the doores be opened, is notwithſtanding a priſoner ſtill.

*Argum.*3. Ioh.15.3. *As the branch cannot beare fruite of it ſelfe, vnleſſe it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me: Ergo,* without the grace of Chriſt mans will can doe nothing.

Bellarm. This place ſheweth the neceſſitie of grace, that mans will can doe nothing without it, but it excludeth not freewill, *reſponſ.ad argum.*5.

Anſw. Firſt, if the branch can bring forth no fruit at all without the vine, nor mans will do nothing without Chriſt, as he ſaith, verſ.5.*Without me ye can doe nothing*; then the whole actiuitie of our will is of grace. Secondly, the braunch indeede is as a trunke, wherein the iuyce of the vine runneth; it hath of it ſelfe rine and barke, but no life or growth without the ſappe of the ſtocke: ſo man hath power by nature to will, to moue, to affect, deſire, but a diſpoſition to goodnes it hath none at all without grace. This place taketh not away the naturall power of mans will, but the actiuitie thereof vnto goodneſſe it vtterly excludeth.

*Argum.*4. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *What haſt thou that thou haſt not receiued?* 1.Corinth.4.7. Wee haue then no good thing of our ſelues: *Ergo,* neither haue wee any freewill or inclination to that is good.

Anſw. Habemus dono Dei liberum arbitrium, ſed hoc dono accepto Domini ſumus actionum,&c. Wee haue freewill by the gift of God, and hauing receiued this gift, then we work freely, and are Lords and commaunders of our actions: *Bellarm.ibid.reſp.ad ſextum teſtimon.*

Contra. The Ieſuites anſwere in effect is this, that to haue a deſire and inclination to good things, is of God, becauſe freewill, from whence commeth this deſire, is the gift of God: ſo that this receiuing, which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, hee would haue referred to the creation, when God beſtowed this gift of freewill generally vpon all. This anſwere is eaſily ouerthrowne: firſt, S.*Paul* ſpeaketh of ſuch gifts as are receiued by grace, and not ſuch as were beſtowed in the creation: for the benefits of creation are generall, and indifferently diſtributed to all: but the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch graces, as were diuerſly beſtowed vpon men, wherein one excelled another, *one ſwelled againſt another,* verſ.6. one was diſcerned, that is, *preferred before another.* Therefore the Apoſtle cannot vnderſtand the gift of freewill, as it was conferred vpon all in the creation, but as it is giuen vnto ſome by grace.

Secondly, the Pelagians did expound this place alſo, euen as the Ieſuite doth, *de bonis naturæ,* of the gifts of nature: whom *Auguſtine* confuteth thus: *Nunquid per hæc dona communia homines diſcernuntur ab hominibus?* Men are not ſeparated or diſcerned one from another by theſe common gifts of nature: but the Apoſtle ſaith, *Who hath ſeparated thee?* Againe, *Non dicit Apoſtolus, quid potes habere, quod non accepiſti vt poſſis habere, ſed nunquid habes? poſſibilitas habendi fidẽ non diſcernit,&c.* The Apoſtle ſaith not, what canſt thou haue, which thou didſt not receiue a poſſibilitie by nature to haue? but what haſt thou alreadie? for it is not the poſſibilitie to haue faith, or any other grace, which doth diſcerne men, but the hauing of faith it ſelfe: *de prædeſtinat.lib.*1.*cap.*5. This place then cannot bee vnderſtoode of the poſſibilitie of freewill, which ſhould bee in euery man by nature: but of thoſe good thinges that are really and actually in vs: all which wee doe receiue of God.

Thirdly, the Ieſuite is driuen to borrow an anſwere from the old heretikes the Pelagians: for thus they ſaid: *Non contra gratiam diſputo,(inquit Pelagianus) quia liberum arbitrium defendo: ſi enim hominem creauit Deus, & illi liberũ arbitrium donauit, quicquid homo poteſt de libero arbitrio, cuius gratiæ debetur, niſi eius, qui eum condidit cum libero arbitrio?* I doe not reaſon againſt grace (ſaith the Pelagian) while I defend freewill: for if God created man, and gaue him freewill, whatſoeuer a man is able to do by his freewill, to whoſe grace is he indebted, but to his, who made him with freewill? The very ſame anſwere doth the Ieſuite giue vs here, that whatſoeuer a man doth by vertue of his freewill, it is by the gift of God, becauſe freewill is his gift. *Et nos iſtam, qua conditi ſumus, quanquam hoc nomine appellatam minime legerimus, tamen quia gratis data eſt, gratiam fatemur, ſed oſtendimus maiorem eſſe iſtam, qua Chriſtiani ſumus:* And we alſo doe acknowledge the grace of creation, whereby we were made, becauſe it is freely giuen, though we finde it no where called by the name of grace, but yet there is a greater grace, and more properly ſo called, by the which grace we are made Chriſtians: *Auguſt.de verbis Apoſtol.ſerm.*11.

*Celeſtin.epiſtol.decretal.*1.*cap.*9. *Ita Deus in cordibus hominum, atque in ipſo libero operatur arbitrio, vt ſancta cogitatio, pium conſilium omniſq; motus bonæ voluntatis ex Deo ſit, quia per illum aliquid boni poſſumus, ſine quo nihil poſſumus: quod igitur tempus interuenit, in quo eius non egeamus auxilio:* So God worketh in the hearts of men, and in freewill, that euery holie thought, godly counſell, good motion of the will is of God : ſo by him wee are able to doe ſome good, without whom wee can nothing : there can be therefore no time, when we ſtand not in neede of his helpe.

Further, Saint *Auguſtine* thus teſtifieth : *Liberum arbitrium & ad malum & bonum nos habere confitendum eſt,&c.* We muſt confeſſe that we haue freewill both to good, and euill : but in doing of euill euery man is free from righteouſnes, and the ſeruant of ſinne; but in doing of good no man is free, vnleſſe he be freed by him, that ſaid, If the ſonne make you free, then are you free indeed, *lib. de corrept. & grat. cap.* 1.

Againe, *Voluntas humana non libertate conſequitur gratiam, ſed gratia potius libertatem :* Mans will by libertie obtaineth not grace, but by grace libertie or freedome, *cap.* 8. *Ergo*, the libertie of the will is wholy of grace.

To this purpoſe, *Auguſtine* fitly compareth *liberum arbitrium iumento, gratiam ſeſſori :* freewill to the beaſt, grace to the rider : like as the beaſt is guided by the riders hand to goe ſtraight in the way, *ſic liberum arbitrium gratiæ regimine regitur:* ſo freewill is directed by grace, &c. *cont. Pelagian. artic.* 3. Like as the rider then giueth all the direction and regiment to the beaſt ; which indeede goeth, and trauaileth, but cannot goe right in the way without the rider : ſo mans will hath no inclination to the right way, without the illumination of grace.

Bernard vſeth this ſimilitude : *Quis cum ad ignem venerit algens, &c.* Like as a man comming frozen and cold to the fire, doubteth not, but he had his heate from the fire : *ſic ſpiritus in nobis operatur omnia:* ſo the ſpirit worketh all in vs: *in die Pentecoſt. ſerm.* 1. Like as then there is no heate but from the fire, when a man is ſtarke with colde; ſo there is no goodneſſe in mans will, but from grace.

Saint *Ambroſe*, vpon theſe words, 1. Corinth. 2. 12. *We haue receiued, not the ſpirit of the world, but the ſpirit of God, that wee might know the things that are giuen vs of God : Vnde ſiquis eſt, qui aliqua ſe exiſtimat habere bona, quorum non deus largitor eſt, &c.* If therefore there be any man, which thinketh he hath any good thing, whereof God is not the giuer, but himſelfe the author, he hath not the ſpirit of God, but of the world, *epiſt.* 84. The Papiſts then haue not the ſpirit of God, who aſcribe part of the good worke vnto grace, part vnto freewill, but not all vnto grace.

Saint *Hierome* vpon theſe words, Iohn 6. *No man can come vnto me, except my father draw him : Qui trahitur, non ſponte currit, &c.* He that is drawne, doth not runne of himſelfe, *ſed aut tardus, aut inuitus adducitur*, but is brought either ſlowly, or vnwillingly : *lib. 3. aduerſ. Pelagian.* Mans will then hath no aptnes or inclination of it ſelfe at all to come vnto God.

Peter Lombard. out of *Auguſtine* alleageth, *Iuſtitiam in homine Deus ſolus operatur:* God onely worketh vertue and righteouſneſſe in man, *lib. 2. diſtinct. 28. a. Ibid. liter. d.* It is in mans power to chaunge his will to the better : *ſed ea poteſtas nulla eſt, niſi à Deo detur:* but that is no power at all, vnleſſe it be giuen of God : *Ergo*, in mans will, without grace, there is no power at all.

Laſtly, this doctrine, that man hath no freewill by nature to doe that which is good, hath been ſealed by the blood of Martyrs : *Richard Woodman* Martyr, againſt mans freewill, alleadged theſe places of Scripture : *Euery good gift commeth from aboue*, Iam. 1. 17. *Of his owne will begate he vs: Ibid.* verſ. 18. *It is God which worketh in vs the will and the deede*, Philip. 2. 13. *Ergo*, mans owne will in good things is little worth, *Fox* pag. 1995. For this truth, agreeable to the Scripture, ſuffered alſo *Thomas Spicer, Iohn Deny, Edmund Poole*, becauſe they affirmed no mortall man to haue freewill in himſelfe to doe good or euill : *Fox* pag. 1912. articul. 7.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE POWER OF freewill in diuine and ſupernaturall things.

HEre wee are to handle theſe two ſeuerall poynts : firſt, whether the ſtrength of freewill be vtterlie loſt by the tranſgreſſion of *Adam*. Secondly, what power it hath in ſpirituall matters.

The Papiſts.

FReewill, they ſay, is not vtterly extinguiſhed, but onely abated in ſtrength, and attenuated : *Bellarm. de grat. lib. 5. cap. 30. Concil. Tridentin. ſeſſ. 6. cap.* 1. 45. Error.

Further, *Bellarmine* thus explaneth his minde, that *Adams* freewill in two things was ſtronger than ours : firſt, *Adam* was free not onely in the very act of willing, but in the execution alſo, ſo are not wee : for though we haue libertie to will, yet wee are hindred by the corruption of nature from executing our will. Secondly, wee haue neede of Gods ſpeciall aſſiſtance againſt temptation, ſo had not *Adam*, but was able by the ſtrength of his freewill, without further helpe, to reſiſt temptation, *lib. 5. de grat. cap.* 27. So his opinion is, that in the act of willing good or euill, we are as free as *Adam* was.

Argum. The Rhemiſts gather by the parable of the man in the Goſpell, that fell among theeues, and was left for halfe dead, Luk. 10. verſ. 30. that neither vnderſtanding, nor freewill, nor other powers of the ſoule, are vtterly extinguiſhed and taken away, but onely wounded by the ſinne of *Adam*.

Anſ. 1. It is but a feeble collection, and of ſmall force, which they do draw from this allegorie: for allegories and ſimilitudes doe not hold in all things, but wherein onely they are compared: for our Sauiour Chriſt alleaged not this parable to any ſuch end, but onely to ſhew, that we ought to doe good vnto all, and that they are our neighbours which doe vs good, though they be ſtrangers and vnknowne vnto vs.

2. We denie not, that the powers of the ſoule, yea and freewill alſo in ſubſtance remaine ſtill, but that the propertie and qualitie of them is extinguiſhed, that they haue now no naturall inclination vnto good. *Auguſtine* ſaith well of this matter: *Semper eſt in nobis voluntas libera, ſed non eſt ſemper bona: gratia autem Dei ſemper eſt bona, & per hanc fit, vt homo ſit bonæ voluntatis, qui prius fuit malæ:* There is alwaies in vs freewill, but it is not alwaies good: but the grace of God is alwaies good, and by this grace it commeth to paſſe, that man, who had before an euill will, hath now a good will: *de grat. & liber. arbit. cap. 15.*

The Proteſtants.

THat the ſtrength of freewill in good things is vtterly decayed in man, not wounded and maimed onely, but wholy loſt, till it be reſtored by grace: and that we haue not the like libertie in the act of willing as *Adam* had in his creation, thus we ſhew it.

Argum. S. *Paul* ſaith, *When we were dead by our ſinnes, he hath quickened vs in Chriſt*, Epheſ. 2. 1. 5. *Ye which were dead in your ſinnes, hath he quickened together with him*, Coloſſ. 2. 13. He ſaith not, as in the Parable, ἡμιθανῆ, they left him for halfe dead, but νεκρὸς, plaine dead men indeede: As *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Vt homo redeat ad iuſtitiam, opus habet medico, quia ſanus non eſt; opus habet viuificatore, quia mortuus eſt:* Man before hee can returne to doe righteouſly, hath neede of a Phiſition, becauſe hee is ſicke; had neede of a quickener and reuiuer, becauſe hee is dead: *de natur. grat. cap. 23.* Man then is not onely ſicke and wounded, but plaine dead, and voide of all life, quicknes or agilitie in good things.

Auguſtine ſaith yet more plainly: *Cum peccauit primus homo, non in parte aliqua, ſed in tota, qua conditus eſt natura deliquit:* When the firſt man ſinned, he did not offend in any one part, but wholy in that nature wherein he was created: *Contr. Pelag. articul.* 3. And in another place, *Natura tota fuit per liberum arbitrium in ipſa radice vitiata:* Our nature was wholy corrupted by freewill, in the verie roote or originall, that is in *Adam: in Iohan. tract.* 87. *Ergo*, all the powers both of bodie and ſoule, are wholy corrupt and decaied in ſpirituall things.

Innocentius epiſtol. decretal. 25. Liberum arbitrium Adam perpeſſus, dum ſuis inconſultius vtitur bonis, in præuaricationis profundo demerſus eſt, & nihil quomodo inde ſurgere poſſit, inuenit: *Adam* ſuffering his freewill, while he vnaduiſedly vſeth his gifts, was drowned in tranſgreſſion, and found (nothing) in himſelfe whereby to riſe from thence againe: *Ergo*, there remaineth in our freewill by nature no abilitie at all to that which is good.

Concil. Arauſican. 2. can. 25. Per peccatum primi hominis ita inclinatum & attenuatum fuit liberum arbitrium, vt nullus poſtea aut diligere Deum ſicut oportuit, aut credere in Deum, aut operari propter Deũ poſſit, niſi gratia eum præuenerit: By the ſinne of the firſt man freewill is ſo turned and empayred, that none ſince can loue God, as they ought, beleeue in God, or worke according to God, vnleſſe grace preuent them.

Bernard hath this ſaying: *Homo non omnino amiſit arbitrium, i. iudicium rationis, in iudicando & diſcernendo, quanquam libertatem ſuam amiſerit, in eligendo & agendo, &c.* Man hath not altogether loſt his will, that is, iudgement of reaſon in iudging and diſcerning, although he hath loſt his libertie in chuſing and working: for a puniſhment of his ſinne, and a teſtimonie of his naturall dignitie loſt, his will is ſet for a ſigne, but captiued: *de vit. ſolitar.* So his ſentence is, that man hath altogether loſt the libertie of his will, though the facultie of his will doe ſtill remaine.

THE SECOND POINT OR ARTICLE, OF the ſtrength and power of freewill in ſpirituall things.

The Papiſts.

46.Error. THey ſay not, that a man by his freewill onely is able to liue well, or to obtaine eternall life: for *Bellarmine* prooueth at large, that a man hath no power of himſelfe, without the eſpeciall aſſiſtance of grace, either to beleeue, *lib. 6. cap. 2.* or to prepare himſelfe to receiue grace, *cap. 5.* or to loue God, *cap. 7.* or to will any thing appertaining to ſaluation, without the helpe of Gods grace, *cap. 4.* This then is their opinion, that though the will of man be not able of it ſelfe only to do any thing in ſpiritual actions, yet being aided & aſſiſted by grace, it may: ſo that they attribute part to grace, part to freewill: the firſt motion and ſtirring of the heart they ſay is onely of God; and here the will worketh nothing at all: then it is the part of freewill to apprehend grace offered, to giue conſent vnto it, and to worke together with it: *Trident. Concil. ſeſſ.6. cap.5. canon.4.* The Rhemiſts alſo thus define the matter: *Though our election, calling, firſt comming to God, be not wholly or principally vpon our will or workes, yet our willing and working of any good to our ſaluation, is the ſecondarie cauſe: Gods ſpeciall motion, grace, aſſiſtance is the principall, Rom.9 ſect.4.* This then is their meaning, that Gods grace and mans freewill doe worke actiuely together: as the Rhemiſts note, *The Gentiles, though they beleeued ſpecially by Gods grace and preordination, yet they beleeued alſo by their owne freewill: Rhem. Act.13. ſect.2.*

Bellarmine more particularly doth thus determine: firſt the grace, whereby men are firſt ſtirred and moued vnto any good thing, worketh alone without the helpe of our will: *Nihil omnino in hoc genere ex ſe facere homo poteſt:* Man in this caſe worketh nothing of himſelfe, *Lib.6. cap.15 propoſ.3.* Secondly, that we may giue our aſſent, *gratiæ excitanti,* to grace mouing and ſtirring of vs, *requiritur neceſſariò gratia adiuuans,* the helping or aſſiſting grace is requiſite and neceſſarie: *Ibid propoſ.7.* ſo here grace worketh, and mans will worketh. Thirdly this grace that helpeth mans will to giue aſſent, doth onely deale by perſwaſion, it inforceth not, nor draweth it: but it remayneth for all this in mans power freely to giue or withhold his conſent: *propoſ.*8. And hereupon it commeth, that by the ſame grace and inward motion, one is conuerted, and another is not, becauſe it is in mans power to reiect grace: *propoſ.9.* And ſo he concludeth: *Poteſt homo abſolutè per liberum arbitrium bene facere, ſi velit; & non facere, ſi non velit:* That a man, notwithſtanding the firſt ſtirring, as alſo the helping and aſſiſting grace, abſolutely by his freewill may doe well if he will, and not doe well, if he will not: *Lib.5. cap.29. reſponſ. ad teſtimon.2.* Thus the Ieſuite maketh the will of man the principall, not the ſecondarie cauſe, (wherein the Rhemiſts are more reaſonable, as we haue ſeene, that make it onely the inferiour cauſe:) for the will of man may make grace fruſtrate, but grace cannot make freewill fruſtrate, by the Ieſuites doctrine: let vs ſee ſome of their arguments, whereby they would proue the fellow-working of grace and freewill together.

Argum.1. Caſt off the olde man, put on the new, Epheſ.4.22.24. *Worke out your ſaluation with feare and trembling,* Philip.2.12. *Ergo,* man together with God worketh his ſaluation: *Bellarm. lib.6. de grat. cap.10.*

Anſw. The Scripture thus vſeth to ſpeake vnto men, becauſe they are not as ſtockes and ſtones voyd of ſenſe, but reaſonable creatures, indued with naturall gifts of will and vnderſtanding: not becauſe men haue power to will or worke any good thing of themſelues. *Worke your ſaluation,* ſaith the Apoſtle, then it followeth: *for it is God that worketh in you the will and the deede.* So then man worketh, and God worketh: Man hath a naturall power generally to worke, to will: but to will or worke that which is good, is onely of God. *Certum eſt,* ſaith *Auguſtine, Nos velle, cum volumus, ſed ille facit, vt velimus bonum; certum eſt, nos facere, cum facimus, ſed ille facit, vt faciamus.* It is certaine that it is man which willeth, whatſoeuer is willed, but God is the cauſe that he willeth that which is good: it is certaine that we worke whatſoeuer is wrought, but God is the cauſe that we do that is good: *De bono perſeuerant. cap.16.* God only then is the agent and working cauſe, man is the inſtrument.

Arg.2. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, *Make haſte to helpe me O, Lord,* Pſal.70.1. *He helpeth our infirmities,* Rom.8.26. But how can man be ſaid properly to be helped, vnleſſe he laboured? *Bellar. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. *Bellarmine* himſelfe doth here furniſh vs with an anſwere: a better we cannot deſire: *Opus pium, quatenus opus, à libero arbitrio eſt tantum, non tamen ſecluſo auxilio generali; quatenus pium, à ſola gratia eſt; quatenus opus pium, à libero arbitrio, & gratia ſimul:* Euery godly worke as it is a worke, proceedeth onely from freewill, with the generall helpe of Gods prouidence; as it is good and godly, it is onely of grace; as it ioyntly is a good worke, it is of grace and freewill together: *Lib.6. de grat. cap.15. propoſ.10.* This is the ſame thing, that we ſaid from the beginning, that we deny not a naturall power in man ſimply to will this or that, but to will that is good, we hold it a worke onely of grace: and herein *Bellarmine* agreeth with vs in this place, howſoeuer elſewhere he diſſent from himſelfe in this poynt and vs. By this poſition of his, we may eaſily anſwere the argument: for if the good worke be ioyntly conſidered, as it is a worke, and beſides that, good; ſo grace onely helpeth the will: both of them ioyne together, the will to worke, and grace to make it good: but as the worke is good, it is onely of grace, and ſo grace helpeth not onely, but doth alone make the worke good. 2. So where the Apoſtle ſaith, *The ſpirit helpeth our infirmities:* we are to vnderſtand, that in the godly action of prayer, the ſpirit, and our ſoule worke together: we worke as it is an action proceeding from the will, the ſpirit as it is a godly action: and in this reſpect as the prayer is a godly and holy action, the ſpirit worketh onely, our infirmities nothing at all: And therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, *The ſpirit it ſelfe maketh requeſt for vs: for we know not what to pray, as we ought:* that is the goodnes of the action, and the gift to pray a right, is only of the ſpirit. Hauing now examined ſuch places of Scripture as are alleaged by our aduerſaries: let vs ſee ſome other of their obiections.

*Obiect.*1. If that man by his freewill hath no inclination vnto that which is good and godly, then belike men are compelled againſt their willes to the kingdome of God: *Sic Rhemiſt.Iohn.*6. *ſect.*3.

Anſw. Indeede, man by nature is vnwilling to any good thing, but God reformeth our willes, and giueth vs grace moſt gladly to embrace Chriſt. Thus *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Trahit Deus miris modis, vt homo velit, non vt homines, quod fieri non poteſt, nolentes credant, ſed vt volentes ex nolentibus fiant:* God draweth a man diuers wayes to make him willing: for men, which were impoſſible, doe not beleeue againſt their will, but of vnwilling are made willing: *Cont.*2.*epiſtol.Pelag.lib.*1. *cap.*20.

*Obiect.*2. If man haue no good motion of himſelfe, nor no deſire or will to good things: what is he better then a ſtone, or a piece of clay, being altogether deſtitute of freewill? *Rhemiſt. Rom.*9. *ſect.*7.

Contr.Pelag. l.5. *Anſw.* We ſay with *Auguſtine: Non ſicut in lapidibus inſenſatis, aut in ijs quæ rationem non habent, Deus ſalutem noſtram operatur:* God worketh not our ſaluation in vs, as in ſenſeleſſe ſtones, or vnreaſonable creatures: So we doe not take away mans proper motions, and thoughts, as the Rhemiſts accuſe vs: 2.Corinth.3.ſect.2. God giueth not a new minde, ſoule, will, or vnderſtanding to the regenerate, but onely altereth and changeth it: Man by nature hath power to will, to thinke, to vnderſtand: ſo cannot a ſtone or a piece of clay, or any brutiſh creature: but to will, or thinke that which is good, is onely a worke of grace.

*Obiect.*3. If God worke all, then man worketh nothing; what then can good workes profite him, ſeeing he worketh not?

Anſw. God by his ſpeciall grace worketh onely that which is good in man: man himſelfe alſo by nature hath a generall power to will and worke, yet not any good thing, but of grace: ſo God worketh, not without man, but in man and by man, as his inſtrument, which receiueth the whole actiuitie in good things from the firſt mouer and principal efficient. *Auguſtine* alſo thus anſwereth the like obiection: *Ergo agimur (inquies) non agimus:* Thou wilt ſay then, that we our ſelues are wrought to good things, we worke not: *Immo & agis, & ageris, & tum bene agis, ſi à bono ageris:* Yea rather, thou art both wrought thy ſelfe, and workeſt: and then thou workeſt well, and that which is good, when thou art firſt wrought and made good: *De verb. Apoſtol. ſerm.*13.

*Obiect.*4. Thus alſo the Pelagians, and freewill men obiected: if man haue no freewill in good things: *Tale ergo hominibus datum eſt arbitrium, quale in dæmonibus, quod nihil aliud poſſit, vel velit, quam malum:* Then ſuch a will is giuen to men, as diuels haue, which neither can, nor will doe any thing but euill.

Anſw. *Auguſtine* anſwereth: Firſt, *Talis eſt multorum malitia, qualis dæmonum, vt Dominus, vos ex patre diabolo eſtis:* The like malice is in many wicked men, as is in the diuels themſelues, otherwiſe our Sauiour Chriſt would not haue ſaid to ſome, you are of your father the diuell. Secondly, *Sed hoc inter homines malos & diabolum diſtat, quod hominibus etiam valde malis, ſupereſt etiam, ſi Deus voluerit, reconciliatio: dæmonibus nulla ſeruata eſt conuerſio:* But this difference there is betweene wicked men and the diuell, that there remaineth hope of reconciliation, if God will, euen for the moſt wicked men: but no conuerſion or amendment is kept in ſtore for the damned ſpirits: *Lib. articul.cont.Auguſt.articul.*6. The ſame difference there is betweene the corrupt will of men, and the malice of diuels: that the will of men, though it be preſently euill, by grace may be made good: but the malice of the diuell can neuer be changed to the better.

The Proteſtants.

THere are two things to be conſidered in our will and thoughts, the naturall power of willing, and thinking, and the goodneſſe and holineſſe of our thoughts: the firſt is in vs, and is properly ours by the generall gift of God, but the other commeth onely of God, by his grace. The will, the vnderſtanding, the thoughts are ours, but the goodneſſe is meerely, and entirely wrought by the ſpirit of God: So that in reſpect of the goodneſſe inſpired into our mindes, our willes are altogether paſſiue: in reſpect of the generall power, and naturall facultie, of willing, thinking, vnderſtanding, they are alſo actiue.

One very fitly compareth mans freewill in good actions, vnto *materia*; the grace working, vnto *forma*: that as the ſaid *materia*, without *forma*, the matter without the forme is rude, and ſhapeleſſe; ſo freewill is a thing altogether rude and deformed, if it be not framed and faſhioned by grace comming thereunto: *Ex epiſtol. Voluſian. Epiſcop. Carthag. ad Nicolaum Papam.*

Auguſtine ſaith, *Rectè comparari arbitror liberum arbitrium iumento, gratiam ſeſſori:* I thinke mans freewil may very fitly be compared to ẏ beaſt which a man rideth vpon, grace to the rider or ſitter: *Sicut iumentum illud dum in via dirigitur, ſeſſoris manu regitur, vt iter rectum ſecundum ſedentis in ſe voluntatem poſſit incedere; ſic liberũ arbitrium gratiæ regimine regitur, vt poſſit in ſemitis Domini rectè ambulare:* And as the beaſt is guided by the hand of the rider, that it may goe right in the way, according to the riders pleaſure: ſo freewill is gouerned by grace, to walke aright in the wayes of God:

Cons.

*Cont.Pelag.articul.*3.Mans freewill therefore is no more able without grace,to doe any good thing; then the horſe is to goe the right way without a guide.

*Argum.*1. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, *Create in me a cleane heart,O God,* Pſal.51.10. Mans will therefore doth no more worke with grace,then the creature doth with the creator,when it is created.And therefore the Prophet elſewhere ſaith: *He hath made vs,and not we our ſelues,* Pſal.100. which is ſpoken of the regeneration of men,rather then of the firſt creation; becauſe it followeth, *We are his people,and the ſheepe of his paſture.*

Anſw. There is not a new ſubſtance of the heart created in our regeneration: *ſed ipſa munditiei efficitur:* but the purenes or cleannes of the heart is onely wrought,the ſame ſubſtance remayneth, which worketh together with grace: *Bellarm.cap.*13.*reſponſ.ad loc.*2.

Contra. The Ieſuite by thus anſwering, confirmeth our argument rather then refuteth it: for we alſo affirme, and graunt, that the naturall power of the will and affections remayne ſtill, and worke together in the naturall action of willing, or thinking: but the ſupernaturall goodneſſe and purenes of our heart,our will,our thoughts,we holde onely to be wrought by grace,and that the will of man doth not helpe any thing thereunto. And thus much the Ieſuite graunteth, and ſo he confeſſeth againſt himſelfe, that the ſupernaturall purenes of mans will, is onely wrought by grace,though the naturall ſubſtance of the will remaine ſtill.

*Argum.*2. God worketh in vs both the will and the deede,Phil.2.13.he helpeth not onely but wholly worketh himſelfe.

Anſw. God indeede worketh our will, but not without vs: for the Apoſtle in the ſame place ſaith,*Worke your ſaluation with feare and trembling,*verſ.14. *Ergo,*man worketh together with God: *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. Gods working is the cauſe why man worketh: Worke out your ſaluation,ſaith the Apoſtle: and then he rendreth the reaſon or cauſe thereof; For it is God which worketh, &c. So that man worketh not any thing of himſelfe, but as his will is moued and wrought by the ſpirit of God: for if all were not of God,how then ſaith the Apoſtle,*That God may be all in all.* 1.Cor.15.28. and that *euery good gift is of God,*Iam.1.17. *Auguſtine* ſaith,*Sicut homo ſedens in iumento dicit,feci hodie,vtpote* 30.*millia, cum iumentum illo ſedente cucurrerit,ſed rector dicitur facere, quia iumentum facere fecit: ſic liberum arbitrium fidei iter peragit, ſed non ſine gratia dirigente & gubernante:* As a man ſitting vpon his beaſt, ſaith, I haue gone to day thirtie miles, or there about, when as not he, but his beaſt hath gone it; but the rider is ſaid to doe it, becauſe he maketh his beaſt doe it: ſo it is freewill that runneth the race of faith,but grace directeth and gouerneth it: *Cont.Pelagian.articul.* 3. Man then as Gods inſtrument worketh, but God giueth him the whole actiuitie and power to worke.

*Argum.*3. Saint *Paul* ſaith: *I laboured more abundantly, then they all;yet not I, but the grace of God which is with mee,* 1.Corinthian.15.10. By this correction of his ſpeech, the Apoſtle ſheweth, that of himſelfe he was not able to worke any good thing, but it was the grace of God in him.

Anſw. He ſaith, *Gratia Dei mecum,* The grace of God with him: ſo that the Apoſtle wrought not alone,but he,and grace together *Bellarm.cap.*10.

Contra. Nay, the Apoſtle aſcribeth all to grace: and by ſaying, The grace of God with me, he meaneth the grace that wrought in him, and was preſent with him: As elſewhere he ſaith, *Thus I liue,not I now,but Chriſt liueth in me:* Galath.2.20.So that whether he ſay,Grace with me, or in me, it is all one: his meaning is, that grace onely worketh in him, and he by grace. And ſo *Auguſtine* expoundeth it: *Quicquid vult bonum,quicquid poteſt, à Domino eſt,quia ſine me,ayt Dominus,nihil poteſtis facere:* What good ſoeuer a man either willeth, or is able to doe, it is of God: becauſe the Lord ſaith in the Goſpell, *Without me you can doe nothing: Hypognoſt.cont.Pelagian.articul.*2. Beſide theſe places of Scripture,which are manifeſt againſt this popiſh error of freewill,we haue alſo certaine obiections to appoſe them with.

*Obiect.*1. If the ſpirit of God doe not draw and enforce the will of man, but onely moue it by perſwaſion, then ſhould wee haue no more forcible meanes to leade vs to good, then wee haue to ſeduce vs to euill: for ſathan dealeth onely by intiſement, and perſwaſion: *Euerie man is tempted, when hee is withdrawne by his concupiſcence, and entiſed:* Iames 1.14. *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Satanas non cogit inuitum:* Sathan compelleth none againſt his will: *In Pſalm.*91. But it is certaine,that the ſpirite of God worketh more ſtrongly in vs vnto life, then the tempter doth vnto deſtruction: for our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *The kingdome of God ſuffereth violence,and the violent take it by force:* Matth.11.12. This ſpirituall violence and force is not wrought onely by perſwaſion: But Hell ſuffereth not violence, many there be that goe in thereat, that is, willingly,and of their owne accord, Matth.7.13. *Auguſtine* ſaith well: *Virtus eſt vitio potentior, & anima virtute prædita animo vitioſo potentior:* Vertue is mightier then vice,and a vertuous minde ſtronger then a vitious: *De liber.arbitr.cap.*12. This ſtrength is wrought by more effectuall meanes, then by perſwaſion:

for the will of man naturally is more prone to euill, that to good. And if it were on the one ſide entiſed to euill, on the other but perſwaded and moued onely to good, it would more eaſily be ſwayed that way, then this.

Obiect.2. Bellarmine ſaith: *Habemus dono Dei liberum arbitrium, & hoc dono accepto Domini ſumus actionum:* Freewill is the gift of God, and by this gift once receiued, we are made Lords of our owne actions: ſo that it is in our power to doe well or no: *Bellarm. lib.5. de grat.cap.29. reſponſ.ad argum.6.* So belike, freewill is from God, but man himſelfe maketh it good: for then is the will of man good, when it willeth good things: but it is in mans power, as they ſay, to incline his will to good: *Ergo,* alſo to make the will it ſelfe. Marke then what followeth hereupon; as *Auguſtine* very well gathereth: *Si libera voluntas à Deo eſt, bona autem ex nobis, melius eſt id, quod à nobis, quam quod à Deo; quod ſi abſurdiſſimum ſit dicere, oportet fateamur, & bonam voluntatem nos à Deo adipiſci:* If freewill be of God, and good will of our ſelues, that is better which is of vs, then that which is of God: which if it be moſt abſurd to ſay, we muſt needes confeſſe, that our good will is alſo of God: *Cont. Pelag.lib.1.cap.18.*

Obiect.3. Bellarmine againe thus writeth, that God inclineth our hearts, *Non cogendo, ſed ſuadendo, & inuitando,* not by enforcing, but by mouing and inuiting it: *ita vt in poteſtate voluntatis relinquatur conſentire vocanti:* ſo that it is left in the power of the will to conſent to him that moueth, and calleth: *Lib.5.cap.29. reſponſ. ad teſtimon.3.* And againe hee ſaith, it is in a mans power, whether he will bee perſwaded or not, *poteſt non perſuaderi: Lib.6.cap.13.reſponſ.ad loc.4.*

Who ſeeth not now how neere the Ieſuite commeth to that old Pelagian hereſie: *Hominem tantum à Deo adiuuari, reuelando tantum, quod fieri debeat:* That man is helped only of God, by reuealing only what is to be done. Which hereſie *Auguſtine* confuteth thus: *Nos eam gratiam volumus, qua non ſolum reuelatur ſapienta, ſed amatur: nec ſuadetur ſolum omne bonum, ſed perſuadetur:* We vnderſtand ſuch a grace, whereby wiſedome is not onely reuealed, but loued; not propounded, but perſwaded. He then that confeſſeth not ſuch a grace of God, whereby we are made to loue that is good, and are throughly perſwaded thereunto, thinketh not as *Auguſtine* thought, but as the old Pelagians: But thus doth *Bellarmine:* he ſaith, that, *Gratia ſuadendo inclinat,* grace doth onely moue; but, *homo poteſt non perſuaderi,* it is in mans power whether he will be perſwaded: So then, *gratia* doth *ſuadere, non perſuadere,* moue, but not perſwade, by his opinion: which is the very poſition of the Pelagians.

Auguſt.lib.1.
de grat.Chriſtian.cap.14.

Obiect,4. It was another hereſie of the Pelagians: that God to this end gaue his grace to men, *Vt quod facere iubentur per liberum arbitrium, facilius implere poſſint per gratiam:* That, what they are commaunded to doe by their freewill, they may more eaſily accompliſh by grace. What els now doe the Rhemiſts ſay giuing this note: *That although the Gentiles doe eſpecially beleeue by Gods grace, yet they do beleeue by their freewill: annot. Act.13.2.* And againe, *Man was neuer without freewill, but it is made more free by grace: Rhemiſt. Iohn.8.ſect.2.* So then grace in their iudgement, helpeth man onely more eſpecially, fully, freely, that is, more eaſily to beleeue: Whereupon it followeth, that they may beleeue without grace, though not ſo eſpecially.

This hereſie *Auguſtine* confuteth thus: *Velo facilius, remo difficilius, tamen & remo itur: iumento facilius, pedibus difficilius, ſed tamen & pedibus peruenitur: Non eſt ſic, (verus magiſter ait) ſine me nihil poteſtis facere:* As if you ſhould ſay: the veſſell goeth more eaſily with the ſayle, more hardly with the oares, yet it goeth with the oares: A man trauelleth better by horſe, not ſo eaſily a foote, yet he trauelleth: It is nothing ſo (ſaith *Auguſtine*) as our maſter witneſſeth, who is true, and cannot lye, *Without me you can doe nothing: De verb. Apoſt.ſerm.13.*

Thus was it alſo concluded, *Concil. Mileuitan.cap.5. Quicunque dixerit ideo nobis gratiam iuſtificationis dari, vt quod facere per liberum iubemur arbitrium, facilius impleamus per gratiam; tanquam etſi gratia non daretur, non quidem facile, ſed tamen poſſemus ſine illa implere diuina mandata, anathema ſit: Dixit enim Chriſtus, ſine me nihil poteſtis facere, non dixit, ſine me difficilius poteſtis facere:* Whoſoeuer ſaith that the grace of iuſtification is therefore giuen vs, that, what we are commaunded to doe by freewill, we may more eaſily doe by grace: as though if grace were not giuen, we might, though not eaſily, keepe the commaundements, let him be accurſed: for Chriſt ſaid, *Without me you can doe nothing:* he ſaid not, without me you can hardly doe.

Man therefore of himſelfe is vnable, not onely to ſayle, but to rowe; not onely to ride, but to goe in the way of righteouſneſſe: But euery good deſire, will, and thought, is wrought in vs by grace. Thus, I truſt, we haue requited our aduerſaries, and anſwered their obiections; and repayed them againe with as many in number, but in waight greater.

Now laſtly, the holy Martyrs haue ſealed this doctrine with their bloud: That bleſſed man Maſter *Bradford* confeſſeth beleefe onely to be Gods gift: whereas Frier *Alphonſo*, diſputing with him, held on the other ſide, that the act of beleeuing is in mans power: *Fox* pag.1619. There were diuers perſons to the number of twentie perſecuted in the townes of *Winſon* and *Mendleſam* in Suffolke, *anno* 1556. for maintaining this article with others, That man had no freewill of himſelfe vnto good, *Fox* pag.1913.

See alſo for this matter, *Arauſican.Concil.2.can.7. Si quis per naturæ vigorem bonum aliquod, quod ad ſalutem pertinet vitæ æternæ, cogitare, eligere, prædicationi ſalutari conſentire poſſe dicit abſque illuminatione ſpiritus, hæretico fallitur ſpiritu; cum Dominus ait, Sine me nihil poteſtis facere:* If any man ſay, that by the ſtrength of nature man can thinke or chooſe any thing, that appertaineth to eternall life, or conſent vnto the preaching of ſaluation, without the illumination of the ſpirit, is ſeduced with the ſpirit of hereſie: for Chriſt ſaith, Without me you can do nothing.

S. *Ambroſe: Voluntas nihil habet in ſuis viribus, niſi periculi facilitatem:* The will of man hath no power in it ſelfe, but onely a facilitie of ſinning: *de vocat.Gent.lib.2.c.2.epiſtol.*84.*Gratia tota repellitur, niſi tota ſuſcipitur:* Grace is wholy refuſed, if it be not wholy receiued. Grace then worketh wholy, not grace and mans will together.

Decret.p.2.cauſ.33.diſtinct.1.c.35. Reſuſcitatus corpore viuit, abſente ſuſcitatore, non autem ſic reſuſcitatus in anima: He that is rayſed in his body liueth, though he be abſent, that rayſed him; but he that is rayſed in his ſoule cannot: *Ergo,* without grace the ſoule can do nothing.

Pet.Lombard. vpon theſe words. *It is not in him that runneth, or willeth, but in God that ſheweth mercie, &c.* reproueth their interpretation that ſay, It is not in mans will onely: and further reaſoneth thus, That if it be not onely in the will, nor onely of mercie, the Apoſtles wordes might be turned thus, It is not in him that ſheweth mercie, but in him, that willeth, &c. ſo he concludeth, *ideo rectè dictum intelligatur, vt totum detur Deo,* therefore this is ſo to be vnderſtood, that the whole may be giuen vnto God: *lib.2.diſt.26.liter.b. Ergo,* if all be of grace, nothing remayneth by mans will to be performed.

AN APPENDIX OF *AVGVSTINES* IVDGEMENT, throughly diſcuſſed concerning Freewill.

BEcauſe this learned Father, and in his time the moſt zealous defender of the grace of God againſt the power of freewill, and the mightieſt impugner of the hereſie of the Pelagians, hath written at large of this matter; and more without all queſtion, then any of the fathers beſide: I I will therefore produce the teſtimonies alleaged on both ſides, that in the ende it may appeare, which way the iudgement of this father enclined.

The Papiſts.

THe places of *Auguſtine* vrged by *Bellarmine* for the proofe of freewill, are theſe. 47.Error.

1. *Lib.de quantit.animæ, cap.36. Datum eſt animæ liberum arbitrium, &c.* There is giuen to the ſoule of man freewill, &c. which they that denie, are ſo blind, &c. The ſame is repeated by *Bellarmine lib.5.de grat.c.27.*

2. *Lib.5.de ciuitat.Dei, cap.*10. *Nullo modo cogimur, &c.* Wee are not conſtrayned, retayning Gods preſcience, to take away *voluntatis arbitrium,* the iudgement of the will.

3. *Hypognoſtic.lib.3. Quiſquis negauerit liberum arbitrium, &c.* Whoſoeuer denieth freewill, is no Catholike: *Bellarm.lib.4.de grat.c.9.*

Anſw. 1. *Auguſtine* vnderſtandeth freewill from coaction or compulſion: as *lib.5.de ciuitat. dei, c.*10. *Nec ideo peccat homo, &c.* Man doth not ſinne, becauſe God foreſaw he ſhould ſinne: Gods preſcience doth not force or compell mans will to do any thing. 2. Likewiſe elſewhere *Auguſtine,* ſaith, *Liberum arbitrium nos habere, &c.* It muſt be confeſſed, that we haue freewil to do both good and euill, &c. *Sed in bono faciendo, liber nullus eſſe poteſt,* but in doing of good no man is free, except he be freed by him, that ſaith; If the Sonne make you free, then are you free indeed, *lib.de corrept.& grat.c.*1. In this ſenſe wee confeſſe freewill with *Auguſtine,* free to euill without conſtraint, free alſo vnto good, but by grace.

4. *Lib.4.contr.Iulian.c.3. Tolerabilius illas, quas in impijs dicis eſſe virtutes, &c.* More tolerably thoſe vertues, which you ſay are in the wicked, you ſhould rather aſcribe *diuino muneri,* to the diuine gift, then to their will, though they know it not, *Bellarm.lib.5.de grat.c.9.*

Anſw. This place maketh againſt *Bellarmine,* for *Auguſtine* would haue the vertues euen in Infidels, aſcribed in ſome ſort to the gift of God, rather then to their owne will.

5. *Lib.de perfect.iuſtit.contr.Cæleſtin.* That place being obiected out of S. *Paul, Quod vult faciat,* let him do what he will: *Auguſtine* anſwereth thus; *quaſi pro magno habendum ſit, velle nubere* as though it were ſuch a great matter, to haue a will to marrie: where wee reaſon of the aſſiſtance of Gods mercie; hence *Bellarmine* concludeth a free will in morall workes without grace. *obiect.*

Anſw. This place alſo maketh againſt him: for to haue a wil to marrie, is natural, neither good nor euill: but to marrie to ſuch end as God hath appointed marriage, is a good worke, and is not in mans will without Gods helpe: as it followeth in the ſame place, *Quaſi prodeſt aliquid velle, &c.*

As though in this caſe it auailed to will, vnleſſe God by his prouidence do ioyne the man and the woman.

6. *Hypognoſtic.lib.3. Eſſe fatemur liberum arbitrium,&c.* Wee confeſſe a freewill, not by the
2. which it is fitte to beginne or finiſh things appertaining to God, *ſed tantum in operibus vitæ præſentis,tam bonis quam malis*, but onely in the workes of this preſent life, eyther good, or euill: *Bonis dico, quæ de bono naturæ oriuntur, &c.* I call thoſe good things, which do come of the goodneſſe of nature, as to worke in the field, to eate, to drinke,&c. *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. All this we graunt, that naturall and ciuill workes are in mans power, as to worke, to eate, to drinke: but to do theſe things well, and to referre them to the glory of God, which is the morall goodneſſe of theſe actions, is from God, and not from mans will.

7. *Auguſtin.lib.*1.*de liber.arbitrio,c.*12. *Vides in voluntate noſtra eſſe conſtitutum, &c.* You ſee it is in our will, whether we enioy ſo great a good, or want it,&c. Againe, *Quis peccat in eo quod nullo modo caueri poteſt,&c.* Who ſinneth in that, which cannot be ſhunned: but we ſinne, *Ergo*,it may be ſhunned. *Bellarm.lib.5.c.27.*

8. *Lib.2.de animab.*12. *Peccatorum reum quenquam:* For a man to be held guiltie of ſin, becauſe he did not that, which he could not do, *ſumma inſania eſt*, is great madneſſe: wherefore the ſoules, that which they do, if they do it of nature, not of will, if they want a free motion to do or not to do, &c. they can not be held guiltie of ſinne,*Bellarm.ibid.*

9. *Lib.2.actor.cum Felice.Manich.c.3. Eſſe liberum arbitrium,& inde peccare quemq; ſi velit,&c.* That there is a free will, and thereby euery one may ſinne if he will, and not ſinne if he will not, is euident in the Scripture: Againe, *Habet vnuſquiſq; in voluntate,aut eligere, quæ bona ſunt,&.* Euery man hath in his will, eyther to chooſe the good, and ſo to be a good tree, or to chooſe the euill, and to be an euil tree, *ibid.*

Anſw. 1. I anſwere here for *Auguſtine*,as *Hierome* for himſelfe,who diſputing againſt *Iouinian*, who ſeemed to extenuate Virginitie, falleth into the other extreame to be thought to condemne Mariage; ſaith he, *Debuerat prudens lector, ea, quæ videntur duriora, æſtimare de cæteris,&c.* The diſcreet Reader ſhould eſteeme and meaſure the hard ſayings by the reſt,and not to accuſe me,in one and the ſame booke to bring forth contrarie ſentences: *Quis enim ita hebes,&c.* Who is ſo blockiſh to prayſe and condemne the ſame thing? Againe, *Aliud eſt docere diſcipulum,aliud aduerſarium vincere.* It is one thing to teach a diſciple; another to confute an aduerſarie: are yee angrie with me, *quia Iouinianum non docuerim, ſed vicerim*, becauſe I did not teach *Iouinian*, but confute him? *apolog. ad Pammach.* The like may be ſaid for *Auguſtine:* Do we thinke he was ſo forgetfull or vnſkilfull, as one while to extoll freewill, another to depraue and empayre it?we muſt conſider againſt whom he writeth, namely the Manichees, who imputed ſinne to the neceſſitie of nature: *Auguſtine* dealing againſt them, when he ſpeaketh of freewill, doth conuince rather then teach them.

2. Let vs giue *Auguſtine* leaue to expound himſelfe: Who *Lib.*1.*retract.c.*9.thus ſayth, *Cùm de libera voluntate rectè faciendi loquimur, de illa, in qua homo factus eſt, loquimur:* When wee ſpeake of
3. the free will of doing well,we ſpeake of that will,wherein man was made: Thus if we vnderſtand *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of free will, we willingly graunt all. *Bellarmines* exception is a meere cauill, that *Auguſtine* ſhould affirme the ſame will to chooſe good or euill to be in vs, that was in *Adam*, but not the ſame power of execution. *Contra.* 1. He ſpeaketh directly,*de voluntate, non poteſtate rectè faciendi*, of the will not the power of doing well, which he ſaith was in *Adam*,and not in vs.
4. Secondly, he elſewhere ſaith, *Vitiato libero arbitrio, totus homo vitiatus eſt:* That free will being corrupt, man wholy was corrupted. *Hypognoſtic.c.*3. If man wholy, then his will alſo wholy was corrupt; then conſequently the freedome of his will to good and euill was corrupted.

3. *Auguſtine* further expoundeth himſelfe, and *lib.*1.*retract.* treating of his bookes *De libero arbitrio*, he retracteth this very ſentence vrged before, *loc.*7. as that ſinne may be ſhunned, that a man may liue well if he will: he thus explaineth himſelfe, *Voluntatem bene non velle, niſi à Deo li-*
5. *beretur*, That the will cannot will well, vnleſſe God make it free: *Et nihil poſſe ſentienti, intelligenti bonum occurrere,&c.* And that nothing that is good, can come into the ſenſe or vnderſtanding, but from God: thus if we will giue *Auguſtine* leaue to expound himſelfe; where he treateth of free will to do good, he muſt be vnderſtood to include a neceſſarie ſenſe of Gods grace, whereby it is made free, and not by nature.

10. *Lib.de.ver.religion.c.*14. *Non dubitandum video,&c.* It is not to be doubted, that the minde hath freewill: for God would haue his ſeruants to ſerue him freely, which cannot be, *ſi non voluntate ſed neceſſitate ſeruirent*, if they ſhould ſerue him not willingly, but of neceſſitie,*Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. 1. By neceſſitie *Auguſtine* vnderſtandeth the forcing and conſtrayning of the will: as before *loc.*2. *Non cogimur tollere*, We are not compelled to take away free will, becauſe of Gods preſcience: likewiſe ſuch a neceſſitie, as the heathen aſcribed to the ſtarres, and fatall deſtinie, in freewill he denieth, *lib.de incarnat.verbi c.*2. but ſuch a voluntary neceſſitie,whereby the will cannot now chooſe,but willingly ſinne, *Auguſtine* affirmeth, *Lib.*1.*retract.* treating of his bookes *de* *libero arbitrio: Quod homo non poſſit,&c.* That man cannot now refraine from luſtful concupiſcence; *Non natura eſt primò inſtituti hominis, ſed pœna damnati,* it is not the nature of the man firſt created, but the puniſhment of him being condemned: if *homo non poteſt,* if a man cannot abſtaine, how is there not a neceſſitie laid vpon him? 2. God indeed will haue vs to ſerue him willingly and freely, but as *Auguſtine* elſewhere ſaith, *Ex nolentibus, volentes facit,* of nilling hee maketh vs willing: and as S. *Ambroſe*; *Virtus nulla nolentium eſt, ſed ipſa gratia hoc agit*: There is no vertue, where vnwillingneſſe; but grace it ſelfe worketh this: that is, that we are willing, *lib.2.de vocat.Gent.c.9.* Hitherto then *Auguſtines* ſenſe is maintained to be ſound and good.

11. *Lib, de grat.& liber.arbit.c.1. Reuelauit Deus per Scripturas, eſſe in homine liberum arbitrium:* God hath reuealed by the Scriptures, that there is a freewill in man, *Bellarm.c.28.*

12. *Epiſtol.47. Catholica fides neque negat liberum arbitrium:* The Catholike faith neither deny-
eth freewill in man, *neq; tantum ei tribuit, vt ſine gratia valeat aliquid,* neyther doth it attribute ſo 8.
much vnto it, as though it could do any thing without grace, *Bellarm.c.28.*

13. *Lib.2.de nupt.& concupiſc. Non negamus liberum arbitrium:* We denie not free will: *lib.1.ad Boniſ.c.2. Quis noſtrum dicit?* Which of vs ſaith? That by the ſinne of the firſt man free will is loſt from mankind, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. 1. *Auguſtine* expoundeth himſelfe, *loc.12.* how he vnderſtandeth freewill, that it can-
not do any thing at all that is good, without grace: and elſewhere, he calleth it *liberam voluntatem,*
propter gratiam Dei, a free will becauſe of Gods grace, which doth free it from the law of ſinne, *act.*
cont.Fortunat.2.dier. 2. In that he ſaith, the freewill, which *Adam* had is not loſt, hee vnderſtan-
deth a libertie from coaction, and forcing: 1. as thus he defineth the will, *Voluntas eſt motus ad ali-*
quid faciendum nullo cogente: The will is a motion to do any thing without forcing: this libertie of
will remayneth ſtill. 2. Yet *Auguſtine* acknowledgeth that our will by nature is not free from ne-
ceſſitie: *Poſtquam ille libera voluntate peccauit, nos in neceſſitatem præcipitati ſumus:* After *Adam* had 9.
ſinned by his freewill, we were precipitate into neceſſitie; and he giueth this example: as before
a man is accuſtomed to a thing, he hath free will to do it, or not to do it; but afterward, *cum con-*
ſuetudine implicatur voluntas, vincere non poteſt, quod ſua libertate fabricata eſt: When the will is en-
tangled with cuſtome, it cannot ouercome that, which firſt it willingly deuiſed: As many would
not ſweare, yet by cuſtome they cannot forbeare: *act.2.diei cont.Fortunat.* Such a voluntary ne-
ceſſitie *Adam* by his ſinne hath brought vpon his poſteritie. 3. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Liberum ſanctos in*
vita futura habituros arbitrium, ſed ita liberum, vt non poſſit iam peccare: The Saints ſhall haue freewil
in the next life, but ſo free, that it cannot ſinne, *lib.22.de ciuitat.Dei.c.30.* As they ſhal haue a free
will with a neceſſitie of not ſinning, ſo we by nature haue a freewill with neceſſitie of ſinning.

14. *Auguſtine lib.de grat.& liber.arbit.c.2. Illa præcepta diuina homini non prodeſſent,&c.* The diuine precepts ſhould not profite a man, vnleſſe he had freewill: *quomodo iubet,* how doth God commaund, if there be no freewill, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. *Auguſtine* ſhall expound himſelfe, who thus anſwereth the like obiection of the Pelagians, taken from the precepts of Scripture: *Spiritu dei aguntur filij dei vt agant, non vt ipſi nihil agant, & ad hoc eis oſtenditur quid agere debeant:* The children of God are wrought by the ſpirite, that they ſhould worke, not that they ſhould do nothing, and therefore it is ſhewed them, what they ſhould do: And againe, *O homo in præceptione cognoſce, quid debeas habere, in correptione cognoſce tuo te vitio non habere; in oratione cognoſce, vnde accipias, quod vis habere:* O man, in the precept know what thou oughteſt to haue; in the rebuke, that by thine owne fault thou haſt it not; in prayer acknowledge, whence thou muſt receiue that thou wouldeſt haue: *de cor.& grat.c.3.* Wherefore then the precepts of Scripture are to this end, to ſhew man, what hee ſhould do, and to driue him to ſeeke that at Gods hands, which is commanded; they demonſtrate a freewill in man, but to be wrought and directed by the ſpirite.

15. *Auguſt.epiſt.89.qu.2. Neq; voluntatis arbitrium ideo tollitur, quia iuuatur,&c.* Neyther is free will taken away, becauſe it is helped; but therefore it is helped, becauſe it is not taken away, *Bellarm.ibid.* That is not helped, that is not; therefore there is freewill in man, becauſe it is helped, *Bellarm.rurſus, lib.6.c.11.tit.2.*

Anſw. *Auguſtine* ſhall here alſo expound himſelfe: *Adiutor noſter Deus eſt, nec adiuuari poteſt,*
niſi qui ſponte aliquid conatur: God is our helper, neyther can a man be helped, vnleſſe he do ſome-
what of himſelfe: then it followeth, *Quia non ſicut in lapidibus inſenſatis,&c.* Becauſe God worketh
not ſaluation in vs as in ſenceleſſe ſtones, or as in vnreaſonable creatures, *cont.Pelag.lib.1.c.5.*
His opinion then is, that God is ſaid to helpe our will, in reſpect of the natural facultie of willing,
becauſe man hath reaſon, will, and vnderſtanding by nature: but to will that which is good, man
is not onely helped, but altogether guided and directed by grace: as he ſaith in another place, *La-*
borant homines inuenire in voluntate, quid boni ſit noſtrum,&c. Men do labour to finde in the will ſome 10.
goodneſſe, which is not of God, which how it can be found, I am vtterly ignorant, *ibid.c.18.*

Bernard hath the like ſaying, *Liberum arbitrium nos facit volentes, gratia bene volentes, ex ipſo nobis* *eſt velle, ex ipſa bonum velle:* Freewill maketh vs willing, grace well willing; from that wee haue power to will, from the other power to will that is good : *lib.de liber.arbitr.* Thus then mans will and grace worke together, man by nature willeth, by grace he willeth that is good.

16. *Auguſt.in Pſal.7.Diabolo non conſentire in poteſtate noſtra eſſe voluit:* Not to conſent to the diuell God would haue it in our power : *de ſpirit.& liter.c.*34. *Conſentire vocationi dei, vel ab ea diſſentire propriæ voluntatis eſt :* To conſent to Gods calling, or diſſent from it, it is in mans owne will, *Bellar.ibid.cap.*28.*& lib.*6.*cap.*11.*Tom.*3.

Anſw. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that it is in the will of man to conſent, &c. but this will muſt be prepa-
red, and wrought of God : firſt, thus hee expoundeth himſelfe, *lib.*1.*retractat.* making mention of
his book againſt *Adimant.* he had affirmed, that it was in mans power to chaunge his will: *Sed po-*
11. *teſtas iſta nulla eſt, niſi à Deo data :* But this is no power, vnleſſe it be giuen of God. And againe, *lib.*2.
*cap.*1. he correcteth that ſaying in his booke *ad Simplician.* that it is *in vniuſcuiuſque poteſtate, vt ve-*
lit, in euery mans power to will : *nam à Deo etiam voluntas præparanda eſt,* for the will alſo muſt be
prepared of God. Secondly, he further thus explaneth himſelfe: *Siue iniquitas, ſiue iuſtitia:* Whe-
ther iniquitie or righteouſnes, vnleſſe they were in our will, they could not be in our power, being
not in our power, there ſhould be neither iuſt reward, nor puniſhment : *Ignorantia verò & infirmi-*
tas, &c. But this ignorance and infirmitie, that either man knoweth not, what he ought to will, or
12. cannot doe that which he willeth, *ex occulto pœnarũ ordine venit,* proceedeth from the ſecret order
of puniſhment : *cont.Fauſt.lib.*22.*cap.*78. Here hee affirmeth, that both good and euill is in mans
will and power, and yet that mans will by nature is ſo blind and weake, as that it can neither will,
nor worke that, which it ought : wherefore the power of the will to good is not of it ſelfe, but of
grace. Thirdly, ſo then as *Bernard* ſaith, *Nec bonus nec malus eſt quiſpiam niſi volens :* No man is ei-
ther good or euill againſt his will : but (ſaith he) *Deus facit voluntarios, vt non ſaluet inuitos,* God
maketh them willing, that they be not ſaued vnwilling, *lib.de liber.arbit.* Wherefore it is mans will
that conſenteth to God, and conſenteth not to the diuell, but his will reformed and made free or
willing by grace. Thoſe places are alleaged by *Bellarmine,* to proue the power of mans will in mo-
rall duties : theſe following are produced to ſet forth the cooperation or ioynt working of Gods
grace, and mans will in ſpirituall workes.

17. *Auguſt.lib.*1.*retract.cap.*22. *In noſtra poteſtate poſitum, & c.* It is in our owne power to change our will, &c. *ſed ea poteſtas nulla eſt niſi detur à Deo:* but that is no power, vnleſſe it be giuen of God : *Præparatur voluntas à Deo,* The will is prepared of God : *Bellarm.lib.*6.*cap.*11. The will then being prepared of God, obeyeth, &c.

Anſw. *Auguſtine* ſaith in direct termes, *Poteſtas nulla eſt, &c.* That mans will hath no power at all, vnleſſe it be giuen of God : *Ergo,* if all the power be of God, there is no power in mans will.

17. Many other places are heaped vp to the like purpoſe: *Tom.*4.*lib.*1.*ad Simplician.Vt velimus ſuum eſſe voluit & noſtrum :* To will he would haue it both his and ours; his in calling, ours in obeying, *Bellarm ibid.*

18. *Tom.*5.*lib.*5.*de ciuitat.cap.*10. *Multa facimus, quæ ſi nollemus, non faceremus :* Wee doe many things, which if we would not, we ſhould not doe them.

19. *Tom.*6.*lib.*2.*actor.contr.Felicem : Habet vnuſquiſque in voluntate :* Euery man hath it in his owne will to chuſe the good, and ſo become a good tree; or the euill, and ſo be made an euill tree : *Nemo niſi deus, facere arbores poteſt,* None but God can make trees.

20. *Tom.*7.*lib.*2.*de remiſſ.peccat.cap.*5.*Adiutor Deus, &c.* God is the helper, neither can hee be helped, which doth not ſomewhat of himſelfe, *Bellarm.ibid.*

21. *Lib.de natur.grat.cap.*32. *Illo operante cooperamur :* He working we worke together, becauſe his mercie doth preuent vs.

22. *Lib.de prædeſt.cap.*3. *Vtrumque noſtrum eſt :* Both are ours, to loue and beleeue, becauſe of freewill, and both are giuen by the ſpirit of faith.

23. *De grat.& liber.arbit.cap.*15.*Ne autem putetur, nihil ibi facere homines per liberum, &c.* Leaſt it ſhould be thought, that man doth nothing by his freewill, it is ſaid, *Harden not your hearts.*

24. *Lib.de grat.c.*14. *Arbitrium niſi adiutum, &c.* No man commeth, vnleſſe his will be helped. *Lib.*2.*cont.*2.*epiſt.Pelag.c.*8. *Niſi adiuuante illo :* Vnleſſe he helpe, we can doe nothing.

25. *Tom.*8.*in titul.Pſal.*71.*Non erat in poteſtate tua, &c.* It was not in thy power to be borne of *Adam,* it is in thy power to beleeue in Chriſt.

26. *Tom.*9.*tract.*72.*in Ioann. Credere in Chriſtum, &c.* To beleeue in Chriſt, is the worke of Chriſt : this hee worketh in vs, but not without vs : With Chriſt working iuſtification, man worketh together.

27. *Tom.*10.*ſerm.*15.*de verb. Apoſtol.Totum ex Deo, &c.* All is of God : but wee muſt not be as aſleepe to doe nothing, to will nothing: *Sine voluntate tua, non erit in te iuſtitia dei :* Without thy will the righteouſnes of God ſhall not be in thee : he that made thee without thee, doth not iuſtifie thee without thee : *Bellarm.lib.*6.*cap.*11.

Anſw. Firſt, in all theſe places, where we are ſaid to worke together with grace, and to be helped by grace, *loc.*20.21.24. and that God doth not iuſtifie vs without vs, 27. *Auguſtine* vnderſtandeth onely the naturall power and actiuitie of the will, which as it willeth; ſo it is actiue, and worketh together with grace, and is helped and aſſiſted: but as it willeth that which is good, it is altogether paſſiue, and worketh not, but is wrought vpon: 1. How elſe ſhould all be of God, as hee ſaith, *loc.*27. and wee muſt onely not be as men aſleepe: and as elſewhere he ſaith; *Neque ſic templum ſuum de vobis ædificat Deus, quaſi de lapidibus, qui non habent motum ſuum:* Neither doth God ſo build his temple of you, as of ſtones, that haue no motion: *ſerm.*13.*de tempore.* Mans naturall power then of willing muſt be added to Gods grace that maketh it to will well. 2. This is further teſtified by *Auguſtine*, that our actiuitie to goodneſſe is altogether of Gods grace, and the mouing of his ſpirit: *Ergo agimur (inquies) non agimus:* therefore you will ſay we are done to, wee doe not. The anſwere followeth: *Immo & agis & ageris, & tum bene agis, cùm à bono agaris:* Yea thou art both done to, and thou doeſt, and then thou doeſt well, when thou art done to, and art driuen of that, which is good: *ſerm.*13.*de tempor.* The will then cannot doe well, but as it is driuen: See our anſwere before *ad loc.*14.15.

Secondly, concerning the precepts in ſcripture, whereby *Auguſtine* inſinuateth freewill, *loc.*23. his further iudgement of that matter is this: *Ad hoc lex præcepit iſta, vt cum in his implendis homo deficeret non ſe extollat ſuperbia tumidus, ſed ad gratiam confugiat fatigatus:* To this end hath the lawe commanded theſe things, that when man ſeeth himſelfe to faile in the fulfilling thereof, he ſhould not by pride be lifted vp: but being wearied in himſelfe, haue recourſe to grace: *cont. Celeſtin. de perfect. iuſtic.* We ſee he confeſſeth, that without grace man hath no power to performe the precepts enioyned.

Thirdly, where *Auguſtine* ſaith, it is in a mans will to chuſe good or euill, *loc.*19. to *beleeue in Chriſt*, *loc.*25.26. he before expounded himſelfe, *loc.*19. *Deus ſolum facit arbores, &c.* God only maketh good trees: The will then of man hath this power, but not from it ſelfe, but from God: *Poteſtas nulla eſt, &c.* It is no power, vnleſſe it be giuen of God: as before I alleaged out of *Auguſtine* in our anſwere *ad loc.*16. And that this is the reſolute iudgement of *Auguſtine*, that man hath no power of will by nature to any good thing, it euery where appeareth in his workes: *Arbitrij libertas ſemel data eſt homini, ſed quia peccauit voluntas, ſequuta eſt peccantem peccatum habendi neceſſitas:* 12. Libertie of will was once giuen vnto man, but becauſe his will ſinned, there followed and fell vpon the ſinner a neceſſitie of ſinning: *cont. Celeſtin. de perfect. iuſtic.* Here *Auguſtine* ſaith, that there is in the will by nature a neceſſitie to ſinne; how then can it haue any inclination to good?

Againe, *Vt homo in peccatum iret, &c.* For a man to runne into ſinne his owne freewill ſufficeth, whereby he corrupted himſelfe; *vt autem redeat ad iuſticiam*; but to returne to righteouſneſſe, he had neede of a Phiſition, becauſe he is not ſound, *opus habet viuificatore, quia mortuus*, he had neede 13. of a reuiuer, becauſe he is dead: *lib.*1.*cont. Pelag. cap.*23. If mans will be then dead by nature, it hath no life, nor actiuitie at all.

And to conclude, he thus teſtifieth, *lib.*1.*de prædeſtinat. cap.*9. *Liberum, quod à Deo habemus arbitrium, &c.* The freewill, which we haue of God, is prone to wickednes, *& cum ad virtutis indolem deo deſerente nihil poſſit, ad genus omne peccati idonea fultum virtute ſubſiſtit:* and hauing no power, or being able to doe nothing vnto vertue, it hath ſufficient ſtrength of it ſelfe to all kinde of ſinne. Here is an euident teſtimonie, that the will, *nihil poſſit*, can doe nothing of it ſelfe to attaine vnto vertue.

Thus (I truſt) I haue ſufficiently anſwered the obiections out of *Auguſtine*, now I will proceede to alleage ſuch euident and cleere teſtimonies out of his workes, whereby it may appeare, that he was an vtter enemie to the naturall power of freewill to good.

The Proteſtants.

THe teſtimonies out of *Auguſtine* againſt the power or abilitie of freewill naturally vnto good, are theſe.

1. *Epiſtol.*106. *Sine gratia ad non peccandum nihil voluntatis arbitrium valere:* The will without grace hath no power at all not to ſinne.

Anſw. Firſt, his meaning is, that the will without grace hath no power to liue altogether without ſinne, not to abſtaine from ſome one ſinne: for *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Si ita eſt, nullus locus adiutorio gratiæ reſeruatur:* If it be ſo, there is no place left for the helpe of grace. Grace is not excluded, if ſomething be left to the will, but if all be aſcribed to it. Secondly, by not ſinning he may vnderſtand, the reſiſting of temptation, which the will cannot doe without grace: *Bellarm. lib.*5.*cap.*11. *reſponſ. ad arg.*2.

Contra. Firſt, if *ad non peccandum*, not to ſinne, were *ad viuendum ſine peccato*, all one, as to liue without ſinne, *Auguſtine* had ſaid iuſt nothing: for euen with grace the will of man hath no power to liue altogether without ſinne: He ſpeaketh then of that which is poſſible in this life, to abſtaine from ſome ſinne, not of that which is impoſſible to liue without any ſinne.

Secondly, the conſequent is good, that grace muſt be either wholy admitted, or wholy refuſed: Saint *Paul* ſo reaſoneth, Rom. 11. 6. *If of grace, it is no more of worke: for grace were no grace, &c.* The grace then of God and the worke of mans will cannot ſtand together. *Ambroſe* likewiſe ſaith, *epiſt.* 84. *Gratia dei tota repellitur, niſi tota recipitur:* Grace is wholy refuſed, if it be not wholy receiued.

Thirdly, it is well you confeſſe, that a mans will without grace cannot reſiſt temptation: for thus you confeſſe the cauſe, that ſinne cannot be auoided without grace: for there is no ſinne, which commeth not by temptation: Iam. 1. 14. *Euery man is tempted, when he is drawne by his owne concupiſcence:* therefore if the will cannot reſiſt temptation without grace, it cannot reſiſt ſin, and conſequently not doe any good without grace.

2. *Enchirid. cap.* 30. *Quid boni operari poteſt perditus, niſi in quantum à perditione liberatus?* What good can a man of perdition doe, but as he is freed from perdition? Now euery one by nature is the childe of wrath and perdition: therefore by nature no good can be done.

Anſw. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of ſuch good workes as tend to ſaluation, which indeede cannot be done without grace: *ibid. reſp. ad* 3. *loc.*

Contra. Firſt, the Scripture counteth no workes good, but corrupt and euill, which are not reaped of the ſpirit to life euerlaſting: Galath. 6. 8. *He that ſoweth to the fleſh, ſhall of the fleſh reape corruption,* and nothing elſe: *He that ſoweth to the ſpirit, ſhall of the ſpirit reape life euerlaſting.* Secondly, *Auguſtine* ſaith directly: *Scito nos illum bonum hominem dicere, illam voluntatem bonam, illud opus bonum, per quod ſolum homo poteſt ad æternum dei regnum perduci:* Know this, that I call him a good man, and that a good will, and that a good worke, by the which onely a man may be brought to Gods euerlaſting kingdome, *lib.* 4. *cont. Iulian. c.* 3. *Ergo,* in *Auguſtines* iudgement thoſe are not to be counted good workes at all, which tend not to ſaluation. Thirdly, *Auguſtine* affirmeth, *Virtutes illas, quas dicis in impijs eſſe diuino muneri potius, quam eorum voluntati, &c.* That euen the vertues, which are in the wicked, muſt rather be attributed to the diuine gift, than to their will: *cont. Iulian. lib.* 4. *cap.* 3. Euen theſe workes, though they be not perfectly good, are of the diuine gift rather, than of mans will.

Loc. 3. *Auguſt. lib.* 2. *de remiſſ. peccat. cap.* 18. *Si voluntas aut bona eſt, aut mala, & vtiq; malam non habemus ex deo, reſtat vt bonam voluntatem habeamus ex deo:* If the will be either good, or euill, and we haue not an euill will from God; it remaineth, that we haue a good will from God.

Anſw. By a good will here is vnderſtood the power of the will, and not the act: for a will that is not good may bring forth ſome good act, as the good will of a righteous man may bring forth ſinne, *Bellarm. ibid. reſp. ad arg.* 4.

Contra. Firſt, that a good act can proceede from a will that is not good, is contrarie to the Scripture: Matth. 7. 18. *A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit.* Secondly, if a righteous man bring forth an euill worke, it commeth not from his regenerate will, but from his ſinfull and corrupt will: Rom. 7. 20. *It is not I, but the ſinne that dwelleth in me.* Thirdly, whereas he ſaith, the good act of the euill will, is *ex bono naturæ,* of the naturall goodneſſe: he ſpeaketh contraries: for how can there be any good thing in an euill will or minde? As *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Laborant homines inuenire in ipſa voluntate, quid boni ſit noſtrum, &c.* Men doe labour to finde ſomewhat in the will that is good, which is not of God; which how it can be found, or ſhewed, I am vtterly ignorant: *contr. Pelag. c.* 18.

Loc. 4. 5. *Auguſtine lib.* 1. *cont.* 2. *epiſt. Pelag. cap. vltim.* affirmeth, *Bonum vſum liberi arbitrij eſſe ex Deo:* That the good vſe of the freewill is of God. *Lib.* 3. *cont.* 2. *epiſt. Pelag. cap.* 8. *Liberum arbitrium captiuatum non niſi ad peccatum valet:* Freewill being captiued by ſinne, cannot doe any thing but ſinne.

Anſw. He is ſaid to vſe freewill well, not that doth one or two good morall workes, but that liueth well, and this is of grace; as hee is not ſaid to write well, that can make two or three letters well: ſo the freewill by nature is ſaid to haue no power but to ſin, becauſe for the moſt part it ſinneth: *Bellarm. ibid. reſp. ad loc.* 5. 6.

Contr. Firſt, yet he that can make 2. or 3. letters well, can write ſomewhat well; but the will of it ſelfe can do nothing well: as our Sauiour ſaith, Ioh. 15. 5. *Without me you can do nothing.* And *Aug.* before, *loc.* 1. *Nihil valet:* The will can do nothing at all. And *lib.* 1. *de prædeſt. c.* 9. *Ad virtutis indolem deo deſerente nihil poteſt:* If God do leaue, that is, not aſſiſt the wil, it can do nothing to the attaining of vertue. And againe, *Nulla poteſtas niſi ex deo data:* There is no power at all, but giuen of God: *lib.* 1. *retract. cap.* 22. If there be no power in the will, then at no time, neither to doe any good thing: wherefore *Bellarmine* doth very fondly wreſt *Auguſtines* words againſt his owne ſenſe.

Loc. 6. *Enchirid. c.* 30. *Libero arbitrio malè vtens homo, & ſe perdidit & ipſum, &c.* Man vſing free will euill, loſt himſelfe, and it. *Victore peccato, amiſſum eſt liberum arbitrium:* Sinne being conqueror, freewill was loſt.

Anſw. He meaneth not, that freewill is vtterly extinct, as man himſelfe is not, but onely made worſe; as things are not periſhed, but loſt, that are taken by the enemie in battell: ſo the libertie of grace onely is loſt, not the libertie of nature: *Bellarm.c.30.lib.5.reſponſ.ad loc.1.*

Contra. 1. Neyther do we ſay, that freewill or the nature of man is wholy extinct, but there remaineth a freeneſſe in the will ſtill, a freedome from coaction or conſtraint, which is the libertie of nature, but there is no freedome to good without Gods aſſiſtance, which is the libertie of grace: ſo *Auguſtine* ſaith; *Natura tota fuit per liberum arbitrium in ipſa radice vitiata:* The whole nature of man was corrupted in the roote by freewill, *tract.87.in Ioan.* If the whole be corrupted, then no part thereof remaineth vncorrupt. 2. This the ſimilitude of captiuitie ſheweth: for like as he that is a priſoner, or taken captiue, walketh not whither he would, but is led whither he would not; as Chriſt ſaith to *Peter*, Iohn 21.18. ſo the will of man being captiued to ſinne, becommeth wholy the ſeruant thereof, Rom.6.16. *Know yee not, that to whomſoeuer you giue your ſelues as ſeruants to obey, his ſeruants ye are, to whom ye obey?*

*Loc.7. Epiſt.*144. *Sine gratia Dei non poteſt libera eſſe voluntas,&c.* Without grace the will cannot be free, being ſubiect to the concupiſcence ouercomming it.

Loc.8. De ſpirit.& liter.c.30. Per gratiam ſanatio animæ à vitio peccati, per animæ ſanitatem libertas arbitrij, per arbitrij libertatem dilectio iuſtitiæ: By grace, the healing of the ſoule commeth from the corruption of ſinne; by the health of the ſoule, the libertie of the will; by the libertie of the will, the loue of righteouſneſſe.

Loc.9. Lib.de correpť.& grat.c.13. Peccant per liberum arbitrium, non liberatum: They ſinne by freewill, but not yet freed, that is, by grace: *Ergo*, there is no libertie or freedome of the will to good, without grace.

Anſw. Bellarmine anſwereth to all theſe places; that *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of the libertie of grace, not of the libertie of nature: for although the will be the ſeruant of ſin without grace, yet it is free *à naturali neceſſitate*, from naturall neceſſitie: as the eye, though it cannot exerciſe the ſight without light; yet ſimply it can ſee of it ſelfe, *ibid.reſponſ. ad* 4.5.7.*loc.*

Contra. He hath granted as much as we deſire: for like as there is in the eye a poſſibilitie of ſeeing: but yet without the light it cannot diſcerne this or that: ſo we ſay that it is in mans power by nature to will without conſtraint; but it cannot will any thing that is good, without the illumination of grace: as *Bernard* ſaith, *Ex ipſo nobis eſt velle, ex ipſa bonum velle:* Of the will it is that we do will; of grace, that we will that is good. A libertie then of the will ſimply and abſolutely wee graunt by nature; but to will that which is good, proceedeth from the libertie of grace: All this ſeemeth by *Bellarmine* to be acknowledged, which we willingly condeſcend vnto.

Loc.10. Lib.1.retract.c.15. Qui cogenti cupiditati bona voluntate reſiſtere non poteſt, iam hoc ita peccatum eſt, vt ſit etiam pœna peccati: He that cannot reſiſt his forcing concupiſcence by a good wil, it is ſo ſinne in him, that it is alſo the puniſhment of ſinne.

Loc.11. Lib.de corrept.& grat.c.12. Si relinqueretur ipſis ſua voluntas, vt in adiutorio Dei manerent ſi vellent,&c. If they ſhould be left to their owne will, to continue in Gods helpe, if they would, through ſo many and great temptations, their will through it infirmitie would giue place: *Et ideo perſeuerare non poſſent, quia deficientes infirmitate nec vellent:* And therefore they cannot perſeuere or continue, becauſe fayling by infirmitie, they will not.

Loc.12. Ex libro de perfect.iuſtit.reſponſ.9. Quia peccauit voluntas, ſequuta eſt peccantem peccatum habendi dura neceſſitas: Becauſe the will ſinned, there followed vpon the partie ſinning, a neceſſitie of hauing ſinne. Here it is confeſſed by *Auguſtine*, that by nature the will cannot otherwiſe doe but ſinne, and therefore hath no power of it ſelfe to do any thing, that is good.

Anſw. The ſumme of *Bellarmines* anſwere to all theſe places is this; that this neceſſitie or impotencie of the will, is conditionall, not abſolute, *quia poteſt auxilium Dei implorare*, becauſe man may ſue for Gods helpe; which if he do not, it is his owne fault: ſo then there is no ſuch neceſſitie affirmed by *Auguſtine*, in any of theſe places, that taketh away the libertie of the will, *Bellarm. ibid.reſponſ.ad* 3.6.8.*teſtim.*

Contra. 1. Thus *Bellarmine* fighteth with himſelfe, affirming, that without the inuocation of Gods helpe, the will hath no power to reſiſt the concupiſcence, and conſequently not to do any thing that is good: if it be then of grace, how can it be of nature? 2. Wee affirme that this neceſſitie of nature is not ſo abſolute, but by the condition of Gods grace and aſſiſtance it may be looſed: but it is not in euery mans power by nature, to receiue this condition, and to ſue vnto God for his helpe. 1. The Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.8.26. *We know not what to pray as we ought*, but *the ſpirit helpeth our infirmities:* it is then of the ſpirite, that we haue a minde to pray not by nature. 2. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quantum eſt quod valet voluntas, niſi fortè ſi pia eſt, vt oret auxilium?* What is it, that the will can do, vnleſſe it being godly, do pray for helpe? *lib.1.retract.c.15.* It muſt firſt then be godly, before it can ſue for grace; but godlineſſe is not by nature: and againe, *abſq; adiutorio gratiæ, quod Deo placet, non valet incipere:* without the helpe of grace it is not able to begin any thing, that doth pleaſe God: *Hypognoſtic.*3. *Ergo*, without grace a man cannot pray.

3. This neceſſitie of nature, which cannot but ſinne, taketh not away the libertie of the will: as *Bernard* ſaith, *Nemo nec malus nec bonus eſt, niſi volens:* No man is eyther good or euill againſt his will: ſo he, that doth that which is good willingly, is made willing by grace; and hee that doth euill, is thereto made willing by the corruption of his owne nature.

*Loc.*13. *Lib.*2.*de peccat.remiſſ.c.*18. *Laborant homines inuenire in noſtra voluntate, quid boni ſit noſtrum, quod non ſit ex Deo:* Men do labour to finde ſome good thing in the will, which is ours, and not of God, which I am vtterly ignorant, how it can be found.

Anſw. Auguſtines meaning is, that freewill of it ſelfe doth not worke together with God, but by the gift of preuenting grace, *Bellarm.lib.*6.*c.*14.*reſp.ad argum.*1.

Contra. 1. If it be by the gift and working of grace, that the will worketh with grace, it is that which we affirme, that the will worketh not vnto good, but by the efficacie of grace. 2. If hee ſay, that Grace doth but giue the hint, as it were, and the beginning, and the will followeth then of it owne accord; then is there ſome good to be found in the will, which is not of grace, which *Auguſtine* here denieth: Thus then we enforce this teſtimonie: If will worke any thing of it ſelfe without grace, then *Auguſtine* is found to be a lyar, which he denieth; if it do not, that is confeſſed, which we conclude.

*Loc.*14. *Lib.de grat.Chriſt.c.*14. *Arbitrium ſic adiuuatur, vt non ſolum quid faciendum ſciat, ſed quod ſcierit, etiam faciat,&c.* The will is ſo helped, that it onely doth not know, what is to be done, but doth alſo that which it knoweth: and when God teacheth, he ſo teacheth by the grace of his ſpirite, that what any man learneth, he doth not onely ſee it by knowing, but doth deſire it by willing, and perfite it by doing.

Anſw. This place maketh for vs, for if the will be helped in knowing and doing, then conſequently there is a freewill in theſe thinges, which is helped, *Bellarm.ibid.reſponſ.ad argum.*2.

Contra. 1. Mans will worketh together with grace, in reſpect of the naturall actiuitie and power thereof to will, and ſo in his ſenſe it may be ſaid to be helped onely; but as it willeth that which is good, it is not in part helped, but wholy directed. 2. Yet it is no vnuſuall phraſe to ſay, one is helped, when he can do nothing of himſelfe: as Mark.9.24. *Lord I beleeue, helpe my vnbeleefe:* will he therefore inferre that a man is but helped in part to faith, and that part is of himſelfe: contrarie to the Scriptures which ſaith, that faith is Gods worke, Iohn 6.29. that is onely and wholy his. 3. As the will is helped to know, ſo it is helped to do, but God onely doth illuminate the ſoule, it cannot lighten it ſelfe; for *Chriſt is the light, that lighteth euery man,* Iohn 1.9. *Ergo,* he only helpeth the will to worke. 4. The ſimilitude of the teacher ſheweth the ſame; for how doth hee that is taught helpe toward his teaching, but onely in the vſe of his naturall wit; but the forme and qualifying of the wit and the inſtruction is onely of the teacher: ſo when God teacheth, the naturall willing is in man by gift of his creation; but the ſpirituall inſtruction, direction, inclination to grace, is onely of God.

*Loc.*15. *De bon.perſeueran.c.*13. *Hoc nobis expedit credere, dicere, &c. vt totum detur Deo:* It behoueth vs thus to beleeue, and ſay; that the whole may be giuen to God.

Anſw. Nos damus totum Deo,&c. We do aſcribe all vnto God, neyther do we part works with him, neyther do we attribute any thing to our ſelues, which is not of God, *Bellarmin.c.*14.*reſponſ. ad* 3.*teſtim.*

Contra. 1. If you in trueth aſcribe the whole worke of the will to the grace of God, there is no queſtion betweene vs: for this is that, which we vrge according to the Scripture, Philip.2.13. that *God worketh in vs both the will and deede of his good pleaſure.* 2. But if you vſe this euaſion; that all is of God and of grace, becauſe he firſt gaue vs freewill, and ſo by grace vnderſtand a gift of creation; this is but an old ſhift of the Pelagians, who did alſo affirme freewill to be of grace, *quia nos tales condiderit Deus,* becauſe God made vs ſuch, &c. *Hieron. ad Cteſiphont.* But wee vnderſtand by grace, not the ſtanding gifts of the creation; but the continuall influence of the ſpirite in our regeneration.

*Loc.*16. *De corrept.& grat.c.*14. *Volenti ſaluum facere nullum hominum reſiſtit arbitrium:* Mans will cannot reſiſt God being willing to ſaue vs: *Ergo,* mans will is not free, as he will himſelfe, to good or euill.

Anſw. Effectuall grace doth no more induce a neceſſitie, or take away the libertie of the will, then preſcience: and whereas it is ſaid that effectual grace cannot be reſiſted; it is not to be vnderſtood abſolutely, but by way of an *hypotheſis,* or ſuppoſition, that it is impoſſible that a man ſhould not follow or obey God calling in that manner, &c. *reſp.ad argum.*4.

Contra. 1. Neyther do we affirme, that effectuall grace doth preiudice freewill: for as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Deus ex nolentibus volentes facit,* God of nilling maketh vs willing, and ſo willing, that when God draweth, we cannot chooſe but obey. 2. Neither doe wee make an abſolute neceſſitie, as though mans will of it ſelfe could not reſiſt Gods calling, being of it ſelfe mutable and flexible, but Gods grace preſuppoſed, whereby it is made firme and ſtable.

*Loc.*17. *De grat.& liber.arbitr.c.*17. *Vt velimus, ſine nobis operatur; cum autem ſic volumus vt operemur, nobiſcum cooperatur:* That we will he worketh without vs; but when we ſo will, that we work, he worketh with vs.

*Loc.*18. *Totum Deo dandum eſt, qui hominis voluntatem bonam & præparat adiuuandam, & adiuuat præparatam:* All is to be giuen to God, which doth prepare mans good will to be helped, and doth helpe it being prepared.

Anſw. God one way worketh the will without vs, that is by perſwaſion: but we alſo worke by conſenting: and therefore here he ſaith, wee doe *cooperari*, we doe worke together with God in the outward act, *Bellar.ad loc.*5.

Contra. Firſt, God doth not onely perſwade, but cauſeth the will alſo to conſent: for otherwiſe God ſhould doe no more, than man doth, who may miniſter counſell and perſwaſion, but cannot worke the heart: ſo the ſcripture ſaith, *that God draweth vs*, Ioh.6.44. but to draw is more than to perſwade. And *Auguſtine* ſaid before, *that mans will cannot reſiſt Gods calling:* therefore it is not in mans will to conſent or not to conſent. Secondly, we graunt, that mans will worketh with God, *vt naturale inſtrumentum ab alio motum*, as a natural inſtrument moued or ſtirred by another, which are *Bellarmines* owne words: then like as the inſtrument in the workmans hand hath no cunning in it ſelfe to faſhion or frame the worke, but is directed by the workman; ſo the will is but as a naturall inſtrument working naturally to will: but to will that which is good, it is directed by grace, as the workmaſter vnto it.

Thus notwithſtanding theſe cauillous and ſophiſticall anſwers, I truſt it is euident to any indifferent eye, not obſcured with wilfull darknes, that *Auguſtine* is a reſolute patrone of Gods grace againſt mans freewill, as it is now by nature ſubiect and ſubdued vnto ſinne.

Beſide theſe places alleaged, many other alſo may be produced out of *Auguſtine:* as theſe that follow.

*Loc.*19. *De corrept. & grat.c.*8. *Voluntas humana non libertate conſequitur gratiam, ſed gratia libertatem:* Mans will doth not by it freenes obtaine grace, but by grace freedome.

20. *Ibid.c.*11. *Liberum arbitrium ad malum ſufficit, ad bonum parum eſt, niſi adiuuetur, &c.* Freewill is ſufficient to euill: but little or of ſmall force to doe good, vnleſſe it be helped.

21. *Artic.*3.*contr.Pelag. Non eſt idoneum, quæ ad deum pertinent, ſine deo &c.* It is not fit without God to begin any thing, that appertaineth to God.

22. *Ibid. Homo eſt tanquã ouis errans libero arbitrio in operibus diaboli, &c.* Man is as a ſheep going aſtray by freewill in the workes of the diuell, whom Chriſt taketh vpon his ſhoulders, &c. Like as a ſtray ſheepe cannot returne, vnleſſe he be carried: ſo freewill is drawne vnto that which is good, by grace; it hath no power of it ſelfe thereunto.

23. *In Pſal.*26. *Dic illi, voluntatem liberam mihi dediſti, ſed ſine te nihil eſt mihi conatus meus:* Saye vnto GOD, thou haſt giuen mee freewill: but without thee mine endeuour is nothing.

24. *In Pſal.*133. *Tu in teipſo non facis, quod vis, ſed ipſe tibi dat gratiam, vt facias in teipſo, quod vis:* Thou canſt not doe in thy ſelfe, what thou wouldeſt, but he giueth thee grace, to doe in thy ſelfe, as thou wouldeſt.

25. *Epiſt.*88.*ex Sapient.*8.21. *Sciui, quod nemo eſt continens, niſi deus det; non ex libero arbitrio eſt, ſed dono dei:* I know that none can haue continencie, vnleſſe God giue it. It is not then of freewill, but of Gods gift.

26. *De ciuitat.dei.lib.*13.*cap.*15. *Ad malum hominis prior eſt voluntas, ad bonum prior eſt voluntas creatoris, ſiue vt eam faceret, quæ nulla erat, ſiue vt lapſam reficiat, quæ perierat:* To euill mans will is firſt, to good the Creators will is firſt, either to make the will, which was not; or to reſtore it, which was loſt.

27. *De ciuitat.lib.*14.*cap.*11. *Arbitrium voluntatis proprio vitio amiſſum, niſi à quo dari potuit, reddi non poteſt:* The iudgement of the will cannot be reſtored, but by him, that firſt gaue it. Like as then we wought not with God in the firſt creation of the will, ſo neither in the reparation thereof, but all is of God.

28. *Cont.Pelag.*1.5 *Vt oculus vt videat, adiuuatur à luce, neque hoc omnino niſi illa adiuuerit, poteſt, &c.* As the eye that it may ſee is helped of the light, neither can it ſee any thing at all, vnleſſe it be ſo helped: ſo God, which is the light of the inward man, doth helpe the ſight of the minde, that not according to ours, but his righteouſneſſe, *boni aliquid operemur*, wee may worke ſome good thing. Thus then as the eye without the light ſeeth nothing at all: ſo the will without grace willeth no good thing at all.

29. *Cont.Pelag.*1.*cap.*18. *Si libera voluntas à deo eſt, bona ex nobis, melius eſt id, quod ex nobis, quam quod à deo, &c.* If freewill be of God, a good will of our ſelues, then that is better which is of vs, than that which is of God: which if it be moſt abſurd, *oportet fateamur & bonam voluntatem nos à deo adipiſci:* we muſt confeſſe, that we haue our good will from God.

30. *Lib.8.de Geneſ.c.*11. The queſtion being propounded, why *Adam* is ſaid to labour in Paradiſe, *Id dicitur, vt intelligamus & operari hominem vt ſit, & cuſtodire vt iuſtus ſit:* This is ſaid, that we may vnderſtand, that God both worketh man to haue a being, and keepeth him, that he may be iuſt: both the one then, as well as the other, are wholy of God.

31. *Soliloqu.c.*15.16. *Credebam me aliquid fore ex me, exiſtimabam me ſufficere per me, nec percipiebam, quoniam tu regebas me, &c.* I beleeued, that I was ſomewhat of my ſelfe, I thought I ſufficed by my ſelfe, neyther did I perceiue that thou diddeſt gouerne me: *Si quid boni eſt, magni vel parui, donum tuum eſt, noſtrum non eſt niſi malum; ſiquid boni vnquam habui, à te recepi; ſiquando ſteti; per te ſteti, ſiquando cecidi, per me cecidi:* If there be any good in me, great or little, it is thy gift, ours is nothing but euill: if euer I had any good thing, I receiued it of thee; if I ſtand, I ſtand by thee; if I fall, I fall by mee, &c. Hee proceedeth, *Tentator defuit, & vt deeſſet tu feciſti, &c.* The tempter was wanting, and that it ſhould ſo be, thou waſt the cauſe: place and time were wanting, thou alſo diddeſt cauſe it, *Affuit tentator, non defuit locus, &c.* There was a Tempter, and there wanted neither place nor time, *ſed vt non conſentirem, tu feciſti,* that I ſhould not conſent, the cauſe was in thee, &c. Thus *Auguſtine* leaueth no power at all to the will of man without grace, no not where temptation is wanting.

32. *Soliloqu.c.25. Non eſt hominis velle, quod poſſit; aut poſſe quod velit, vel ſcire quid poſſit & velit; ſed potius à te greſſus hominis diriguntur:* It is not in mans power to will that he can, or to can that he will, or to know what he can or will, but mans wayes are directed by thee.

33. *In c.7.Matth. Totum reputa, quod iuſtus es pietati, quod autem peccator es, tuæ iniquitati aſcribe: omne enim crimen, facinus, peccatum noſtræ eſt negligentiæ; omnis virtus, ſanctitas, Dei indulgentiæ:* Aſcribe the whole that thou art iuſt, to pietie; that thou art a ſinner, to iniquitie: euery crime and ſinne is of our negligence; euery vertue, of the diuine indulgence, &c. Here all is aſcribed to grace.

34. *Tom.*10.*de verb. Apoſtol. ſerm.6. Ideò mens humana ne tibi tribuas, ne multum ſuperbias, immò, ne omnino ſuperbias, &c.* Wherefore O thou mind of man, attribute nothing to thy ſelfe, be not ouer proud, nay be not proud at all: for that thou doſt not conſent to the deſires of the fleſh, the law of the ſpirite of life in Ieſus Chriſt doth free thee.

35. *In Pſal.91. Vt cum lapidem calori ſubtraxeris, frigeſcet, &c. ſic tu, ſi à Deo receſſeris frigeſces:* As when thou takeſt a ſtone from the heate of the fire or Sunne, it waxeth cold: ſo thou, if thou departeſt from God, &c. the will then of man hath no more goodnes of it ſelfe without God, than a ſtone hath heate.

36. *De patient.c.22. Homo non poteſt eligere aut diligere, niſi prius electus dilectuſq; curetur, qui cæcitate eligenda non cernit, & languore diligenda faſtidit.:* Man cannot elect, or affect, vnleſſe he be elected, and affected of God, and ſo healed: who by his blindnes ſeeth not things to be elected, and by his weaknes doth lothe things to be deſired and affected.

37. *De pœnitent.cap.6. Noſtrum eſt velle, ſed voluntas ipſa mouetur, vt ſurgat, ſanatur, vt valeat, dilatatur, vt capiat, & impletur, vt habeat:* To will is ours, but the will is ſtirred, that it may riſe; it is healed, that it may haue ſtrength; it is enlarged, to receiue; and filled, that it may retaine or haue, &c. Thus the will can doe nothing of it ſelfe.

38. *Epiſt.107. Neque fideles fiunt ſine libero arbitrio, & tamen illius gratia fideles fiunt, qui illorum à poteſtate tenebrarum liberauit arbitrium:* They are not made beleeuers without freewill, and yet by his grace they are become beleeuers, which hath deliuered their freewill from the power of darknes, &c. God onely then deliuereth our will from the power of darknes and captiuitie of ſinne.

39. *De natur.grat.cap.67. Cum de libera hominis voluntate loquimur, de illa ſcilicet, in qua homo factus eſt loquimur, nunc ſunt omni animæ peccanti duo iſta pœnalia, ignorantia, difficultas, &c.* When wee ſpeake of mans freewill, we ſpeake of that, wherein he was made: but now theſe two penall things are laid vpon euery ſoule that ſinneth, ignorance and difficultie: ignorance bringeth error, difficultie ſorrow, &c.

40. *De bono perſeuerant.2.13. Cogitantes credimus, cogitantes loquimur, &c.* We thinking beleeue, we thinke, when wee ſpeake, and when wee doe any other thing: *ſed tamen quod attinet ad pietatis viam, non ſumus idonei cogitare aliquid ex nobis, &c.* But as touching the way of godlines, we are not fit to thinke any thing of our ſelues, but our ſufficiencie is of God, &c. Wee are not able to thinke any thing, how much leſſe to will that is good?

Many ſuch like places beſide might be alleaged out of *Auguſtine:* but theſe (I truſt) may ſuffice to cleare this point, that this learned father aſcribed no power at all to mans will by nature, but referred all to grace. In other controuerſies the like might be ſhewed: but that it were neither conuenient at large on both ſides to diſcuſſe the ſentences of the fathers, whereby this volume might grow to be too large; nor yet ſo profitable in this worke, which is intended chiefly for their vſe that are not profeſſed in theſe ſtudies; nor yet ſo agreeable to my purpoſe and ſcope in this treatiſe, which haue chiefly propounded to my ſelfe to decide theſe controuerſies by Scriptures.

THE FOVRTH PART OF THIS CONTROUERSIE, concerning Iuſtification.

THe ſeuerall queſtions that are handled are theſe: firſt of faith: ſecondly, of iuſtification it ſelfe.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF FAITH.

THe parts of this queſtion: firſt, what faith is. Secondly, of the diuers kindes of faith. Thirdly, whether faith may be ſeparated from charitie. Fourthly, of the validitie of faith. Firſt, after what manner faith iuſtifieth. Secondly, whether faith onely iuſtifie.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NATVRE and definition of faith.

WE define iuſtifying faith, to be an vndoubted confidence, ioyned with a certaine knowledge, whereby we both vnderſtand, and are perſwaded, euery man in, and for himſelfe, that the promiſes of God made vnto vs in Chriſt, are verily ours, and we made partakers of them in him.

The Ieſuite taketh exception againſt three points of this definition: firſt, he denieth faith to be a confident or ſure perſwaſion. Secondly, that it is not neceſſarily ioyned with knowledge. Thirdly, he affirmeth, that the promiſes of God in Chriſt, are not the proper obiect of faith: Of theſe then in their order.

THE FIRST POINT, WHETHER FAITH, whereby we are iuſtified, be a ſure confidence of the heart.

The Papiſts.

B*ellarmine* holdeth, that faith hath the proper ſeate and place onely in the vnderſtanding, not in the heart or affections; and therefore denieth, that it is any ſuch aſſurance or confidence: 48. Error.
*lib.*1*.de iuſtificat.cap.*6. The Councel of Trent likewiſe determineth, that iuſtifying faith, is no confidence of the heart: *ſeſſ.*6*.can.*13. The Rhemiſts affirme it, to be an act onely of vnderſtanding: *Annot.*2*.Cor.*13 *ſect.*1.

*Argum.*1. Confidence is the effect of faith, and faith the cauſe thereof: *We haue entrance with confidence by faith in him,* Epheſ.3.12. faith worketh confidence: *Ergo,* it is no confidence, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. Saint *Iohn* ſaith, *God is loue,* 1.Epiſt.4.8. yet it is no good conſequent, that God therefore worketh not loue in vs: for Saint *Paul* ſaith, *That the loue of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghoſt,* Rom.5.5. God is loue one way, that is, eſſentially, and originally; and hee worketh loue another way in vs, or rather another kinde of loue, which is an image, and effect of his loue: So faith worketh confidence, and it ſelfe neuertheleſſe, is a kinde of confidence. 2. As the effect is, ſo is the cauſe: can the waters be ſweete, if the fountaine be bitter? It is the propertie of fire to giue heate, therefore it muſt it ſelfe alſo be hot: ſo faith worketh confidence; therefore it muſt needes be much more confident it ſelfe. 3. We ſay not, that *fides*, and *fiducia*, faith and fiduce, or confidence, are all one: for this confidence is a common qualitie both to faith and hope: but this we ſay, that faith is alwaies ioyned with confidence. Now betweene this confidence, that accompanieth faith, and that confidence, which is wrought by faith, we make this difference: faith hath a generall confidence and aſſurance of all the promiſes of God, and it is the fountaine and ſtorehouſe from whence iſſueth out all our aſſurance and confidence in particular: As faith maketh vs to pray confidently, *Aske in faith, and wauer not,* Iam.1.6. which is the ſame which the Apoſtle ſaith here, *We haue entrance with confidence,* Epheſ.3.12. Faith alſo worketh confidence, and reioycing in tribulation, Rom.5.3. This confidence and aſſurance in theſe Chriſtian exerciſes, is nothing elſe but the particular vſe and application of that generall confidence in the promiſes of God, which we ſay is neceſſarily required in faith.

*Argum.*2. Firſt, faith and hope are two diuers things: 1.Cor.13.13. *Now abideth faith hope and loue, theſe three:* but hope is nothing elſe but confidence: *Ergo,* faith is not. Secondly, againe 2.Cor.10.5. *Bringing into captiuitie euery thought to the obedience of Chriſt:* faith then doth captiuate the vnderſtanding, and ſubdueth it to Chriſt: *Ergo,* not the will: *Bellarm.lib.*1*.de iuſtificat. cap.*6.

Anſw. Firſt,fiduce or confidence is a common qualitie both to faith and hope,and as the *genus* to them both: therefore it is abſurdly reaſoned, hope hath confidence: *Ergo,* faith not: as if he ſhould haue argued thus: A beaſt hath ſenſe: *Ergo,*man hath not.Who would not hiſſe ſuch a diſputer out of the ſchooles?

Secondly, 1. It followeth not,faith doth captiuate the vnderſtanding: *Ergo,* not the will: it doth not captiuate the thoughts onely, but *euery high thing that is exalted againſt the knowledge of God*; and ſo alſo the rebellious will of man. 2. Obedience is properly in the will,and not in the vnderſtanding, therefore it working obedience to Chriſt, worketh alſo vpon the will and affections of man: and ſo the Scripture ſpeaketh directly,that the heart, which is the ſeate of the affections,is purified by faith,Act.15.9.

The Proteſtants.

WE affirme not,that faith only is an aſſurance of the hart,but that the light of vnderſtanding,and knowledge of the minde,is requiſite thereunto. As faith is deſcribed,Hebr.11. ver.6.*He that commeth vnto God,muſt beleeue that God is:* Here is the certaine knowledge,that God is,and that he is holie,iuſt and true: *And that he is a rewarder of thoſe that ſeeke him:* Here is the aſſured perſwaſion and confidence of the heart. That faith then is inſeparablie ioyned with this aſſured confidence,it is thus warranted by the word of God.

*Argum.*1. Rom.4.19.20.*Abraham was not weake in faith,&c.neither did he doubt of the promiſe of God through vnbeleefe,but was ſtrengthened in faith, being fully aſſured,&c.* Here firſt the Apoſtle ſaith,*he doubted not through vnbeleefe:* As vnbeleefe then is ioyned with doubting, ſo faith hath confidence: and this it is to be ſtrong,and not weake in faith. Secondly,*being fully aſſured:* therefore the aſſured perſwaſion of the heart doth perpetually accompanie faith.

Anſw. The text is rather thus to be read,after the Latine tranſlation, *pleniſſimè ſciens,* moſt fully knowing,not fully perſwaded. And by this the Ieſuite would prooue, that faith conſiſteth rather in knowledge,than perſwaſion,*Bellarm.cap.6.loc.*1.

Contra. The word in the originall is,πληροφορηθεὶς, which muſt be tranſlated *perſuaſus,*or *perſuaſum habens,*being perſwaded,or aſſured,not *pleniſſimè ſciens,*fully knowing. Firſt,it being a participle of the paſſiue,cannot properly be tranſlated by an actiue. Secondly, there is not a letter or ſillable in this word included,whereby knowledge is ſignified or expreſſed in the Greeke tongue. Thirdly,the vulgar tranſlator doth reade otherwiſe in other places,tranſlating this word πληροφορεῖν, and the deriuatiues thereof by theſe Latine words,*implere,complere,*to fill,or fulfill: as Luk.1.1. 2.Timoth.4.5. In which places, though the tranſlator expreſſe not the full meaning of the word,as we will now proue,yet he varieth from his reading in this place: which ſheweth the imperfection of the tranſlation agreeing not with it ſelfe. Fourthly,this tranſlation, *pleniſſimè ſciens,*fully knowing,which ſeemeth to define faith by the fulnes of knowledge, impugneth the Ieſuites opinion, who denieth,as wel that *fides,*is *notitia,*faith is a knowledge,as that it is *fiducia,*fiduce or aſſurance: therefore he ſhould not gaine much by this reading. Fiftly,that this word πληροφορέω,ſignifieth,as we reade,to perſwade,*plenam fidem facere,*to make a thing certaine or aſſured,it may appeare by comparing other places of ſcripture,where this word is vſed: as Luk.1.1:the Euangeliſt ſaith,*He hath taken in hand to write the ſtorie of thoſe things, whereof we are fully perſwaded:* the word is πεπληροφορημένων: the vulgar tranſlateth, of things, *quæ in nobis completa ſunt,* which are fulfilled in vs; very ignorantly,not diſtinguiſhing betweene the Greeke words, πληροφορεῖν, and, πληροῦν,the firſt ſignifieth, to certifie or perſwade; the ſecond,to fill: And πεπληροφορημένα πράγματα,are ſuch things which are ſo euidently proued,that there remaineth no more doubting: as Maſter *Beza* ſheweth out of *Vlpianus.* So the word πληροφορία,is truly tranſlated,aſſurance, 1.Theſſ.1.5.Our Goſpell was not in word only vnto you,but in power and much aſſurance,*certa perſuaſione,*not *plenitudine multa,*much fulnes:but the ſcripture vſeth another word to expreſſe fulnes,and that is πλήρωμα, Epheſ.1.23. 3.19. not πληροφορία. Sixtly,*Eſpenc.* a learned Papiſt alſo approoueth this interpretation of the word,and to that purpoſe he alleageth theſe places: Rom.4.14. Coloſſ.2.2. Heb.6.10.in the which places πληροφορία, is taken for a certaine faith and perſwaſion: πληροφορηθεὶς,being perſwaded,&c. *in 2.Timoth.pag.*149. *liter.d.* Seuenthly,this is prooued by the Etymology or denomination of the word: for πληροφορῶ, is as if we ſhould ſay,πλήρη πίστιν φέρω, *plenam fidē affero,*I bring or giue certaintie or aſſurance to a thing. Eightly, that it is ſo to be taken in this place,for a full aſſurance, the words before going declare: *He doubted not of the promiſe:* what is that elſe,but to be aſſured?

*Argum.*2. S.*Paul* ſaith,Rom.8.38.*I am perſwaded, that neither death,nor life,&c. ſhall ſeparate vs from the loue of God,&c.*the word is πέπεισμαι,from whence the word πίστις, *faith,* is known to be deriued.The vulgar text hath *certus ſum,*I am certaine. *Origen tract.*23.*in Matth.* is tranſlated thus: *confido,* I truſt, that neither death nor life: *Ergo,* faith hath a fiduce, confidence, or certaine perſwaſion.

Bellarmine here diſtinguiſheth, that there are two kinds of fiduce or confidence,one in the vnderſtanding,the other in the will: the firſt faith hath,the ſecond hope: *Bellar.c.*6.

Contra. Firſt, *Bellarmine* forgetteth his owne argument vſed before: hope hath confidence: *Ergo*, not faith: for if there be two kindes of confidence, as he ſaith, he hath made a ſimple argument. Secondly, *Bellarmine* propoundeth the queſtion generally, *Fidem iuſtificantem non eſſe fiduciam*, that iuſtifying faith is no fiduce, or confidence at all, *cap.6.* and therefore it is ſufficient for vs that hee graunteth it to be any confidence. Thirdly, yet that the Apoſtle here meaneth a perſwaſion of the heart and affection it is euident, becauſe he ſpeaketh of loue, which is in the heart: If it be taken actiuely for our loue toward God, as *Origen* vnderſtandeth it, writing vpon theſe wordes, 1.Corinth.13.8. *Loue doth neuer fall away: Ex charitate nunquam excidente erant illæ voces, confido, &c.* From this charitie neuer falling away proceeded thoſe words of the Apoſtle, I am perſwaded, that neither life nor death, &c. can ſeparate vs from the loue of God, *Hom.23.in Matth.* But if we take it paſſiuely for Gods loue to vs, which is the better ſenſe, it commeth all to one: for the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ.35. *That tribulation and anguiſh cannot ſeparate vs from this loue*, that is, from the aſſurance thereof. Now tribulation, &c. worketh not vpon the vnderſtanding, but the affection: this perſwaſion then of the Apoſtle was not only in his vnderſtanding, but in his heart and affection.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Si nunc tempus eſt fidei, ſalus autem animarum merces eſt fidei, quis dubitet in fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur, peragendum diem vltimum, atque in fine diei, recipiendam eſſe mercedem, non ſolum redemptionem corporis, verumetiam ſalutem animarum?* If now it be the ſeaſon of faith, and the ſaluation of the ſoule be the reward of faith, who doubteth, but that a man ſhall dye in this faith, that worketh by loue, and afterward receiue the reward, both the redemption of the bodie, and ſaluation of the ſoule? *Tractat.in Iohann.86. Quis dubitet?* Who can doubt? ſaith *Auguſtine*: *Ergo*, faith expelleth doubting. *Decret.11.Iulij.1. Qui dubius in fide, infidelis:* He that is doubtfull in faith, is an Infidell.

Saint *Ambroſe* vpon theſe words, Epheſ.3.17. *that Chriſt may dwell in your hearts by faith, &c. Certi ſint de Chriſto, &c.* Let them be ſure of Chriſt, that he dwelleth in their harts by faith: *vt cùm fidem eius habeamus in cordibus noſtris, &c.* that when wee haue his faith in our hearts, wee may ſeeme to haue him. The ſeate then of faith is the heart: not the heart taken generally for the whole inward man, as *Bellarmine* anſwereth, *cap.6.* but properly as it is the ſeate of loue, and of other affections: as it followeth in the ſame 17.verſe, *being rooted and grounded in loue*: the heart then is the ſeate both of faith and loue.

Peter Lombard. agreeth: *Fidem in corde, &c.* That a man ſeeth his faith in his heart. And he alleageth thus out of *Auguſtine*: *Credimus vt cognoſcamus, non cognoſcimus vt credamus:* Wee beleeue to vnderſtand, we vnderſtand not to beleeue. But if faith were only in the vnderſtanding, we ſhould firſt vnderſtand, then beleeue: *lib.3.diſt.25.liter.g.*

The holy Martyrs thus iudged of the Chriſtian faith, that it brought a moſt certaine aſſurance with it: Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr did no more doubt, that by dying for the fayth of Chriſt, he ſhould pleaſe the Lord, then that the Sunne did ſhine, which at that time did ſhine in at the window, *Fox.* pag.1614.

Maſter *Philpot* bleſſed Martyr, when a popiſh Biſhop had ſaid vnto him, thus, theſe heretikes take vpon them to be ſure of all things they ſtand in: you ſhould rather ſay, I truſt I know Chriſt, then that I am ſure of it: the holy Martyr thus anſwered: Let him doubt of his faith that liſteth; God giue me grace alwayes to beleeue, that I am ſure of true faith, and fauour in Chriſt, *Fox.* pag.1825.

THE SECOND POYNT, WHETHER knowledge be neceſſary vnto fayth.

The Papiſts.

49.Error. BEllarmine ſaith, *fidem non eſſe notitiam, ſed aſſenſum*, that faith is no knowledge, but a bare aſſent of the minde, without knowledge or vnderſtanding of that whereunto it aſſenteth. Thus alſo the Rhemiſts note, there is a kind of faith called *fides implicita*, the faith of ſingle men, and Idiotes: who although they are not able to giue a reaſon of their beleefe, yet it is enough for them to ſay, they are Catholike men, and that they will liue and die in that faith which the Catholike Church doth teach, *Rhemiſt.annot.Luk.12.ſect.3.*

This implicite faith, which they ſay is ſufficient for common Catholikes, is nothing els, but to beleeue, as the Church beleeueth, though they knowe nothing themſelues particularly: that faith is ſufficient without knowledge, thus they reaſon.

Argum. Though I know all ſecrets, and all knowledge (ſaith the Apoſtle) *yea if I had all faith, &c.* 1.Cor.13.2. the Apoſtle diſtinguiſheth knowledge, and faith, as being two ſundry things, *Bellarm. cap.7.*

*Anſw.*1. Though the Apoſtle reckon vp here diuers particular giftes, yet doth he not ſo ſeparate and deuide them, but that one may communicate with another: for if this be a good conſequent, becauſe Saint *Paul* ſaith, *all knowledge, and all faith*, making two ſundry giftes of them, therefore fayth hath no fellowſhip with knowledge: then by the ſame reaſon, becauſe he alſo ſaith, *if I could propheſie, and know all ſecrets*, therefore he that propheſieth hath no knowledge of ſecrets.

2 Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh not here of iuſtifying faith, but of the faith of miracles, *If that I had faith whereby I could remoue mountaines,&c.* which faith may be ſeparated from loue: but iuſtifying faith cannot: faith working by loue, ſaith the Apoſtle, Gal.5.6. this place therefore concludeth nothing againſt iuſtifying faith.

The Proteſtants.

AS before they ſpoyled faith of the better part thereof, which is a ſtable and certaine perſwaſion of the heart: ſo now alſo they rob it of the other part, which is an euidence and light of ſpirituall knowledge: for faith cannot ſtand with ignorance, but neceſſarily bringeth with it, an illumination of the minde, as it worketh ſtablenes in the heart.

Neither doe we affirme, that we doe perfectly vnderſtand with the minde, thoſe things which by faith we beleeue: for the Apoſtle ſaith, that neither the eye hath ſeene, nor the eare heard, *neither came into mans heart, the things that God hath prepared for thoſe that loue him*, 1.Cor.2.9. *And now we ſee thorough a glaſſe darkely, then ſhall we ſee face to face*, 1.Cor.13.12. We ſhall neuer therefore bee able perfectly to vnderſtand in this life ſo much, as wee beleeue: yet we doe know and vnderſtand them after a ſorte: for as M. *Latimer* ſaith; there is great difference betweene certaine knowledge, and cleare knowledge, for that may be of things abſent that appeare not; this requireth the preſence of the obiect: A man therefore may certainely and ſurely know the thing which he perfectly beleeueth, though he doe not cleerely and euidently know it.

Againe, concerning this diſtinction of *implicita*, and *explicita fides*, our iudgement is this: we doe not abſolutely condemne or refuſe it; but with two conditions are content to receiue it: firſt, if they vnderſtand that to be the *explicita fides*, when as a man by ſufficient knowledge and learning is able to mayntaine euery poynt of his faith: that to be *implicita fides*, not when a man is vtterly ignorant to giue a reaſon of his faith, but when his knowledge and inſtruction is not ſo full, as is to be found in the learned ſort: So then the explicite faith, is not that which onely hath skill and knowledge; the implicite, that which hath none: but they differ onely in degree, the one hath a greater meaſure of knowledge then the other.

The ſecond condition is this, that we vnderſtand the implicite faith, to be that, not which is grounded vpon the determination of the Church, but vpon the truth of the holy Scriptures: As if a man ſhould thus profeſſe, this is my faith, and thus doe I beleeue, becauſe I am ſo taught by the Scriptures, though otherwiſe I be not able to giue an exact account of my faith. With theſe reſpects and conditions we will admit of this diſtinction: as we finde it to haue been admitted by that holy Martyr, Maſter *Saunders*, whoſe wordes I will ſet downe: Albeit I cannot *explicita fide*, as they call it, conceiue all that is to be conceiued, neither can diſcuſſe all that is to be diſcuſſed, in the doctrine of this moſt true religion: yet I doe binde my ſelfe, as by my humble ſimplicitie, ſo by my *fidem implicitam*, that is, by faith in generality, to wrap my beliefe in the credite of the ſame, that no authoritie of the Romiſh religion, repugnant thereunto, ſhall by any meanes remoue me from the ſame, *Fox*.pag.1495:*ex epiſt. Saunder. ad Wintonienſ.* This holy Martyr confeſſeth this implicite faith, and modeſtly acknowledgeth his faith to be ſuch, not that he was altogether rude and ignorant, but not yet attayned to the depth of Chriſtian knowledge: ſecondly, he groundeth his faith not vpon the determination of the Romiſh Church, but vpon the truth of his religion warranted by the Scriptures. Such an implicite faith doe we alſo graunt. But a popiſh implicite faith altogether voide of knowledge, when men vtterly ignorant content themſelues to beleeue as the Church beleeueth, we do deteſt and abhor: Such a faith, as the Biſhop of Cauaillon in France, commended ſometimes to the Chriſtians of Merindol, in theſe words: It was not neceſſary or requiſite to ſaluation, that they ſhould be ſo cunning, as to expound or vnderſtand the articles of their faith, but that it was ſufficient that they knew it in Latine: for there were many Biſhops, Curates, yea and Doctors of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expound the Pater Noſter, or the Creede, *Fox*.pag.949. Againſt this blind, popiſh, and vnſauory faith, we reaſon thus.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Peter* ſaith, *We muſt be readie to giue account to euery one that asketh, of that hope, which is in vs*, 1.Pet.3.15. *Ergo*, it is not ſufficient for a Chriſtian to ſay he beleeueth, as the Church beleeueth: but he muſt be able to giue account of his beleefe.

*Argum.*2. Maſter *Lambert* holy Martyr, againſt this popiſh implicite faith which indeede is no fayth, but a blockiſh ignorance, alleadgeth theſe teſtimonies of Scripture: *Brethren, be not children in wit and vnderſtanding, but as concerning maliciouſnes be you children*, 1.Cor.14. *Be not like the horſe and mule, which haue no vnderſtanding*, Pſalm.32. *Trie all things, and keepe that which is good*, 1.Theſ.5.21. *Ergo*, Chriſtians ought to haue knowledge to diſcerne good from euill, &c. *Fox*. pag.1103.

Maſter *George Wiſehart* holy Martyr, condemned for this truth, becauſe he ſaid, that it was neceſſary to euery man to know and vnderſtand his baptiſme, *Fox*.pag.1269.

Laſtly, *Auguſtine* writeth thus: *Ita apud omnes vulgatam & confirmatam eſſe Catholicam fidem, vt nec notitiam poſſit fugere popularem:* That the Catholike faith was ſo common and ſo plaine, that it could not be hid, no not from the popular ſort: for now ought the propheſie of *Ieremy* to be fulfilled, *They ſhall all knowe me from the leaſt to the greateſt*. Heb.8.11.

Sic ex appendice Concilij Baſil. ex oration. præſidentis ad Bohemos: Certiores de fide mea & doctrina eſtote, quam ſi quid proprijs conſpiciatis oculis: Be ye more certaine of my faith and doctrine, then when you ſee any thing with your owne eyes: ſo the Church is brought in ſpeaking, Euery member of the Church muſt be thus ſure of the doctrine of the Church: but how can they be ſure thereof vnleſſe they know it?

Peter Lombard. to this purpoſe alleageth thus out of *Auguſtine*, that faith cannot be without knowledge: *Lib.3.diſt.24.C. Nemo poteſt credere in deum, niſi aliquid intelligatur, &c.* No man can beleeue in God, vnleſſe ſomewhat bee vnderſtood, becauſe faith is of hearing. Againe, *Nec ea quæ creduntur prius, quam intelliguntur, penitus ignorantur, &c.* Neither the things, that are beleeued before they are vnderſtood, are altogether vnknowne, ſeeing faith commeth of hearing, &c. By this text *Auguſtine* proueth, that faith is ioyned with knowledge: for how can a man beleeue by hearing that he knoweth not?

THE THIRD POINT, OF THE obiect of faith.

The Papiſts.

50.Error. **B***ellarmine* affirmeth, that it is not the propertie of faith, ſpecially to apply to euery beleeuer the promiſes of God in Chriſt, for this he blaſphemouſly calleth preſumption, but generally to beleeue whatſoeuer is contained in the word of God to be true, *Bellarmin.lib.1.de iuſtificat.cap.4.* The Chapter alſo of Trent, thus decreeth, that iuſtifying faith is not that aſſured beleefe, and confidence of the heart, whereby we are perſwaded, that our ſinnes are forgiuen vs in Chriſt, *ſeſſ.6.can.*13. Our Rhemiſts alſo thus deliuer their ſentence, that faith which iuſtifieth, is a generall, or vniuerſall beleeuing of the articles of Chriſts death, and reſurrection, not any fond ſpeciall faith, *fiducia*, or confidence of each mans owne ſaluation, *Rhemiſt.annot.Rom.4.ſect.9.*

*Argum.*1. That faith, which *Peter* confeſſed when he ſaid to our Sauiour, *thou art the Chriſt, the Sonne of the liuing God*, was the ſame faith that iuſtifieth: But this faith was a confeſſion onely of the Diuinitie of Chriſt, no ſpeciall application of his merites: *Ergo*, faith is no ſuch thing, *Bellar. lib.1.de iuſtificat.cap.8.*

Anſw. 1. By our aduerſaries owne confeſſion, this was not the whole iuſtifying faith, which *Peter* here profeſſeth: for they affirme, that faith is an vniuerſall beliefe of the articles of Chriſts death and reſurrection, &c. But at this time, though *Peter* confeſſed thus of the Sonne of God, yet he neither beleeued that Chriſt ſhould die, for therefore he deſerued to be called Sathan, verſ.23. becauſe he went about to perſwade Chriſt not to die: and as for the reſurrection of Chriſt, the Apoſtles doubted of it euen when Chriſt was riſen againe, Luk.24.verſ.11. how then could this be the iuſtifying faith in reſpect of *Peter* that confeſſed it?

2 This faith which *Peter* confeſſed, though it were not the whole iuſtifying faith, yet it was a principall part thereof: for there is in faith the matter and ſubſtance thereof, which is the beliefe of the articles of the faith, and the forme, which is the particular vſe and application thereof to euery man ſeuerally: to confeſſe therefore, that Chriſt is the Sonne of God, (which doth comprehend both the natures of his Godhead and humanitie, and the offices of Chriſt, whereunto he was annoynted, his kingdome, propheſie and prieſthood) belongeth to iuſtifying faith, as the matter and ſubſtance thereof.

3 Though ſimply to confeſſe Ieſus to be the Sonne of God, be not that faith that iuſtifieth, becauſe the diuels haue made ſuch a confeſſion, Mark.5.7. yet this confeſſion may ſo proceed from a man, and it might be, was ſo vttered by *Peter* in this place, that it may declare a right iuſtifying faith: that is, ſo to confeſſe Chriſt to be the Sonne of God, and to be the annoyned Meſſiah, to take away the ſins of the world, that he which ſo confeſſeth, beleeueth it with comfort, and that Chriſt is ſo euen to him: Therefore Saint *Paul* ſaith, *that no man can ſay that Ieſus is the Lord, but by the holy Ghoſt*, 1.Cor.12.3. And our Sauiour ſaith to *Peter*, after he had made this confeſſion, *that fleſh and blood had not reuealed it vnto him, but his father in heauen.* Wherefore it is certaine, that he vttered more then a generall beliefe of this article, which may be in diuels: vnleſſe you will ſay, that the diuels alſo made the ſame confeſſion by the holy Ghoſt, and by reuelation from God.

*Argum.*2. *Abrahams* faith was nothing elſe, but his beliefe of a certaine article reuealed vnto him from God, and credite giuen to Gods ſpeeches, that he ſhould be the father of many nations, by his Sonne, which was yet vnborne, whom his wife *Sara*, both barren and now old, was to beare vnto him: But *Abrahams* faith was a iuſtifying faith: *Ergo, Rhemiſt.annot.Rom.4.ſect.9.Bellarm. lib.1.de iuſtificat.cap.8.*

Anſw.1. The obiect of *Abrahams* faith, or the thing which *Abraham* beleeued, was not onely concerning the birth of his ſonne *Iſaac*, and the multiplying of his ſeede by him: but the promiſe which *Abraham* gaue credite vnto, was ſpirituall concerning Chriſt: As the Apoſtle noteth, *he ſaith not, and to the ſeedes, as ſpeaking of many, but, and to thy ſeede, as of one, which is Chriſt*, Galath.3.16. And *Abraham* was promiſed not ſo much to be the father of many nations, as to be the father of all them that beleeue, Rom.4.11. therefore it was not a temporall, but a ſpirituall promiſe, which was made vnto *Abraham*. 2. Neither was *Abrahams* faith onely a generall or hiſtoricall beliefe, that this promiſe was true: but a ſure confidence and truſt in God that this promiſe pertayned to him, and that he himſelfe ſhould be bleſſed, in that promiſed ſeede: as our Sauiour teſtifieth Ioh. 8.16. *Abraham deſired to ſee my day, and ſaw it, and reioyced:* for whereof ſprang that exceeding ioy in *Abraham*, but vpon that certaine hope and perſwaſion, which he had of his owne ſaluation in Chriſt?

*Argum.*3. That faith, which Chriſt required, and confirmed by miracles, was a iuſtifying faith: but that was no certaine fiduce or particular perſwaſion, but onely a general beleefe in the power and omnipotencie of Chriſt.

Ergo, a iuſtifying faith requireth no ſuch particular perſwaſion, &c.

The aſſumption *Bellarmine* proueth by diuers places of Scripture.

1. Matth.9.28. Chriſt ſaith to the blind, *Beleeue yee that I am able to do this? According to your faith be it vnto you.*

2. Such was the faith of the Centurion, which Chriſt ſo commended, ſaying, *hee found not ſo great faith in Iſrael.* Luke 7.7. *Say the word onely, and my ſeruant ſhall be whole.*

3. Such was *Nathanaels* faith, Iohn 1.50. *Becauſe I ſaid I ſaw thee vnder the figtree, beleeueſt thou?*

4. Iohn 11.27. *I beleeue that thou art Chriſt the ſonne of God, which ſhould come into the worlde.*

5. Iohn 20. Chriſt ſaith to *Thomas*; *Thou haſt ſeene and beleeued, &c.* Hee beleeued onely the trueth of this article, That Chriſt was riſen from the dead.

6. Mark.1.40. The Leper doubted of Chriſts mercie; *If thou wilt, thou canſt make mee cleane*; he beleeued onely his power.

7. The Phariſee had confidence that he was iuſt and righteous, Luk.18. yet was he not for all that iuſtified.

8. The Eunuch had no aſſurance of Gods mercie, but ſaid onely, I beleeue Ieſus Chriſt to be the Sonne of God, Act.8.37.

9. Rom.10.9. *If thou confeſſe with thy mouth the Lord Ieſus, and ſhalt beleeue in thy heart, that God raiſed him from the dead, thou ſhalt be ſaued:* iuſtifying faith is nothing els, but the beleefe of the reſurrection of Chriſt.

10. 1.Iohn 5.1. *Whoſoeuer beleeueth, that Ieſus is the Chriſt, is borne of God:* Here is no perſwaſion or particular confidence required, *Bellarm.lib.1.de iuſtificat.c.8.*

Anſw. Firſt, 1. To the propoſition I anſwere, that indeed, that faith which Chriſt required and preached, was the true iuſtifying faith, which included a certaine aſſurance of forgiueneſſe of ſinnes: as Luk.7.47. Chriſt ſaith of the penitent woman, *Many ſinnes are forginen her, for ſhee loued much:* ſhe by her loue vnto Chriſt, teſtified her inward feeling and aſſurance of forgiueneſſe. 2. Though this faith Chriſt required, yet in his mercie he refuſed not the leaſt beginning of faith, which was to beleeue his power, that he was able to worke miracles vpon their bodies, which was the faith of miracles, yet an introduction to the true iuſtifying faith: and therefore it was written of Chriſt, *A bruiſed reed ſhall he not breake, and ſmoaking flaxe ſhall he not quench*: Matth.12.20. that he ſhall beare with the infirme and weake, and not reiect their ſmall meaſure of faith.

1. Secondly, our particular anſwere to the places obiected, is this: 1. Thoſe blind men beleeued not onely that Chriſt was able to helpe them, but were perſwaded of his mercie, in ſaying, *O ſonne of Dauid haue mercie vpon vs.* 2. To the receiuing of a temporall benefite in recouering of their ſight, a temporarie faith (which we call the faith of miracles) might ſuffice.

2. Secondly, 1. the Centurions faith is ſhewed in beleeuing Chriſt to be able to heale his ſeruants bodily ſickneſſe: but there remiſſion of ſinnes is the obiect of iuſtifying faith, and therefore it is improperly alleaged. 2. Yet this Centurion had as well confidence in Chriſts mercie, as beleefe of his power, Chriſt hauing ſaid to him, verſ.7. *I will come and heale him.* 3. The Centurions faith, was for another; but the iuſtifying faith, is the aſſurance that euery man hath for himſelfe.

3. Thirdly, 1. *Nathanael* is commended for this good beginning of faith, which Chriſt promiſeth to encreaſe: thou ſhalt *ſee greater things then theſe*. 2. And his faith is not without particular con-

fidence, acknowledging Chriſt to be *King of Iſrael:* of which number he was, being affirmed by Chriſt to be a true Iſraelite, verſ.47.

4. The faith of *Martha,* was not onely a generall confeſſion of the reſurrection, which ſhe had made before, Ioh.11.24. but a particular beliefe, wherby euery one is by Chriſt ſaued frō the death of ſin: as ſhe, being asked, *Beleeueſt thou this?* anſwered, Yea: that is, *that whoſoeuer beleeueth in Chriſt ſhal neuer die.* v.26. This is the particular aſſurance of faith, to be preſerued frō euerlaſting death.

5. *Thomas* faith alſo was particular, in ſaying to Chriſt, *Thou art my Lord and my God:* Ioh.20. verſ.28. It was not a generall apprehenſion onely, that he was riſen againe.

6. Firſt, the Lepers requeſt was for the cleanſing of his body; what is this to the remiſſion of ſins, which is the proper obiect of iuſtifying faith? 2. Neither doth he doubt of Chriſts will and mercie, becauſe he ſaith, *If thou wilt:* will ye ſay that Chriſt doubted of his Fathers good will, becauſe he thus prayed; Father, *if thou wilt,* take away *this cuppe,* Luk.22.42. that is, Thou canſt take it away, if thou wilt: but a man is thus to pray for things temporall, namely with a condition not that God fayleth in mercie, when he withholdeth them, but becauſe it is not alwayes good for vs to receiue them. 3. The Lepers confidence appereth in his earneſt prayer, Mark.1.40. *He beſought him, and kneeled downe, &c.* and Chriſt had compaſſion vpon him: By the effect then it appeareth, he prayed with confidence, as our Sauiour ſaith, Mark.11.24. *Whatſoeuer yee deſire when yee pray, beleeue that you ſhall haue it, and it ſhall be done vnto you.*

7. The Phariſee doth boaſt of his owne worthineſſe, and hath a vaine confidence in himſelfe, which was no confidence at all: though he ſay, *God I thanke thee*; he doth it in hypocriſie, acknowledging herein a gift from God, but procured by his owne worthineſſe.

8. The Eunuches faith wanted not a particular apprehenſion and application of Chriſts death: *What letteth me* (ſaith he) *to be baptized?* verſ.36. that as hee was in his fleſh ſprinkled with water; ſo he beleeued, that in his ſoule he was waſhed in Chriſts blood from his ſinnes.

9. The faith and confeſſion which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, is not without a particular perſwaſion and aſſurance of the heart. 1. So he ſaith, Rom.6.8. *If we be dead with Chriſt, we beleeue wee ſhall liue with him:* The beleefe then of Chriſts death and reſurrection worketh in vs aſſurance of life. 2. It followeth in the next verſe, Rom.10.11. *Whoſoeuer beleeueth in him, ſhall not be aſhamed:* but it is the hope and aſſurance of the heart, that maketh not aſhamed, Rom.5.5. not a generall apprehenſion onely. 3. Rom.10.14. *How ſhall they call vpon him, vpon whom they haue not beleeued?* Inuocation is a fruit of this faith: but true inuocation or prayer is not without aſſurance to bee heard. Marke 11.24.

10. Euer the Apoſtle in that faith requireth particular confidence; for it followeth, 1.Ioh.5.1. *Euery one that loueth him*; Euery one that beleeueth, that Ieſus is Chriſt, loueth him: but loue caſteth out feare and doubtfulneſſe, and maketh vs to haue boldnes in the day of the Lord, 1.Ioh.4. verſ.16.17. *Ergo,* faith expelleth doubtfulnes, and worketh in vs boldneſſe and confidence.

The Proteſtants.

A Iuſtifying faith is not onely a generall beliefe of the articles of faith, that Chriſt was dead, borne, roſe againe for them that beleeue: but it is an aſſured and ſtedfaſt confidence, whereby euery man particularly doth apply to himſelfe the generall promiſes of God, for the hope of remiſſion of his ſinnes in Chriſt, that Chriſt dyed, roſe againe, and did all the reſt euen for him.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Iames* ſaith, *the diuels alſo doe beleeue that God is, and doe tremble,* Iam.1.19. yea no doubt, but they beleeue that the word of God is true and confeſſe the articles of the faith: for they acknowledge Chriſt to be the Sonne of the liuing God, Mark.5.7. But the faith of diuels is no iuſtifying faith: *Ergo,* neither this hiſtoricall and generall faith. Thus Maſter *Tindal* holy Martyr witneſſeth, who ſaith, that the diuel beleeueth that there is a God, and life euerlaſting, and that there is an hell, yea he beleeueth that the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt are but one God, yet he is nothing the better for this beliefe, *vid.plur.Fox.*p.1255.artic.5.

*Argum.*2, Saint *Paul* was ſaued by no other faith, but the common iuſtifying faith of all Chriſtians; but this faith wrought a particular perſwaſion in him: *from henceforth is layd vp for me a crowne of righteouſneſſe,* 2.Tim.4.8. And againe: *I liue by the faith of the ſonne of God, who hath loued me and giuen himſelfe for me,* Galath.cap.2.verſ.20. *Ergo,* ſuch ought the faith of all Chriſtians to be.

Bellarmine would here ſeeme to ſay ſomewhat, but he confirmeth our argument rather by his anſwere, then ouerthroweth it: *Rectè dicunt poſſe vnumquemque generales promiſſiones ſibi applicare per fidem:* They ſay right, that euery man by faith, may apply the generall promiſes to himſelfe, for as I beleeue by the Catholike faith, that Chriſt died for all, *Ita eadem fide, credo mortuum eſſe pro me,* ſo by the ſame faith, I beleeue he died for me, *Bellarm.cap.*11.*reſponſ.ad obiect.*5. Doth not the Ieſuite now confeſſe againſt himſelfe, that the ſpeciall mercy of God is the obiect of faith, which he before denied? And if a man by faith may apply to himſelfe the generall promiſes of God, why did he ſay before, *Certam promiſſionem ſpecialis miſericordiæ, ad præſumptionem, non ad fidem pertinere:* That for a man to promiſe to himſelfe ſpeciall mercy, it belongeth to preſumption, rather then to faith, *Bellarm.cap*.4. What neede now any other confutation, ſeeing the Ieſuit confuteth himſelfe.

Argum.3. Iuſtifying faith bringeth tranquillitie and peace of conſcience: but the promiſes of God generally apprehended, doe not worke the peace of cōſcience, vnleſſe they be particularly applied: *Ergo*, they are not the obiect of iuſtifying faith. *Bellarmine* here in flat tearmes denieth, that faith breedeth the ſecuritie and peace of minde, but rather *pauores auget*, it breedeth feare and terror in the minde, *Bellarm. reſp. ad obiect*.5. wherein he doth contradict of purpoſe the holy Apoſtle, which ſayth, *being iuſtified by faith, we haue peace toward God*, Rom.5.1. *Ergo*, iuſtifying faith worketh peace.

Argum.4. That faith doth not generally only apprehend, but particularlie applie, and worke a ſpeciall aſſurance thereof in the heart, theſe places of ſcripture further doe teſtifie.

1 Mark.11.24. *Whatſoeuer ye deſire, when you pray, beleeue that ye ſhall haue it, and it ſhall be giuen vnto you.*

2 Iam.1.6. *Let him aske in faith, and wauer not.*

3 2.Chron.20. *Put your truſt in the Lord your God, and ye ſhall be aſſured.*

4 Therefore the Scripture reproueth fearefulnes and doubtfulnes, as ſhewing a want of faith. Matth.8.26. *Why are ye fearefull, O ye of little faith!* Matth.14.31. Chriſt ſaith to *Peter*, *O thou of little faith, wherefore didſt thou doubt?* If want of faith bring doubtfulnes, then faith worketh aſſurance.

5 Rom.4.14. *It is by faith, that the promiſe may be ſure to all the ſeed*: *Ergo*, faith bringeth aſſurance.

1 *Anſw*. *Bellarmine*. It is true we muſt beleeue, that we ſhall receiue, but yet conditionally, if we aske aright: *reſp. ad obiect*.2.

Contra. We graunt this condition, if a man aske aright, that is in faith, he is ſure to be heard, as S. *Iames* ſaith, 5.15. *The prayer of faith ſhall ſaue the ſicke*. *Ergo*, the condition of faith bringeth aſſurance; which is the ſame thing we affirme: thus he hath yeelded the cauſe.

2 *Anſw*. The Apoſtles meaning is, that we ſhould not doubt of Gods power, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. No nor yet of Gods mercie and good will: for before he had ſaid, Iam.1.5. *Which giueth to all men liberally, and reprocheth no man*: to be a liberall giuer without reproch, ſheweth Gods will and mercie, not his power onely. Againe, let him aske in faith, *nihil hæſitans*, doubting nothing at all: *Ergo*, he muſt not doubt either of Gods power or mercie.

3 *Anſw*. It followeth in the ſame verſe, *credite prophitis eius*, beleeue his Prophets, and all things ſhall fall out well: 2.Chron.20.20. But we muſt not put our truſt in the Prophets, *Bellarm.*

Contra. Firſt, is it all one, to ſay *credite in Deum, &c.* beleeue in God, as the text is, and *credite Prophetis*, beleeue the Prophets? To beleeue the Prophets, is to acknowledge they ſpeake the truth; to beleeue in God, is to put our truſt in him. Secondly, it is a groſſe conſequent, we muſt not put our truſt in the Prophets, *Ergo* not in God. Thirdly, the text is, truſt in God, *& ſecuri eritis*, ye ſhall be aſſured: but where there is any doubtfulnes, there is no aſſurance.

4 *Anſw*. Chriſt reproueth his Diſciples becauſe they doubted of his power: for if they had beleeued Chriſt to be omnipotent, &c. they would not haue doubted the danger of ſhipwracke, *Bellarm. reſp. ad obiect*.3.

Contra. Firſt, will yee make the Apoſtles of leſſe faith, then the poore Leaper, Matth.8.2. *If thou wilt thou canſt make me cleane?* he doubted not of Chriſts power. Secondly, neither did the Apoſtles make queſtion of Chriſts power at this time, ſaying, verſ.25. *Saue vs or elſe we periſh*: they doubted not in thus praying, but that he was able to ſaue them. Thirdly, to beleeue Chriſt to be able, belongeth to the intelligence; to be aſſured thereof, is of the heart and affections: but feare or doubtfulnes is not in the intelligence or vnderſtanding part, but in the heart: *Ergo*, this feare or doubt was not of Chriſts power: but they failed in their confidence and aſſurance.

5 *Anſw*. The promiſe made to *Abraham* was not of remiſſion of ſinnes, but of the calling of the Gentiles: and it was onely an hiſtoricall or dogmaticall faith, in the power and omnipotencie of God, *Bellarm.c.*11.*reſp. ad obiect*.4.

Contra. Firſt, the promiſe in deed was made of the calling of the Gentiles, and conſequently of remiſſion of ſins: for the promiſe was, *that in his ſeed* (which is Chriſt, Gal.3.16.) *all the kinreds of the earth ſhould be bleſſed*, Gen.12.3. but bleſſednes conſiſteth in the forgiuenes of ſins: *Bleſſed are they, whoſe iniquities are forgiuen*, Rom.4.7. Secondly, *Abraham* was not only reſolued in his iudgement of Gods power, but aſſured in his heart of his loue: for he both ſaw the day of his Chriſt in his ſpirit, and reioyced in his heart, Iohn 8.56. *Abraham* reioyced to ſee my day, he ſaw it and was glad.

Let vs heare the iudgement of holy martyrs and confeſſors: That honourable Earle the Lord *Cromwell*, who now doth ſhine in heauen, who was ſometime famous vppon earth, whoſe godly memorie ſhall neuer die: Hee in that ſweete prayer which he made at the houre of his death, ſayd thus: *Thou mercifull Lord was borne for my ſake, thou didſt ſuffer both hunger and thirſt for my ſake; thou didſt teach faſt, and pray for my ſake; all thy holy actions and workes, thou wroughteſt for my ſake; thou ſufferedſt moſt grieuous paines and torments for my ſake: finally thou gaueſt thy moſt precious blood to be ſhed vpon the croſſe for my ſake: now moſt mercifull Sauiour, let all theſe things profite me, which thou haſt done freely* *for me,which haſt alſo giuen thy ſelfe for me,&c.Fox*.1190. faith, we ſee,wrought in this true noble breaſt a particular perſwaſion of Gods mercy, with a ſweete application of the merits of Chriſt.

M.*Bradſord* thus writeth in a certain letter of his to a godly Gentlewoman: What profit ſhould it be to you, to beleeue this to be true (I am the Lord thy God) to others, if you ſhould not beleeue that it is true to your ſelfe, *Fox pag*. 1639.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Quicquid cum loquor,agnoueris in te, quiſquis expertus es,crede contingere omnibus* In Pſal.106.
qui de manu inimicorum pretioſo ſanguine redimuntur : That which I ſay, thou that haſt experience thereof in thy ſelfe,know that it is common to all,*That are redeemed by that precious blood: Ergo*,euery man muſt haue a particular feeling of his redemption in himſelfe.

Interrelig. Cæſarean. cap. 3. *Qui pretioſo Chriſti ſanguine redimitur & cui meritum paſſionis Chriſti applicatur, is continuò iuſtificatur*, i. *inuenit remiſſionem peccatorum:* He that is redeemed by the blood of Chriſt, and to whom the merite of Chriſt is applyed, he is forthwith iuſtified, and findeth remiſſion of ſinne. Thus the Elder Papiſts confeſſed a particular application of Chriſts redemption to be neceſſarie in iuſtification, and not a generall beleeuing onely of the trueth thereof to be ſufficient.

Peter Lombard alleageth thus out of *Auguſt.lib*.3.*diſt*.23.*g*. *Fidem ipſam videt quiſque in corde ſuo eſſe ſi credit:* Euery man ſeeth faith in his own hart,if he beleeue: but a man cannot ſee his faith that is not ſure of his faith : that he ſeeth onely in his heart,which is firme,fixed,and ſetled in his heart.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE DIuers kinds of fayth.

The Papiſts.

WHereas we affirme,that there are diuers kinds of faith:as firſt, *fides hiſtorica*,an hiſtoricall 51.Error.
faith, which is to beleeue the truth of whatſoeuer contained in Scripture: there is alſo, *fides miraculorum*, the faith or gift of working myracles,whereof S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, 1.Cor.12.9. the third kinde is, *fides iuſtificans*, that faith which iuſtifieth, which is an aſſured beleefe of Gods promiſes made vnto vs in Chriſt: the Ieſuite and the Rhemiſts affirme, all theſe kinds of faith in ſubſtance to be all one : the faith of myracles differeth onely from iuſtifying faith, in an accidentall qualitie,of more feruor,deuotion,and confident truſt, *Rhem.annot*. 1.*Cor*.12.9. *Bellar.de iuſtificat. lib*.1.*cap*.4. Yea our Rhemiſts are yet more abſurd:that faith (ſay they) which S.*Iames* calleth a dead faith,is notwithſtanding a true faith,and the ſame which is called the Catholike faith,& which the Apoſtle defineth,Heb.11.1.and in ſubſtance al one with that,which iuſtifieth,*Rhe.an.Iam*.2.*ſect* 11.

Argum.1. That faith which S.*Paul* defineth,Heb.11.1. is the ſame faith,which iuſtifieth:but that faith alſo,is the hiſtoricall faith : *thorough faith we vnderſtand that the world was ordained,&c.* verſ.2. it is the ſame alſo with the faith of myracles: thorough faith,*they ſtopped the mouths of Lions,quenched the violence of the fire,&c*. verſ.33.34. And all this while the Apoſtle diſcourſeth of that faith,which he deſcribed in the beginning of the chapter,*Bellarm.cap*.5.

Anſw. We graunt that theſe three kindes of faith may ſometime be found in one man : for the hiſtoricall,and the faith of myracles doe as handmaids accompany the iuſtifying faith:the hiſtoricall faith,that is, the beleefe of all things contained in Scripture,is neuer diſioyned from the true faith:and the faith of myracles,ſo oft as is neceſſary,doth waite vpon the ſame: all theſe three were together,in thoſe holy Patriarches,whoſe faith the Apoſtle commendeth: Yet it followeth not,that they made all one faith: for the hiſtoricall faith may be,where iuſtifying faith is not, as in Diuels, Iam.2.19. they beleeue,that there is one God: the faith of myracles alſo may be in falſe Prophets, which haue no part in Chriſt,Matth.7.22. But if they were all one and the ſame,they could not be ſeparated,but where one is,there of neceſſitie ſhould be the other.

Argum.2. Mark.16.17. *Theſe tokens ſhall follow them that beleeue : in my name they ſhall caſt out diuels,and ſhall ſpeake with new tongues,and take away ſerpents:* hence it appeareth,that the faith of myracles and iuſtifying faith is all one,*Bellarm.lib*.1.*de iuſtific.c*.8.

Contra.1. The argument followeth not: he that beleeueth in Chriſt, and hath iuſtifying faith, may worke myracles: *Ergo*,iuſtifying faith is all one with the faith of myracles:as it followeth not, he that hath faith,hath alſo loue and hope.*Ergo*,theſe three are all one. 2. The contrarie rather appeareth out of this text : for *he that beleeueth,ſhall be ſaued*,verſ.16. but a man may worke miracles and caſt out diuels,and yet not be ſaued,Matth.7.22. Againe,the faith of myracles is now ceaſed: but iuſtifying faith remaineth : but if the faith of myracles,and that whereby we are iuſtified were all one,then he that hath the one ſhould haue the other alſo: and where and when the one is,then and there ſhould be the other alſo.

The Proteſtants.

THat the faith of myracles, and the hiſtoricall faith are not of the ſame nature with iuſtifying faith : nor yet that a dead faith,and a true faith,are not all one,we ſhew it thus.

*Argum.*1. The faith of miracles may be in wicked men, Matth.7.23. the iuſtifying faith can be in none, but thoſe which ſhall be ſaued, Mark.16.verſ.16. They that beleeue ſhall be ſaued: *Ergo,* they are not all one. Againe, the faith of myracles may be ſeparated from loue, 1.Cor.13.3. but iuſtifying faith cannot, Galat.5.6. *Faith working by loue: Ergo,* what intollerable boldneſſe then is this, to aſcribe greater confidence and truſt to that faith of wicked men, then to the true iuſtifying faith in the elect.

*Argum.*2. That the dead faith which Saint *Iames* ſpeaketh of, is not of the ſame nature with the iuſtifying faith; nor with that faith, which is handled, Heb.11. it may thus appeare: firſt, by that faith there deſcribed, the Patriarches pleaſed God, and beleeued that hee was a rewarder of thoſe, that ſought him, verſ.6. but this dead faith hath no ſuch operation. Secondly, as a dead man cannot be ſaid properly to be a man, no more can a dead faith be properly called a faith. Nay further, the faith of diuels and the faith of Saints cannot be of one nature and ſubſtance: but this dead ſpeculatiue faith may be in diuels, Iam.2.19. *Ergo,* it is a blaſphemous aſſertion, that theſe two faiths are all one.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Diſcerne fidem tuam à fide dæmonum, dæmones credunt, quod oderunt: diſtinguit Apoſtolus, fides, quæ operatur per dilectionem:* Diſcerne thy faith from the faith of diuels, the diuels beleeue that which they hate: the Apoſtle doth diſtinguiſh them, faith, which worketh by loue: *Ergo,* a dead faith, which is fruitleſſe, and worketh not by loue, is the faith of diuels, and ſo not of one nature with a true iuſtifying faith.

Synod.Treuerenſ. ſub Iohanne cap.4. Populo perſuadeant non quamlibet fidem, qua in Deum creditur, ſed eam demum ſaluiferam fore, quæ per dilectionem operatur: Let them perſwade the people, that not euery faith, whereby men beleeue in God, but that onely bringeth ſaluation, which worketh by loue: by this diſtinction (not this, but that) we do gather that faith effectuall by loue, which is the true liuely iuſtifying faith, is in the iudgement of this Councel, of another kinde and nature, then other generall and common faiths are.

Decret.cauſ.33.diſtinct.2.c.11. In fide, ſpe, charitate, &c. Spiritus perfectorum corda non deſerit; in Prophetiæ virtute, miraculorum exhibitione, electis ſuis aliquando adeſt, aliquando ſe ſubtrahit: In faith, hope, charitie, and other giftes, &c. the ſpirite forſaketh not the hearts of the perfect: but in the power of prophecie, exhibiting of miracles, ſometime the ſpirite is preſent with the elect, ſometime he withdraweth himſelfe. If then faith ioyned with charitie remaineth, faith of myracles alwayes doth not remaine; then are they not one and the ſame kind of faith.

Peter Lombard.lib.3.diſt.23, liter.d. Fides ſine charitate informis qualitas mentis: Faith without charitie, ſuch as the diuels haue, is a deformed qualitie of the minde: Say if you dare, that faith, which iuſtifieth, is a deformed qualitie: *Fides vna dicitur, non quia ſit vna manens in omnibus, ſed genere, i. ſimilitudine:* Faith is ſaid to be one, not becauſe the ſame particular faith is in all, but in general the ſame, that is, by a certaine ſimilitude, *ibid.liter.f.* Faith which iuſtifieth, and faith without charitie are the ſame not in nature and trueth, but in ſimilitude onely.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER FAITH MAY be ſeparated from charitie.

The Papiſts.

52.Error. THat true iuſtifying faith, may be ſeparated from loue and other Chriſtian vertues: *Bellarmine* endeuoureth thus to proue it.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *If I had all faith, ſo that I could remoue mountaines, and had no loue, I were nothing,* 1.Cor.13.2. *Ergo,* there may be a diuorce and ſeparation betweene faith, and loue.

*Anſw.*1. The Apoſtle thus ſpeaketh, *ex hypotheſi,* by way of ſuppoſition, that if it were poſſible for faith to be without loue, faith were nothing, as before he ſayd, though I ſpeake with tongues of men & Angels; not as though he could ſpeake as the Angels, but if he could, and had no loue, &c.

Bellarm. Thus much then we haue gayned by this anſwere, that faith profiteth not without charitie, therefore it cannot iuſtifie without charitie: for to what purpoſe els hath faith ſuch need of charitie, that it cannot be ſeparated from it, *Bellarm.lib.1.de iuſtific.cap.15.*

Contra. Charitie is neuer ſeuered from faith, not becauſe faith needeth charitie, or that it cannot iuſtifie without charitie: but becauſe charitie doth alwayes accompany faith, as a principall fruit, and effect thereof; as the fire is neuer without the heate, which is no part notwithſtanding of the eſſence or nature thereof, but a natiue qualitie iſſuing from thence: And like as a good tree is neuer void of good fruit; which good fruit make not the tree good; but the tree being firſt good, it maketh alſo the fruit good.

Anſw. 2. Or we anſwere rather that S.*Paul* ſpeaketh here of the faith of miracles, which wee graunt may be ſeparated from loue, and may be found in the wicked, Matth.7.23. for he meaneth ſuch a faith, whereby mountaines are remoued.

Bellarm. S.*Paul* ſpeaketh as well of that faith,which iuſtifieth,as of this faith of miracles. 1. He ſaith,*if I had all faith*,verſ.2.he ſpeaketh generally of all. 2. He meaneth that faith,which is ioyned with hope and loue,*now abideth faith, hope and loue,theſe three*,verſe 13.but this is a iuſtifying faith: *Ergo*.

Contra. 1. Saint *Paul* in ſaying all faith,meaneth not vniuerſally euery kind of faith: but that whole faith or generall power, whereby all myracles may be wrought,whereof he giueth one particular inſtance, of remouing mountaines. Secondly, in the laſt verſe he ſpeaketh of another kind of faith then in this place: for there he vnderſtandeth ſuch a faith as abideth ſtill; and is in all ages neceſſarie for all Chriſtians: but this faith whereby mountaines are remoued, now abideth not, the gift is ceaſed, therefore he meaneth not that faith.

Argum.2. Iohn 12.42. *Many of the chiefe beleeued in him,but becauſe of the Phariſees, they did not confeſſe him, leaſt they ſhould be caſt out of the Synagogue, for they loued the prayſe of men, more then the prayſe of God.* Here we ſee there was faith without charitie, *Bellarm.ibid.argum*.1.

Anſw. 1. We muſt eyther vnderſtand here a common and ſuperficial faith, not a true faith indeed: as our Sauiour ſaith, Iohn 5.44. *How can yee beleeue, when yee receiue honour one of another?* If theſe therefore were ſuch, as altogether neglected Gods honor,and onely loued the praiſe of men, they had not a true faith, and therefore it is no maruell, if they wanted charitie. 2. Or if we vnderſtand this place of ſuch chiefe men,as *Nicodemus*,and *Ioſeph* of Arimathea,who beleeued in Chriſt indeed, but were letted by their owne carnall weakeneſſe and infirmitie: then had they a true faith, though imperfect, and a loue alſo vnto Chriſt, though ſomewhat ouerſhadowed and obſcured with the loue of the world, and the feare of men.

Argum.3. Iam.2.14. *What auayleth it my brethren, though a man ſay he hath faith, when he hath no workes? Ergo*,faith may be without the workes of charitie: and the Apoſtle meaneth not a ſhadow of faith,but a true faith indeed. 1. The Apoſtle ſaith in the ſame place,that *Abrahams* faith wrought with his workes: but *Abrahams* faith was a true faith. 2. Verſ.24. the Apoſtle ſaith,*that a man of workes is iuſtified, and not of faith onely*: but the ſhadow of a faith iuſtifieth not. 3. Hee compareth a faith without workes to a bodie without a ſoule; but a dead bodie is a true bodie: *Ergo*, a dead faith is a true faith.

Anſw. Firſt, 1. *Abrahams* faith was a true faith, becauſe it was a working faith; doth it follow therefore that faith not working by loue is a true faith? nay, the contrary rather is inferred. 2. A faith,which is effectuall by workes, iuſtifieth: *Ergo*, a true faith: but a faith without workes cannot ſaue,verſ. 14. *Ergo*,it is not a true faith. 3. A dead bodie is in part a true bodie,in reſpect of the terrene and materiall part, but ſimplie it is not a true bodie, nor the ſame bodie, which it was before in all points,wanting life,actiuitie and motion: ſo a faith that worketh not,hath ſome of the materials of a true faith,as knowledge,vnderſtanding; but it is not the ſame,wanting conſcience, and charitie, and true confidence,which is the life and ſoule of faith.

Secondly,that a faith not working,is not a right or true faith, is euident by the Apoſtle: 1. Becauſe he compareth it to the faith of diuels, verſ.19. which is no right faith. 2. A faith without workes helpeth not, neyther ſaueth,verſ.14. but a working and effectual faith,iuſtifyeth,ver.24. *Ergo*, they are not the ſame; for the ſame faith will haue the ſame effect. 3. A dead faith and a liuely faith are not the ſame: but a faith not working is a dead faith, verſ.17. *Faith if it haue no workes, is dead in it ſelfe*: but as a dead man is not a man, no more is a dead faith a right faith.

The Proteſtants.

FAith and charitie,as they are two diuers gifts and graces of the ſpirit,ſo in nature and propertie they may be diſtinguiſhed: but in vſe they can neuer be ſeparated: for where a true liuely faith is,there is charitie; and where true loue and charitie is,it is an infallible ſigne of the preſence of faith: no faith then,no charitie: and againe,no loue,no faith.

Arg.1. Faith without workes is dead, Iam.2.26.and no better than the faith of diuels,ver.19. but a dead faith, and the faith of diuels is no true faith: *Ergo*, there is no true faith, without the workes of charitie.

Bellarm. 1. *Fides dæmonum,ex parte obiecti vera eſt*: The faith of diuels is a true faith,in reſpect of the obiect.

Anſw. Firſt,this ſpeech cannot by any ſound diuinitie be iuſtified,that the diuels haue in any reſpect a true faith. Secondly,if in this reſpect the wicked ſpirits haue a true faith, then they haue euery way a true and perfect popiſh faith. For thus they define their faith: It is an act of the vnderſtanding,*Rhemiſt.2.Cor.*13.*ſect*.1. whereby wee doe vniuerſally beleeue the articles of Chriſts death and reſurrection,&c.*Rhemiſt.annot.Rom*.4.*ſect*.9. But the diuell hath this act of vnderſtanding,whereby he doth vniuerſally beleeue,&c. Iam.2.19. Mark.5.7. *Ergo*, hee hath a true popiſh faith,and is a right popiſh Catholike.

Bellarm.2. A dead faith may notwithſtanding be a true faith: as a dead bodie,is a bodie; and as ſtanding water,and a running water,are the ſame in ſubſtance,*Bellar.c*.15.

Anſw. Though a dead faith may be compared to a dead bodie, becauſe it is altogether voide of ſpirituall quickening, as the bodie is without naturall life: yet a liuely faith is not fitly reſembled to a liuing bodie, but rather to the life of the bodie; becauſe faith is not that which is quickened, but that which quickeneth and giueth life: for it is written, *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith,* Rom. 1. 17. As therefore a dead man is no man properly, no more is a dead faith a true faith.

2. Againe, as a dead bodie hath the ſame terrene ſubſtance, which a liuing bodie hath, but not the ſame ſpirituall ſubſtance, which is the ſoule; and as a ſtanding puddle hath part of the ſame matter, which is in a running water, but yet groſſe, muddie, ſtinking and putrifying, ſo that it can be called the ſame water: ſo a dead faith hath ſome part of that which a true faith hath, as namely ſome light of knowledge and vnderſtanding; but yet not hauing the ſubſtance and liuelihood of faith, it cannot be a right and true faith.

Argum. 2. He that is borne of God hath loue: *Euery one that loueth is borne of God,* 1. Iohn 4. 7. *He that dwelleth in loue, dwelleth in God and God in him,* verſ. 16. But hee that beleeueth, that Ieſus is Chriſt, is borne of God, 1. Ioh. 5. 1. *Ergo,* he that beleeueth hath loue.

Bellarm. We graunt, that *fides formata,* formed or perfect faith, hath alwaies loue annexed.

Anſw. As though we ſpake not all this while of a liuely, perfect, and iuſtifying faith, which we call a formed faith: for a faith without forme, is no faith: If he thus vnderſtand a formed faith, he ſaith the ſame now that we affirme, and is contrarie to himſelfe, who tooke vpon him in the beginning of this chapter to prooue, that *fides vera, quæ iuſtificat impium,* a true faith, and ſuch an one as iuſtifieth the vngodly, may be ſeparated from loue: If he haue found out a formed faith beſide this true liuely, and iuſtifying faith, he is contrarie to the Apoſtle here, who knoweth no other true faith, than to be beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt.

Argum. 3. 1. He that hath no charitie denieth the faith: 1. Tim. 5. 8. *He that prouideth not for his owne, denieth the faith.* 2. 1. Ioh. 2. 4. *He that ſaith he knoweth God, and keepeth not his commaundements, is a lyar: Ergo,* the true knowledge of God is not ſeuered from charitie. 3. *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith,* Rom. 1. 17. but without charitie, faith is dead, and can giue no life: *Ergo,* a true faith is not diuided from charitie.

Anſw. 1. *Bellarmine* anſwereth out of *Gregor. Hom.* 29. *in Euangel. Non habere veram fidem, qui non bene operantur:* That they haue not a true faith, that doe not worke well: that is, they denie the faith in the worke, not in the heart.

Contra. Firſt, *Gregories* teſtimonie is very direct for vs, that there can be no true faith, where is no right worke. Secondly, the faith denied in worke, is denied alſo in the heart: as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Whoſoeuer ſinneth,* (that is in worke) *hath neither ſeene nor knowne him,* (in his heart) 1. Ioh. 3. 6. Thirdly, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, 2. Tim. 3. 5. *Hauing a ſhew of godlines, but haue denied the power thereof:* ſo where the power of faith is denied, what elſe remaineth but onely a ſhew and ſhadowe of faith.

Anſw. 2. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh of a knowledge ioyned with loue and friendſhip: *Bellar. c.* 15. *reſp. ad arg.* 3.

Contra. Such is that knowledge, which accompanieth faith: as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1. Ioh. 4. 16. *We haue knowne and beleeued the loue, that God hath in vs: Ergo,* the knowledge of faith is not without loue.

3. It muſt be vnderſtoode of faith formed with charitie, *Bellarm. reſp. ad arg.* 6.

Contra. He vnskilfully giueth an inſtance in the cauſe: this formed faith, is the faith which wee meane, a right and perfect faith, not a deformed and vnſhapen faith. Thus then by his owne confeſſion, a true faith, which he calleth a formed faith, is not without charitie.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Si dilectio patris in te non manet, non es natus ex Deo; glariaris te eſſe Chriſtianum, nomen habes, & facta non habes: ſi factis te non oſtendis Chriſtianum, quid prodeſt nomen, vbi res non inuenitur?* If the loue of the father be not in thee, thou art not borne of God: thou doeſt boaſt thy ſelfe to be a Chriſtian, thou haſt the name but not the deedes: if thou doeſt not ſhew thy ſelfe a Chriſtian, what good doth the name, where the thing is not found? *Tract.* 5. *in Epiſtol. Iohann.* If he be not borne of God, that hath no loue, then hath he not faith: for he that hath faith and beleeueth, is borne of God, 1. Iohn. 5. 1.

Againe, hee ſaith, *Omnes negant Chriſtum in carne veniſſe qui violant charitatem:* All they which violate charitie, denie Chriſt to be come in the fleſh, *Tractat.* 7. But they which denie Chriſt to be come, &c. are voide of faith: *Ergo,* alſo of charitie: hee that wanteth the one, wanteth the other.

Wee want not teſtimonie from themſelues: *Cauſ.* 33. *diſt.* 2. *c.* 14. *gloſſ. In Chriſtum credere eſt amando in ipſum credere:* To beleeue in Chriſt is by louing him to beleeue in him. This is that faith, which the Apoſtle defineth working by loue, Galath. 5. 6.

Peter Lombard. lib. 3. *diſt.* 23. *liter. d. Credere in deum, eſt credendo amare, credendo in eum ire:* To beleeue in God, is in beleeuing to loue him; in beleeuing to come vnto him. *Diſt.* 25. *liter. c. Quan-*

tum credimus,tantum amamus: As much as we beleeue, ſo much we loue: *Pia fides non eſt ſine charitate:* A godly faith is not without charitie.

Eſpenc.Sine charitate fidei veritas immo vanitas non prodeſt: Without charitie the veritie,or rather vanitie of faith profiteth not,*in* 2.*Tim.p.*65. Faith then is vaine, that is no true faith without charitie.

Let the holie Martyrs ſpeake. Thus Maſter *Tindall* writeth: *If thy faith induce thee not to good workes, then haſt thou not the right faith, thou doeſt but onely thinke that thou haſt it: for S. Iames ſaith, that faith without workes is dead in it ſelfe: he ſaith not that it is little or feeble,but that it is dead,and that is dead,is not: Fox.p.*1255.

Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr: when *Harpsfield* had thus ſaid, That all which beleeue in Chriſt, ſhall not be ſaued,alleaging that place,Matth.7.how many ſhall ſay to Chriſt in the day of iudgement, *Lord, Lord, haue we not in thy name caſt out diuels? &c.* the holy Martyr maketh this anſwere: *You muſt make a difference betwixt beleeuing,and ſaying,I beleeue: As for example, if one ſhould ſay and ſweare he loueth you, for all his ſaying you will not beleeue him, when you ſee he goeth about to doe all the euill he can againſt you: Fox.p.*1613. *Ergo,* by the teſtimonie of thoſe moſt bleſſed and holy Martyrs,true faith cannot be ſeparated from charitie: for that which hath no loue, is no faith.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE validitie of faith.

FIrſt,after what manner faith iuſtifieth,whether as a proper efficient cauſe of iuſtification,or as an inſtrument onely. Secondly,whether we are onely iuſtified by faith.

THE FIRST ARTICLE, AFTER WHAT manner faith iuſtifieth.

The Papiſts.

53.Error. FAith doth not iuſtifie as an inſtrument in apprehending the iuſtice or righteouſnes of Chriſt, but as a proper and true cauſe it actually iuſtifieth, by the dignitie, worthineſſe, and meritorious worke thereof,*Bellarm.lib.*1.*de iuſtificat.cap.*17.*Rhemiſt.annot.Rom.*3.*ſect.*3.

*Argum.*1. Theſe phraſes vſed in ſcripture: *iuſtificari ex fide,* Galath.3.8. *& per fidem,* Rom.3.30. to be iuſtified of,or thorough faith,doe betoken an actuall force and power in faith to iuſtifie: for theſe prepoſitions,*ex;& per,* of & thorough,are not attributed to the inſtrumentall,but to the proper efficient & working cauſe: As Rom.3.verſ.20.*ex operibus legis,* of the works of the law no fleſh is iuſtified,Galath.3.verſ.11.*no man is iuſtified,per legem, by or thorough the law:* he meaneth not by the law,that is,by the apprehenſion of the iuſtice thereof, but by the actuall working and iuſtice indeede: as therfore he denieth,that we are iuſtified by the law,that is,the actuall working thereof, ſo he affirmeth,that we are iuſtified by faith,that is,actually,by the very work. So the Apoſtle ſaith, *per fidem vicerunt regna,* through faith they obtained kingdomes: that is,verily,and indeed, not reſpectiuely onely: And by faith *Abel* offered a greater ſacrifice,&c.Heb.11.4.Faith wrought not this inſtrumentally,but verily and effectually,*Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſw. 1. *Bellarmines* argument is grounded wholy vpon his logicke quiddities: as becauſe this prepoſition,*ex,*is a note of the materiall cauſe; and *per,* of the formall cauſe: therefore when the Scripture ſaith,*ex fide*, or, *per fidem,* we muſt vnderſtand faith to be more then the inſtrumentall cauſe. But let him know this,that the ſpirit of God is not bound to the rules of Logicke, neither yet will learne to ſpeake of men,but hath a proper ſpeaking of it ſelfe.

2. We are able to ſhew,that theſe prepoſitions,*ex,*and *per,*of,and through, are in Scripture attributed to the inſtrument: Rom.10.17.*Fides ex auditu,* Faith commeth of hearing: The Gentiles are made partakers of the promiſe of God in Chriſt, *per Euangelium,* by the Goſpell, that is,the preaching thereof, Epheſ.3.6. But the outward miniſterie, or hearing of the word, doth not actually worke or beget faith,but onely inſtrumentally,the ſpirit of God working by it.

3. It followeth not, becauſe the Apoſtle denieth that we are iuſtified by the law,that is verily, and actually,that hee ſhould affirme the ſame of faith: for vnto this negatiue, *neminem iuſtificari per legem,vel ex operibus legis,* that no man is iuſtified by the law,or the workes thereof; this affirmatiue anſwereth,*iuſtificari per fidem Chriſti,* Rom.3.22. to be iuſtified not ſimply by faith, but by faith in Chriſt: and by the redemption that is in Chriſt,verſ.24.by faith in his blood, verſ.25. the ſame thing then is affirmed of Chriſt,which is denied of the law, though not after the ſame manner: the iuſtice of Chriſt is the actuall and very cauſe indeede of our iuſtification,yet not actually in vs,but inſtrumentally applied vnto vs by faith. It is Chriſt then, not faith, that properly effecteth that which the law cannot: faith effecteth it not, but onely reſpectiuely, and as it hath relation to Chriſt.

4. Through faith they ſubdued kingdomes,ſtopped the mouthes of Lions,&c. Faith was not the proper efficient cauſe hereof: but faith apprehendeth Chriſt: Chriſt apprehended worketh all good things: *If God haue giuē vs his Son,how ſhall he not together with him giue vs all things?*Rom.8.32. Theſe great workes were verily done by them through faith, not as by the proper power and efficacie thereof,but by the power of Chriſt dwelling in them,and being preſent by faith. So *Abels* ſacrifice was preferred before *Cains,* not for the worthines of his faith, but by Gods gracious acceptation,to whom he was ioyned by faith. Laſtly,we make a great difference betweene iuſtification and ſanctification: faith iuſtifieth onely inſtrumentally, but of the workes of ſanctification it is a proper efficient cauſe,though not the principall: for there is a twofold righteouſnes, a perfect righteouſnes,whereby wee are made righteous before God; and that is the righteouſnes onely of Chriſt: and of this righteouſnes,faith onely is an inſtrument,no efficient cauſe. There is an imperfect righteouſnes,that is,ſanctification,whereby euery faithfull man is made righteous in himſelfe,not ſufficient to iuſtifie him before God,but yet auailable to leade an holie and vpright life in ſome meaſure. And of this righteouſnes faith is a proper efficient cauſe: for as the tree is the cauſe of good fruit,ſo is faith the roote and beginning of godly workes: faith ſtirreth a man vp to pray,Iam.5.15. it worketh peace of conſcience, Rom.5.verſ.1. and it hath other proper effects: but it maketh vs not righteous before God by it owne act, but as it apprehendeth, and layeth hold of Chriſt.

Argum.2. Faith is a worke,Ioh.6.29.we are iuſtified by faith: *Ergo*,by a worke, and ſo conſequently,by merit: faith then is meritorious.

Anſw. Faith indeede is a worke, but not any of our owne workes: it is called the worke of God,Ioh.6.29. God doth wholy worke it in vs: *Ergo,* we cannot merit by it: Faith iuſtifieth not then,as it is the work of God in vs:for by this reaſon all other gifts & graces, which are wrought in vs by the ſpirit of God,ſhould in like manner iuſtifie vs: But as it hath relation vnto the obiect Ieſus Chriſt,in apprehending his righteouſnes,which is the office only of faith,and not of any other ſpirituall grace.

1. *Argum*.3. Firſt,faith is our iuſtice it ſelfe: *Ergo*,not the apprehenſion onely of iuſtice: the firſt is proued: Rom.4.5.*To him that beleeueth in him,that iuſtifieth the vngodly,faith is counted for righteouſnes.* So 1.Corin.3.11.*Other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, Ieſus Chriſt:* Faith then is the foundation: and the foundation is part of the building. Act.15.9.*Faith purifieth the heart*,the puritie of the heart is our iuſtice: faith then is our iuſtice, and not the apprehenſion of iuſtice onely,*Bellar.c.*17.*arg*.2.

2. Secondly, Luk.7.50. *Thy faith hath ſaued thee: Ergo,* it doth more then apprehend ſaluation. The ſicke mans hand, that apprehendeth or reacheth the medicine, is improperly ſayd to heale him.

3. Thirdly, Rom.10.14.*How ſhall they call vpon him,vpon whom they haue not beleeued? how ſhall they beleeue without a Preacher?* As the cauſe of faith is preaching; ſo faith cauſeth inuocation, inuocation obtaineth iuſtification: faith therefore not reſpectiuely onely, but effectiuely worketh iuſtification,*Bellar.ibid.*

1. *Anſw*. Firſt, 1. It followeth not,faith apprehendeth iuſtice: *Ergo*,it is not our iuſtice. The eye apprehendeth,or receiueth the light of the day,and yet it is it ſelfe *the light of the bodie*,Matt.6.22. But like as the eye is but inſtrumentally the light of the bodie, by conueying and applying the outward light: ſo faith is our iuſtice inſtrumentally,*in that we beleeue in him that iuſtifieth*, as the Apoſtle there ſaith. 2. Chriſt is properly the foundation: and yet faith alſo is the rocke and foundation. Chriſt then and faith make but one foundation: Chriſt poſitiuely, and effectiuely; faith inſtrumentally, by applying and laying the foundation. 3. Faith is not ſaid to purifie the heart, but God by faith; God as the principall agent, or efficient; faith as the inſtrument.

2. Secondly, 1. It is no rare thing in Scripture to attribute the effect to the inſtrument: as Gen. 27.40.*By thy ſword thou ſhalt liue:* yet is the ſword but the inſtrument: ſo the iuſt man liueth by his faith,being the liuely and effectuall inſtrument of the ſpirituall life. 2. As Chriſt here ſayth, *thy faith hath ſaued thee:* ſo elſewhere: *according to your faith be it vnto you*,Matth.9.29.So that faith is but the meane or meaſure of the worke: Chriſt is the worker: as in the ſame place,verſ.28. *Beleeue ye,that I am able to doe this?*

3. Thirdly, 1. As preaching is the cauſe of faith,ſo I graunt faith is of iuſtification: but the preaching of the word is but the inſtrument, the ſpirit working by the word is the efficient. 2. But faith doth not ſo worke iuſtification as inuocation:for as I ſhewed before,faith efficiently produceth the workes of ſanctification, whereof inuocation is a principall, but it inſtrumentally onely cauſeth iuſtification.

The Proteſtants.

FAith doth not iuſtifie vs by the worthines and dignitie thereof, or as it is a qualitie inherent in man,by any meritorious act, or by the worke of beleeuing, or as a proper efficient cauſe; but by way of an inſtrument onely,being as it were the hand of the ſoule, whereby wee doe apprehend the righteouſnes of Chriſt.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* ſaith,*By grace are you ſaued through faith,not of your ſelues, for it is the gift of God; not of workes,leſt any man ſhould boaſt himſelfe,* Epheſ.2.8. Out of this place wee gather theſe arguments: firſt, grace and faith may ſtand together towards the attaining of our ſaluation: for the grace of God offered in Chriſt is the principall cauſe,faith apprehending grace the inſtrumentall: but grace and worke cannot ſtand together,Rom.11.verſ.6. *Ergo,*faith and workes cannot be matched together: faith then iuſtifieth not,as a worke.

Secondly, they that merit, muſt merit of themſelues, faith is not of our ſelues; it is the gift of God: *Ergo,*by faith we merit not.

*Argum.*2. Faith as it is commaunded in the law,iuſtifieth not: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *that a man is iuſtified by faith,without the workes of the law,*Rom.3.28.but faith,as it comprehendeth only the act of beleeuing,is a commaundement contained in the law: for we are commaunded to beleeue in God: *Ergo,*as it is an act of beleeuing only,it iuſtifieth not.

*Argum.*3. Maſter *Bradford* holy Martyr reaſoneth thus: As the Iſraelites were healed by beholding the braſen Serpent,ſo are we ſaued by beleeuing in Chriſt: but the looking vp of it ſelfe did not procure health vnto the Iſraelites,but the promiſe made in the obiect,which was the braſen Serpent,whereupon they looked, gaue them health by their looking vp: *Ergo,*after the ſame manner we are ſaued by our faith,and ſpirituall looking vp to the bodie of Chriſt crucified: not that the action it ſelfe of beleeuing, as it is a qualitie in man, doth ſo deſerue; but becauſe it taketh that dignitie and vertue from the obiect Ieſus Chriſt: *Fox* pag.1659.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Nemo iuſtè viuit, niſi iuſtificatus, id eſt, iuſtus effectus: ab illo autem fit homo iuſtus, qui nunquam poteſt eſſe iniuſtus: ſicut lucerna à ſeipſo non accenditur, ita nec anima humana ſibi praeſtat lucem, ſed clamat ad Deum,tu illuminabis lucernam:* No man liueth iuſtly,vnleſſe hee bee iuſtified, that is, made iuſt before: and man is made iuſt by him that can neuer bee vniuſt: for as the lanterne doth not fetch light from it ſelfe,ſo neither doth the ſoule of man giue light to it ſelfe,but cryeth vnto God,thou ſhalt lighten my lanterne,Pſal.109. Faith then is the lanterne that giueth light to the ſoule,that is,iuſtifieth: but as the lanterne giueth not light of it ſelfe, but as it is lighted it ſelfe; ſo faith by it owne act doth not iuſtifie, but as it hath reſpect vnto Chriſt who is the true light: *Per fidem locum damus in corde Deo,qui in nobis & per nos bona operatur:* It is the office of faith,to make roume for God in our heart, who in vs and by vs worketh that which is good,*in Pſal.*144. Faith it ſelfe therefore properly worketh not our iuſtification; but onely prepareth a way for the Lord,to come vnto our hearts: God then is the worker, faith is the way whereby hee worketh.

Likewiſe,*ex epiſtol. Auguſtin.& 5.Epiſcopor.ad Innocentium: Non per legem iuſtitia,&c. ſed ex fide & dono Dei per Ieſum Chriſtum:* Righteouſnes is not by the law, but by faith, and the gift of God by Ieſus Chriſt. Faith then doth not iuſtifie by the worke and merite thereof: for merit and gift cannot ſtand together,yet faith and gift may: becauſe faith it ſelfe is the gift of God. Againe,in the ſame epiſtle,*Iuſtos patres ex fide viuentes,non poſſibilitas naturae, ſed dei gratia per fidem iuſtificauit:* The righteous fathers which liued by faith,not the poſſibilitie of nature,but Gods grace by faith did iuſtifie. But grace and workes cannot ſtand together, therefore faith doth not iuſtifie by the merit of the worke.

Peter Lombard rehearſeth and approoueth this ſentence out of *Auguſtine* vpon theſe words of Saint *Paul,*Rom.6.24.*We are iuſtified freely by grace: Hoc ideo dixit,ne fides ipſa ſuperba ſit,ne dicat ſibi:* Therefore he ſo ſaid,leſt faith it ſelfe be proud and ſay, how freely? for that which faith meriteth, is reſtored rather,than giuen: *Non dicat homo iſta fidelis,quia cum dixerit,habeo fidem, vt merear iuſtificationem,reſpondetur ei,quid habes,quod non accepiſti?* Let not a faithfull man ſay ſo,becauſe if he ſay,I haue faith,to merit iuſtification,it will be anſwered, What haſt thou, that thou haſt not receiued,&c.*lib.2.diſt.26.liter.d.* Thus then faith is excluded from meriting or working of iuſtification.

Againe,*lib.3.diſt.19.liter. a. Ut olim aſpicientes,&c.* As in time paſt, they which looked vpon the braſen Serpent were healed from the biting of Serpents; *ſi recte ergo fidei intuitu in illum reſpicimus,qui pro nobis pependit in ligno:* ſo if by the beholding of faith,wee looke vpon him that hung vpon the tree,we are looſed from our ſinnes,&c. Thus faith then by the beholding onely and ſpirituall apprehending of Chriſt doth iuſtifie,euen by the ſentence of their Maſter.

THE SECOND ARTICLE, WHETHER faith onely iuſtifieth.

The Papiſts.

54.Error. FAith is not the onely cauſe of our iuſtification: but there are other alſo, as hope, charitie, almes deeds, and other vertues, *Rhemiſt.annot.Rom.*8.*ſect.*6.*Bellar.lib.*1.*de iuſtificat.cap.*13. Yea works are more principall than faith, in the matter of iuſtification, *Rhem.Iam.*2.*ſect.*7. Whoſoeuer therfore ſaith, that a man is iuſtified only by faith, and that nothing elſe is required to iuſtification, we pronounce him accurſed, *Trident.Concil.ſeſſ.*6.*can.*9.

*Argum.*1. We are ſaued by hope, Rom.8.24. *Ergo,* not onely by faith, *Rhemiſt. annot. in hunc locum.*

Anſw. The Apoſtle here expoundeth himſelfe: for (ſaith he verſ.25.) *If we hope for that wee ſee not, we doe with patience abide for it:* We are ſaid then to be ſaued by hope, not becauſe we are thereby iuſtified, but becauſe by hope we doe expect and waite for our ſaluation, which is not yet accompliſhed: ſo then iuſtification is the proper obiect of faith, which is now preſent; ſaluation which is the end of our faith, and followeth iuſtification, is the proper obiect of hope. And therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, that faith is the ground of things hoped for, Hebr.11.1. the thing hoped for, is the ſaluation of our ſoules, the ground is iuſtification by faith in Chriſt. So wee are ſaued by hope, not that we are iuſtified by hope, which the ſcripture no where affirmeth, but becauſe hope worketh in vs a patient abiding and expectation, till the promiſed reward come.

*Argum.*2. Charitie iuſtifieth: *Ergo,* not faith only. The antecedent is thus proued, Luk.7.47. *Many ſinnes are forgiuen her, for ſhe loued much:* her loue is the cauſe, that her ſinnes are forgiuen. So ſaith S. *Iohn, We know we are tranſlated from death to life, becauſe we loue the brethren,* 1.Ioh.3.14. Loue then is the cauſe why we are tranſlated from death to life, *Bellar.ibid.*

Anſw. 1. To the firſt place we anſwere: that the womans loue is not rendred as a cauſe, that her ſinnes were forgiuen her by Chriſt: but by her exceeding loue which was an euident ſigne and effect of her faith, whereby her ſinnes were forgiuen her, our Sauiour Chriſt confuteth the Phariſies who reputed her as a ſinner, verſ.39. and ſheweth, that ſhe was not now in her ſinnes, but they were alreadie remitted; as it might appeare by her great loue: for ſhe hauing receiued ſo great a benefit, as the remiſſion of her ſinnes, doth hold her ſelfe much bound to Chriſt. It followeth therefore, *to whom a little is forgiuen, he loueth a little:* but to this woman much was forgiuen, therefore ſhe loued much. Her loue then followed the remiſſion of ſinnes, as an effect, it went not before as a cauſe: for in this reſpect our Sauiour telleth her, *it was her faith that ſaued her,* verſ.50. not her loue.

2. To the other place we likewiſe anſwere: the Apoſtle ſaith not, *wee are tranſlated from death to life, &c.* but, *we know we are, becauſe we loue the brethren:* that is, loue as a ſpeciall fruit of faith, is a certaine ſigne vnto vs of our regeneration: as verſ.19. *thereby we know that we are of the truth.* By loue iſſuing from faith, wee are aſſured our faith is not in vaine, not that thereby we are iuſtified: yet loue it ſelfe is no cauſe of our iuſtification, but onely a ſigne and badge thereof: for it is impoſſible, that wee ſhould loue GOD firſt: *But herein is loue, not that we loued God, but he loued vs,* chap.4.10. God then ſheweth his loue firſt, in reconciling vs by his Sonne whom wee apprehend by faith, and then after our reconciliation by Chriſt, and iuſtification by faith, loue alſo is wrought in vs toward God. If our loue then ſhould goe before our reconciliation, wherein Gods loue appeareth toward vs, then ſhould we loue God firſt, contrarie to the Apoſtle.

*Argum.*3. Feare doth iuſtifie as well as faith: as Prou.1.7. *The feare of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge.* Prou.14.27. *The feare of the Lord is a welſpring of life: Ergo,* faith onely doth not iuſtifie, or giue life, *Bellarm.c.*13.*diſpoſ.*2.

Anſw. Firſt, by feare here may be vnderſtood in generall the whole ſpirituall ſtate of man, as it alſo comprehendeth faith: as Pſal.128.1. *Bleſſed is the man that feareth the Lord:* but true bleſſednes is by faith: therefore faith cannot be here excluded. In this ſenſe, we doubt not to graunt, that the feare of the Lord, that is, being ioyned with faith, is the beginning of wiſedome. Secondly, if wee take feare more ſpecially, for a particular gift of the ſpirit; in this ſenſe iuſtification is not aſcribed to it: for in the firſt place, it is ſaid to bring *knowledge;* in the ſecond, it is called the *fountaine of life:* which in the ſame place is expounded, verſ.26. *in the feare of the Lord is aſſured ſtrength.* Theſe are the gifts and graces of ſanctification, *knowledge, aſſurance, ſtrength,* they are not iuſtification it ſelfe, but the fruits thereof, to the which the feare of God is the readie way.

*Argum.*4. If faith alone doe iuſtifie, and the other vertues, as of hope, charitie, doe not helpe any thing to iuſtification, then faith may as well iuſtifie, when thoſe vertues are abſent, as when they are preſent: But faith ſeparated from hope and charitie, iuſtifieth not: *Ergo,* faith alone doth not iuſtifie, *Bellarm.cap.*14.

Anſw. It followeth not,faith alone doth iuſtifie: *Ergo*,it is,or may be alone.In the Sunne,there is both heate and light:It is the heate onely that heateth the earth,not the light; and yet the heate cannot be ſeparated from the light: the tongue both toucheth and taſteth; by the taſte onely it diſcerneth the ſauor of meates,not by the touching or feeling; yet there can be no taſte without feeling: ſo faith alone iuſtifieth,yet it is not alone: faith and charitie are inſeparable, yet charitie helpeth not faith to iuſtifie. The good tree is neuer without good fruite, yet the good fruite doth not helpe to make the tree good; the tree is good firſt it ſelfe,before it can bring forth good fruit: So charitie doth not helpe to iuſtifie,that is,to make men good; but firſt he is made righteous by faith,and then he bringeth forth good fruits,as the workes of charitie.

The Proteſtants.

FAith whereby we are iuſtified,is to be conſidered,partly as it is paſſiue,partly as it is actiue: It is paſſiue in apprehending the promiſes of God in Chriſt,and applying Chriſt with all his benefits,in which reſpect faith onely iuſtifieth. It is alſo actiue in bringing foorth good fruites,and quickening of vs to euery good worke; but ſo it iuſtifieth not. Faith then is inſeparably ioyned with hope and loue,and neceſſarily yeeldeth in vs good fruit; but none of all theſe doe concurre with faith,in the act of our iuſtification: but it is the office onely of faith, to applie vnto vs the righteouſnes of Chriſt,whereby only we are made righteous before God.

*Argum.*1. If men are iuſtified without workes,then iuſtification is onely by faith. But the firſt is true, as it may appeare by theſe teſtimonies of Scripture: *Wee conclude,that a man is iuſtified by faith,without the workes of the law*,Rom.3.28. *If Abraham were iuſtified by workes, he hath wherein to reioyce,but not with God*,Rom.4.2. *By grace are ye ſaued through faith,not of workes*,Epheſ.2.9. *That I might be found in him,not hauing mine owne righteouſnes which is of the law,but that which is through the faith of Chriſt*,Philip.3.9. *Ergo*,faith onely iuſtifieth.

Bellarmine anſwereth,that the Apoſtle excludeth not all workes,for then faith it ſelfe ſhould be excluded from iuſtification, becauſe it is a worke: And if iuſtifying faith doe except euery law, then the law of faith alſo ſhould be excepted,*Bellarm.cap.*16. Such workes therefore only are excluded,which goe before faith,which are done, *ſola cognitione legis,vel ſolis viribus liberi arbitrij,ſine gratia*,by the knowledge onely of the law,or by the ſtrength onely of freewill,without grace: not ſuch workes as are of faith,and proceede of grace,*cap.*19.

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle excludeth euen the workes alſo of grace: for when he had ſaid,we are ſaued by grace through faith,not of workes: he afterward ſheweth what workes; *euen ſuch as the Lord had ordained for vs to walke in*,Epheſ.2.10. Againe,in another place he ſaith, *Not by the workes of righteouſnes which we had done,but according to his mercie he ſaued vs*,Tit.3.5. The workes of righteouſnes are excluded: but no man by nature without the helpe of grace, can doe the workes of righteouſneſſe. Further, the Apoſtle ſheweth, that grace and workes cannot bee matched together: *If it be of grace, it is no more of workes, or elſe were grace no more grace: if of workes,it is no more grace,for then worke were no more worke*, Rom.11.verſ.6. Grace and workes cannot therefore iuſtifie together,becauſe the one deſtroyeth the other. Euen workes of grace cannot iuſtifie together with grace: for I aske them,the workes of grace, are they not workes? But if they ſhould iuſtifie together with grace,they ſhould be no more workes: *or elſe* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *worke were no more worke*.

2. Euen at this time, when *Abrahams* faith was imputed to him for righteouſneſſe, and his workes were refuſed in reſpect of his iuſtification; *Abraham* had done many excellent workes by his faith: As he obeyed God,to goe from his fathers houſe,vnto a ſtraunge countrey,which he knew not,Geneſ.12.1.which was a worke of faith,Hebr.11.8.He built altars,and called vpon the name of God,Geneſ.12.7.13.18. Before this time alſo *Abraham* was bleſſed of *Melchiſedech*, Geneſ.14.20. And then after all theſe workes of faith, the Scripture ſaith, That *Abraham* beleeued the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteouſnes, Geneſ.15.6. Wherefore euen *Abrahams* godly workes,iſſuing from his faith,are excluded from his iuſtification.

Bellarmine anſwereth,that although *Abraham* at this time wrought many workes by his faith, yet the Apoſtle taketh not exception againſt ſuch works,but thoſe onely that *Abraham* did without faith: for euen the faithfull,that haue faith,*aliquando operantur non ex fide*,ſometime do worke, but not of faith; as when they ſinne, or doe any pure morall workes, without relation to God: *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. 1. As for the ſinfull workes of faithfull men,which we denie not,but they may ſometimes fall into,it is abſurd to thinke, that the Apoſtle excludeth any ſuch workes: as though any man were ſo blinde to thinke,that by his ſinnes or euill workes, he might be iuſtified. What then meaneth the Ieſuite, to giue an inſtance of the ſinfull workes of *Abraham*, or any other faithfull man,as though they euer came in queſtion,in the matter of iuſtification?

2. As for other workes of faithfull men, if they be good and vertuous,they are of faith: for whatſoeuer is not of faith, is ſinne, Rom.14.23. but faith alwaies hath reſpect and relation to

God: therefore whatſoeuer faithfull men doe well, it commeth of faith, and a good conſcience. All, whatſoeuer elſe in them, is ſinne, and ſo commeth not within the compaſſe of this queſtion.

3. Saint *Paul*, when he ſaith, *That I may be found, not hauing mine owne righteouſnes, &c.* doth not ſpeake onely of ſuch workes, as he did before he was called, but euen of thoſe which he did ſince he was an Apoſtle: *For whom I haue counted all things loſſe, and doe iudge them to be dung, that I might winne Chriſt*, Philip. 3. 8. He ſaith not onely, I haue counted, as ſpeaking of the time paſt, but I doe.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that the Apoſtle could in no wiſe vnderſtand his workes done after his calling, to iudge them as dung, becauſe he ſaith, that for ſuch workes, there was laid vp a crowne of righteouſneſſe, 2. Timoth. 4. 8. *Nunquid Deus coronaret ſtercora?* Should God crowne dung? *Bellarm. cap.* 19.

Contra. Firſt, Saint *Paul* doth not ſimplie call theſe workes dung, or loſſe, but in compariſon: I count all things loſſe, for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt. Secondly, God crowneth the workes of his Saints, not for the worthines of them, which indeede are but as dung, in reſpect of the excellencie of reward: but we with our workes are crowned for the worthines of Chriſt: *Life eternall is the gift of God, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord*, Rom. 6. 23.

4. Now where the Ieſuite obiecteth, that faith is a worke, and that there is a law alſo of faith: *Ergo*, euery worke, and euery law is not excluded from iuſtification. We anſwere: Firſt, that faith is indeed a work, but not any of our works, it is the work of God wrought in vs only by his ſpirit: *This is the worke of God, that ye beleeue in him, &c.* Ioh. 6. 29. Secondly, faith iuſtifieth not as it is a worke, but in reſpect of that propertie, which it hath to apprehend, and apply the iuſtice of Chriſt: it iuſtifieth not by it owne worthines and dignitie, but by the worthines of the obiect. Thirdly, wee exclude not euery law, but *legem operum*, the law of workes: but the law of faith is not the law of workes: for the Apoſtle doth diſtinguiſh them, Rom. 3. 27.

Argum. 2. The ſcripture aſcribeth iuſtification to faith and beleefe: *Whoſoeuer beleeueth in him, ſhall haue euerlaſting life*, Ioh. 3. 16. *Thy faith hath ſaued thee*, Luk. 7. 50. *We are ſaued through faith*, Epheſ. 2 8. *Ergo*, faith onely iuſtifieth.

Anſw. Though faith onely be named, yet faith onely doth not iuſtifie: for by the ſame reaſon, becauſe other vertues ſometimes are onely named, as, *Many ſins are forgiuen her, for ſhe loued much*, Luk. 7. 47. And, *We are ſaued by hope*, Rom. 8. 24. As notwithſtanding, we cannot gather, that loue, or hope doe iuſtifie without faith, although they be named alone: ſo the contrarie cannot be concluded, by the ſole naming of faith, *Bellarm. cap.* 20.

Contra. Firſt, that neither hope, nor charitie doe iuſtifie in whole, or in part, neither that it can be gathered by theſe places, wee haue ſhewed before in our anſwere to their ſecond and third argument againſt iuſtification by faith. Secondly, we are able to bring foorth a place of Scripture, where faith onely is required: Chriſt ſaid vnto the ruler of the Synagogue, whoſe daughter was now dead: *Crede tantum*, Beleeue onely, and ſhe ſhall be made whole, Luk. 8. 50.

Bellarmine anſwereth: That Chriſt ſpeaketh not here of iuſtification, or remiſſion of ſinnes, but onely of doing a myracle, in raiſing vp one which was dead: and faith alone is able to obtaine a myracle, though it be not to iuſtifie, *Bellarm.*

Contra. 1. Our aduerſaries affirme iuſtifying faith, and the faith of myracles in ſubſtance to be all one, and that it is one and the ſelfeſame faith, whereby myracles are wrought, and the ſoules of men iuſtified, *Bellarm. cap.* 5. Yea, the Rhemiſts confeſſe, that the faith of myracles hath more feruor, deuotion, and confident truſt, than the iuſtifying faith: *Annot.* 1. *Cor.* 13. 9. If then faith only be ſufficient to worke myracles, why not allſo to iuſtifie, ſeeing, in their opinion, they are operations of the ſame faith? Nay, if to worke myracles, as they ſay, be the more worthie thing: if faith onely ſuffice for the greater worke, much more for the leſſe.

2. Our Sauiour Chriſt requireth no other faith of *Iairus* here, than he doth of the father, whoſe ſonne was poſſeſſed with a dumme ſpirit: Mark. 9. Chriſt requireth of him to beleeue, that he was able to caſt out the euill ſpirit; and of this man, to beleeue, that he was able to raiſe his daughter: But that faith was not ſufficient onely for myracles, but for all other purpoſes: *If thou canſt beleeue, all things are poſſible to him that beleeueth*, Mark. 9. 23. If all things, then not onely the health of the bodie, but the ſaluation of the ſoule: *Ergo*, this onely faith here required, where our Sauiour ſaith: *Crede tantum*, Beleeue onely, is ſufficient to obtaine all things.

3. This, *crede tantum*, beleeue onely, was no other faith, than that which was in the woman, healed of the bloodie iſſue: for ſhe beleeued onely that Chriſt was able to doe it. But Chriſt ſaith vnto her: *Fides tua te ſaluam fecit*, Thy faith hath ſaued thee, Luk. 8. 48. which the Ieſuite himſelfe confeſſeth to be vnderſtood of the health both of her bodie and ſoule: *Fidei tribuit vtramque ſanitatem:* He aſcribeth to faith both kindes of health. And in the ſame forme of words our Sauiour ſaith to the woman, whoſe ſinnes were forgiuen, *Thy faith hath ſaued thee*, Luk. 7. 50. *Bellar. cap.* 17. If all theſe places ſpeake of the ſame faith, which Chriſt commaundeth, in ſaying, *crede tantum*, be-

leeue onely; then this faith, to beleeue onely, is ſufficient to procure both bodilie and ghoſtlie health.

*Argum.*3. We are iuſtified freely by grace, Rom.3.24. Therefore not of workes, but by faith: *By grace are ye ſaued through faith*, Epheſ.2.8. *To him that worketh not, but beleeueth in him that iuſtifieth the vngodly, his faith is counted for righteouſnes*, Rom.4.5. Wee are then iuſtified freely by faith and beleefe, without workes: *Ergo*, by faith onely.

Anſw. 1. Iuſtification freely by grace, excludeth not all workes or merits, but thoſe workes onely, which doe properly merit, *ex condigno*, of condignitie and worthines, not thoſe which doe merit *ex congruo*, of congruitie: there are other diſpoſitions then beſide faith which goe before iuſtification, which doe not merit of condignitie, that is, for their worthines abſolutely, yet of congruitie, in ſome ſort they doe merit: And yet for all this kinde of meriting, our iuſtification ſhall be free by grace, *Bellar.cap.*21.

Contra. 1. Before we haue faith, there is no place at all for merits: for without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God, Hebr.11.6. Where God is not pleaſed, there is no meriting: *Ergo*, without faith no man can merit. Thoſe diſpoſitions then, which goe before faith and iuſtification, cannot merit any thing at all, and therefore not ſo much, as, *de congruo*, of congruitie. 2. The leaſt degree of meriting in the world, taketh away the freenes of the gift: if iuſtification come freely by grace, it cannot be any way merited: for to him that worketh (ſaith the Apoſtle) the wages is not counted by fauour, but by debt, Rom.4.5. And that wee might knowe, that our iuſtification is altogether of Gods meere mercie, the Apoſtle vſeth two words expreſſing the ſame thing: he ſaith, we are iuſtified by grace, yea and that freely: *gratis per gratiam*, freely by grace.

Anſw. 2. Iuſtification freely by grace excludeth not all workes and merits, but thoſe onely which are of our ſelues, thoſe merits which wee worke by grace, and are of God, may ſtand very well with grace: for as iuſtification by grace excludeth not faith, becauſe faith alſo is of grace, ſo it excludeth not other workes, becauſe they alſo are of grace, *Bellar.ibid.*

Contra. 1. Not onely the workes, which men are able to doe by their owne ſtrength, are excluded from iuſtification, but euen the workes of grace: *Not by the workes of righteouſnes, but according to his mercie he ſaued vs*, Tit.3.8. Mercie then ſhutteth out all workes, euen holie and righteous workes. *We are ſaued by grace, &c. not of workes, yea good workes, which God hath prepared for vs to walke in*, Epheſ.2.8.10. Grace therefore admitteth not ſo much as good workes, in the matter of iuſtification. See more of this before, *reſponſ. ad argum.*1. 2. Though faith be wrought in vs by grace, yet it ſtandeth together with grace, in the benefit of iuſtification, the one as the efficient, the other as the inſtrument thereof: faith meriteth not or deſerueth any thing towards iuſtification, but onely applyeth Chriſt crucified: which office of applying is proper onely to faith; it is not common either vnto workes, or any other gift beſide: therefore they are excluded. And againe, the Scripture ioyneth grace and faith together: *By grace are ye ſaued by faith*, Epheſ.2.8. but no where doe wee finde grace and workes coupled together, in our iuſtification. And this may be a ſufficient cauſe why workes are excluded, and not faith.

Anſw. 3. The Rhemiſts graunt, that the beginning of our iuſtification, which they call the firſt iuſtification, is meerely of Gods grace, neither can we haue any acceptable workes, before we are iuſtified: but in the ſecond iuſtification, which is the encreaſe of the former iuſtice, a man may merit by good workes: *Annot.Rom.*2.3. Saint *Paul* in this place ſpeaketh of the firſt iuſtification, not of the ſecond.

Cont. This is but a late and new deuiſe, of the firſt and ſecond iuſtification, as afterward we will ſhew in the proper place. The Scripture teacheth vs, that not only the beginning of our righteouſnes, but the finiſhing, and perfecting of it, is onely by grace in Chriſt: Epheſ.2.5.6. *When we were dead in our ſinnes, he hath quickened vs together in Chriſt, by whoſe grace ye are ſaued, and hath raiſed vs vp, and made vs ſit together in heauenly places.* We ſee that this ſaluation by grace, bringeth vs vp to heauen: *Ergo*, both the firſt and ſecond iuſtification are of grace, for they can bring vs no further than to heauen.

*Argum.*4. The Scripture teſtifieth, that all, which beleeue, are iuſtified and ſaued; which ſhould not be infallibly true, if faith onely did not iuſtifie: as Ioh.3.16. *That whoſoeuer beleeueth in him ſhould not periſh*: Act.10.43. *Through his name, all that beleeue in him ſhall receiue remiſſion of ſins*: Act.13.39. *By him euery one, that beleeueth, is iuſtified.*

Anſw. 1. The meaning of theſe places may be this: Euery one that beleeueth ſhall be ſaued, that is, none without faith can be ſaued: and none is iuſtified, except he beleeue, *Bellar.c.*22.

Contra. 1. You are a goodly interpreter, to expound an affirmatiue by a negatiue: as to ſay, *euery one that beleeueth ſhall be ſaued*: that is, *he that beleeueth not, ſhall not be ſaued.* This is rather a conſequence, than the ſenſe of the former: as Mark.16.16. Chriſt placeth them together, hauing firſt ſaid, *he that beleeueth ſhall be ſaued* he addeth, *he that beleeueth not ſhall be damned.* This is not the expoſition of the former, but a concluſion inferred vpon it. 2. Where Chriſt ſayth, Iohn 5. *He* *that beleeueth, &c. hath paſſed from death to life* : will you expound it thus, *he that beleeueth not*, *hath not paſſed,&c.* thus in your ſenſe, *hath not paſſed*, and hath paſſed, ſhall one expound the other : Such kind of interpreting is moſt groſſe.

*Anſw.*2. By *all*, which beleeue, are vnderſtood all ſortes of people, whether Iewes or Gentiles, that they are all ſaued by faith, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. 1. If this ſenſe be admitted, all that beleeue, that is, all ſorts of men that beleeue ſhall be ſaued: the ſame concluſion ſtill remaineth, that faith to all ſorts of men both Iewes and Gentiles is ſufficient to ſaluation. 2 How *all* is to be expounded, our Sauiour ſheweth, Mark. 16.15, 16. Preach the Goſpell to *euery creature, he that ſhall beleeue and be baptized, ſhall be ſaued* : but the Goſpell is not preached onely in generall to all ſorts, nor yet Baptiſme miniſtred, but in particular alſo : *Ergo*, euery particular man that beleeueth is ſaued. 3. And as hee that beleeueth not is damned, ſo hee that beleeueth is ſaued ; but euery man in particular not beleeuing is damned. *Ergo.*

*Anſw.*3. Theſe Scriptures do proue that faith doth iuſtifie, if other things be not wanting, it ſufficeth not alone, but doth iuſtifie for the part thereof ; as likewiſe hope, charitie, for their part. *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. 1. The want or abſence of faith onely condemneth, he that beleeueth not is damned, Mark. 16.16. *Ergo*, the preſence of faith onely saueth : *He that beleeueth and is baptized ſhall be ſaued.* 2. Baptiſme is the ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of faith, as Saint *Paul* ſayth of circumciſion, Rom. 4.11. *Ergo*, faith onely ſealed in Baptiſme ſufficeth. 3. Whereas it is ſaid, *through his name and by him euery one that beleeueth, ſhall be ſaued*, Act. 10.43. & 13.39. we reaſon thus, Chriſts name onely iuſtifieth vs ; but faith onely, neyther hope nor charitie, applieth Chriſt: *Ergo*, faith in Chriſt onely ſufficeth.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Intelligenda eſt gratia Dei per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrũ, qua ſola liberamur à malo:* We muſt vnderſtand the grace of God by Ieſus Chriſt, by which wee are onely deliuered from euill : *De correpr.& grat.cap.*2. If all be of grace, then nothing is of workes. That alſo is a knowne ſaying of *Auguſtine* : *Opera non præcedunt iuſtificandum, ſed ſequuntur iuſtificatum :* Works goe not before vnto iuſtification, but follow in him that is alreadie iuſtified. If a man therefore be iuſtified, before workes come, then workes helpe not at all toward his iuſtification. Againe hee ſaith, *Quantalibet fuiſſe virtutis antiquos iuſtos prædices, non eos ſaluos fecit, niſi fides Mediatoris :* How vertuous ſoeuer you report the ancient righteous perſons to haue been, they were not ſaued but by the faith of the Mediator : *Lib.*1.*cont.*2.*epiſt.Pelag.cap.*21. Likewiſe, *Ex epiſtol. Auguſtin.&* 5. *Epiſcoporum ad Innocentium : Fide euacuata, qua hominis iuſtitia remaneat? Chriſtus manens Deus, homo factus, refecit ipſe, quod fecit :* Faith being euacuated, what righteouſneſſe remaineth in man? Chriſt remaining ſtill God, being made man, did make againe, that is, reſtore what he had made. If no righteouſnes remaine where there is no faith, then all mans righteouſnes before God, is by faith in Chriſt.

The fathers are plentifull witneſſes for iuſtification onely by faith.

1. *Origen in c.*3.*epiſt.ad Roman. Dicit Apoſtolus ſufficere ſolius fidei iuſtificationem :* The Apoſtle ſaith, that the iuſtification onely of faith ſufficeth.

2. *Hilar.can.*8.*in Matth. Fides ſola iuſtificat :* Faith onely doth iuſtifie.

3. *Baſil.homil.de humilitat. Nouit ſe ſola fide in Chriſtum iuſtificatum:* He doth know himſelfe onely iuſtified by faith.

4. *Ambroſ.in c.*3.*ad Roman. Sola fide iuſtificati ſunt dono Dei :* They are iuſtified by faith alone by the gift of God: *in cap.*9. *Sola fides poſita eſt ad ſalutem :* Onely faith is appointed to ſaluation.

5. *Chryſoſt.homil.de fide. Si credis fidei, cur alia infers, quaſi fides iuſtificare non ſufficiat ſola?* If you beleeue faith, why do you bring in other things, as though faith onely ſufficed not to iuſtifie?

6. *Cyril.lib.*10.*in Ioan.c.*18. *Hominem per ſolam fidem inhærere Chriſto:* That a man by faith onely doth cleaue to Chriſt.

7. *Bernard.ſerm.*22.*in Cantic. Solam iuſtificatus per fidem pacem habebit apud te*: Being iuſtified onely by faith he ſhall haue peace with thee.

Anſw. Bellarmine to all theſe places anſwereth, that the fathers, in ſaying, *Faith onely iuſtifieth*, exclude not all other things beſide ; but eyther externall workes onely, as *Origen* 1. *Chryſoſt.*5. or the workes of the law without faith, as *Hilar.*2. *Baſil.*3. or the ceremonies of the law, as *Ambroſe loc.*4. For otherwiſe *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, *Non ſolum fide opus eſt, ſed charitate:* We haue not need onely of faith but of charitie, *hom.*1.*in* 1.*Timoth. Bellarm.c.*25.

Contra. Firſt, that charitie is neceſſarie, and other graces of the ſpirite beſide, we graunt, but yet faith onely hath this propertie to iuſtifie : for S. *Paul* hauing taught, that *we are iuſtified by grace, not by the workes of righteouſneſſe*, Tit. 3.5.7. yet exhorteth, *that they which haue beleeued in God, ſhould be carefull to ſhew forth good workes ; theſe thinges are good and profitable to men :* though he aſcribe iuſtification onely to faith, yet he vrgeth workes as neceſſary and profitable.

Secondly, that the fathers excluded all other things whatſoeuer, from the worke of iuſtification, imputing it onely to faith, it is euident.

1. *Chryſoſtome* ſaid before, *Cur alia inferſ?* Why do yee bring in any other thing to iuſtifie beſide faith?

2. *Auguſtine* before alleaged, *Fides euacuata, quæ hominis iuſtitia remanet?* Faith being euacuate, *what other iuſtice of man remayneth?*

3. *Cyprian: Fidem tantum prodeſſe, & tantum nos poſſe, quantum credimus:* That faith onely profiteth, (to ſaluation) and that we onely can do ſo much, as we beleeue, *lib.3.ad Quirin.c.42.*

4. But S. *Ambroſe* of all other is moſt plentifull: Firſt, *in Luc.13. Fides regnum cœlorum eſt: itaq; qui habet fidem, habet & regnum:* Faith is the kingdome of heauen; he then that hath faith, hath the kingdome. Secondly, *in 3.ad Roman. Beatos dicit, de quibus hoc ſanxit Deus, vt ſine labore & aliqua obſeruatione ſola fide iuſtificentur apud Deum:* He calleth them bleſſed, of whom God hath decreed, that without any labour or obſeruation, *they ſhould be iuſtified onely by faith.* And againe, *Manifeſtè beati ſunt; quibus ſine labore, vel opere aliquo remittuntur iniquitates, nulla ab his requiſita pœnitentiæ opera, niſi tantum vt credant:* They are manifeſtly bleſſed, whoſe ſinnes are remitted without their labour, no worke of repentance being required, but onely that they ſhould beleeue, &c. Here *Ambroſe* excludeth euen the godly and religious workes of repentance from iuſtification. Thirdly, *in 9.ad Roman. Conuenit, vt in ſolo nomine Domini conditoris conſequatur ſalutem creatura, hoc eſt, per fidem:* It is conuenient, that the creature only ſhould obtaine ſaluation in the name of the Creator, that is, by faith, &c. I reaſon from hence thus; as the name onely of the Creator iuſtifieth; ſo faith onely in his name: but his Name alone, without any other thing whatſoeuer iuſtifieth: *Ergo,* Faith onely in his name, all other thinges excluded. Fourthly, *Ibid. Nullum opus dicit legis, ſed ſolam fidem dandam in cauſa Chriſti:* He ſaith no worke of the law, but onely faith to be giuen in the cauſe of Chriſt, &c. If faith onely is to be exhibited in the cauſe of Chriſt, what elſe is required, I ſee not. Fiftly, *in 2.Cor.3. Lex ſpiritus dat libertatem, ſolam fidem poſcens:* The law of the ſpirite doth giue libertie, requiring faith alone, &c. If the ſpirite require onely faith, who is it that ſhall require any thing els? Sixtly, *in Epheſ.6. Arma Dei fides ſtabilis, per quam ſolam ſemper victus Sathanas:* The armour of God is a ſtable faith, by the which onely Sathan alwayes hath beene ouercome, &c. As by faith alone we eſcape the condemnation of Sathan, ſo by faith alone wee obtayne iuſtification by Chriſt. Seuenthly, *in 2.Timoth.2. Fundamentum Dei fides quæ continet, quæ promiſit Deus:* The foundation of God is faith, which containeth all that God hath promiſed. &c. one foundation may ſuffice for one houſe; if faith be this foundation, who dare take vpon him to lay another? Eightly, *in 3.ad Galath. Sciunt Abraham ſine operibus legis per ſolam fidem iuſtificatum:* They know that *Abraham* without the workes of the law was iuſtified only by faith, &c. and by workes of the law are vnderſtood all good workes and graces, and not the law of *Moſes* only; as *Hierome* expoundeth, vpon theſe wordes; *No fleſh is iuſtified by the workes of the law; Quod ne de lege Moſis tantum dictum putes, &c.* Which leſt you ſhould thinke is ſpoken only of the law of *Moſes,* and not of all Gods commandements, the ſame Apoſtle writeth, ſaying, *I conſent to the law of God in the inward man, &c. ad Cteſiphont.* Thus then haue we the moſt cleare teſtimonies of the fathers, for iuſtification by faith alone, deliuered from this popiſh writers corrupt gloſſes.

Thirdly, wee want not teſtimonie here from themſelues, *decret. part.3.diſt.4.c.99. Gratia Dei non requirit gemitum, non planctum, nec opus aliquod, ſed ſolam fidem, & omnia gratis condonat:* The grace of God doth not require mourning, or ſighing, or any worke, but faith alone, and it forgiueth all freely.

Decret.Gregor.lib.3.tit.43,c.3.Innocent. Qui Chriſtum habet per fidem, etiamſi Baptiſmum non habeat, habet vtiq; fundamentum, præter quod aliud poni non poteſt, quod eſt Chriſtus Ieſus: He that hath Chriſt by faith, though he haue not Baptiſme, hath the foundation, beſide which none other can be laid, that is Chriſt Ieſus, &c. If Chriſt onely be the foundation, and faith holdeth this foundation, then faith ſufficeth, (not onely without Baptiſme, but all other thinges beſide excluded) to iuſtification.

Peter Lombard.lib.2.diſt.26.d. Hic apertè oſtenditur, quod fides eſt cauſa iuſtificationis: Here it is euidently ſhewed, that faith is the cauſe of iuſtification: *lib.3.diſt.19.a. Per fidem mortis Chriſti, à peccatis mundamur:* We are waſhed from our ſinnes by faith in the death of Chriſt, *diſt.25.a.ex Auguſtin. Nemo liberatur à damnatione quæ per Adam facta eſt, niſi per fidem Ieſu Chriſti:* No man is deliuered from damnation wrought by *Adam*, but by faith of Ieſus Chriſt, &c. If not otherwiſe then by faith; then faith alone doth it.

Laſtly, for this holy trueth, that we are iuſtified by faith onely in Chriſt, haue many holy Martyrs ſuffered perſecution and death: *Patrick Hamelton* condemned, for affirming that a man is onely iuſtified by faith in Chriſt: *Fox.*pag.974.col.2.artic.2. *Iohn Tewksbury*, for the ſame article with others, put to death, pag.1026.col.1.articul.5. Alſo *Iohn Lambert* holy Martyr, pag.1117. articul.31. Likewiſe B.*Farrar* ſuffered holy Martyrdome, for holding, that we are iuſtified before

God by faith onely, and that hope and charitie are not neceſſarily required to iuſtification.pag. 1554.col.2.articul.5.with many holy Martyrs, who confirmed and ſealed this trueth with their blood: Which euidence our aduerſaries ſhall neuer be able to ſhew for the contrary doctrine.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS ARTICLE, WHETHER faith be the beginning only of iuſtification.

The Papiſts.

55.Error. WE are ſayd to be iuſtified by faith, becauſe faith is the beginning onely, the foundation and roote of iuſtification: *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.6.cap.*8. The ſame alſo is the opinion of *Bellarmine: Fidem eſſe initium iuſtificationis*: That faith is the beginning of our iuſtification: *Lib.*1.*de iuſtificat.cap.*13.

*Argum.*1. The Apoſtle ſaith, *He that commeth to God, muſt beleeue that God is,&c.* Hebr. 11.6. *Ergo,* faith is but a beginning and preparation to iuſtification: for he muſt haue it,that is,in comming to God: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. Firſt,it followeth not,faith is the beginning of iuſtification: *Ergo,*it is onely the beginning: he that commeth to God muſt haue faith, and he that is come alreadie,muſt haue faith alſo. In a commer and beginner, there is required a comming and beginning faith: and his faith muſt grow vp,and encreaſe with him: *Lord I beleeue,* ſaith the carefull parent in the Goſpell,here is the beginning of his faith; *helpe my vnbeleefe,* here is the encreaſe:Mark.9.24. Secondly, neither is it neceſſarie to vnderſtand,this comming vnto God onely for the beginning of our calling, but for the whole vocation of a Chriſtian: as is euident by theſe places: *Come vnto me all ye that are wearie, and I will refreſh you,* Matth.11.28. *He that commeth vnto me ſhall not hunger,* Iohn 6.35. *He that commeth to me, I caſt not away,*verſ.37. *He that is taught of God, and hath learned of the father, commeth to me,*verſ.45. But theſe are not fruites only of the beginning of our calling, namely, to be refreſhed,not to hunger,not to be caſt off,to be taught of God: but they proceede from the very perfection of our vocation and iuſtification: *Ergo.*

*Argum.*2. *To as many as receiued him,he gaue them power to be the ſonnes of God, euen to them that beleeue in his name:* Iohn 1.12. *Ergo,*they that beleeue in Chriſt,are not yet the ſonnes of God,but haue a power and poſſibilitie onely to be: faith then is a preparation to iuſtification, rather then the thing it ſelfe: *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſ. Firſt,they that beleeue in Chriſt are alreadie the ſonnes of God, as it followeth in the next verſe,which are borne of God: and,*Whoſoeuer beleeueth that Ieſus is the Chriſt, is borne of God:* 1.Iohn 5.1. He ſaith not, ſhall be borne, or may be borne, but is borne: but he that is borne of God,is alreadie the ſonne of God. Secondly,*He that beleeueth hath euerlaſting life, and hath paſſed from death to life,* Iohn 5.24. But none are heires of life,but children: Rom.8.7. *If ye be children, then heires alſo,&c. Ergo,* he that beleeueth,is really and actually alreadie the child of God. Thirdly, *As many as are led by the ſpirit of God,are the ſonnes of God,*Rom.8.14. But they which beleeue are led by the ſpirit of God,for *the father draweth them,* Iohn 6.44. and they are borne *not of bloud, nor of the will of fleſh,nor of the will of man,but of God,* Iohn 1.13. And he that is not borne *of the fleſh,is borne of the ſpirit,*Iohn 3.6. Wherefore he that beleeueth, is the childe of God, he hath not onely poſſibilitie to be. Fourthly, this place then cannot carrie any ſuch ſenſe, as the Ieſuite inferreth vpon it,for then the Scripture ſhould be contrarie to it ſelfe; that God giueth a facultie and abilitie onely to them that beleeue, to be the ſonnes of God: But this place declareth rather, from whence faith receiueth this high dignitie,power and vertue,to make vs the ſonnes of God: that it commeth not of our ſelues, nor of the worthines of faith, but of the grace and free gift of God: as Saint *Paul* elſe where ſheweth, *We are ſaued by grace through faith, not of our ſelues,&c.* Epheſ.2.8.

The Proteſtants.

FAith is not onely the beginning and foundation of our iuſtification,but both the encreaſe,and perfection,and full accompliſhment thereof.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, The Goſpell is the power of God to ſaluation, &c. for by it, the righteouſnes of God is reuealed from faith to faith,Rom.1.17. Faith then leadeth vs to faith: It is not then onely the beginning, but the encreaſe of righteouſnes. The Scripture alſo ſaith, *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith,*Rom.1.17. But we liue not by iuſtification begun onely, but perfected and finiſhed: *Ergo,* our full iuſtification is by faith.

Anſw. We liue by faith, that is, faith perfected, and formed by charitie: And we are led from faith to faith,that is,from an imperfect to a perfect faith, which is perfected by charitie: *Bellarm. lib.*1.*de iuſtificat.cap.*20.

Contra. That there are degrees of faith we graunt: there is a beginning and encreaſe of faith: *I beleeue,helpe my vnbeleefe,* Mark.9.24. There is a great faith, Matth. 15.28. There is a little or ſmall faith,as a graine of Muſtard ſeede, Matth. 17:20. But that faith is formed or perfected by charitie,we vtterly deny it,as an vntrueth contrarie to Scripture,as ſhall be ſhewed more at large in the proper place: *Faith indeede worketh by charitie*, Galath.5.6. but the ſubſtance of faith is one thing,the working another: loue concurreth with faith in working, it is no part of the eſſence, or being of faith: loue is an effect of faith: *That Chriſt may dwell in your hearts by faith, that being grounded and rooted in loue,&c.* Epheſ.3.17. The dwelling of Chriſt by faith in vs, maketh vs to be grounded in loue: If loue then be an effect,and follow faith,it is rather perfected by faith,then a perfector of faith.

*Argum.*2. *Abraham beleeued God, and it was counted to him for righteouſneſſe:* Rom.4.3. But *Abraham* at this time was no nouice, or young beginner in faith, but a perfect righteous man: *Ergo*, of faith is not onely the beginning, but perfection of our righteouſneſſe.

Anſw. We ſay not, that faith is ſuch a beginning of iuſtification, as that it goeth away, when perfection commeth: but it is ſuch a beginning and foundation, as the groundworke of the houſe which though it be the beginning of the building,yet it remaineth,when the building is perfected and finiſhed. Therefore *Abrahams* iuſtice was both begun, encreaſed and perfected by faith: but not onely by faith: this we ſay,that faith is not able alone perfectly to iuſtifie the beleeuer: *Bellarmin.ibid.*

Contra. 1, We take this kindly at the Ieſuites handes, that he will graunt vs thus much, that faith is the foundation of iuſtification: the foundation is the principall part of the houſe, and ſo by his confeſſion, faith is the principall in our iuſtification:yet the *Rhemiſts* flatly denie it:for they ſay in theſe very words, *That workes are more principall then faith in the matter of iuſtification*: *Annot. Iam.*2.*ſect.*7. It were good for them firſt to be agreed, before they deale againſt vs, leſt they haue worke enough among themſelues. 2. *Bellarmine* in aſcribing to faith the beginning, encreaſe.and perfection of righteouſnes, though not to faith alone,herein diſſenteth from his ghoſtly fathers of the Tridentine Chapter,which,as he ſaith, *Nihil amplius fidei dederit,quam vt eſſet initium iuſtificationis:* Did giue no more vnto faith, then to be the beginning onely of iuſtification: *Bellarmin. cap.*13.*initio cap.* 3. That faith doth perfectly iuſtifie, we haue proued at large before, and it may appeare further thus: Hee that is at peace with God, is fully and perfectly iuſtified, his conſcience cleered, and his ſinnes remitted, but by faith we haue peace of conſcience: *Being iuſtified by faith, we haue peace toward God*, Rom.5.1. *Ergo*, by faith we are fully and perfectly iuſtified.

Auguſtine vpon theſe words: Iohn 6.29. *This is the worke of God, that ye beleeue,&c.* writeth thus: *Si iuſtitia eſt opus Dei,quomodo erit opus Dei,vt credatur in eum, niſi ipſa ſit iuſtitia, vt credamus in eum?* If iuſtice or righteouſneſſe be the worke of God, how is it the worke of God to beleeue in him, vnleſſe it bee righteouſneſſe it ſelfe to beleeue in him? See then, it is not *initium iuſtitiæ credere, ſed ipſa iuſtitia*, not the beginning of iuſtice to beleeue, but iuſtice and righteouſneſſe it ſelfe.

Concil. Baſilienſ. ex oration. præſidentis ad Bohemos, in appendice: Habitare,dicit Apoſtolus, Chriſtum per fidem in cordibus noſtris,nec ſolum habitabit, quinimo per fidem in filium adoptiuum aſſumet: omnes enim,inquit Apoſtolus,filij Dei eſtis per fidem: The Apoſtle ſaith, that Chriſt dwelleth in our hearts by faith,Ephe.3. neither that he dwelleth only,but by faith adopteth vs to be his children: Ye are all the ſonnes of God by faith,ſaith the Apoſtle,Galath.3.26. If faith maketh vs the ſonnes of God, then doth it wholy iuſtifie vs: for before we are iuſtified we are not the ſonnes of God.

THE SECOND GENERALL PART, OF IVSTIFICATION it ſelfe.

THe particular queſtions are theſe: Firſt,whether inherent iuſtice be the formall cauſe of iuſtification. Secondly, of the certaintie of iuſtification by faith. Thirdly, whether faith, or the grace of iuſtification may be loſt.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER INHERENT iuſtice be the formall cauſe of iuſtification.

The Papiſts.

THey deny inſtantly, that men are iuſtified by the onely imputation of the righteouſneſſe of 56. Error.
Chriſt,or by the remiſſion of ſinnes: *Trident.Concil.ſeſſ.*6.*can.*11. or that we are formally made iuſt by the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt:*can.*10. but hold them accurſed that ſo affirme and teach. This then is their ſentence, that *Vnica formalis cauſa,eſt iuſtitia Dei,qua nos iuſtos facit,quam quiſque in ſe recipit:* The onely formall cauſe of our iuſtification, is the iuſtice of God,whereby we are not reputed iuſt,but are made iuſt indeede. This is that iuſtice,which euery man hath within himſelfe,

and is inherent in him: *ſeſſ.6.cap.7. Sic Rhemiſt.annot.Rom.*2.*ſect*.4. *Bellarmine* alſo conſenteth: *Lib.*2.*de iuſtificat.cap.*2. Firſt, let vs ſee their arguments for inherent iuſtice: ſecondly, againſt the imputatiue iuſtice of Chriſt.

Argum.1. *As by one mans diſobedience many were made ſinners: ſo by the obedience of one ſhall many be made righteous:* Rom.5.19. *At Adami inobedientia verè non imputatiuè nobis peccatum impreſſit:* But *Adams* diſobedience did truely print ſinne in our nature, not imputatiuely onely: *Ergo*, we are truely made righteous by Chriſt, not by imputation onely: *Bellarmine cap.*3.*argum.*1. This argument *Bellarmine* taketh to be ſo firme, that he ſaith: *Videtur nullam reſponſionem admittere:* It cannot be anſwered. And therefore he doth inculcate the ſame argument often, euen thrice together in this one queſtion: Once, *cap.*3.*argum.*1. Againe, *cap.*7.*argum*.2. And againe, *argum*.6. Where he reaſoneth thus: Chriſt reſtoreth that to vs, which we loſt in *Adam*, but we loſt true inherent iuſtice in *Adam: Ergo*, we recouer true inherent iuſtice by Chriſt.

Anſw.1. This argument concludeth nothing, vnleſſe he will haue the Apoſtles compariſon betweene the diſobedience of *Adam*, and the obedience of Chriſt; our fall by the one, and our reſtitution by the other, to agree in all things: but that cannot be, for all men in the world are borne in *Adams* ſinne, yet all men are not made righteous by Chriſt. Againe, *Adams* diſobedience brought vs from paradiſe, Chriſts obedience ſhall not bringe vs to paradiſe, but to heauen: *Ergo*, this compariſon holdeth not in euery reſpect.

2. The Apoſtle himſelfe, in this ſimilitude, ſheweth ſome difference and diſſimilitude: *The gift is not ſo, as the offence; the fault came of one offence to condemnation, the gift is of many offences to iuſtification*, verſ.16. And againe, *The gift is not ſo as the offence*, verſ.15. For, *if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God &c.* That is, Chriſt is much more able to ſaue many by his righteouſnes, then *Adam* was to condemne many by his diſobedience. We ſee then that this compariſon, As by one mans diſobedience, &c. ſo by the obedience of one, &c. is not to be vrged in euerie part, but wherein onely the compariſon ſtandeth. And if it hold not in theſe poynts, which the Apoſtle himſelfe ſetteth downe, why ſhould it hold in this, which the Ieſuit vrgeth, ſeeing it is not that poynt, wherein the Apoſtle compareth them?

3. The Apoſtle then compareth them together, in reſpect of the worke or the thing done, many are made ſinners by one, and many are made righteous by one, but not in reſpect of the manner: that righteouſnes ſhould bee conueyed fom Chriſt, after the ſame manner, as ſinne was propagated from *Adam*: for the Apoſtle ſaith, that in *Adam* all ſinned, that is, verely and indeed in him they are ſinners: But ſpeaking of the righteouſnes of Chriſt, he ſaith, *It is a gift, and of the abundance of grace*, verſ.17. And how this gift is conueyed, he ſheweth, where he ſaith, *The righteouſnes of God by the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, vnto all, and vpon all that beleeue*, Rom.3.22. This gift of righteouſnes is by faith in Chriſt.

4. If yet notwithſtanding the Ieſuite will ſtand ſtill ſtrictly vpon the equalitie and liknes of this compariſon in all poynts: let him remember, that he defineth originall ſinne to be nothing els, but *priuatio & carentia iuſtitia originalis*, to be a pruation or wanting of originall iuſtice: *De remiſſ.grat. lib.*5.*cap.* 19. Then by the ſame reaſon, it may be inferred by this compariſon, that as *Adams* ſinne brought nothing but a priuation of iuſtice; ſo Chriſts righteouſnes ſhould bring nothing to vs, but a priuation of originall ſinne and vnrighteouſnes. But Chriſt doth not onely free vs from ſinne, but alſo maketh vs righteous: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Non ſolum peccata per Chriſtum interfecta ſunt, ſed iuſtitia tributa:* Our ſinnes are not onely ſlaine by Chriſt, but righteouſnes alſo is giuen.

5. Yet ſomewhat better to content the Ieſuit, wee graunt alſo a ſimilitude euen in this reſpect betweene Chriſt and *Adam*, in the manner of transferring ſinne on the one ſide, and righteouſnes on the other: for as there are two parts of originall ſinne, the guilt of *Adams* ſinne propagated to his poſteritie, and the deprauation of our nature: ſo there is a two-fold iuſtice: there is a iuſtice imputed vnto vs by faith, which is the iuſtice of Chriſt; there is a iuſtice inherent and abiding in vs, which is our owne iuſtice: And as *Adams* ſinne entring into his poſteritie made them ſubiect to death and condemnation, Rom.5.12. and wholly corrupted and deprаued their nature; ſo it is the righteouſnes onely of Chriſt which freeth vs from condemnation, which worketh in vs an imperfect inherent righteouſnes, whereby we leade an holy life, but are not thereby iuſtified before God: And as *Adams* ſinne is propagated by the naturall and carnall generation, ſo Chriſts iuſtice is ſpiritually deriued vnto vs by the ſpirituall birth which is by faith.

Contra Iulian.lib.1.

6. Wherein this compariſon holdeth betweene *Adam* and Chriſt, in what reſpect *Adam* is ſaid to be a forme of him, that was to come, that is, of Chriſt; *Auguſtine* very well ſheweth in theſe words: *Adam forma eſt futuri, i.Chriſti, quoniam ſicut ille ex ſemetipſo naſcentibus licet non manducauerint de ligno, factus eſt cauſa mortis, quæ per cibum inducta eſt: ita Chriſtus, qui ex ipſo ſunt, tametſi nihil iuſtè egerunt, factus eſt prouiſor iuſtitia quam per crucem nobis omnibus condonauit:* *Adam* is the figure of him that was to come, namely Chriſt, becauſe, as he became the cauſe of death, which came in

by the forbidden meat, to thoſe which were borne of him, although they did not eate of the tree: ſo Chriſt to thoſe which are of him, although they had done no righteouſnes, yet prouided for them righteouſnes, which he purchaſed by his croſſe, and gaue vnto them. *Adam* then may be a figure of Chriſt, and the compariſon may hold without inherent iuſtice: for the iuſtice giuen to vs, is the iuſtice of Chriſts croſſe, and we are made iuſt, without doing iuſtly, that is without our owne iuſtice: as *Auguſtine* here ſaith.

7. Now laſtly, whereas ***Bellarmine*** would haue Chriſt to reſtore whatſoeuer is loſt in *Adam*: by the ſame reaſon, by Chriſt men ſhould be exempted in this life from ſinne and death: for *Adam* before his fall, was ſubiect to neither. Our anſwere then is this: that indeed we find more in Chriſt, then we loſt in *Adam*: he doth reſtore vs to a farre more excellent eſtate, then man was created in: But this our happines is but begun in this life, the perfection and accompliſhment of it, is reſerued for the life to come. And thus, I truſt, this vnanſwerable argument is anſwered: our ſtout champion then was ſomewhat too forward in triumphing before the victorie.

1 *Argum.*2. Firſt, Hebr.11.4. *Abel* by faith obtained to be righteous: and *Noah* likewiſe, verſ.7. theſe were iuſt by their inherent iuſtice, becauſe they did righteous workes: as *Abel* did offer ſacrifice; *Noah* prepared the Arke, &c. *Bellar.arg.*5.

2 Secondly, Rom.8.29. *He hath predeſtinate them to be made like the image of his Sonne:* but Chriſt is iuſt, not by an imputatiue, but an inherent iuſtice: *Ergo*, ſo are his members.

3 Thirdly, Rom.6.5. *We are graft into the ſimilitude of Chriſts death and reſurrection:* but hee trulie died, and not putatiuely, or in opinion: *Ergo*, we alſo truly not putatiuely muſt die vnto ſinne, &c.

4 Fourthly, S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of the ſpirit of adoption now preſent, and of the adoption by the redemption of our bodies, Rom.8.15.23. but the adoption or redemption of our bodies, ſhall be true, and not putatiue, or in opinion: *Ergo*, ſo is our adoption now, *Bellar.arg.*7.8.

1 *Anſw.* Firſt, *Abel* and *Noah* we graunt had iuſt and righteous workes, which were fruites of their faith: but they were not by them iuſtified before God, but it was the righteouſnes of faith, whereby they were iuſt before God: as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Noe was made heire of the righteouſneſſe which is by faith.*

2 Secondly, the conformitie betweene Chriſt & vs ſtandeth not in our iuſtification: for the iuſtice of Chriſt was in him originall, but in vs it is deriued from him: but it conſiſteth in our ſanctification, as the Apoſtle ſheweth: *Arme your ſelues with the ſame minde, that he, which hath ſuffered in the fleſh, hath ceaſed from ſinne.* We muſt then be conformable vnto Chriſt in dying vnto ſinne, and riſing to newnes of life.

3 Thirdly, to dye vnto ſinne is part of our ſanctification, not of our iuſtification, which we grant muſt verily and truly be in vs.

4 Fourthly: firſt, an adopted ſonne, is a reputed ſonne: and therefore ſeeing we are Gods ſonnes by adoption in Chriſt, we are ſo by reputation or imputation. Secondly, it followeth not our adoption is true, therefore not by imputation: for, the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt is as verily ours thorough imputation by faith, as if it were actually in our ſelues. Thirdly, the argument followeth not from the ſtate of the next life, to our condition now: for then we ſhall ſee Chriſt face to face, we ſhall neede no faith, nor imputatiue iuſtice, but ſhall verilie and perfectly be made iuſt by Chriſt: our roabes ſhall be made white in the blood of the Lambe, Reuelat.7.14. but in this life *we walke by faith, and not by ſight*, 2.Corinth.5.7. and therefore are iuſt onely by the iuſtice of faith.

*Argum.*3 The Apoſtle ſaith, *According to his mercy he ſaued vs by the waſhing of the new birth or regeneration, and the renewing of the holy Ghoſt, which he ſhed on vs abundantly, through Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, that we being iuſtified by his grace, &c. ad Tit* 3.7. To be iuſtified then, is nothing els but to be regenerate and renewed by the holy Ghoſt: but our regeneration is inherent in vs: *Ergo*, ſo is our iuſtification: *Bellarm. cap.*13. *argum.*4.

*Anſ.*1. The Apoſtle in this place vſeth this word (to be iuſtified) in the largeſt ſenſe, as comprehending both the iuſtice of Chriſt imputed vnto vs by Chriſt, as alſo that iuſtice & holines which is wrought in vs by his ſpirite: for ſeeing the ſcripture doth call men iuſt both theſe wayes; iuſt by the righteouſnes or iuſtice of faith, as *Noe*, Heb.11.7. iuſt alſo, though imperfectly, by the righteouſnes wrought in them, as *Lot* is called iuſt, 2.Pet.2.7. not vnfitly both theſe kinds of iuſtice are comprehended vnder the word iuſtification. Againe, this word the Apoſtle in this ſenſe vſeth in other places, as Rom.8.30. Whom he iuſtifieth, he glorifieth; where iuſtification alſo comprehendeth ſanctification, which goeth before glorification. Likewiſe, Rom.5.18. the Apoſtle calleth the whole worke of our redemption, including alſo our ſaluation, which muſt anſwere in that place to condemnation, *the iuſtification of life:* yet at other times ſpeaking more diſtinctly, he maketh theſe three degrees, *being freed from ſinne*, here is our redemption, *Ye haue your fruit in holines*, this is ſanctification, and *the end euerlaſting life*, here is ſaluation, Rom.6.22. ſo in this place, the Apoſtle confoundeth theſe two words to be ſaued, and iuſtified: and ſo he doth, Ephes.2.8. At other times he diſtinguiſheth betweene them: as Rom.5.9. *Being iuſtified by his blood, we ſhall be ſaued through him:* and in the next verſe alſo he putteth difference betweene theſe two, to be reconciled, and ſaued: for ſaluation, to ſpeake properly, is of the end, iuſtification is the meane that leadeth to the end. Laſtly, the Apoſtle himſelfe doth diſtinguiſh this generall kinde of iuſtification into parts: *They which beleeue in God* (ſaith he, verſ.8.) this is the iuſtification by faith, *ought to be carefull to ſhew forth good works:* this is the iuſtice which is in vs.

2. The Apoſtle here ſaith, That *the holy Ghoſt is ſhed on vs abundantly through Ieſus Chriſt*, Tit.3.6. But faith is the meane and way whereby it is applied: *We receiue the promiſe of the ſpirit through faith*, Galath.3.14. He nameth alſo here the waſhing of the new birth, which new birth is by beleeuing in Chriſt, 1.Iohn 5.1. Whoſoeuer beleeueth, that Ieſus is the Chriſt, is borne of God: So that the Apoſtle neceſſarilie vnderſtandeth in this place iuſtification by faith, though he alſo ſpeake of regeneration and renouation: ſo farre is the Apoſtle from making them all one: though he name them together, becauſe they muſt goe together, and are both neceſſarie towards the attaining of euerlaſting life.

Theſe, and the like arguments our aduerſaries haue deuiſed for their inherent iuſtice: Now let vs ſee, what they can obiect againſt the imputation of the iuſtice of Chriſt.

*Argum.*1. If the iuſtice of Chriſt be truly imputed vnto vs, ſo that thereby we are verily and truely counted iuſt, as if it were our owne proper righteouſneſſe, we ſhould then be counted no leſſe iuſt and righteous, then Chriſt himſelfe, and ſo conſequently be counted Redeemers and Sauiours of the world, as well as he: *Bellarm.cap.7.argum.5.*

Anſw. Firſt, it followeth not, Chriſts iuſtice is verilie made ours, as if it were properly our own: *Ergo*, we are as iuſt as Chriſt: for Chriſts iuſtice was originally in him, it is ours but by imputation: his iuſtice was truly meritorious, and not of grace, our iuſtice by him is of grace: Neithere is the whole iuſtice that was in Chriſt, imputed to vs, for he was not iuſt onely, as he was man, but iuſt alſo as God. Secondly, we muſt diſtinguiſh betweene iuſtice it ſelfe and the communication thereof, betweene the proprietie and poſſeſſion of a thing, and the vſe. A thing may be common in vſe, yet proper in poſſeſſion: ſo Chriſts iuſtice is communicated to vs, that is, the vertue, power, and efficacie thereof, yet Chriſts perſonall iuſtice ſtill remaineth in himſelfe. The two oliue branches did continually emptie themſelues into the golden pipes: Zachar.4.12. The pipes or conduits had no oyle, but from the branches; yet the fountaine of oyle remained in the oliue tree ſtill: It cannot be ſayd now, that the pipes were as full of oyle as the braunches. By theſe oliue braunches, the Prophet vnderſtandeth Chriſt, from whom we receiue all the oyle of grace which we haue, in as ample manner, as if this oyle ſprang of our ſelues, yet farre inferiour for all this are the pipes to the oliue tree.

*Argum.*2. If we by the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt imputed to vs, are truely counted iuſt before God, and are become the ſonnes of God, by the ſame reaſon Chriſt by the imputation of our ſinnes, may be truely counted a ſinner, and ſo alſo the childe of the diuell, which were a moſt horrible blaſphemie. But if Chriſt, notwithſtanding the imputation of our ſinnes, be righteous and iuſt ſtill, we alſo, though the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt be imputed, ſhould remaine vnrighteous, and vniuſt ſtill, and therefore not thereby iuſtified: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. That our ſinnes were imputed to Chriſt, and that he tooke them vpon himſelfe, and ſuffered for them, being now counted his by imputation, wee haue euident teſtimonies out of Scripture to proue it: Eſai.53.verſ.6. *The Lord hath laid vpon him the iniquitie of vs all: He ſhall beare their iniquities*, verſ.11. *He was counted with the tranſgreſſors, and bare the ſinne of many*, verſ.12. This alſo was euidently prefigured by the ſcape goate, which was a type and figure of Chriſt: the ſinnes of the people were put vpon the head of the goate, and the goate did beare their iniquities into the wilderneſſe: And the goate by this imputation of the peoples ſinne, was counted vncleane, the beaſt yet by nature being vncapable of ſinne; inſomuch that hee, which carried the goate, was commaunded to waſh his cloathes and fleſh with water, as polluted with touching the goate, Leuit.16.22.26. So S. *Paul* ſaith, that Chriſt was accurſed, yea made a curſe for vs, Galat.3. verſ.13. And that he was made ſinne for vs, which knew no ſinne, 2.Cor.5.21. not onely a ſacrifice for ſinne, but euen ſo ſin for vs, that is by imputation, as we are made his righteouſnes: for ſeeing this is the perpetual rule of Gods iuſtice, that the ſame ſoule that ſinneth ſhould dye, Ezech.18.20. how can it ſtand with Gods iuſtice, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer for our ſins, if they were not in ſome ſort now annexed vnto him? Seeing then the Scripture ſaith, that Chriſt bare our iniquitie, was accurſed, made ſinne for vs, counted among ſinners and tranſgreſſors: why ſhould wee doubt to ſpeake, as the Scripture doth, that Chriſt was for vs counted a ſinner and a tranſgreſſor, yet in himſelfe remained holie, iuſt, and righteous ſtill? So wee in Chriſt are verily reputed righteous, though by nature we are vniuſt and vnrighteous.

2. Now concerning theſe conſequents, which *Bellarmine* inferreth hereupon: as firſt, *Si Chriſtus poterit dici verè peccator, tum etiam filius diaboli:* If Chriſt may verily be counted or called a ſinner,

ner,then alſo the childe or ſonne of the diuell,which is an horrible thing to be thought. Wee anſwere: not euery ſinner is the childe of the diuell: *He that committeth ſin, is of the diuell*,1.Ioh.3.8. But Chriſt neuer committed ſinne: *In him is no ſinne,ibid.*verſ.5.ſinne is laid vpon him only by imputation: *Ergo.* Againe,euen amongſt men,euery one that hath ſinne, is not of the diuell: for there is no man liuing but hath ſinne: *If we ſay,we haue no ſinne,we deceiue our ſelues*,1.Ioh.1.8. And yet it is true,which the ſame Apoſtle ſaith,*Whoſoeuer is borne of God,ſinneth not*,1.Ioh.3.9.for there is great difference betweene theſe two,to commit ſinne,and to haue ſinne, as *Auguſtine* diſtinguiſheth: *Aliud eſt non peccare,aliud non habere peccatum,nam in quo peccatum non regnat, non peccat,&c.* It is one thing not to ſinne,another,not to haue ſinne:for he ſinneth not,in whom ſinne raigneth not,to obey the deſires thereof: *in 4.cap.ad Galat.* And againe,*Quamuis diabolus*(ſaith he)*ſit princeps omnium peccatorum & author, non tamen filios diaboli faciunt quæcunque peccata,filios autem diaboli infidelitas facit*:Although the diuell be the prince and author of al ſinnes,yet all ſinnes make not the children of the diuell, infidelitie onely maketh a man the ſonne of the diuell, *Auguſt.cont.epiſt. Pelag.lib.3.cap.2.* He then that committeth ſinne,that is, in whom ſin raigneth, or in whom there is infidelitie,is the childe of the diuell; not he which hath ſinne,but obeyeth it not,or is a beleeuer: much leſſe can it be inferred,that Chriſt is of the dinell,though he were for vs counted among ſinners,becauſe he neither hath,nor doth ſinne, but it was only imputed vnto him; into whoſe heart neuer any ſparke of infidelitie entred.

Secondly,the Ieſuite inferreth,that if our ſinnes were imputed to Chriſt,as his righteouſneſſe is to vs,then as Chriſt for all the imputation of our ſins,remaineth iuſt,and holie; ſo wee,notwithſtanding the imputation of his righteouſnes,ſhould be vnholy and vnrighteous ſtill.

Anſw. 1. True it is,that as Chriſt in his owne nature remaineth righteous and iuſt, though our ſinnes were imputed,the imputation of our ſinnes doth not pollute the purenes of his nature: ſo, if we ſhould ſet apart the righteouſnes of Chriſt,by the imputation whereof we are iuſtified; in vs by nature,there is nothing elſe but ſinne and corruption: as S.*Paul* ſaith, *I know, that in me,that is,in my fleſh,dwelleth no good thing*,Rom.7.18. 2. There is nothing the like reaſon, that the imputation of our ſinne ſhould leaue any ſtaine or blot in the holy nature of Chriſt, as, that the imputation of his righteouſnes ſhould worke holines in vs: whereupon it is,that wee are holy and iuſt by his righteouſnes imputed, but he notwithſtanding the imputation of our ſinne, is neither vniuſt nor vnholie: firſt,becauſe it is impoſſible that Chriſt ſhould be vniuſt, his holy nature is not capable of ſinne, but it is poſſible that man ſhould become righteous: the humane nature is capable of righteouſnes,wherein it was once created,and ſhall be againe reſtored vnto it in Chriſt. Secondly,ſin is not ſo forcible to defile and deſtroy nature,as the grace of God is to preſerue and ſanctifie: as S.*Paul* reaſoneth: *If through the offence of one many be dead,much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace*,Rom.5.15. If grace euen in men, whoſe nature is ſubiect to ſinne, and death, be more able to ſaue,than ſinne is to deſtroy: much leſſe can ſinne preuaile more,or ſo much,being but imputed,in the nature of Chriſt to pollution, which cannot ſinne,as grace and righteouſnes doth in vs to ſanctification? And thus farre of their arguments.

The Proteſtants.

WE acknowledge an inherent iuſtice in all faithfull men, wrought in them by the ſpirit of God,being now iuſtified by faith in Chriſt: but it is imperfect, not able to iuſtifie them before God; it is no other then ſanctification, which is a fruit of iuſtification: But that iuſtice, whereby we are iuſt before God,not falſely accounted,but made truly iuſt, is by the righteouſnes of Chriſt onely,which we apprehend by faith. And of this our iuſtification by Chriſt,there are two parts,the cleere remiſſion of our ſinnes and puniſhment due thereunto: for in Chriſt we are freed from the law of ſinne,and death,Rom.8.2. The other part is the imputation of the righteouſnes of Chriſt: *By the iuſtifying of one, the benefit abounded toward all men, to the iuſtification of life*, Roman.5.18. And that this is our righteouſnes before God, and no other, it remaineth now to bee proued by ſcripture.

Argum. 1. *Abraham beleeued God,and it was counted to him for righteouſnes*,Rom.4.2. And,*Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen,and whoſe ſinnes are couered, and to whom the Lord imputeth no ſin*, verſ.7.8. *Ergo*, the righteouſneſſe of man conſiſteth not in any actuall inherent iuſtice in himſelfe,but in that his ſins are forgiuen him,and the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt applied to him by faith.

Anſw. 1. Wee graunt that *Abraham* was reputed righteous by his faith, yet it followeth not, that to haue faith reputed or counted for righteouſnes,is to haue the righteouſnes of Chriſt imputed by faith: for faith,which is imputed for righteouſnes,is not the righteouſnes of Chriſt, but our owne righteouſnes. And to bee reputed for righteous here, ſignifieth not a bare opinion of righteouſnes,but ſuch an opinion, as the truth of the matter anſwereth: for the Apoſtle vſing the ſame word,ſaith,that *to him that worketh,the wages is counted,or reputed not by fauour,but by debt*,ver.4 But the wages is not giuen to him that worketh in opinion, or account onely, but verily,and in deede,*Bellarm.cap.9.*

Contra. 1. Faith,ſaith the Ieſuite, which is reputed for righteouſnes, is not the righteouſnes of Chriſt: and therefore it is all one to ſay,faith is reputed for righteouſnes,and righteouſnes is imputed.

Anſ. 1. The Apoſtle here by faith vnderſtandeth alſo the obiect apprehended by faith:as more plainly in theſe words,*The righteouſnes of God by the faith of Ieſus Chriſt*,Rom.3.22. So that in faith here reputed for righteouſnes,we are not to reſpect the worthines of the act of beleeuing in it ſelfe, but in reſpect of the obiect: the faith(ſaith the Apoſtle) of Ieſus Chriſt.

2. Againe,the Ieſuite elſewhere ſaith, that faith,in his meaning, vnderſtanding ſtill the dignitie of faith in it ſelfe,is but the beginning of righteouſnes: but the Apoſtle ſaith, that faith it ſelfe, not naming any thing elſe,is righteouſnes,that is more then the beginning.

3. And if faith as it is a work and act in vs doth iuſtifie; how can it be true,which the Apoſtle ſaith,*To him that worketh not,faith is counted for righteouſneſſe*,verſ.5. *and God imputeth righteouſneſſe without workes*,verſ.6.

2. We ſay not, that to be reputed iuæ,is to be iuſt onely in opinion,but verily and indeede: for ſeeing the Apoſtle vſeth the ſame word,ſpeaking of the reputing of the reward of debt, as well as of fauour: we ſay that of grace and fauour a man is as verily reputed righteous, as if hee were righteous indeede by his owne deſerts: for that which is reputed of fauour,is verily, and indeede, as that which is reputed of debt,though not after the ſame manner.

*Argum.*2. Chriſt is our wiſedome,righteouſnes,ſanctification,and redemption,1.Cor.1.30. *Ergo*,Chriſt onely is our righteouſnes,whereby we are iuſtified.

Anſw. Chriſt is ſaid to be our righteouſnes,becauſe hee hath ſatisfied God for vs,and this ſatisfaction is imparted to vs,when we are iuſtified,in ſuch ſort,that it may be called our ſatisfaction and our righteouſnes: for although we are truly iuſt,by our inherent iuſtice,yet thereby wee can not ſatisfie God for our ſinnes, and the puniſhment thereof: but it is an effect of Chriſts ſatisfaction,which is conferred, and applied to vs in our iuſtification: And ſo wee may ſafely ſay, that Chriſts righteouſnes,and his merits are imputed to vs,when they are ſo applied vnto vs, as if we our ſelues had ſatisfied: ſo that wee confeſſe alſo an inherent iuſtice, whereby wee are truly iuſt: *Bellarm.cap.*10.*reſponſ.ad argum.*1.

Contra. 1. It is very abſurd,as the Ieſuite here ſetteth it downe, that wee ſhould be iuſtified by our inherent iuſtice,and yet thereby are not able to ſatisfie for our ſinnes: that onely hath power to iuſtifie vs,that is able to redeeme vs,and ſatisfie for vs: *We are iuſtified freely by his grace,through the redemption that is in Chriſt*,Rom.5.24. Our inherent iuſtice is not able to ſatisfie for vs, by the Ieſuites confeſſion: *Ergo*,not to iuſtifie vs. 2. We may thus reaſon alſo out of the Ieſuites words: That cannot be a cauſe of our iuſtification, which is an effect thereof: but our inherent iuſtice is an effect of the ſatisfaction of Chriſt applied vnto vs,which is nothing elſe but our iuſtification: *Ergo.* 3. That righteouſnes,whereby being applied vnto vs,we are as iuſt,as if in our owne perſon wee had ſatisfied for our ſinnes, is that righteouſnes, whereby we are iuſtified: but this doth the righteouſnes and merits of Chriſt applied and imputed to vs, as the Ieſuite here acknowledgeth: *Ergo.* 4. *Bellarmine* ſpeaketh contradictories,and ioyneth together impoſſibilities:he ſaith, that the iuſtice of Chriſt is imputed to vs in as effectuall manner, as if we had ſatisfied our ſelues; and yet hee ſaith beſides, *Iuſtitiam inhærentem veram eſſe & abſolutam iuſtitiam*: That iuſtice inherent,is a true and abſolute iuſtice: How can this be an abſolute iuſtice,and that together which is imputed? There cannot be a double abſolute iuſtice: for that is abſolute which is perfect,and entire of it ſelfe: but Chriſts iuſtice imputed is an abſolute iuſtice,which hath ſatisfied for vs,as fully,as if we our ſelues had done,but the inherent iuſtice doth not ſatisfie for vs: all this is by the Ieſuite confeſſed: *Ergo*,it is not an abſolute iuſtice. 5. Doth not the Ieſuite now,in ioyning the iuſtice of Chriſt,and our iuſtice together, make two formall cauſes of our iuſtification? which notwithſtanding hee inſtantly denied before, affirming this to be the iudgement of the Tridentine chapter,that we are not iuſtified,not onely,but not at all by the iuſtice of Chriſt,*cap.*2. But here he ſaith,that by Chriſts iuſtice applied,we doe ſatisfie the wrath of God: what now is this elſe but by the iuſtice of Chriſt truly to be iuſtified? For to be iuſtified,is nothing elſe, but to be reconciled to God,and ſaued from his wrath,Rom.5.9.10. How is it now poſſible,that *Bellarmine* ſhould agree with others,ſeeing he ſo ſhamefully diſagreeth from himſelfe?

*Argum.*3. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *He hath made him to be ſinne for vs,that knew no ſinne,that we ſhould be made the righteouſnes of God in him*,2.Corin.5.21. Out of this place we reaſon thus: As Chriſt was made ſinne for vs, ſo wee are righteous in him: But our ſinnes were onely imputed to him,they were not actually in him: *Ergo*,ſo is his righteouſnes,wherby we are iuſtified,only imputed to vs.

Anſw. 1. Chriſt is ſaid to be made ſinne for vs, not that our ſinnes are imputed to him,otherwiſe,than for that he ſatisfied for our ſins,and was an offring for our ſinne: ſo the iuſtice of Chriſt is imputed to vs,in reſpect of his ſatisfaction: by the which notwithſtanding we cannot be counted iuſt: *Bellarm.cap.*10.*reſp.ad arg.*3.

Contra. 1. If ſinne be here taken onely for the ſuffering for ſinne; becauſe Chriſt bare the puniſhment of our ſinne: then where the Apoſtle ſaith, *we are righteouſnes in him,* we muſt vnderſtand, not righteouſnes it ſelfe, but onely the reward of righteouſnes: for theſe two members or parts doe anſwere one the other: as Chriſt was ſinne for vs, ſo we are righteouſnes in him: but Chriſt onely bare the puniſhment for ſinne: *Ergo,* we obtaine onely the reward of righteouſnes by him. 2. How could the puniſhment of ſinne in the iuſtice of God be laid vpon Chriſt, if the ſinnes were not in ſome ſort annexed to the ſufferer: ſeeing it is the perpetuall rule of Gods iuſtice, that the ſame ſoule that ſinneth, ſhould dye? Ezech. 18.20. And how can wee obtaine the reward of righteouſnes, if firſt we be not made righteous? 3. The Scripture alſo euidently affirmeth, that Chriſt bare not onely the puniſhment of our ſinnes, but our ſinnes alſo: *He hath borne our infirmities,* Eſai. 53.4. *He was counted among tranſgreſſors, and bare the ſinne of many,* verſ. 12. What aileth then the Ieſuite ſo boldly to denie, that our ſinnes were imputed to Chriſt? 4. He graunteth, that Chriſts ſatisfaction is imputed to vs, yet we are not thereby iuſt: If God be ſatisfied, his wrath appeaſed, are we not fully redeemed? *If while we were enemies, wee were reconciled to God by the death of his ſonne, much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaued by his life,* Rom. 5.10. Reconciliation then and ſaluation, follow ſatisfaction by the death of Chriſt: *Chriſt hath freed vs from the law of ſinne, and death,* Rom. 8.2. *there remaineth therefore no condemnation.* If then Chriſt hauing ſatisfied for vs, we are made heires of life; how are we not by vertue of his ſatisfaction iuſt alſo? ſeeing firſt wee muſt be iuſt, before we can looke for the reward of iuſtice. Yea, *Bellarmine* himſelfe ſaith, *Remiſſio peccatorum non poteſt fieri, niſi iuſtitia infundatur:* There can be no remiſſion of ſinnes, but iuſtice muſt be infuſed withall, as darknes cannot be chaſed away, but light muſt needes ſucceede: *cap. 9. ad arg. 3.* We will inferre hereupon: but by the ſatisfaction of Chriſt we haue remiſſion of ſins: *Ergo,* alſo thereby we obtaine iuſtice, and ſo conſequently are iuſt.

Anſw. 2. Or thus we may vnderſtand the Apoſtle: As Chriſt is made ſinne for vs, that is, being the head, he counteth the ſinnes of his members as his owne, ſo wee are the righteouſnes of God in him: that is, the diuine iuſtice which is in Chriſt our head, is communicated to his members, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. In the matter of iuſtification, we haue not any thing to doe with the diuine iuſtice of Chriſt, whereby hee is iuſt as hee is God; for that is not communicable to his members: but the Apoſtle meaneth, the righteouſnes of God, that is, of the grace of God through faith, Rom. 3. verſ. 22.24. but the diuine and eſſentiall righteouſnes of God, is neither apprehended, nor applied by faith.

2. If our ſinnes agree vnto Chriſt, as he is our head; then they doe more then by imputation, yea properly and verily agree vnto him: becauſe there is a reall coniunction and communication betweene the head and the bodie: he ſaid to *Saul,* why perſecuteſt thou me? not becauſe our afflictions are imputed to Chriſt, but that the head and members make but one myſticall body: by denying imputation of ſinne, they fall into a greater gulfe, euen to appropriate ſinne vnto Chriſt.

3. The Ieſuite hath made a very good argument for vs: Chriſt is the head, wee are the members, both make but one bodie: one and the ſame bodie, hath one and the ſame forme: *Ergo,* Chriſt and his Church are both formally iuſt by the ſame righteouſneſſe, and that is the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt. The Apoſtle alſo ſayth, that the body of Chriſt, that is, his Church, is the fulneſſe of him that filleth all in all things, Epheſ. 1.23. our fulnes then is the fulnes of Chriſt, our righteouſneſſe is our fulneſſe: *Ergo,* and if Chriſt fill all in all, then Chriſt onely iuſtifieth: not not Chriſts iuſtice in part, and our owne iuſtice in part.

Anſw. 3. Chriſt was made ſinne for vs, that is, he tooke vpon him the ſimilitude of ſinful fleſh, and wee are righteouſneſſe, that is, do take the ſimilitude of the diuine iuſtice: As Chriſt then verily not imputatiuely tooke our fleſh, ſo we verily, not imputatiuely, are partakers of his iuſtice, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Contra. 1. This interpretation which the Ieſuite here enforceth cannot hold: for where the Apoſtle ſaith, *hee came in the ſimilitude of ſinfull fleſh,* it followeth, *and condemned ſinne in the fleſh* Rom. 8.3. If he will make one of them agree with this place, he muſt make both: then by his expoſition Chriſt was made ſinne, that is, condemned, or deſtroyed ſinne: Or where the Apoſtle ſaith, *he was in like ſort as we are, ſin onely excepted,* Heb. 4.15. wee muſt ſay after his interpretation, Chriſt was made ſinne, that is, tooke our nature without ſinne: A proper expoſition ſure; by the contrary, he was made ſinne, that is, he was not made ſinne. 2. Againe, the Apoſtle ſaith, hee was made ſinne, that knew no ſinne: in both clauſes, ſinne is to be taken and vnderſtood alike: if then to be made ſinne, be to take fleſh, then not to know ſinne, is not to know fleſh, which is to deſtroy Chriſts humanitie. 3. As Chriſt was made ſinne, ſo we are made righteouſneſſe: if Chriſt be ſaid here to take our humane nature, then wee alſo may be ſaid to take the diuine nature. But I thinke they will not ſay, that the diuine nature is ſo appropriated to vs, as the humane nature is to Chriſt. Wherefore ſetting apart all ſuch vaine gloſſes, and idle ſhifts, which we ſee do vaniſh as the miſt, the ſenſe of this place appeareth euidently and plainely to be this: that as our ſins by imputation were annexed to Chriſt in this paſſion, ſo his righteouſneſſe is appropriate to vs by faith in our iuſtification.

*Argum.*4. Act.13.38. *Through this man is preached vnto you forgiueneſſe of ſinnes,&c. and by him euery one that beleeueth is iuſtified: Ergo*, our iuſtification in the remiſſion of ſinnes is by the preaching of Chriſt apprehended by faith, and ſo conſequently not inherent in vs: Likewiſe *Luc.*18. verſe 13. The Publicane is ſaid to be iuſtified, ſaying, *God be mercifull to me a ſinner:* Our iuſtification then is in the forgiueneſſe of ſinne, grounded vpon Gods mercie, who in his mercie counteth vs no ſinners, but as iuſt in Chriſt: *Ergo*, we are not iuſtified by any inherent iuſtice.

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, by preaching of remiſſion of ſinnes, is not onely vnderſtood the condonation of the fault, but the ſucceeding alſo of inward iuſtice, whereof Chriſt is the efficient cauſe, but yet Chriſts iuſtice is not the formal cauſe thereof. Secondly, the Publicane prayeth not onely for forgiueneſſe, but for perfect reconciliation, which requireth alſo an infuſion of iuſtice, *Bellarm. cap.*12.

2. *Contra.* Firſt, 1. We graunt that remiſſion of ſinnes once obtained in Chriſt, wee are conſequently reputed as iuſt in Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſinnes, and imputation of Chriſts righteouſneſſe do alwaies concurre in act: but inherent iuſtice cannot ſtand together with remiſſion of ſins: the one being of grace and mercie, the other of worke; but grace and workes cannot agree together, Rom.11.6. If of grace; it is no more of worke. 2. As Chriſt is the efficient cauſe by his ſpirite of our iuſtifying faith: ſo is his iuſtice the very formall cauſe of our iuſtification: for it is not our owne righteouſneſſe, but *the righteouſneſſe of God by the faith of Ieſus Chriſt vnto all that beleeue*, Rom.3.22. whereby we are iuſtified.

Secondly, 1. The Publicane ſueth for perfect reconciliation, which is by Gods mercie in the free forgiueneſſe of our ſinnes in Chriſt: as the Apoſtle ſayth, Rom.5.1. *Being iuſtified by faith, wee are at peace with God*, and ſo are perfectly reconciled. 2. But hee ſtandeth not vpon any inherent iuſtice of his owne; the Phariſee did ſo, and was refuſed; but onely appealeth to Gods mercie.

*Argum.*5. Now in the laſt place wee will conclude, with that excellent ſaying of the Apoſtle: *That I might be found in him, not hauing mine owne righteouſneſſe, which is of the law, but that, which is through the fayth of Chriſt, euen the righteouſneſſe, which is of God through fayth*, Phil.3.9. S. *Paul* here denyeth his owne righteouſneſſe: but he that hath inherent righteouſneſſe, hath ſome righteouſneſſe of his owne. Againe, he commendeth the righteouſneſſe of God through faith: that is, apprehended by faith, not conſiſting in the meritorious act or worthineſſe of faith: for if faith in it ſelfe ſhould be this righteouſneſſe, how can it alſo be the righteouſneſſe of God? the righteouſnes of God is not faith, for Chriſt hath no ſuch faith: it is the righteouſnes then of God apprehended by faith, which is our righteouſnes before God, not any inherent iuſtice in vs. *Auguſtine* ſaith well, *Si dixerimus, quod nihil iuſtitiæ habemus, aduerſum Dei dona mentimur: ſi enim iuſtitiæ nihil habemus, nec fidem habemus: ſi autem fidem habemus, iam aliquid habemus iuſtitiæ:* If we ſay, we haue no iuſtice at all, we do belie the good gifts of God; for if we haue no iuſtice, we haue no faith: but if wee haue faith, then haue we ſome iuſtice in vs. Here *Auguſtine* acknowledgeth no inherent iuſtice, but the iuſtice onely of faith. If it ſhall be anſweredr that euen the iuſtice of faith is an inherent iuſtice, becauſe it iuſtifieth by the worthineſſe and merit thereof: *Auguſtine* ſaith againe, writing vpon theſe words of our Sauiour, *No man commeth vnto me, &c. Vt doceret nos, ipſum credere, doni eſſe non meriti*, To teach vs that to beleeue, is of the gift of God, not of merit: *de verbis Apoſt. ſerm.*2. To conclude, he ſaith yet more plainely: *Totum reputa, quod iuſtus es pietati; quod autem peccator es, tuæ iniquitati aſcribe: Omne crimen, facinus, vel peccatum, noſtræ eſt negligentiæ: Omnis virtus & ſanctitas Dei eſt indulgentiæ:* That thou art iuſt, repute it wholy to godlineſſe; that thou art a ſinner, aſcribe it to thine owne iniquitie: euery ſin and offence is of our owne negligence: all holineſſe and vertue in vs is of Gods mercie, *in Mat. ſerm.*8. All our iuſtice then, whereby we are iuſt, dependeth of our godlineſſe, which is our faith, beliefe, and confidence in God.

S. *Ambroſe* alſo *in 9. ad Roman. Conuenit vt in ſolo nomine Domini conditoris conſequatur ſalutem creatura, hoc eſt per fidem:* It is conuenient that in the onely name of the Lord Creator, the creature ſhould obtaine ſaluation, that is, by faith, &c. If by faith onely in the name of the Creator we are iuſtified, there is no place for inherent iuſtice.

We haue here the teſtimonie of ſome of their owne: *Albertus Pighius contr.*2. *Colonienſes, in antididagmat.* do agree, that our inherent iuſtice is imperfect, and not the ſufficient and formal cauſe of our iuſtification.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE CERTAINTIE OF IUſTIFICATION BY FAITH.

The Papiſts.

56.Error. THe *Rhemiſts* call it a faithleſſe perſwaſion of ſaluation to be confident of Gods grace and ſaluation, and *fides dæmoniorum, non Apoſtolorum,* the faith of diuels, not of Apoſtles, *annot.*8. 1.*Cor.9.ſect.9.* So the Tridentine Councell, call *certitudinem remiſſionis peccatorum vanam, & ab omni Pietate remotam fiduciam:* The certaintie of remiſſion of ſinnes, a vayne and faithleſſe perſwaſion: And therefore euery man, *de gratia timere & formidare poteſt*, may ſtand in doubt and be afraid, whether hee be in the ſtate of grace, *ſeſſ.6.c.9.* This is alſo affirmed by *Bellarm.* that a man without ſpeciall reuelation, cannot be aſſured by his faith, that his ſinnes are forgiuen him, *lib.*3. *de iuſtif.cap.*2.

*Argum.*1. Prou.20.9. *Who can ſay, my heart is cleane, I am pure from ſinne,* which is not ſo to be vnderſtood, as though no man could haue a cleane heart: for our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, *Bleſſed are the pure in heart,* Matth.5. But the wiſe man thus ſpeaketh, becauſe no man can know whether his heart be cleane: *ſic Bellarm,cap.*4.

Anſw. 1. The words are thus to be read according to the Hebrue, *Who can ſay I haue made my heart cleane:* not after the vulgar Latine, *Who can ſay my heart is cleane:* So that the wiſe man here doth repreſſe the inſolencie of thoſe, which thinke to be iuſtified by their owne ſtrength. And thus anſwereth *Catharinus* a Papiſt. 2. We ſay, that the meaning of the wiſe man is this, that no man can be cleane from ſinne in this life: In many things, we ſinne all, Iam.3.2. which if the Ieſuite will denie, as indeed he doth, he giueth the holy Apoſtle the lye: and reneweth the olde Pelagian hereſie, *Poſſe hominem ſine peccato eſſe per Dei gratiam:* That a man by the grace of God, may be without ſinne, *Auguſt.de natur.grat.*1.11. 3. To be pure in heart, betokeneth not abſolute purenes in the ſight of God: for ſo neither the Angels nor the heauens are cleane, Iob.15.15. But to be pure in heart, is as much as to be vpright in heart, to be without deceit, as it is expounded, Pſalm.24.4. Not to haue a double heart, Pſalm.12.2. As our Sauiour ſaid of *Nathaniel,* this is a true Iſraelite, in whom is no guile, Ioh.1.47. This it is to be pure or vndefiled in heart. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Ingredi ſine macula dicitur, non qui iam perfectus eſt, ſed qui ad perfectionem irreprehenſibiliter currit:* He is ſayd to walke without ſpot, not which is already perfect, but who doth walke on forward towards perfection without reprehenſion, *Auguſtine cont. Celeſt.* This purenes of heart, a faithfull man may ſee and knowe in himſelfe, as *Dauid* ſaith, Pſalm.73.13. I haue cleanſed my heart in vaine, and waſhed my hands in innocencie.

*Argum.*2. Eccleſ.9.1. *No man knoweth whether he be worthy loue or hatred: Ergo,* a man cannot be certaine of his iuſtification, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Anſ. The wiſe man meaneth not, that a man cannot any way at all know whether he be in fauour with God: but that it cannot be diſcerned, by the outward chances and accidents of this life: as he ſheweth in the next verſe, that there is the ſame outward condition to the iuſt and wicked. Nay it many times fareth better with the wicked, then with the righteous in this life: *I ſaw,* ſaith he, *vnder the Sunne, that riches are not for men of vnderſtanding, nor yet bread for the wiſe, nor fauour for men of knowledge,* verſ.11.

Bellarmine replieth: The Preacher ſpeaketh onely of the iuſt and wiſe, and of their works, ver.1. he compareth not the wicked and the righteous together, *ibid.*

Contra. In the next verſe the wiſe man expoundeth himſelfe, *all things fall out alike to all, the ſame condition is to the iuſt and to the wicked, &c. as is the good, ſo is the ſinner, he that ſweareth, as he that feareth an oth:* verſ.2. It is euident therefore, that the Wiſeman compareth here the righteous and wicked both together: and that he meaneth, that it cannot be diſcerned by the outward euents of mans life, which of them is in fauour with God. And that this is his meaning, it may appeare by the like place, chap.3.verſ.21. *Who knoweth whether the ſpirit of man aſcend vpward, and the ſpirit of the beaſt deſcend downward?* Not that we are altogether ignorant of the end of mans ſoule: but it cannot be diſcerned by the outward and corporall death, what difference is betweene the ſpirit of man, and of beaſts: *for as the one dyeth, ſo dyeth the other,* verſ.19. So in this place, the Wiſeman, ſaying, that no man knoweth hatred, or loue; doth not meane, that this is impoſſible to be knowne, but that it cannot by the externall things of this life be diſcerned: *Sic Caluin.lib.*3.*inſtitut.cap.*2.*ſect.*38.

Bellarmine anſwereth that *Salomon* in the third chapter ſpeaketh in the perſon of the vnwiſe, and worldly ſenſuall man, who knoweth no difference betweene the ſpirits of men, and bruite beaſts: *Bellarm. cap.*4.

Contra. So alſo doth the Preacher vtter many things in this chapter, in the perſon of the Epicure: as that, verſe 4. better is a liuing dogge, then a dead Lion: Goe eate thy bread, and drinke thy wine: *At all times let thy garments be white, and let no oyle be wanting vpon thine head*, verſe 7.8. Theſe are the very ſpeeches of carnall and ſenſuall men, that place their whole happines and felicitie in this life. Such alſo there were among the Corinthians, that ſayd, *Let vs eate and drinke, for to morrow we ſhall dye*: concerning whom the Apoſtle ſaith, *Euill words corrupt good maners*, 1.Corinth.15.33. for any thing then, that the Ieſuite hath yet ſayd, or is able to ſay, the meaning of the Preacher in this place is ſuch as we haue ſaid.

Argum.3. S. *Paul* ſaith, *I know nothing by my ſelfe, yet am I not thereby iuſtified*, 1.Corinth.4.4. Though the Apoſtle had the teſtimonie of a good conſcience, yet he durſt not aſſure himſelfe, whether he were thereby iuſtified, *Rhemiſt.in eum locum. Bellarm.lib*.3.*de iuſtificat.cap*.5.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith not, I know not my ſelfe to be iuſtified, but I am not thereby iuſtified: therefore by this example it cannot be gathered, that we haue no knowledge of our iuſtification. Secondly, this place rather maketh againſt popiſh inherent iuſtice: for the Apoſtle ſaith, he is not iuſtified by his good conſcience, and ſo conſequently not by any good thing, that was in him. Thirdly, *Paul* was moſt ſure of Gods grace, and of his iuſtification thorough faith, Rom.8.30. Therefore it is too great boldnes, to ſay, the Apoſtle was not ſure of his iuſtification. Fourthly, this then is the Apoſtles meaning, that although he were cleere in conſcience, that he walked moſt painfully in his calling, yet this was not ſufficient to cleare him, and pronounce him moſt iuſt before God: for as S. *Iohn* ſaith, *If our owne heart or conſcience condemne vs not, God is greater then our heart*, and can eſpie what is amiſſe in vs, though we our ſelues ſee it not, 1.Ioh.3.20.

Bellarmine replieth, where the Apoſtle ſaith, *Nihil mihi conſcius ſum*: I knowe nothing by my ſelfe. Firſt, either he ſpeaketh of himſelfe in his owne iudgement, that he knew no ſinne in himſelfe, and then it is not true, that the Apoſtle was not iuſt, hauing no ſinne. Secondly, or that he knew his ſinnes to be forgiuen in Chriſt, and then alſo in their owne opinion, *Paul* was iuſtified, but now he ſaith, *I am not thereby iuſtified.* Thirdly, either they muſt ſay, that he ſpeaketh of the iudgement of others, but that cannot be: for he ſpeaketh of his owne iudgement, *I iudge not my ſelfe*, it remaineth then, that the Apoſtle ſheweth that notwithſtanding his conſcience that accuſed him not, he was not ſure of his iuſtification, *Bellarm.c*.5.

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not in generall of his owne ſtate, as though he knew no ſinne by himſelfe: the contrarie is confeſſed by him, that Chriſt came into the world to ſaue ſinners, *of the which*, ſaith he, *I am chiefe*, 1.Tim.1.15. Secondly, neither doth the Apoſtle ſpeake of himſelfe, as now acquited of his ſinnes by faith in Chriſt: for ſo euery where he confeſſeth he was iuſtified by Chriſt, Galath.2.16. *We haue beleeued in Chriſt, that we might be iuſtified, &c.* verſ.20. *I liue by the faith of the ſonne of God*, Philip.3.8.9. *That I might win Chriſt, and might be found in him, not hauing mine owne righteouſneſſe, but that which is through faith, &c.* Thirdly, he ſpeaketh then of his outward diſpenſation and Apoſtleſhip, wherein his owne conſcience bare him record, he had been faithfull, and therefore he *paſſed* in that behalfe, *very little to be iudged of them*, becauſe *I doe not iudge my ſelfe*: that is as faultie or negligent in my calling, wherein I am iudged of others.

Argum.4. Worke your ſaluation with feare and trembling, Philip.2.12. *Ergo*, men muſt not be ſecure, neither can be ſure of their ſaluation. Againe, *Make your election and calling ſure by good workes*, 2.Pet.1.10. But this certaintie that dependeth of good works, is but coniecturall: and if it doe ariſe from good works, then faith onely certifieth vs not of our iuſtification, *Bellarm.cap.6.*

Anſw. Firſt, the working of our ſaluation with feare, excludeth onely preſumption and careleſſe ſecuritie, not faithfull boldnes and confidence: As it may appeare in the verſe following, where the Apoſtle giueth a reaſon of this feare: *For it is God which worketh, &c.* We ought then to finiſh our ſaluation not doubtfully, becauſe God worketh it, and therefore we may be moſt ſure of his promiſe: but yet with feare and reuerence, as it becommeth children, for it is the Lord, with whom we haue to deale: thus we ſee confidence and the feare of God may very well ſtand together. Secondly, S. *Peter* maketh not mention only of good works, but ſaith, ioyne vertue and other ſpirituall graces to your faith, verſ.5. Good works then only doe not make our vocation ſure, but faith and good works, that is, faith working by loue: good works then are a certaine demonſtration of our faith: and by faith we vnderſtand our vocation, and iuſtification. Againe, neither is it an vncertaine demonſtration that is made by works, though it be not ſo perfect, as that which ſheweth the cauſe: for the heat doth euidently ſhew the fire, and a good tree is certainly knowne by good fruit: Neither did our Sauiour giue a coniecturall ſigne to know falſe prophets by, but a ſure and infallible marke, when he ſaid, by their fruits you ſhall know them, Matth.7. Laſtly, we muſt vnderſtand, that there is a double aſſurance of our vocation, and iuſtification: One which is more perfect, by the cauſe ſhewing the effect, and that is the inward teſtimonie of the ſpirit, Rom.8.16. And this is for thoſe that are wholy ſpirituall. There is another not ſo perfect, by the effects demonſtrating the cauſe, and that is by the workes and fruites of the ſpirit, whereof S. *Peter* ſpeaketh: And this is for thoſe which are not yet able to comprehend the other.

The Proteſtants.

THat by a liuely faith we may be aſſured, that our ſinnes are forgiuen vs, and that we be fully iuſtified in Chriſt, reconciled to God, and are remaining in the ſtate of grace: we haue moſt cleare and euident teſtimonies of Scripture to proue it.

*Argum.*1. Rom.8.15. *Ye haue receiued the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we crie, Abba, father; the ſame ſpirit beareth witnes with our ſpirit, that we are the children of God:* But the teſtimonie of the ſpirit is moſt certaine, for the ſpirit cannot be deceiued, neither doth deceiue any: *Ergo,* we may be certaine of our adoption, that we are the Sonnes of God.

Anſw. This teſtimonie of the ſpirit, whereby we are moued to crie Abba father, is not known vnto vs by faith, or any other expreſſe meanes, but onely by certaine coniectures which may deceiue vs, as by the inward peace, and taſt of ſome ſweetnes in the ſoule: for there be many that call God their father, as the Iewes, Iohn 8.41. and many ſay in the Lords prayer, Our father, who are not aſſured that they are the Sonnes of God, *Bellarm. reſponſ. ad 6. teſtimon. cap.9.*

Contra. Firſt, to beleeue that God is our father, is of faith: for to beleeue that God is, and that he is a rewarder, &c. is of faith, Heb.11.6. but it is more to beleeue that God is our father: how then ſaith the Ieſuite, *Non conſtat nobis ex fide diuina:* It is not knowne vnto vs by faith, that it is the ſpirit which moueth vs to crie *Abba* father?

Secondly, and ſay you that the inward peace of conſcience is but a coniecturall and deceitfull meanes: yet S. *Iohn* ſaith, *If our owne heart condemne vs not, we haue boldnes toward God,* 1.Ioh.3.21. is that vncertaine and barely coniecturall, which worketh boldnes in vs? The inward taſte alſo, and ſweetnes of the ſpirit, doth the Ieſuite make ſo ſmall account of it? he that hath a true taſte of the mercie of God, ſeeth God: Taſte and ſee how gracious the Lord is, Pſalm.34.8. But he that ſeeth the Sonne, and beleeueth in him is ſure to haue euerlaſting life, Iohn 6.40.

Thirdly, and what if many ſay with their mouth, *Abba* father, and yet are not ſure they are the children of God? the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of a crying with the mouth, but a crying in the heart: *He hath ſent the ſpirit of his Sonne into our hearts, which crieth Abba father,* Galath. 4. 6. for though all vtter the ſame voyce, yet is it not the ſame crying: The vncleane ſpirit made the ſame confeſſion outwardly of Chriſt, Mark.5.7. acknowledging him to be the Sonne of God, which *Peter* did make, Matth.16. yet were not both one kind of confeſſion: the beleefe of the heart, which was in *Peter,* and not in the other, did diſcerne their confeſſions.

Now that the ſpirit of God, by his inward teſtimonie, doth not coniecturally but vndoubtedly aſſure vs, that we are the Sonnes of God, we ſhew it thus; the ſpirit of adoption expelleth all feare: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *you haue not receiued the ſpirit of bondage to feare againe,* Rom.8.verſ.15. and where no feare is, there loue is perfect, 1.Ioh.4.18. And where no feare is, there is no painefulnes: therefore neither doubtfulnes, nor miſtruſt. Secondly, they to whom the ſpirit of God teſtifieth, that they are ſo the Sonnes of God, that they be alſo heires with Chriſt, doe certainly know that they are the ſonnes of God: for how could they be heires, vnles they were ſonnes? But the ſpirit of God *doth certifie vs that we are heires annexed with Chriſt,* Rom.8.verſ.17. And our Sauiour ſaith, *He that beleeueth, is already paſſed from death to life,* Iohn 6.24. *Ergo,* much more are we ſure that we are Sonnes. Thirdly, he that hath the ſpirit of the Sonne is ſure he is alſo a ſonne: *Becauſe ye are ſonnes, he hath ſent the ſpirit of his ſonne into your hearts,* Galath.4.6. But he that hath the ſpirit of adoption, hath the ſpirit of the ſonne: *Ergo,* he is vndoubtedly ſure he is a ſonne. Many ſuch arguments may be gathered out of the text it ſelfe: whereby the Ieſuites groſſe and corrupt cauils and gloſes, may eaſily be auoyded: I wonder that they are not aſhamed, thus to obſcure the euident light of Gods trueth againſt their owne conſcience.

*Argum.*2. *I am certaine,* ſaith S. *Paul, or I am perſwaded, that neither life, nor death, &c. ſhall ſeparate vs from the loue of God in Chriſt,* Rom.8.38. The Apoſtle was fully perſwaded of his ſaluation in Chriſt.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh onely in generall, as if he ſhould haue ſaid: So many as are elected cannot certainely periſh, *Rhemiſt. ibid. Bellarm. cap.9. reſponſ. ad teſtimon.7.*

Contra. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh not onely in generall, but pronounceth particularly of himſelfe, I am certaine: As more plainely, 2.Tim.4.8. from hence forth is laid vp *for me a crowne of righteouſnes.*

Anſw. Secondly, S. *Paul* might haue this perſwaſion, by ſome ſpeciall reuelation, *Rhem. ibid.*

Contra. The ground of the Apoſtles perſwaſion is none other, but that which is common to all the faithful, euen the loue of God in Chriſt: And ſo *Auguſtine* interpreteth this place, writing thus: *Iſti ſignificati ſunt ad Timotheum, &c.* Thoſe of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, are ſignified in another place to Timoth.2.2.19. *The foundation of God remaineth ſure, the Lord knoweth who are his.* And againe in another place: when the Apoſtle had ſhewed his owne confidence, *There is layde vp for me a crowne of righteouſneſſe,* he declareth that this priuiledge was not proper to him, but common to all the faithfull: And not to me onely, *but vnto them alſo that loue his appearing,* 2.Tim.4.8.

De correpť. & grat.cap.7.

Ergo, this aſſurance, and confidence is common, though not in the like meaſure, to all faithfull Chriſtians.

Anſw. Thirdly, the word which the Apoſtle vſeth, ſignifieth not a certaine and infallible perſwaſion, but ſuch an one as ariſeth of coniecture and geſſe: As elſe where he ſaith, *I am perſwaded of you brethren, that you are full of goodnes,&c.* Rom. 15.14. And *I am perſwaded the ſame faith dwelleth in thee,* 2. Tim. 1.5. But the Apoſtle did not certainely know this, but only by coniecture, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. Firſt, we graunt, that this word πέπεισμαι, doth not alwaies ſignifie an vndoubted and infallible knowledge, and perſwaſion: yet I ſee no reaſon why it may not ſo ſignifie in thoſe places alleaged: for the Apoſtles had the gift of diſcerning of ſpirits, whereof we reade, 1. Cor. 12.10. though this gift be ceaſed now: by the which gift they might certainely be perſwaded, of the graces that were in the faithfull.

Secondly, Howſoeuer this word may other where be taken, it is certaine that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh here of a full and perfect perſwaſion and aſſurance that he had of his ſaluation, vnleſſe they will ſay that S. *Paul* ſtood in doubt, or was not ſure of his ſaluation; which is a blaſphemous vntruth, ſeeing the Apoſtle doth in ſo many places proteſt and teſtifie his aſſured hope and confidence: As he doubted not, but after his diſſolution to be with Chriſt. Phil. 1.23. *That there is a crowne of glory layd vp for him,* 2. Tim. 4.8. *Who hath loued me and giuen himſelfe for me,* Galath. 2.20. *But whom Chriſt loueth, he loueth to the end,* Iohn 13.1.

Thirdly, this word that ſignifieth, to truſt, to be ſure, or perſwaded, is no where vſed, where mention is made of heauenly things, but it ſheweth an infallible truſt and confidence: as Epheſ. 3.12. by whom we haue boldnes and entrance with confidence, by faith in him: the word here tranſlated confidence, is, πεποίθησις, which is deriued from the ſame word, which S. *Paul* vſeth in this place, Rom. 8.38. And it betokeneth a full and ſtedfaſt perſwaſion, being ioyned with two other very ſignificant and effectuall words, παῤῥησία, boldnes, and πίστις, faith.

Bellarmine hath nothing to anſwere here: but that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh not of the confidence or certaintie of our iuſtification, but of the truth of the articles of the faith, that Chriſt is now riſen, aſcended, and ſitteth at the right hand of God a Mediator, and interceſſor, and therefore we haue boldneſſe, *Bellarm. reſponſ. ad loc.* 12.

Contra. Firſt, it is not the knowledge onely of the articles of faith, that they are true, that can worke this boldnes, and confidence in vs: for then the diuell who beleeueth and acknowledgeth the trueth of theſe things, Mark. 5.7. Iam. 2.19. ſhould haue acceſſe with confidence as well as the faithfull.

Secondly, S. *Paul* declareth elſe where, that this acceſſe, or entrance with boldnes, is a fruit of our iuſtification by faith, Rom. 5.1. *Being iuſtified by faith we haue peace with God,&c.* then it followeth, *by whom we haue acceſſe thorough faith vnto this grace,* verſ. 2. therefore by the ſame faith which iuſtifieth, thorough the ſame we haue this boldnes.

Argum. 3. S. *Iohn* ſaith, *We know we are tranſlated from death to life, becauſe we loue the brethren,* 1. Iohn 3.14. Againe, *hereby know we, that we dwell in him, and he in vs, becauſe he hath giuen vs of his ſpirit,* chap. 4.13. *We know that we are of God,* chap. 5.19. *He that beleeueth in the Sonne of God, hath the witnes of God in himſelfe,* 1. Iohn 5.10. By theſe places it is proued, that we may be aſſured of the fauour of God, and that we are in the ſtate of grace.

Anſw. This knowledge, which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, doth not ſhew an abſolute and infallible certaintie or ſurenes: but we may be ſaid to know, when as by ſignes and coniectures onely we doe gather any thing, *Bellarm. reſpon. ad loc.* 13.

Contra. 1. It appeareth that this knowledge of our ſaluation wrought in vs by the ſpirit, is ſure and certaine, without any doubting, not coniecturall: becauſe the Apoſtle by this word vſeth to expreſſe the ſure and vndoubted apprehenſion, that we haue of any thing: *We know that whoſoeuer is of God, ſinneth not: we know that the Sonne of God is come,* 1. Iohn 5.18.20. this knowledge whereby we knowe, that they which are borne of God, ſinne not, that is, haue not ſinne raigning in them; and whereby we alſo know, that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is moſt firme and ſure without any wauering or doubting: *Ergo,* in the ſame ſenſe the Apoſtle ſayth, we know, that we are of God, verſ. 19. for why ſhould not the ſame word, being twiſe taken in the ſame place, both in the verſe next before, and in the verſe next after, for a ſure and certaine knowledge, be ſo alſo vnderſtoode in this verſe.

2. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh not in the ſecond or third perſon, you knowe, or they knowe, but in the firſt, we know, putting himſelfe in the number: Now I truſt they will not ſay that the Apoſtle did geſſe only, and was not ſure that he had the holy Ghoſt: S. *Paul* indeede ſaith, *I thinke that I haue the ſpirit of God,* 1. Cor. 7.40. not as though he doubted of it or ſpake by coniecture: but he thus ſpeaketh in modeſtie, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to boaſt; for he was ſure he had the ſpirit: for if he could pronounce certainely of others: God hath giuen you his holy ſpirit, 1. Theſſal. 4.8. much more was he certaine of himſelfe.

3. The knowledge of faith is ſure and certaine, without any doubting: as our Sauiour ſaith to *Peter, O thou of little faith, wherefore didſt thou doubt?* Matth.14.31. where faith is full and perfect then, there is no doubting. Saint *Iames* alſo ſaith, *Let him aske in faith, and wauer not,* Iam.1.6. But this knowledge, which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, is of faith: *He that beleeueth in the Sonne of God, hath the witneſſe of GOD in himſelfe,* 1.Iohn 5.10. *Ergo,* it is a certaine and infallible knowledge.

4. That knowledge, whereby we doe aſſure our hearts before God, and haue boldnes with God, is a certaine and vndoubted knowledge. Such is this knowledge: Thereby we know we are of the truth, and ſhall before him aſſure our hearts, 1.Ioh.3.19. and wee haue boldnes toward God, verſ.21. *Ergo.* If the Ieſuite anſwere vs, as hee doth, that, *audacia non eſt certitudo,* boldnes is not certaintie: we replie againe, that boldnes, which the children of God ſhall haue in the day of iudgement, is full of confidence, without any deſpaire or doubting, and therefore certaine: but this knowledge worketh in vs ſuch boldnes, 1.Ioh.4.17. *Herein is loue perfect in vs, that wee ſhould haue boldnes in the day of iudgement: Ergo.*

*Argum.*4. *Prooue your ſelues, whether you are in the faith, examine your ſelues, know ye not your owne ſelues, how that Ieſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be reprobates,* 2.Corin.13.5. *Ergo,* they that by faith are ſure that Chriſt is in them, are ſure alſo of their ſaluation, and know, that they are not reprobates.

Anſw. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of the preſence of Chriſt by grace, but by his power and prouidence: ſo that his meaning is, that vnleſſe they are giuen ouer to a reprobate ſenſe, they will acknowledge the power of Chriſt working amongſt them, by theſe myracles, which the Apoſtle wrought: and by which power he deliuered ſome to Satan, *Bellarm.reſponſ.ad teſtim.*11.

Contra. That the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the preſence of Chriſt by grace, and of iuſtifying faith; it may ſtrongly be gathered by theſe arguments: 1. The Apoſtle vſeth this phraſe of ſpeech, to be in the faith, or of the faith, when he would expreſſe the manner of our iuſtification: as Gal.3.9. *They which be of faith, are bleſſed with faithfull Abraham:* Where it is euident, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of iuſtifying faith. 2. Examine your ſelues, ſaith the Apoſtle: but it is that faith, which iuſtifieth, whereby wee doe examine our ſelues: *Let a man examine himſelfe, and ſo let him eate of this bread, &c.* 1.Cor.11.28. to examine themſelues is to proue whether they be in the faith: 1.Cor.13.5. And that faith, whereby we doe eate and drinke worthilie the bodie and blood of Chriſt, is iuſtifying faith. 3. Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of that faith, *whereby we liue in Chriſt,* verſ.4. But wee ſhall liue with him; but that is iuſtifying faith: *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith,* Rom.1.17. *I liue by faith in the Sonne of God,* Galath.2.20. 4. For Chriſt to be in vs, ſheweth his preſence and being by grace, and not by his power onely: he in whom Chriſt is, hee hath Chriſt, and hath the Sonne: he that hath the Sonne, hath life, euen life eternall, 1.Ioh.5.11.12. *Ergo,* he in whom Chriſt the Sonne of God is, hath eternall life: *Ergo,* knowing Chriſt to be in him, he knoweth thereby that he ſhall be ſaued: by the being then of Chriſt in him, he is ſure of his ſaluation.

*Argum.*5. Further, we thus reaſon for the certitude of iuſtification by faith out of theſe places of Scripture.

1. First, Ioh.3.21. *He that doth the truth commeth to the light, that his deedes may be made manifeſt, that they are wrought according to God.* But this a man cannot know, not being aſſured of his faith and iuſtification, that his workes are acceptable to God: whom it is impoſſible to pleaſe without faith, Hebr.11.6.

2. Secondly, Ioh.14.17. *But ye know the ſpirit, for he dwelleth with you, and ſhall be in you: Ergo,* if we know the ſpirit to be in vs, we alſo conſequently know our iuſtification.

3. Thirdly, Rom.4.13. *Therefore it is by faith, that the promiſe may be ſure: Ergo,* we by faith are ſure of the promiſe.

4. Fourthly, Epheſ.3.12. *By whom we haue boldnes and entrance with confidence by faith in him: Ergo,* faith maketh vs confident and aſſured.

1. *Anſw.*1. Chriſt ſpeaketh of thoſe which in a ſimple heart came vnto him, as *Nathanael, Nicodemus,* not being yet iuſtified, but comming to be iuſtified; how then could they yet be ſure of their iuſtification? *Bellarm.c.9.reſp.ad loc.*2.

Contra. Chriſt ſpeaketh of beleeuers, verſ.18. *He that beleeueth, ſhall not be condemned: of thoſe that doe the truth, and whoſe deedes are wrought according to God:* but they, which are but comming to Chriſt, hauing yet no knowledge of the truth, cannot doe the truth, nor worke according to God.

2. *Anſw.* By the preſence of the ſpirit we are not ſure of our iuſtification, but onely we know, hauing faith, that it is not without Gods helpe, *Bellar.reſp.ad loc.*4.

Contra. A moſt abſurd anſwere: a man, ſaith he, is not ſure of his faith: but if he haue faith, he is ſure the ſpirit worketh it. Firſt, if a man be ſure of the ſpirit, how is he not ſure of faith, which is the effect of the ſpirit? as if there be fire, there is heate neceſſarily. Secondly, indeed if a man haue not faith,he cannot be ſure of it : but when he hath it,he knoweth he hath it,becauſe he knoweth he hath the ſpirit that worketh it.

3 *Anſw.* *Abraham* was ſure by faith:but we haue not ſuch a faith as *Abraham* had,*Bellarm.reſp. ad 5.teſtim.*

Contra. Firſt, that *the promiſe might be ſure by faith to all the ſeede*, ſaith the Apoſtle : *Ergo*, not in *Abraham* onely,but in all his ſeede faith worketh the ſame ſurenes. Likewiſe,Rom.4.verſ.12.*That righteouſnes might be imputed to them alſo that walke in the ſteps of the faith of Abraham.* Secondly, ſo S. *Ambroſe* expoundeth: *Quid credidit Abraham? ſe ſemen habiturũ,in quo omnes gentes iuſtificarentur per fidem,ſicut & Abraham,&c.* What did *Abraham* beleeue ? that he ſhould haue a ſeede,wherein all nations ſhould be iuſtified by faith,as *Abraham* was iuſtified,&c. *in 4.ad Roman.* *Abrahams* faith then and ours is the ſame.

4 *Anſw.* The certitude,which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of,is not of our iuſtification,but of the truth of the myſteries of faith,as of Chriſts death,reſurrection,&c. *Bellarm.reſp.ad loc.12.*

Contra. Saint *Paul* aſcribeth this aſſurance to iuſtification by faith : as Rom.5.1. *Being iuſtified by faith,we are at peace with God:* then it followeth verſ.2. *by whom we haue entrance by faith* : where the Apoſtle vſeth the ſame word προσαγωγὴν, which hee doth here : ſhewing that our entrance with boldnes is a fruit or effect of our iuſtification by faith.

Auguſtine ſaith,*Vnuſquiſque inſpiciat ſe intus,appendat ſe,probet ſe in omnibus factis ſuis : fides, quæ operatur per dilectionem, ſi in vobis eſt, iam pertinetis ad prædeſtinatos* : Let euery man looke into himſelfe,examine,proue himſelfe, if faith working by loue be in you ; euen now ye doe belong to the number,and companie of the predeſtinate. *Auguſtine* otherwiſe expoundeth the Apoſtles words, than the Ieſuite doth : and ſheweth,that this examination of our ſelues by a true and liuely faith, is an infallible argument of our election. The Ieſuite therefore may be aſhamed thus to expound ſcripture againſt ſcripture : and to make the Apoſtle to ſpeake what he liſt himſelfe, euen againſt his owne meaning.

Origen ſaith,*Tract.7.in Matth. Omnis anima, quæ ſe inſeparabilem eſſe cognoſcit à Chriſto,dicit,&c.* Euery ſoule, which knoweth it ſelfe to bee inſeparable from Chriſt, ſaith, Who ſhall ſeparate vs &c.

Saint *Ambroſe* thus excellently writeth vpon theſe words,Epheſ.3.verſ.17.*That Chriſt may dwell in your harts by faith : In eo petit eos magis firmari,vt non ambigant,ſed magis credant Chriſtum habitare in ſe,vt certi ſint de Chriſto,quod habitat per fidem,&c.* He deſireth them therein to be confirmed, that they ſhould not doubt, but rather beleeue that Chriſt dwelleth in them, that they may be ſure of Chriſt that he dwelleth by faith in their hearts,that when wee haue his faith in our hearts, we may be knowne to haue him,*vt ſecuri ſimus de auxilio eius*,that wee may be ſure or ſecure of his helpe,becauſe he doth not forſake vs,but is alway preſent, becauſe of his faith, which he ſeeth to be in vs,&c.

We want not their owne teſtimonie : *Decr.Greg.lib.5.tit.7.c.1.Stephanus : Dubius in fide infidelis eſt :* He that is doubtfull in faith,is an Infidell.

Ambroſ.Catharinus apolog.cont.Dominic.à Soto,Enchirid. Colonienſ.tract. de iuſtificat. Theſe popiſh authors doe herein agree with vs : *Poſſe fideles certa fide ſtatuere, ſibi remiſſa peccata:* That faithfull men by their faith,may certainly determine that their ſinnes are forgiuen them.

Laſtly,let vs adioyne the conſent and teſtimonie of the holie Martyrs : Maſter *Patricke Hamelton* Martyr,condemned for this article with others, for ſaying, He is not worthie to be called a Chriſtian,which beleeueth not that he is in grace : *Fox.pag.974.col.2.articul.4.* Maſter *Tyndall* ſayth thus : Chriſt is thine,and all his deedes are thy deedes,Chriſt is in thee, and thou in him, neither canſt thou be damned,except Chriſt be damned with thee : neither can Chriſt be ſaued, except he be ſaued with thee : pag.1248. Maſter *Bradford* thus : Know for a certaine,that as the diuell goeth about nothing ſo much,as to bring you in doubt, whether you be Gods childe : ſo whatſoeuer ſhall moue you to admit that dubitation,be aſſured,the ſame to come of the diuell : *pag.*1640.*epiſtol.quadam.* Maſter *Philpot* thus boldly and confidently proteſteth : Let him doubt of his faith that liſteth,God giue me alwaies grace to beleeue,that I am ſure of true faith, and fauour in Chriſt : pag.1825. *Iulius Palmer* Martyr thus confeſſeth : No man can beleeue,but by the inſpiration of the holie Ghoſt : therefore if I were not a ſpirituall man, and inſpired with Gods holie ſpirit, I were not a true Chriſtian : *Qui ſpiritum Chriſti non habet, hic non eſt eius* : Hee that hath not the ſpirit of God,is none of his,pag.1938. All theſe holie Martyrs, with many other,both were aſſured themſelues of their ſaluation by faith in Chriſt, and in confirmation of this doctrine,gaue their moſt precious liues. Such a ſeale of their doctrine our aduerſaries are neuer able to ſhew.

AN APPENDIX, WHETHER FAITH, OR the grace of iuſtification may be loſt.

The Papiſts.

A Man, they ſay, may fall away from the faith, which once truly he had, and be depriued altogether of the ſtate of grace, ſo that he may iuſtly be counted among the reprobates: *Bellarm. lib.3. de iuſtificat. cap.*14. 57. Error.

*Argum.*1. Firſt, they alleage theſe and ſuch like teſtimonies of Scripture, Ezech.18.24. *If a righteous man turne away from his righteouſnes, &c.* Saint *Paul* alſo ſaith of ſome, *That they had made ſhipwracke of their faith*, 1.Tim.1.19. *Rhemiſt. Bellarm. lib.3. de iuſtificat. cap.*12. *Ergo*, true faith and iuſtice may be loſt.

Anſw. The Apoſtle ſaith, ſome hauing put away a good conſcience, made ſhipwracke of faith: ſuch a faith indeede, that hath not a good conſcience may be loſt: for it is not a true liuely faith, but a dead fruitleſſe faith: So is alſo the place in *Ezechiel* to bee vnderſtoode, of ſuch righteous perſons, as ſeemed ſo to be rather, than were ſo indeede. And thus S. *Luke* teacheth vs to expound it: who, whereas other Euangeliſts write, *From him that hath not, ſhall be taken away, euen that which he hath*: he ſaith, *that which he ſeemed to haue*, Luk.8.18. God taketh away his grace from him, that hath it not; but ſeemeth onely to haue it: he giueth ſtill to him that hath. Thus one of your owne expoundeth this place: *Fidem quam habere magis viderentur, quam haberent perdiderunt*: They loſt faith, which they rather ſeemed to haue, than they had indeede: *Eſpenc. in hunc locum.*

*Argum.*2. Further, theſe places of Scripture are produced:

First, Luk.8.13. *They receiue the word with ioy, but they haue no roote, which for a while beleeue, but in the time of tentation goe away*: Theſe haue faith, for they beleeue the worde of God, yet fall away. 1.

Secondly, Iohn.15.2. *Euery branch that beareth not fruit in me, he taketh away*: but it can be no branch, vnleſſe it were once in the ſtocke. 2.

Thirdly, Matth.24.12. *The loue of many ſhall waxe cold.* 3.

Fourthly, 1.Cor.9.27. *I doe chaſtice my bodie, leſt when I haue preached to others, I ſhould be a reprobate.* 4.

Fiftly, Galath.5.4. *Whoſoeuer are iuſtified by the law, are fallen from grace.* 5.

Sixtly, Hebr.6.4. *It is impoſſible, that they which were once lightened, &c. and haue taſted of the word of God, if they fall away, &c. Ergo*, they which haue faith may loſe it, and fall away from it: *Bellarm. cap.*14. 6.

Anſw. 1. The text expoundeth it ſelfe, *they had no roote*, and they beleeued but for a while: *Ergo*, they had no true faith: for a true faith is not without a roote: Epheſ.3.17. *That Chriſt may dwell in your hearts by faith, that being rooted, &c.* 1.

2. Hypocrites and vnbeleeuers may for a while be counted among the braunches of Chriſt, but they were neuer true branches: firſt, Chriſt ſaith, verſ.5. *I am the vine, ye are the braunches*, ſpeaking to his faithfull followers. Secondly, Matth.15.13. *Euery plant, which my father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted vp*: there are plants then in outward ſhewe, not planted of God: but all the true braunches of the true vine are planted of God. Thirdly, then as S. *Iohn* ſaith, 1. Ioh.2.19. *They went out from vs, but were not of vs*: ſo theſe branches may be accounted among the true braunches, *ſecundum præſentem iuſticiam, non ſecundum præſcientiam*, according to their preſent iuſtice, but not in reſpect of Gods preſcience: as *Ambroſe* well ſaith. 2.

3. That loue, which falleth away, was neuer any true loue: as *Auguſtine: Charitas, quæ deſeri poteſt, nunquam vera fuit*: Charitie, which may be forſaken, was neuer true charitie. This ſentence is rehearſed, *decret. p.2. cauſ.33. diſt.2. c.2.* 3.

4. Firſt, Saint *Paul* hath no ſuch feare leſt hee ſhould become a reprobate or caſtaway: hee profeſſeth the contrarie, Rom.8.38. that he was perſwaded nothing could ſeparate him from the loue of God: and 2.Cor.13.6. *I truſt ye ſhall know we are not reprobates.* And ſay if you dare, that *Paul* the elect veſſell might become a reprobate. Secondly, but his meaning is this, leaſt if hee preached one thing, and practiſed another, hee might be reprooued and reproched of men: in which ſenſe hee ſayth, 2.Corinth.13.7. though *we be as reprobates*, that is in mans iudgement, and as hee expoundeth himſelfe, Galath.2. ver.18. *If I build the things that I haue deſtroyed, I make my ſelfe a treſpaſſer*, παραβάτην, which is all one, as if he had ſayd, ἀδόκιμον, reprooued, or reprobate to men. 4.

5. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of any mans particular ſtate, but of the generall falling away of the Galathians from the doctrine of the Goſpell: as Gal.1.6. *I marueile ye are ſo ſoone remoued to another Goſpell*: Chap.3.3. *Are ye ſo fooliſh, that when ye haue begun in the ſpirit, ye would end in the fleſh?* This is then nothing to the purpoſe. 5.

6. 6. Theſe which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, neuer had any true faith, but onely a *taſte* thereof, and a momentanie or ſuperficiall lightning of the minde: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *They that went out from vs*, that is, fell away, *were not of vs*, 1. Iohn 2.19.

Thus their owne gloſſe expoundeth this text: *Aliud eſt bibere, vel manducare, aliud deguſtare, &c.* It is one thing to drinke or eate, another thing to taſte: hee drinketh, that is rooted in charitie: *Ille deguſtat, qui ea aliquatenus communicat, à qua poſtea delinquendo recedit, de quibus Apoſtolus: Impoſſibile eſt, &c.* He taſteth, that doth ſomewhat communicate of that water, but afterward by ſinning departeth; of whom the Apoſtle ſaith: It is impoſſible, that they which are once lightened, and haue taſted, &c. if they fall away, &c. *Cauſ.33.diſt.2.c.44 gloſſ.*

*Argum.*3. *Dauid, Peter*, did grieuouſly fall: *Saul, Simon, Iudas*, became reprobates: *Ergo*, the righteous may finally fall away. *Bellarm.*

Anſw. Firſt, the faith of *Dauid* and *Peter*, by their tranſgreſſion, was greatly decayed, and much ſhaken, yet not vtterly loſt: for Chriſt praied for *Peter*, that his faith ſhould not faile, Luk.22. verſ.32. Secondly, as for the reſt, they were neuer truely iuſt or righteous. *Iudas* is called the child of perdition, and when he was in his holieſt courſe, he was but a theefe, and an hypocrite, as the Scripture teſtifieth of him. Saint *Peter* alſo ſaith of *Simon Magus*, *That his heart was not right in the ſight of God*, howſoeuer he appeared before men: Act.8.21. Theſe examples therefore proue nothing.

The Proteſtants.

OVr ſentence is this: that he which once hath receiued a true liuely faith, and is thereby iuſtified before God, can neuer finally fall away; neither can that faith vtterly periſh, or faile in him, though it may for a while ſomewhat decay, and be empayred, yet ſhall it reuiue, and hee be rayſed vp againe.

*Argum.*1. Iohn 4.14. *Hee that drinketh of the water that I ſhall giue him, ſhall neuer be more athirſt, &c.* 1. Iohn 3.9. *Whoſoeuer is borne of God, ſinneth not, for his ſeed remaineth in him, &c. Ergo*, the grace of iuſtification cannot be loſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that ſo long as they haue this water and ſeed, they ſhal neyther thirſt, nor ſinne; but the fountaine may be dried vp, and the ſeed loſt: and then may they fall into both.

Contra. 1. The Goſpell ſaith, *It ſhall be in him a well of water, ſpringing vp to euerlaſting life: Ergo*, it cannot be dryed vp; for it ſpringeth continually and ſtinteth not, til it haue brought him to life eternall. 2. Saint *Iohn* ſaith not, they ſinne not, if, or while they haue their ſeede: but ſimply, *becauſe their ſeed abideth.* Neither doth hee reaſon thus: they ſinne not: *Ergo*, they haue the ſeede: But they haue this ſeede abiding: *Ergo*, they cannot ſinne: for if they that are borne of God, are ſubiect to ſinne in ſuch ſort, as the Apoſtle meaneth, then may the child of God, be the childe of the diuell: for hee that ſo ſinneth willingly with delight, and continuance therein, is of the diuell.

*Argum.*2. *He that beleeueth, is alreadie paſſed from death to life*, Iohn 5.24. If it be then poſſible for a man to be brought from life to death, from heauen backe againe to hell, then may a faithfull beleeuer become alſo a faithleſſe infidell.

*Argum.*3. Cantic.8.7. *Much water cannot quench loue, neyther can the flouds drowne it*: 1. Cor.13. verſ.8. *Loue doth neuer fall away*; if charitie cannot be loſt, then neyther faith, for without faith there is no charitie.

Anſw. Charitie indeed falleth not away, but a man may fall from charitie: and as long as charitie remaineth, no flouds, that is, perſecutions can drowne it or extinguiſh it: *Bellarm.c.15.reſp. ad 1.teſt.&* 4.

Contra. 1. As charitie it ſelfe is alwayes permanent, both in this world and the next, which I graunt is the ſpeciall meaning of the Apoſtle: yet it is true alſo, that true charitie cannot be ſeparated from the heart of a faithfull man, *being rooted* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and grounded in loue*, Epheſ.2.17. How can that wither, which hath a roote? the ſeede ſowen in ſtonie ground doth wither, becauſe it hath no roote, Luk.8.13. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *radicata eſt charitas, ſecurus eſto*, charitie is rooted, be ſecure or out of doubt: *tract.8. ſuper epiſt.1.Ioan.* rehearſed *cauſ.33.diſtinct.2.c.3.* 2. *Origen* expoundeth this place, 1. Cor.13. of the ſtabilitie and firmeneſſe of charitie, *tract.23. in Matth.* vpon theſe words, *Charitie neuer falleth away: Ex charitate nunquam excidente erant illæ voces dicentis, confido, &c.* From charitie neuer falling away, proceeded thoſe ſpeeches of the Apoſtle, I am perſwaded, that neither death, nor life, &c. can ſeparate me from the *loue of God, &c.* 3. S. *Gregory* alſo thus expoundeth the firſt place, *Valida eſt vt mors dilectio, virtuti mortis dilectio comparatur, quia mentem, quam ſemel ceperit, à delectatione mundi funditùs occidit, &c.* Loue is ſtrong as death; loue is compared to the ſtrength of death, becauſe it doth ſlay the mind for euer where it is the delight of the world, *lib.10.moral.c.22.* repeated, *cauſ.33.diſt.2.c.4.*

Auguſtine doth plainely ſet downe his ſentence of this matter: *Horum fides quæ per dilectionem operatur, profecto, aut omnino non deficit, aut ſi qui ſunt quorum deficit, reparatur, antequam vita iſta finiatur:*

atur: de corrept & grat.cap.7. Their faith, which worketh by loue, either neuer faileth at all, or if it do fayle in any, it is repayred againe, before the life be ended: this ſentence is ratified, *cauſ.33.diſtinct.2.c.25.*

Interrelig.cap.5. Qui iuſtificantur, ijdem adoptantur Deo filij,&c. Et iam habent ius adeundæ hæreditatis illius, quæ eſt vita æterna: They that are iuſtified, are adopted the ſonnes of God, and haue already, or euen now, the right to come vnto the inheritance of eternall life. How then can they looſe the heauenly inheritance, that haue it already?

Let vs ſee further teſtimonie from themſelues, *cauſ.33.diſt.2.c.5. Charitas eſt recta voluntas,&c. iuncta Deo inſeparabiliter:* Charitie is a right mind inſeparably ioyned to God.

Ibid,c.8. Charitas in quocunq; fuerit, radix illi erit, areſcere non poteſt: In whomſoeuer charitie is, it is as a roote, it cannot wither.

Cap.14, Charitas eſt aqua, de qua Dominus in Euangelio,&c. Charitie is that water, whereof the Lord ſaith in the Goſpell: *He that drinketh of this water, which I ſhall giue, ſhall not thirſt for euer.*

Ibid.c 44. Aurum, quod quaſi lutum ſterni poteſt; aurum ante Dei oculos nunquam fuit,&c. Golde, which may become dirt, was neuer gold before God: They which are ſeduced, and neuer returne, *quaſi habitam ſanctitatem ante oculos hominum videntur amittere, &c.* Doe ſeeme to loſe ſanctitie, which they had before men, but they neuer had any before God.

Decret.part.3.diſtinct.4.c.129. vpon theſe wordes, *Nolite ſpiritum extinguere:* Quench not the ſpirit: *Non quia ille extingui poteſt, ſed quantum in ipſis eſt:* not that the ſpirit can be extinguiſhed, but as much as in them lyeth, &c.

Peter Lombard. lib.1.diſt.17.liter.ſ. ex Auguſtin. Si nulla res ab eius charitate nos ſeparat, quid eſſe non ſolum melius, ſed etiam certius hoc bono poteſt: If nothing can ſeparate vs from the loue of God, what thing is better or more certaine? &c.

This trueth alſo is ſealed by M. *Bradford* holy Martyr: Our cecitie or blindneſſe, and corrupt affections, do often ſhadow the ſight of Gods ſeede in Gods children, as though they were plaine reprobates: whereof it commeth, that they praying according to their ſenſe, but not according to the trueth, deſire of God to giue them againe his ſpirit, as though they had loſt it, and hee had taken it away: which thing God neuer doth indeed; although he make vs to thinke ſo for a time. *Fox.*pag.1655.

THE FIFTH PART OF GOOD WORKES, FIRST in generall, then in particular.

CONcerning good workes in generall, the ſeuerall queſtions are theſe; firſt, of the law, which is the rule of good workes: ſecondly, of good workes themſelues.

THE FIRST QVESTION OF the lawe.

THe parts of this queſtion are theſe: firſt, of the differences of the law and the Goſpell: ſecondly, whether the law be poſſible to be kept: thirdly, of the workes of Supererogation: fourthly, whether God be to be ſerued for hope of reward, or feare of puniſhment.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE TRVE AND FALSE difference betweene the law and the Goſpell.

FIRST OF THE FALSE differences

THere are ſome differences betweene the law and the Goſpell, concerning the which wee are both agreed: as firſt the law ſetteth forth but the ſhadow of things to come; the Goſpell containeth the body it ſelfe, Coloſſ.2.17. Secondly, the law of *Moſes* was mutable, and to be changed, Heb.7.12. if the Prieſthood be changed, there muſt be a change alſo of the law: but the Goſpell is eternall: Thirdly, the law was not giuen, to iuſtifie vs, but to be onely a ſchoolemaſter to bring vs to Chriſt, Galath.3.24. The Goſpel teacheth the way to life by Chriſt. Fourthly, the law of *Moſes* engendred feare: the Goſpell bringeth libertie and peace, Rom.8.15. You haue not receiued the ſpirit of bondage to feare againe. Fiftly, The law of *Moſes* was a hard yoke, grieuous to be borne, Act.15.10. but Chriſts yoke is eaſie, Matth.11.30. Theſe differences we acknowledge: but theſe following we do vtterly reiect.

The Papiſts.

58.Error. FIrſt, *Bellarmine* ſaith, the Goſpell differeth from the law, as a perfect thing from an imperfect: and that the Goſpell is contained and included in the law, as the tree in the ſeed: and that the Goſpell doth not onely explane, and expound the law, but addeth the Counſels of perfection vnto it: *Bellarm. de iuſtificat. lib.* 4. *cap.* 4.

The Proteſtants.

Contra. 1. IF by the law we vnderſtand whatſoeuer is contained in the old teſtament, as for *Moſes* and the Prophets we willingly grant, that the doctrine of the Goſpell is included in the law: for of Chriſt ſpake all the Prophets, Luk. 1.70. but then ſhould we not ſpeake properly to our purpoſe: for when we compare the law and the Goſpell together, we vnderſtand onely the law of workes, which is called the morall law, as it is oppoſite to the doctrine of faith. 2. This then we affirme, that the law of faith, which is the ſubſtance of the Goſpell, is not incluſiuely contained in the decalogue, which is the law of workes; as it may appeare by theſe reaſons.

1. The law of works and the law of faith haue contrary effects: by the law ſinne is reuiued, and receiueth ſtrength, Rom. 7.9. but being baptized by faith into Chriſts death, we are dead vnto ſin, Rom. 6.2. *Ergo*, no affinitie betweene the law and the Goſpell, which commandeth faith. 2. If faith were commanded in the law, it ſhould be a worke of the law, which the Apoſtle denieth, concluding thus: *That a man is iuſtified by faith, without the workes of the law:* Rom. 3.28. 3. Grace excludeth workes, and works exclude grace, Rom. 11.6. *If of workes, then no more of grace:* works alſo exclude faith and beleefe, Rom. 4.5. *To him that worketh not, but beleeueth, &c.* If then the law of workes exclude faith, faith can in no wiſe be included in the law. The Goſpell therefore and the law are two diſtinct things: the law ſaith, Do this, and thou ſhalt be ſaued: the Goſpell; Beleeue onely, and it ſufficeth vnto life: *For all things are poſſible to him that beleeueth:* Mark. 9.23. the doctrine therefore of the faith of the Goſpell cannot be ſet forth in the law of workes: and if it were, this would ſhew an agreement rather betweene the law and the Goſpel, then a difference: for betweene the thing that containeth, and that which is contained, there muſt needs be ſome affinitie: therefore the Ieſuite cannot properly herein make any difference betweene the law and the Goſpell.

S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *in Luc.* 12. *Nemo ſub lege fidem conſtituat; lex enim intra menſuram, vltra menſuram gratia; nemo fidem intra menſuram legis conſtituat:* Let no man place faith in the law: the law is within meaſure; grace is without meaſure: let no man place faith within the meaſure of the law, &c. *Ergo*, faith is not contained in the law.

Cauſ. 23. *qu.* 4. *c.* 16. *Cum lege ſcriptum ſit, diliges amicum, odio habebis inimicum, &c.* Whereas it is written in the law, Thou ſhalt loue thy friend, and hate thine enemie, &c. It was lawfull then for righteous men to hate their enemies: *quod in nouo Teſtamento compeſcitur:* which is reſtrained in the new: If the law ſuffered that which the Goſpel forbiddeth, how is the one contayned in the other.

Peter Lombard. lib. 3. *diſtinct.* 37. *liter.* C. *Litera Euangelij exprimitur, quod litera legis non exprimebatur:* That is expreſſed in the letter of the Goſpell, which was not expreſſed in the letter of the law, &c. how then is the Goſpell contayned in the law?

3. Neither is it true, that the Goſpell addeth vnto the law, precepts or counſels, concerning workes of greater perfection: for all good workes appertaine to the law, as faith belongeth to the Goſpell: and therefore the Apoſtle concludeth, that if we be not iuſtified by the workes of the law, it followeth, that we are by faith, Galath. 2.16. He findeth no meane betweene. Our Sauiour Chriſt alſo ſaith, that there are no commandements greater, *then to loue God aboue all, and our neighbour as our ſelfe*, which are contained in the law, Mark. 12.31. Therefore the Goſpell cannot counſell or commaund any thing greater then the law: ſeeing there can be no greater thing, then to loue God with all the heart, ſoule and ſtrength, Mark. 12.33.

Hieron. ad Cteſiphont. vpon theſe words, *No fleſh ſhall be iuſtified by the workes of the law: Quod ne de lege Moſis tantum dictum putes & non de omnibus mandatis, quæ vno nomine legis continentur, &c.* Which that you ſhould not thinke to be ſpoken onely of the law of *Moſes*, and not of all commandements whatſoeuer, which are contained vnder the name of the law, the ſame Apoſtle ſaith. I conſent vnto the law in the inward man, &c. *Ergo*, all commandements of works, whatſoeuer belong to the law.

The Papiſts.

59.Error. B*Ellarmines* ſecond difference betweene the law and the Goſpell is this: The law onely teacheth the doctrine, and ſheweth the way, to diſcerne betweene vertue and vice: the Goſpell beſide this knowledge, giueth power and ſtrength to keepe the law: ſo ſaith S. Iohn, 1.17. *The law was giuen by Moſes, but grace and trueth came by Ieſus Chriſt, Bellarm. cap.* 4.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, it is true, that the law is a reuealer and diſcouerer of ſinne, Rom. 7.7. not a giuer of righteouſneſſe, *for that is impoſſible to the law, in as much as it was weake, &c.* Rom. 8.3. Yet euen vnder the law by grace they receiued ſtrength, in ſome meaſure to keepe the law, though not thereby to be iuſtified: *I will runne the way of thy commaundements,* (ſaith the Prophet *Dauid*) *when thou ſhalt enlarge my heart,* Pſal.119.32. Secondly, grace indeed is giuen vnto vs in the Goſpell, not to enable vs to be iuſtified by doing the workes of the law, *but by grace are we ſaued through faith,* Epheſ.2.8. *In that Chriſt is become our righteouſnes,* 1.Cor.1.30. *and we the righteouſnes of God in him,* 2.Cor.5.21. So that as by grace the righteous both vnder the law and the Goſpell are ſanctified to walke in ſome meaſure of obedience to the law: ſo neither then, nor now doth grace giue power to vs to be iuſtified by the keeping of the law: but our iuſtification, wholy, onely, and immediatly is wrought by the faith of Chriſt, Galath.3.16. This therefore is no difference between the law and the Goſpell.

OF THE TRVE DIFFERENCES OF the law and the Goſpell.

The Papiſts.

60.Error. WHereas wee diſtinguiſh the law and the Goſpell, chiefly in theſe two reſpects: firſt, that the law engendreth terror and feare; the Goſpell peace. Secondly, the law requireth obedience of the commaundements thereby to bee iuſtified; the Goſpell commaundeth onely faith. *Bellarmine* refuſeth theſe two differences betweene the law and the Goſpell, and thus bendeth his force to ouerthrow them.

Argum.1. Firſt, that the Goſpell worketh feare, as well as the law, he would proue it by theſe menacings and threatnings, which are denounced in the Goſpell, as Matth.7.19. *Euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewen downe, &c.* Rom.1.16. *I am not aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt, &c.* Then he ſheweth the fruits and effects of the Goſpell: *Firſt, the righteouſnes of God is reuealed from faith to faith. Secondly, the wrath of God is reuealed from heauen againſt all vngodlines:* The Goſpell then reuealeth the wrath of God: *Ergo,* it worketh feare, *Bellar.cap.2.*

Anſw. Firſt, as whatſoeuer is contained in the old Teſtament, doth not appertaine to the law, as the promiſes of mercie in Chriſt foreſhewed by the Prophets, which though they were vttered in the time of the lawe, yet belonged to the Goſpell: ſo in the new Teſtament, all that wee finde there written, is not ſtraightway of the ſubſtance of the Goſpel: but the threatning of Gods iudgements there contained, doe as well appertaine to the law, as the comfortable promiſes in the olde Teſtament to the Goſpell. So that thoſe places doe prooue onely that the law and the Goſpell are ioyned in vſe; yet it followeth not, that they haue the ſame operation and effect: S. *Peter,* Act.2. and 3. and the reſt of the Apoſtles, in their ſermons tempered the threatnings of the law, and the comforts of the Goſpell together, by the one drawing the people to repentance, by the other miniſtring hope of remiſſion of ſinnes: the ſame courſe ought the Miniſters of the Goſpell to take in teaching the people now: firſt in humbling them by the lawe, then comforting them by the Goſpell: for the law, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *is a ſchoolemaſter to bring vs to Chriſt,* Galath.3.verſ.24. But all this ſheweth onely a ioyning of the lawe and the Goſpell in vſe, not in nature or propertie.

Secondly, the Goſpell worketh feare and terror, *per accidens,* not of it ſelfe, but accidentally and improperly: as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *The Goſpell is the ſauour of life vnto life, and of death vnto death,* 2.Corinth.2.16. That is, properly and of it ſelfe, it worketh vnto life, but not ſo vnto death: which is not the proper effect of the Goſpell, but is cauſed by the wilfull contemners, and diſobedient hearers of the Goſpell: by whoſe peruerſe nature the ſweetnes thereof is turned to bitternes. So then vnto the faithfull and beleeuers the Goſpell bringeth comfort and peace: if it do not ſo to others, the fault is in themſelues: But the law brought terror to all, euen to the righteous: for *Moſes* trembled, and quaked at the deliuering of the law, Heb.12.21.

61.Error. *Argum.2. Bellarmine* alſo prooueth, that the Goſpell requireth the condition of obedience as well as the law: as Chriſt ſaith to the young man, *if thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commaundements,* Matth.19.17. Hence he inferreth, that the Goſpell alſo inioyneth obedience, and not onely faith: And the Councell of Trent, *ſeſſ.6.cap.7.* doe call this *verbum fideï,* and, *verbum Chriſti,* the word of faith, and the word of Chriſt, to be obeyed and followed of all Chriſtians, which Chriſt here vttered to the young man.

Contra. Firſt, wee graunt that the Goſpell requireth obedience, for it eſtabliſheth the lawe, and without this obedience there is no ſaluation: for *euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruit ſhall be cut down, &c.* But it is not now required as in the law, to be a meanes and cauſe of life and iuſtification, as it was then ſaid, *Do this, and thou ſhalt liue*; but only as a neceſſarie conſequent of our faith, and an effectuall fruit of our iuſtification. Secondly, our Sauiour Chriſt vttered theſe wordes to the young man onely to humble him thereby, and to teach him to know himſelfe: for he willing to iuſtifie himſelfe by keeping of the law; as we reade, Luk.10.29. of another, which came to our

Sauiour, with the ſame queſtion, *What ſhall I doe to haue eternall life?* our Sauiour hereby ſheweth him how farre ſhort he came of keeping the law, that not by doing, but by beleeuing from henceforth he ſhould hope to be ſaued. Thirdly, the Apoſtles exhorted men to beleeue *without any other condition, and ſo to be ſaued*, Act. 16. 31. Their doctrine was not diuers from Chriſts: therefore Chriſt onely required the condition of faith to iuſtification. By this meanes alſo, the law ſhould become a miniſter and inſtrument of life, contrarie to Saint *Paul*, who ſaith, it ſerueth onely as a ſchoolemaſter to bring vs to Chriſt, Galat. 3. 24. It diſcouereth and reuealeth ſinne, Rom. 7. 7. the Apoſtle alſo calleth it *the killing letter, and miniſterie of condemnation*, 2. Cor. 3. 6. 9. It cannot therefore helpe to procure our ſaluation: but if that we are iuſtified by our obedience to the law, then ſhould the law helpe to iuſtifie vs, which is contrarie to the Apoſtle.

The Proteſtants.

NOw on the contrarie ſide, our arguments are theſe: Firſt, that the law worketh terror, the Goſpell onely comfort: Rom. 8. 15. *Ye haue not receiued the ſpirit of bondage to feare againe, but ye haue receiued the ſpirit of adoption, whereby wee crie Abba father.* And againe, Galath. 4. 4. *God ſent his ſonne, that he might redeeme them that were vnder the law, that we might receiue the adoption of ſons, and becauſe ye are ſonnes, God hath ſent the ſpirit of his ſonne into your hearts, which crieth Abba father.* Theſe places proue, that while we were vnder the law, wee were ſeruants, and kept in feare: but by the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt we are made ſonnes, and receiue the ſpirit of adoption.

Bellarmines anſwere here is very ſimple, that not the law but the old Teſtament, engendreth feare; and not the Goſpell, but the new Teſtament miniſtreth comfort, *Bellarm. cap.* 2.

Contra. 1. The contrarie rather hereof is moſt euident, that not the old teſtament, but the law; not the new teſtament, but the Goſpell, worketh the one feare, the other comfort: for both the old teſtament containeth comfortable promiſes of the Goſpell, and the new fearefull threatnings of iudgement: therefore neither the old wholy, nor the new wholy, can be, that the miniſter of feare, this of peace, but the law, and the Goſpell comprehended both in the old and new Scriptures.

2. *Bellarmine* himſelfe, forgetting what he had ſaid before, confeſſeth afterward in theſe words: *Lex Moſis, lex timoris & ſeruitutis fuit; Euangelium lex amoris:* The law of *Moſes* was the law of feare and ſeruitude; the Goſpell the law of loue and peace. Thus he himſelfe acknowledgeth this diſtinction betweene the law and the Goſpell: *Bellarm. lib. 4. diſcrim.* 7.

Auguſt. Hæc eſt breuiſſim. & apertiſſ. differentia duorum teſtamentorum, timor & amor, contr. Adimant. c. 17. This is a ſhort and manifeſt difference of the two teſtaments, feare and loue.

Ambr. in 3. *ad Rom. Lex iram operatur, fides gaudium:* The law worketh wrath, faith ioy. *Ibid. Pacem cum deo habere fides facit non lex:* Faith maketh vs to haue peace with God, not the law: *In* 11. *ad Rom. Data eſt lex vt humanum genus terrore manifeſtata legis frænaretur:* The law was giuen, that mankinde might be terrified by the manifeſtation thereof.

Cauſ. 23. *qu.* 4. *c.* 15. *gloſſ. In lege populus ſeruili timore cogebatur, &c.* In the law the people was compelled with a ſeruile feare, and they had the law as a ſchoolemaſter: *in Euangelio filiali amore inuitatur*, but in the Goſpell they are inuited with a filiall loue, &c.

Argum. 2. That the Goſpell requireth not obedience to the commaundements as a meane to ſaluation, as the lawe doth, but onely commaundeth faith, Saint *Paul* euery where ſheweth: Roman. 3. 20 *We cannot be iuſtified by the workes or obedience of the law:* the reaſon followeth: *for by the law commeth the knowledge of ſinne.* And againe, verſ. 21. *The righteouſnes of God* (which is by the faith of Chriſt Ieſus, verſ. 22.) *is made manifeſt without the law:* Only faith then is required to make vs righteous before God, without the workes or obedience of the law.

August. expoſit. in Pſal. 77. Heare what *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Teſtimonium legis eis, qui ea non legitimè vtuntur, teſtimonium eſt, quo conuincantur: eis, qui legitimè vtuntur, teſtimonium eſt, quo demonſtratur, quò liberandi confugere debeant peccatores:* The teſtimonie of the law, to them which vſe it not aright, is a teſtimonie to conuince them: to them which doe, a teſtimonie to teach them, to whom ſinners ought to flie for their deliuerance: *Ergo*, the law worketh not our deliuerance it ſelfe, but ſendeth vs to our deliuerer.

Againe, *Lex fidei æque atque lex factorum aijt ne concupiſcas, ſed quod operum lex minando imperat, fidei lex credendo impetrat:* The law of faith, and the law of workes, doe both ſay thou ſhalt not couet: but what the law of workes, by threatning inioyneth, the law of faith by beleeuing obtaineth: *de ſpiritu & liter. cap.* 13.

Ambroſ. in c. 3. *ad Galath. Non eſt ex fide lex, quia nihil mandat credendum:* The law is not of faith, becauſe it commaundeth nothing to be beleeued, &c. As the law commaunded not faith, ſo neither doth the Goſpell commaund obedience to the law as a meane to our iuſtification.

Maſter *Patricke Hamelton* holy Martyr, hath ſealed this truth: *The law ſheweth vs our ſinne, the Goſpell ſheweth vs remedie for it: the law is the word of ire, the Goſpell is the word of grace: the law is the word of deſpayre, the Goſpell is the word of comfort, &c. Fox. p.* 977.

AN APPENDIX CONCERNING THE libertie of the Goſpell.

BEllarmine here is not aſhamed to ſlaunder vs,that we ſhould affirme Chriſtian libertie herein to ſtand,in that we are altogether freed from the obedience and ſubiection of the law:*Vt Moſes cum ſuo decalogo nihil ad nos pertineat:* And that *Moſes* with his decalogue belongeth not to vs; *lib.5.de iuſtificat.c.5.initio.* But we call God and all the world to record, that wee witneſſe no ſuch thing,knowing that Chriſt came not to diſſolue,but to fulfill the law,Matth.5.17.Here therefore *Bellarmine* fighteth with his owne ſhadow,*cap.5.*

Chriſtian libertie then conſiſteth in theſe three poynts: Firſt,in that we are exempted from the ceremonies of the law,and the Iudicials,ſo farre forth,as they concerned the politike ſtate of the Iewes: Act.15.10.*Why lay ye a yoke on the diſciples neckes,which neither our fathers nor we were able to beare?* Secondly,we are freed from the curſe and guilt of the law: Galath.3.13.*Chriſt hath redeemed vs from the curſe of the law,when he was made a curſe for vs.* Thirdly, we are deliuered from the ſeruitude of ſinne,that although it remaine in vs,yet it raigneth not in vs,Rom.6.12. Herein the Ieſuite diſſenteth from vs.

The Papiſts.

62.Error.

BEllarmines opinion then is this, that by the libertie of the Goſpell wee are altogether freed from ſinne,ſo that it is throughly dead,and not onely not imputed,but not aliue,or hauing any being in the righteous,*cap.6.*

Argum. Rom.7.6.*Now we are deliuered from the law, being dead vnto it, that wee ſhould ſerue in newnes of the ſpirit:* If ſinne be dead in vs,and we vnto it,then hath it no life at all.

Anſ. Firſt,in the very ſame chapter,the Apoſtle ſheweth by his owne example,that euen in the regenerate there is ſome remnant of ſinne: verſ.20. *Sinne that dwelleth in me:* verſ.21. *Euill is preſent with me:* verſ.23.*I finde a law in my members rebelling againſt the law of my minde:*If ſinne dwell, be preſent,rebell euen in the righteous,then are they not fully purged from it. Secondly,wherefore the Apoſtle in ſaying,we are dead vnto ſinne,or to the law,would be vnderſtood as where he ſaith,*He that is dead,is freed from ſin,*Rom.6.7.that is,from obedience and ſeruice to ſin: verſ.12. *Let not ſinne raigne in your mortall bodie:* they are freed from the kingdome of ſinne, not from the hauing of ſinne.

The Proteſtants.

THat wee are by the libertie of faith, freed from the tyrannie and kingdome of ſinne, but not altogether from the dwelling and abiding of ſinne in vs, ſo long as we liue in the fleſh: thus we are perſwaded out of the Scripture.

Arg. Saint *Paul* being now an Apoſtle, and ſo conſequently a ſanctified and regenerate man, ſaith,*I am carnall,and ſold vnder ſinne,*Rom.7.verſ.14.And verſ.25.*In my fleſh I ſerue the law of ſinne: Ergo,*ſinne was yet abiding in him. Verſ.24.*Who ſhall deliuer me from the bodie of death?* that is the bodie of ſinne,Rom.6.verſ.6. *Ergo,*he was not yet fully deliuered from ſinne, though it raigned not in him: but his freedome onely conſiſted in this, *that the bodie of ſinne ſhould be deſtroyed, that henceforth we ſhould not ſerue ſinne,*Rom.6.6. We are freed then from the ſeruice and obedience to ſinne,not from the poſſeſſion and habitation of ſinne.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Aliud non eſt peccare, aliud non habere peccatum: nam in quo peccatum non regnat, non peccat,id eſt,qui non obedit deſiderijs eius: in quo autem non exiſtunt iſta deſideria, non ſolum non peccat, ſed nec habet peccatum:* It is one thing not to ſinne,another not to haue ſinne: for in whom ſin raigneth not,he ſinneth not,that is,obeyeth not the deſires thereof: but he in whom none of theſe deſires are,hath no ſinne at all: *in 4.cap.epiſtol.ad Galat.* But there is no man liuing,in whom there be not found ſome euill deſires: *Ergo,*no man,but hath ſinne.

Ambroſe ſheweth wherein Chriſtian libertie conſiſteth: *in 2.Galath. Libertas in Ieſu Chriſto hæc eſt,non ſubijci legi:* This is the libertie in Ieſus Chriſt,not to be ſubiect to the law: that is,the terror and feare thereof,as he expoundeth, *Galath.4. Lex data eſt, vt terrori eſſet:* The law was giuen to be a terror. Againe,*in 2.Cor.3. Lex ſpiritus dat libertatem ſolam fidem poſcens:* The law of the ſpirit giueth libertie,requiring onely faith: *Ergo,*this is our libertie,that by faith we are deliuered from the thraldome and bondage of the law, both in the obſeruation thereof required as a meane to ſaluation,and the puniſhment of the tranſgreſſion thereof.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER IT BE poſſible to keepe the law in this life.

The Papiſts.

63.Error. IF any man ſay, that the precepts, and commandements of God vnto a man iuſtified, and in the ſtate of grace, are impoſſible to be kept, let him be accurſed, *Concil. Tridentin. ſeſſ.6.can.*18.

*Argum.*1. Rom.8.4. That the *righteouſnes of the law might be fulfilled in vs : Ergo*, the law of God by the grace of Chriſt may be kept, and the keeping thereof is our iuſtice. Chriſt alſo ſaith, my yoke is eaſie, and my burthen light : *Ergo*, his commaundements are poſſible to be kept.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith not, that the law is fulfilled by vs, but in vs by Chriſt, *who is our righteouſnes, and ſanctification*, 1.Cor.1.30. The law remaineth ſtill impoſſible to be kept through the weaknes of our fleſh, verſ.3. Neither doth God giue vs abilitie to keepe it, but Chriſt hath fulfilled it for vs : *God ſent his ſonne in the ſimilitude of ſinfull fleſh*, verſ.3. Wee notwithſtanding are bound to walke in obedience to the commaundements, which is, *to walke after the ſpirit, not after the fleſh*, verſ.4. But this our obedience is imperfect, and farre off from that perfection, which Gods iuſtice requireth. Secondly, to him that is borne of God, his commaundements are ſaid to be eaſie, and not grieuous, not becauſe they are able perfectly to keepe them : but that ſtrength is giuen to keepe them in part, and they doe willingly, not of conſtraint exerciſe themſelues therein : as alſo for the reſt, that notwithſtanding their obedience is imperfect, yet the curſe of the law is taken away, and their ſinnes pardoned in Chriſt.

Auguſtine alſo telleth vs how Chriſts yoke is light : *Præcepta ſunt nolentibus grauia, volentibus leuia, itaque ait iugum meum ſuaue eſt : de ſalutar. docum.cap.7.* His precepts are heauie to the vnwilling, but to the willing light, therefore he ſaith, my yoke is pleaſant. The commaundements then are eaſie, not becauſe we can keepe them perfectly, but Chriſt maketh vs willing by his ſpirit in ſome meaſure to walke in obedience.

*Argum.*2. Rom.13. He that loueth his neighbour hath kept the whole law : but it is poſſible to loue our neighbour : *Ergo*, to keepe the law, *Bellar.cap.*11.

Anſw. He that loueth perfectly, as he ought, may keepe the law : but the aſſumption is falſe, that it is poſſible for any man ſo to loue. *Bellarmine* ſheweth, that our loue may be perfectly ſufficient toward the keeping of the law, becauſe *Dauid* ſaith, *With my whole heart haue I ſought thee*, Pſal.119. *Contra.* The Prophet *Dauid* in ſo ſaying, With my whole heart, ſheweth the qualitie rather, then the quantitie of his loue : to loue therefore with all his heart, is all one as where hee ſaith, I haue loued exceedingly, Pſalm.119.verſ.167. that is vnfainedly, not with a double heart: and as the hebrue phraſe is, a heart and a heart, Pſalm.12.2. This ſheweth not therefore the perfection of his loue before God, but the ſingleneſſe and ſimplicitie of his owne heart.

*Argum.*3. That it is poſſible to keepe the law, they would enforce further by theſe teſtimonies of Scripture.

1. Ioſu.11.15. *Ioſua left nothing vndone of all, that the Lord had commanded Moſes.*

2. Act.13.22. *I haue found Dauid a man after mine owne heart, which will do all things that I will.*

3. 2.King.23.25. *Like vnto Ioſiah was there no king, that turned vnto the Lord, with all his heart, with all his ſoule, with all his might, according to all the law of Moſes.*

4. Luke 1.6. *Both were iuſt before God, (that is, Zacharie and Elizabeth) and walked in all the commandements and ordinances of the Lord without reproofe.*

5. Iohn 17.6. Our Sauiour thus teſtifieth of his Apoſtles, *Thine they were, thou gaueſt them me, and they haue kept thy word.*

6. Rom.7.19. *The euill that I would not, that do I : now, if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but ſinne that dwelleth in me*, Verſ.25. *I my ſelfe in my mind ſerue the law of God :* then *Paul* ſinned not, for ſinne cannot be but in the mind, *Bellarm.lib.4.de iuſtificat.c.*11.

1. *Anſw.* 1. *Ioſua* in that particular, concerning the deſtruction of the cities of the heathen, did all as God commanded, Deut.7.2. 2. Otherwiſe *Moſes* himſelfe, that gaue the charge to *Ioſua*, did not abſolutely keepe all Gods commandements : for thus the Lord ſaith to him and *Aaron*, Numb.20.12. *Becauſe ye beleeued not me, to ſanctifie me in the preſence of the children of Iſrael, yee ſhall not bring this congregation into the land, &c.*

2. The Scripture maketh a manifeſt exception of the matter of *Vriah*, that *Dauid* did that, which was right in the ſight of the Lord, ſauing in that, 1.King.15.5. *Ergo*, he did not keepe all the commandements.

3. *Ioſiah* turned with all his heart vnto the Lorde, which noteth the ſinglene and integritie of his heart, rather then perfection : for hee alſo was diſobedient to the voyce of God in going againſt *Pharao :* as hee ſaid vnto him in the name of God, *Leaue off to come againſt God that is with me, leſt he deſtroy thee*, 2.Chron.35.21.

They

4. They were iuſt without reproofe: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Aliud eſt eſſe ſine peccato, &c. aliud ſine querela:* It is one thing to be without ſinne, which is ſaid onely of Chriſt; another to be without reproofe: *de perfect iuſtit. contr. Celeſtin.* *Hierome* alſo diſtinguiſheth of iuſtice: there is *perfecta iuſtitia,* a perfect iuſtice, and another, *quæ competit noſtræ fragilitati,* which agreeth with our frailtie, and ſo *Zacharie* and *Elizabeth* are ſaid to be iuſt, *dialog.1. contr. Pelag.* Otherwiſe that they were not perfectly iuſt, it is manifeſt, for the Angel ſaith to *Zacharie,* Thou ſhalt be dumbe, *quia non credidiſti,* becauſe thou haſt not beleeued my wordes, Luke 1.20.

5. In the ſame ſenſe the Apoſtles kept the word of Chriſt; as *Paul* ſaith, We are perfect, Philip. 3. verſ. 15. *As many as be perfect: Secundum humanæ fragilitatis modum;* after the meaſure of humane frailtie: As *Hierome* ſaith, *dialog.2. contra. Pelag.* For abſolutely the Apoſtles had not kept Chriſts word, ſeeing *Peter* before this, for giuing carnall counſell to Chriſt againſt his paſſion, deſerued to be called Sathan, Matth. 16.23.

6. Firſt, this place euidently maketh againſt him; for how dare he conclude that *Paul* had no ſin, ſeeing he confeſſeth *that ſinne dwelt in him,* Rom. 7.19. Secondly, by his mind and ſpirit is not vnderſtood his ſoule, but the regenerate part of the whole man, wherein, by the grace of God, hee conſented to the law of God; but the law of his fleſh, that is, the vnregenerate part reſiſted; ſo that his obedience to the law was thereby hindered. 3. Laſtly, *Auguſtine* thus ſaith, *Idem Apoſtolus & perfectum ſe dicit & imperfectum; imperfectum cogitando quantum illi ad illam iuſtitiam deſit, &c.* The Apoſtle doth call himſelfe perfect, Philip. 3.15. and imperfect, *ibid.* verſ. 12. imperfect; by thinking what hee wanted of that iuſtice, whoſe fulnes hee thirſted for: perfect; *quòd ſuam perfectionem fateri non erubeſcit,* becauſe he is not aſhamed to confeſſe his imperfection: Like as wee call a Traueller perfect, *cuius bene promouetur acceſſio, quamuis non perficiatur intentio, niſi fuerit facta peruentio:* Whoſe acceſſion ſtill is furthered, though his intention be not perfited, till his peruention be fulfilled, *contr. 2. epiſtol. Pelag. 3.7.* *Paul* therefore had no perfect or abſolute iuſtice and obedience.

Argum.4. The old Pelagians, who held the ſame or very like poſition to the Papiſts, obiected thus; *Si impoſſibilia ſunt mandata, non in his erit culpa, qui accepere mandata, ſed in eo qui dedit impoſſibilia:* If the commandements be impoſſible, the fault is not in them that receiued them, but in him that gaue them, *Hieron. ad Cteſiphont.*

Firſt, *Hierome* anſwereth, *Nunquid præcepit mihi Deus, vt eſſem, quod Deus eſt? &c.* Hath God commanded, that I ſhould be the ſame, that God is? that I ſhould haue that which the Angels haue not? Of Chriſt it is written, *Peccatum non fecit,* he did no ſinne: if this be common to mee and Chriſt, *Quid ille habuit proprium?* what had he proper to himſelfe?

Secondly, ſaith he, *Poſſibilia ſunt Dei mandata, &c.* The commandements of God are poſſible; who denieth it? but how this is to be vnderſtood, the choſen veſſell ſheweth. Rom. 8.3. *That which was impoſſible in the law, &c. God ſending his ſonne, &c.* His meaning is, that the commandements were poſſible in the obedience of Chriſt, *Hieron. ad Cteſiphont.*

Thirdly, *Impoſſibilia ſunt, non imbecillitate naturæ, ſed animi laſſitudine:* They are impoſſible, not by the imbecillitie of nature, (wherein *Adam* was firſt created) *ſed laſſitudine animi,* but through the infirmitie of the minde, (by *Adams* fall:) *dialog.1. aduerſ. Pelagian.*

The Proteſtants.

THat no mortall man is able to keepe the Lawe of God perfectly in this life, it may bee thus proued.

1. *Argum.1.* S. *Peter* ſaith, Act. 15.10. *Why tempt ye God, to lay a yoke on the diſciples neckes, which neyther our fathers nor we were able to beare: Ergo,* the law is an importable burthen, and ſo impoſſible to be kept.

2. Againe, S. *Paul* ſaith, Rom. 7.18. *To will is preſent with mee, but I find no meanes to performe that is good: Ergo, Paul* could not keepe the law.

1. *Bellarm.* S. *Peter* ſpeaketh of the ceremonial law, which being added to the moral law, made it importable; but now the ceremonial being aboliſhed, the moral law is portable. *c.14. reſp. ad loc. 1.*

Contra. 1. Though the Apoſtle in that place treat chiefely of the ceremoniall, yet the reaſon is generall: *We beleeue through the grace of the Lord Ieſus to be ſaued,* Act. 15. verſ. 11. Beleefe is oppoſed not onely to the ceremoniall, but morall law alſo: wherefore ſeeing that is made eaſie and portable by faith, which otherwiſe is importable, it followeth that both the ceremoniall and morall are in themſelues importable. 2. The Apoſtle generally ſpeaking of the whole law, ſaith it was *impoſſible,* Rom. 8.3.

2. *Bellarm.* The Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the acte of concupiſcence, which is no ſinne. *reſponſ. ad obiect. 3.*

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle ſheweth the contrarie: that both it is a ſinne to luſt, Rom. 7.7. *I knew not ſinne, but by the law; for I had not knowne luſt, except the law had ſaid, thou ſhalt not luſt: Ergo,* it is ſin to luſt. 2. He confeſſeth in direct wordes alſo, that this ſinne dwelleth in him, verſ. 10.

*Argum.*2. Galath.3.10. *As many as are vnder the workes of the law,are vnder the curſe: for it is written,curſed is euery one that continueth not in all things which are written in the booke of the law*: The Apoſtle reaſoneth thus: who ſo keepeth not the law in all points,ſtandeth accurſed: but no man is able to keepe it: *Ergo*,euery man is vnder the curſe.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that they are accurſed, which thinke to keepe the law by their owne ſtrength,without grace,which indeed it is impoſſible to doe,but poſſible by grace: *reſp.ad loc.*2.

Contra. Nay the Apoſtle ſheweth, that it is poſſible no way to keepe the law perfectly: for if man by grace might performe the law,he might deliuer himſelf by grace from the curſe: but now are we redeemed only from the curſe by Chriſt,who was made a curſe for vs,verſ.13.*Ergo*,the law by no man can be performed. 2. *The law is not of faith*,verſ.12. But if by faith and grace the law could be kept,then the law ſhould be of faith.

*Argum.*3. If the righteous man doth keepe the law,then is he without ſinne: for where there is no tranſgreſſion of the law,there is no ſinne: but no man is without ſin, Iam.3. *In many things we offend all*: 1.Ioh.1. *If we ſay wee haue no ſinne, wee deceiue our ſelues: Ergo*, no man can keepe the law.

Bellarmine anſwereth,that the veniall ſinnes which iuſt men commit, are not directly againſt the lawe, but *præter legem*, beſide the lawe: and therefore they may keepe the lawe, and yet haue veniall ſinnes.

Contra. Firſt, Saint *Iohn* ſaith, *Sinne is the tranſgreſſion of the law,and whoſoeuer committeth ſinne tranſgreſſeth the law*,1.Iohn.1.4. but a veniall or ſmall offence is ſinne: *Ergo*, a tranſgeſſion: and where the law is tranſgreſſed it is not kept. Secondly, S.*Iames* ſaith, *Whoſoeuer ſhall keepe the whole law,and yet faile in one point,he is guiltie of all*,Iam.2.10. But he that committeth veniall ſinnes, faileth in ſome point, he doth ſomewhat (*præter legem*) beſide the law: *Ergo*, they are guiltie of the whole,and ſo tranſgreſſe *contra legem*,againſt the law: and ſo this diſtinction of ſinnes beſide,and againſt the law,is found nothing worth.

Auguſtine thus writeth of this matter againſt the Pelagians: *Illud quod dicunt ſine vllo peccato aliquos homines vixiſſe in hoc ſeculo,vel viuere,optandum eſt vt fiat,conandum eſt vt fiat, ſupplicandum eſt vt fiat,non tamen,quaſi factum fuerit,confidendum*: That which they ſay,that ſome may,and haue liued here without ſinne,we muſt endeuour,and pray,that it may be ſo,not preſume that it hath been done: *contr.Pelag.lib.*3.*cap.*10.

*Concil.Mileuitan.c.*6. *Placuit,quod aijt S.Iohannes,ſi dixerimus,quod peccatum non habemus,nos ipſos ſeducimus, quiſquis ſic accipiendum putat, vt dicat propter humanitatem non oportere dici,nos non habere peccatum,non quia veritas eſt,anathema ſit*: Whereas S.*Iohn* ſaith,if we ſay we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues: if any man thinke that of curteſie and humanitie,we ſay that we haue no ſin, not becauſe it is ſo indeede,let him be accurſed. But they which ſay,they can keepe the law, conſequently affirme that they haue no ſinne.

See the teſtimonie of the holie Martyrs: *Patricke Hamelton* Martyr,ſaith, that the law biddeth vs to doe that thing,which is impoſſible,in as much as the keeping of the commandements,which the law biddeth,is impoſſible,*Fox* pag.976.

Maſter *Tyndall* holie Martyr: *The law,when it commandeth thou ſhalt not luſt, giueth thee not power ſo to doe,but damneth thee,becauſe thou canſt not ſo doe: If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God,then muſt thou turne to the promiſes of the Goſpell: Fox* pag.1247.

AN APPENDIX, OF THE DIVIſion of the law.

The Papiſts.

64.Error. THe Maſter of the Sentences,whom the reſt doe follow, maketh but three commaundements in the firſt table,ioyning in one the firſt and the ſecond: *lib.*3.*diſt.*37.*liter.b.* and he diuideth the ſecond table into ſeauen, making two of the laſt commaundement: this to be the ſixt, *Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours wife*: that which followeth, *Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours houſe, nor his ſeruant,&c.*to be the ſeauenth and the laſt: *lib.*3.*diſt.*40 *liter.a.* This deuice the Papiſts ſucceeding haue the more willingly embraced,that the ſecond commandement,which doth pinch them very ſore,might be left out altogether,which ſome of them haue moſt impiouſly attempted. And *Catharinus*,a great popiſh writer,is directly of this iudgement, *mandatum ſecundum fuiſſe temporale*, that the ſecond commaundement was but temporall, to continue for a time: *opuſcul.de imaginib.* For this their deuice,reaſons out of Scripture they haue none.

The Proteſtants.

THis diuiſion of the law, to ioyne the firſt and the ſecond commaundement in one, and ſo to make two of the laſt; wee ſhew it to be contrarie to the Scripture, to reaſon, and authoritie.

Firſt, Mark.10.19. our Sauiour Chriſt maketh but ſixe commaundements in the ſecond table: where in ſtead of the laſt, *Thou ſhalt not couet*, is put, μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς, *Thou ſhalt hurt no man*, no not ſo much as by thought or deſire to couet any thing of his.

Againe, Saint *Paul*, Rom.7.8. calleth the law forbidding to luſt, ἐντολὴν, a commaundement in the ſingular number, not commaundements.

Secondly, reaſon alſo giueth, that this commaundement, *Thou ſhalt not couet*, ſhould be but one: firſt, diuers commaundements haue their diuers acts which are forbidden, as to ſteale, to kill, to commit adulterie: but theſe two ſuppoſed lawes haue but one action, which is to couet. Secondly, the concluſion, after the particular induction, *nor any thing that is his*, ſheweth, that all the particulars before going belong vnto the ſame charge and commaundement.

Thirdly, 1. *Origen* miſliketh this diuiſion thus writing *in 8. Exod. Hæc omnia nonnulli putant ſimul vnum eſſe mandatum, quod ſi ita putetur, non complebitur decem numerus mandatorum:* Some thinke all theſe to be one commaundement: which if it be ſo, how ſhall the number of tenne commaundements be fulfilled? Therefore this is the firſt commandement, *Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods, &c.* The ſecond, *Thou ſhalt make no Idoll, &c.*

Ambroſ. Conſtat primum eſſe mandatum, &c. It is euident this is the firſt commaundement, *Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods, &c.* then, *Thou ſhalt make no image, &c.* the third, *Thou ſhalt not take the name &c. in 5 ad Epheſ.*

Leodienſ. epiſt. cont. Paſchal.2. Tertium decalogi, &c. The third precept, Thou ſhalt not take in vaine, &c.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE WORKS of Supererogation.

The Papiſts.

THey teach, that it is not onely poſſible for men to keepe the law of God in this life, but to do 65. Error.
more than is preſcribed or commaunded: and that men of their abundance may allot vnto others ſuch workes of ſupererogation, *Rhemiſt. 1. Cor. 9. ſect. 6. ex Tileman. loc. 3. err. 16.*

Argum. 2. Cor. 8. ſect. 3. *As your abundance now ſupplieth their want, their abundance alſo may ſupplie your want, that there may be equalitie.* Saints, or other vertuous perſons may in meaſure and proportion of other mens deſeruings, allot vnto them as well the ſupererogation of their ſpirituall works, as thoſe that abound in worldly goods may giue almes of their ſuperfluities, to them which are in neceſſitie, *Rhemiſt. totid. verbis.*

Anſw. 1. This place proueth no communication of merits of one to another: but that as euery one aboundeth in the gifts and graces of God, ſo they ought to communicate the vſe thereof one to anothers benefit: for no man meriteth himſelfe by any worke of his: therefore he can not communicate that to another, which he hath not himſelfe. Here alſo mention is made of mutuall communication, for one to ſupplie anothers want: but he that doth ſupererogate to another of the abundance of his good workes, hath no neede to haue his wants ſupplied by another mans deſeruings: therefore there is no mutuall communicating betweene them, which is the thing whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in this place.

The Proteſtants.

Arg. THat no man is holpen by another mans deſeruings, but all that a man can doe, is little enough and not ſufficient for himſelfe; it is plaine in the Goſpell: where our Sauiour ſaith, *That when we haue done all that is commaunded, we are vnprofitable ſeruants, and did no more than was our dutie*, Luk.17.10. *Ergo*, a man cannot doe more than his dutie.

Hierome vpon this place thus concludeth: *Si inutilis eſt, qui fecit omnia, quid de illo dicendum eſt, qui explere non potuit:* If he be an vnprofitable ſeruant, which did all, what ſhall be ſaid of him which could not fulfill them? *ad Cteſiphont.*

Saint *Ambroſe* vpon the ſame words writeth thus: *Ergo, & cum fecerimus quod nobis imperatum eſt, &c.* Therefore, when we haue done that which is commaunded vs, we muſt not ſtraight be exalted, but humble our ſelues: *quia non ſtatim, ſi aliquid fecerimus, impleuimus omnia ſeruitutis obſequia, quis tanta ſalutis beneficia digno poſſit æquare ſeruitio? quis poteſt ſoluere, quod accepit?* becauſe not ſtraightwaies, if we haue done any thing, we haue performed all the duties of our ſeruice, who can be equall in his ſeruice to ſo great benefit of ſaluation? who can pay that which he hath receiued? *ſerm. 16. in Pſal. 119. Ergo*, no man can doe more than he is bound to doe.

Wee may alſo remember the parable of the Virgins, Matth.25. where the fiue wiſe refuſe to giue of their oyle to the fiue fooliſh: leaſt (ſay they) there will not be enough for vs and you. No man therefore hath attained to ſuch a perfection of goodnes, that he is able to ſpare ought for his brother, but ſhall haue neede thereof himſelfe.

Auguſtine writing vpon this parable ſaith: *Vnuſquiſque pro ſe rationem reddet, nec alieno teſti-*

monio quicquam adiuuatur apud Deum : & vix ſibi quiſque ſufficit, vt ſibi teſtimonium perhibeat conſcientia ſua : Euery man ſhall giue account for himſelfe, neither is a man relieued by anothers teſtimonie before God : the teſtimonie of a mans conſcience is hardly ſufficient for himſelfe. See more of this matter : *Controuerſ.*14.*quaeſt.*7.*part.*4.*& quaeſt.*8.*part.*3.*artic.*2.

Tertullian hereof alſo thus writeth, *lib.de Pudicit. Sufficiat martyri propria delicta purgaſſe, ingrati, vel ſuperbi eſt in alios ſpargere, quod ipſe pro magno fuerit conſecutus: ecquis alienam mortem ſua morte ſoluit, niſi ſolus filius dei?* Let it ſuffice a Martyr to haue purged his owne ſin, it is the part of an vnthankfull or proude man, to ſcatter vpon others, that which he hath obtained for a great benefit : doth any man by his death looſe anothers death, but onely the ſonne of God ?

Eſpenc. a learned Papiſt thus confeſſeth : *Quo die multa nimirum miſericordia opus erit omnibus Sanctis :* In which day of the Lord all the Saints ſhall haue great neede of mercie : *in* 2.*Tim.p.*15. And againe he thus alleageth out of *Auguſtines* Sentences, collected by *Proſper. ſent.*234. *Nemo fidelium, quamuis multum profecerit, dicat, ſufficit mihi :* Let none of the Saints, though he haue well profited, ſay, it ſufficeth me : *p.*126. If no man hath ſufficient for himſelfe, how can hee ſupererogate to others.

THE FOVRTH PART, WHETHER GOD BE to be ſerued for hope of reward, or feare of puniſhment.

The Papiſts.

66.Error. MEn ought to doe good in reſpect and for reward and recompence in heauen for their good workes : the Apoſtle ſaith of *Moſes*, Hebr. 11.26. He had reſpect to the recompence of reward, *Rhemiſt.ibid.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, we denie, that we ought to make account of heauen to be giuen as a iuſt recompence deſerued by our workes : for life eternall, as the Apoſtle ſaith, is the free gift of God, Roman.6.23. Secondly, wee graunt that men in their well doing ought to haue reſpect to the reward, but not chiefly or principally : but the reſpect of Gods glorie and their owne dutie ought to moue them more.

In Pſal.52. *Argum.* Pſal.34.8. *Taſte and ſee, how gracious the Lord is:* We ought as dutifull children to yeeld obedience to the Lord, and delight in him, euen becauſe of that pleaſant taſte, comfort and ioy, which we feele in his goodnes toward vs. *Auguſtine* ſaith well, *Deus non propterea ſe amari vult, quia dat aliquid praeter ſe, ſed quia dat ſe :* God would not be beloued of vs, becauſe hee giueth or promiſeth any thing beſide himſelfe, but becauſe he giueth himſelfe.

Ambroſe : Propoſitum piae mentis mercedem non expetit, ſed pro mercede habet boni facti conſcientiam & iuſti operis effectum : The purpoſe of a godly minde doth deſire no rewarde, but in ſtead of a reward hath the conſcience of a good fact, and the effect of a righteous worke, *lib.*1.*de Abram.c.*8.

Maſter *Tyndall* holy Martyr ſaith : Euery Chriſtian man muſt keepe Gods commaundements by loue, and not by hope, to get for his ſeruice euerlaſting life, pag.1255. artic.10. Againe, they that for feare of hell, or the ioyes of heauen doe their dutie, doe a conſtrained ſeruice which God will not haue : ſuch are hyred men and waged ſeruants, not children, pag.1255.col.2.

The Papiſts.

67.Error. 2. EVen in right Chriſtian godly men there remaineth doubt, miſtruſt, feare of hell and damnation : and the feare of Gods iudgements cauſeth iuſt men to humble themſelues, leaſt they ſhould be damned. And ſo S.*Paul* ſaith, *Worke out your ſaluation with feare and trembling*, *Philip.*2.*Rhemiſt.*1.*Iohn.*4.*ſect.*6.

The Proteſtants.

In Pſal.127. *Anſ.* WE acknowledge a dutifull reuerence and feare of God alwaies remaining in the godly : but it is farre from that ſeruile and ſlauiſh feare, which is cauſed only by the remembrance of hell fire and eternall iudgement. *Auguſtine* doth thus reſemble the matter : The chaſte wife (ſaith he) and the adulterous do both feare their husbands : *ſed caſta timet ne diſcedat vir ; adultera, ne veniat :* But the chaſte wife is afraide leaſt her husband ſhould depart ; the adulterous is afraid leaſt he ſhould come. Such a feare as is in the chaſte wife, we grant to be in the children of God, but not the other.

2. We alſo confeſſe, that the horror of hell is profitable to make a way and entrance for the calling of worldly and hard hearted men, as the needle or briſtle (as *Auguſtine* ſaith) maketh a way for the thread : but in a man alreadie called, this feare is expelled by loue, as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1.Ioh.4.18. For wee muſt be of thoſe that loue the appearing of Chriſt, 2.Timoth.4.8. not of that number which feare it, and wiſh it were prolonged.

Auguſt. Si poſſumus efficere, fratres, vt dies iudicij non veniret, puto, quia nec ſic erat, male viuendum : If wee could bring it about, that the day of iudgement ſhould not come at all, wee ought not for all that to liue ill. His meaning is,that wee ought not to liue well onely for feare of Gods iudgements.

*Origen tract.33.in Matth.*vpon theſe words,Matth.25.24. *I knew thou waſt an hard man,and therfore was afraide: Nec eſt bonus huiuſmodi timor, nec liberat nos talis timor à tenebris exterioribus:* This feare is not good,neither deliuereth vs from vtter darknes.

Peter.Lombard. Inimicus eſt iuſtitiæ, qui pœnæ timore non peccat: He is an enemie to iuſtice, that ſinneth not for feare of puniſhment,*lib.3.diſt.36.liter.c.*

Maſter *Tyndall* holy Martyr: They are the people of Chriſt,which willingly doe heare and follow him,not for feare of the law, but onely entiſed and lead with a gracious libertie,and faithfull loue,not doing any thing,becauſe it is commaunded, but becauſe it is pleaſant and acceptable to them,though it were not commaunded,*Fox* pag.1253.col.2.

THE SECOND GENERALL QVEſtion of good workes.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE neceſſitie of workes.

The Papiſts.

68.Error.

THeir opinion is, that good workes are not onely neceſſarie to ſaluation, *neceſſitate præſentiæ,* becauſe they muſt neceſſarily be preſent,and we cannot be without them: but *neceſſitate efficientiæ,*they are neceſſarie,as efficient cauſes together with faith,of our ſaluation.

Argum. Phil.3.12.*Worke out your ſaluation with feare, and trembling:* 2.Cor.4.17.*Our light affliction cauſeth vnto vs a more excellent waight of glorie: Ergo,* our workes and ſufferings are the cauſe of ſaluation,*Bellar.cap.7.*

Anſw. 1. To the firſt place we ſay,that the Apoſtle there ſaith none other thing, than his fellow Apoſtle Saint *Peter,*2.Epiſt.1.10.*Make your election ſure:* to worke out our ſaluation,and to make our election ſure by good workes,is all one,not that our ſaluation or election is thereby cauſed before God: but good workes doe ſerue to aſſure our owne conſcience of our ſaluation, and to perfit or finiſh it to our ſelues. And againe it followeth in the next verſe: *For it is God which worketh in you both the will and the deede,*verſ.13. So then man worketh,but it is God,that giueth him grace to worke: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quicquid vult bonum,quicquid poteſt,à domino eſt,quia ſine me,aiyt dominus,nihil poteſtis facere:* What good ſo euer a man willeth,or doth, is of the Lord, for without me ſaith the Lord,you can doe nothing: *Hypognoſt.cont.Pelag.articul.*2.

2. Affliction is not the cauſe of ſaluation,for then the Apoſtle ſhould be contrarie to himſelfe, Rom.8.18. *I count that the afflictions of this preſent time are not worthie the glorie,&c.* But it is onely the way, that bringeth vs to Heauen, Matth.7.14. *The gate is narrow, and the way ſtreite, that leadeth to life.* And *Bernard* (well ſaith) *Sunt via regni, non cauſa regnandi:* Good workes are the way to the kingdome,not the cauſe of the kingdome.

The Proteſtants.

A Neceſſitie of good workes we graunt, as liuely teſtimonies of our faith, without the which there is neither faith nor life: Matth.7.19. *Euery tree,that bringeth not forth good fruite is hewen downe,&c.* And S. *Iames* ſaith,2.18. *Shew me thy faith,out of thy workes: Bernard* alſo writeth: *Credis in Chriſtum? fac Chriſti opera,vt viuat fides tua:* Dooſt thou beleeue in Chriſt? doe Chriſts workes, that thy faith may liue: *in Paſchal.ſer.*2. ſuch a neceſſitie of workes we graunt,but not as the cauſe or efficient of ſaluation.

Argum. Rom.3.28. *A man is iuſtified by faith, without the workes of the law,* Galath.2.20. *I liue by the faith of the ſonne of God,*chap.3.11. No man is iuſtified by the law, *and the law is not of faith: Ergo,* faith onely is neceſſarie to our iuſtification: works, as being of the law, are not herein ioyned with faith,for then the law were of faith: But they follow after as fruites of our iuſtification.

*Synod. Moguntin.cap.*8. *Opera iuſtificatorum gratiæ Dei effectus ſunt,& mouente & adiuuante ſpiritu ſancto fiunt:* The workes of thoſe that are iuſtified, are the effects or fruites of grace, and are wrought by the motion of the ſpirite. Men then are firſt iuſtified by grace,and after their iuſtification,good workes are wrought.

The Martyrs haue ſealed this truth: *Patrick Hamelton: No man is iuſtified by the deedes of the law, but by the faith of Ieſus,Fox.*pag.978. *Catherine Hamelton* put to death, for ſaying, I know perfectly,that no workes can ſaue me,but onely the workes of Chriſt my Lord and Sauiour.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE EFFICACIE OF workes, whether we are thereby iuſtified.

The Papiſts.

69.Error. THat a man by good workes is iuſtified, and made more iuſt, they thinke to be very manifeſt and plaine out of Scripture: wherein, as it ſhall appeare, they are greatly deceiued, and doe no leſſe deceiue others ſeduced by them.

*Argum.*1. Of all others,which may ſeeme to make for them,they moſt of al vrge that of Saint Iames 2.21. *Was not Abraham our father iuſtified through works*,verſ.25. *Likewiſe was Rahab the harlot iuſtified through workes: Ergo*, we are iuſtified by our workes, *Bellarm.cap.*18.

Anſw. S. *Iames* in ſaying we are iuſtified by workes, meaneth not that iuſtification whereby we are made iuſt before God,for then he ſhould be contrarie to S. *Paul*, who ſaith,we are iuſtified without works,Rom.3.28. But by being iuſtified he vnderſtandeth nothing elſe, but to be declared iuſt,as well before men,as in the ſight of God: which declaration is teſtified and ſhewed forth by our works proceeding of faith.

Bellarmine contrariwiſe laboureth to proue, that the word cannot be ſo taken here: for the Apoſtle ioyneth workes and faith together,verſ.22. *The faith wrought with his workes,and through the workes the faith was made perfect:* workes and faith doe then worke together; as one worketh, ſo doth the other,they iuſtifie both alike: but faith iuſtifieth not by way of declaration, but verilie, and in deede,*Ergo*.

Contra. Firſt, it followeth not, becauſe faith worketh with workes,that therefore they worke both alike: it is one thing for faith to iuſtifie with workes,another to iuſtifie as workes: Secondly, as faith doth iuſtifie vs before God, ſo alſo it iuſtifieth before men, that is,faith ſerueth alſo for the declaration of our iuſtification,in that it cauſeth good workes,and theſe good workes doe teſtifie of faith,that it is liuely,and perfect, not a dead faith. Thirdly, that to iuſtifie is here taken onely for the declaration,or teſtification of our faith,it thus appeareth: firſt, that this word is ſo vſed in Scripture,it is plaine,Rom.3.4. that thou maieſt be iuſtified in thy words: that is knowne, or declared to be iuſt. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Iuſtificabuntur,id eſt, iuſti habebuntur*, they ſhall be iuſtified, that is counted iuſt, as we alſo ſay, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum,id eſt,ſanctum habeatur*,let thy name be halowed,that is, acknowledged to be holy. Secondly,the Apoſtle himſelfe ſaith, verſ.18. *Shew me thy faith out of thy workes,&c.* he ſpeaketh onely of the outward ſhewing and teſtification of faith. Thirdly, if we take iuſtification properly,as S. *Paul* vſeth the word,then ſhould S. *Iames* be contrarie to S. *Paul*, who ſaith,we are iuſtified by faith without workes. De ſpiritu. & liter.cap.26.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of the firſt iuſtification, which is without workes; Saint *Iames* of the ſecond iuſtification,whereby a man is made more iuſt,and this is cauſed by good workes.

Contra. Firſt,we deny any ſuch difference of iuſtification: the Scripture ſpeaketh but of one iuſtification, Rom.8.30. *Whome hee iuſtified, them alſo hee glorified:* vnleſſe you will haue another iuſtification to come after our glorification: and verſe 7. *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen:* the iuſtification in remiſſion of ſinnes,doth make a man bleſſed: *Ergo*,it is the onely ſufficient iuſtification.

Secondly,if faith doe iuſtifie as it is a worke,by the merit and worthines thereof, as it is by our aduerſaries affirmed, and not inſtrumentally onely by apprehending Chriſt, then neither ſhall their firſt iuſtification be without workes, becauſe it is not without faith.

Thirdly, S.*Paul* and S. *Iames* ſpeake both of one and the ſelfe ſame iuſtification before God:for both of them alleage the ſame example of *Abraham*, both citing the ſame teſtimony of Scripture: *Abraham beleeued God,and it was counted vnto him for righteouſnes:* Wherefore they bringing in the ſame example, and vſing the ſame words, muſt needs apply them to the ſame end. *Rabab* alſo is brought in an example of the very firſt iuſtification, *Rabab the harlot was iuſtified:* ſhe was an harlot onely before her firſt iuſtification: ſo then it will follow, that euen the firſt iuſtification is by workes,if they will haue Saint *Iames* to vnderſtand iuſtification as Saint *Paul* doth.

*Argum.*2. *Bellarmine* for iuſtification by workes further oppoſeth theſe places of Scripture.

1 1. Rom.6.19. *As you haue giuen your members, ſeruants to vncleaneneſſe, and iniquitie to commit iniquitie, ſo now giue your members ſeruants to iuſtice or righteouſneſſe to ſanctification:* by ſanctification here iuſtification is ſignified,being oppoſed to iniquitie.

2 2. 2.Cor.7.1. *Hauing theſe promiſes,let vs cleanſe our ſelues from all filthines of the fleſh and ſpirit, and grow vp vnto ſanctification in the feare of the Lord:* we muſt grow vp euery day to more iuſtice and ſanctification.

3 3. 2.Cor.9.10. *He will multiplie your ſeede, and increaſe the fruites of your iuſtice:* by almes then our iuſtice is encreaſed.

4. Iohn 14.23. *If any man loue me, he will keepe my word, and my father will loue him:* this keeping of the commaundements doth procure the loue of God, and conſequently iuſtification. 4

5. Apocal, 22.11. *He that is filthie, let him be filthie ſtill, he that is iuſt, iuſtificetur adhuc, let him be iuſtified ſtill. Ergo,* by good works a man hath encreaſe of iuſtification. 5

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, ſanctification, ἁγιασμός, is the fruite of iuſtice or righteouſnes by faith: as the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.6.22. you haue your fruit vnto holines or ſanctification: this place onely ſheweth, that we muſt be the ſeruants of the iuſtice of faith, to bring forth fruits of ſanctification. Secondly, ἀνομία, iniquitie, is a generall name, both ſignifying the deprauation and vncleanneſſe of our nature, as here it is ioyned with it, as alſo it betokeneth actuall ſinne, for as Saint *Iohn* ſaith, ἁμαρτία is ἀνομία: ſinne is iniquitie or tranſgreſſion of the lawe, 1. Iohn 3.4. ſo that the word iniquitie or tranſgreſſion, may very well anſwere vnto iuſtice and ſanctification, the tree and the fruite. 1

2. We deny not, but that we muſt continually grow vp and encreaſe in the works of ſanctification, which the Apoſtle here affirmeth; but iuſtification is one thing, ſanctification another: we muſt firſt be iuſtified by faith in the *promiſes of Chriſt*; of the which promiſes alſo the Apoſtle here maketh mention; then followeth as an effect and fruite thereof, our ſanctification and holines with the workes thereof. 2

3. Firſt, by iuſtice here either the Apoſtle vnderſtandeth not the iuſtice of faith, wherewith we are iuſtified before God; but the iuſtice wrought in vs by faith, which they call inherent or ſecond iuſtice: as Matth.6.1. *Doe not your iuſtice before men, to bee ſeene of them:* but the inward iuſtice of faith cannot be ſeene of men: and verſe 2. by iuſtice, our Sauiour expoundeth almes. Secondly, or elſe, if we vnderſtand the true iuſtice of faith: the Apoſtle ſayth not, that iuſtice it ſelfe, but the fruites thereof are encreaſed, which we deny not. Thirdly, though the iuſtice of faith before God be not encreaſed, yet we may encreaſe in the aſſurance thereof vnto our ſelues. 3

4. Our Sauiour expoundeth himſelfe, verſ.21. *I will loue him, and ſhew my ſelfe vnto him:* this loue then of God in Chriſt, is not procured by good works, but onely ſhewed, manifeſted and aſſured, as S. *Peter* ſaith, 2. Pet.1.10. *Make your calling and election ſure by good works.* 4

5. Firſt, it is manifeſt by the oppoſition, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of that iuſtice which is wrought in vs by faith, which they call the ſecond iuſtice: for he had ſaid before: ὁ ἀδικῶν, he that is vniuſt or iniurious, or as their owne tranſlation readeth, *qui nocet*, he that is hurtfull, let him be hurtfull ſtill: as this is vnderſtood not of originall, but externall iniuſtice; ſo the clauſe following, ὁ δίκαιος, he that is iuſt, let him be more iuſtified, muſt be referred to the encreaſe of iuſtice. Secondly, vnleſſe we will vnderſtand it of the aſſurance of iuſtification to our ſelues, wherein as I ſaide before we may encreaſe: but what is this to iuſtification by workes, whereof there is not one ſyllable mentioned. 5

The Proteſtants.

THat good workes, although they be notable teſtimonies of our faith, yet helpe not to iuſtifie vs before God: the Scripture thus witneſſeth.

Argum. 1. Rom.4.7. *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen:* our bleſſednes is not cauſed by our workes, but by the free remiſſion of our ſinnes in Chriſt.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of the firſt iuſtification, or the beginning of iuſtification.

Contra. 1. He ſpeaketh of that iuſtification, which bleſſedneſſe followeth, which is not the beginning, but the very perfection of our iuſtification: we ſee heauen is promiſed at the firſt remiſſion of our ſinnes, what need then any other iuſtification? As *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Donando delicta fecit ſe debitorem coronæ,* by forgiuing of our ſinnes, he hath made himſelfe a debtor of the crowne. 2. Againe, whereas man all his life long hath need of remiſſion of ſinnes, this iuſtification, whereby all our ſinnes are remitted, is not the beginning only, but the conſummation thereof, which extendeth it ſelfe thoroughout our whole life. Wherefore good workes are not giuen vs to be iuſtified thereby, but to be euident ſignes and witneſſes of our faith, to the glorie of God: as *Bernard* ſaith, *Sicut corporis huius vitam ex corporis motu dignoſcimus, ſic fidei vitam ex operibus bonis:* As we diſcerne the life of the body by the motion, ſo faith by good works: *In Paſchal. ſerm.* 2.

Argum. 2. Pſalm.143.2. *Enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruant* (ſaith the Prophet) *for in thy* 1
ſight ſhall none that liueth be iuſtified: Matth.6.12. Our Sauiour teacheth euery man, though neuer 2
ſo iuſt, to pray, *forgiue vs our ſinnes, &c. Ergo,* no man is iuſt by his workes.

Bellarm. 1. *Dauid* deſireth not to be iudged according to thoſe things, which he had of himſelfe, whereby he could not be iuſtified. 2. Or it is to be vnderſtoode of veniall ſinnes. 3. Or he ſaith, that in compariſon of God, who is perfectly iuſt, no man can be iuſtified, *Bellarm. cap.* 20. *reſp. ad loc.* 2. 1

Contra. 1. *Dauid* ſpeaketh of himſelfe as Gods *ſeruant*, and ſo in the ſtate of grace, not as vnder his naturall condition. 2. Doth he thinke that God hauing forgiuen vnto his ſeruants their 1 greater ſinnes, will enter into iudgement with them for ſmall offences, which he calleth *veniall:* therefore *Dauid* vnderſtandeth all ſinnes whatſoeuer: as in the like place is euident, Pſal.130.2. *Si obſeruaueris iniquitates, quis ſuſtinebit?* If thou marke iniquities, who ſhall abide it? 3. Hee ſaith not, in compariſon of God, *but in the ſight of God:* and what other iuſtification do we ſpeake of, but before God: before men, we denie not, but by good workes one may be iuſtified, that is, knowne or declared ſo to be. Againe, he ſpeaketh of ſuch a iuſtification, whereby Gods ſeruants ſhall be deliuered from iudgment: which is not to be made iuſt, as God is, or equall vnto him; for then euery man ſhould be iudged or condemned: for ſuch iuſtice the Angels haue not, much leſſe men.

2. *Bellarm.* That petition of the Lordes prayer is to be vnderſtood onely of veniall ſinnes, which are mixed with our good works, *c.20.reſp.ad loc.5.*

2. *Contra.* 1. The word is ὀφειλήματα, *debts*; we pray to haue all our debts forgiuen: but I truſt wee are more endangered and indebted to God, by great ſinnes then ſmall. 2. Saint *Luke* readeth, ἁμαρτίας, *ſinnes:* and S. *Iohn* defineth, ἁμαρτία, *ſinne* to be ἀνομία, *tranſgreſſion:* 1.Iohn 3.4. but great ſins are tranſgreſſions of the law, more then veniall: *Ergo,* they are not excluded. 3. If good workes are tempered with venial ſins, how can they, being imperfect, make vs iuſt, & perfect before God?

Concil. Arauſican.can.20. Multa in homine bona fiunt, quæ non facit homo, nulla vera bona facit homo, quæ Deus non præſtat, vt faciat homo: Many good things are wrought in man, without man; but man doth no good thinges, which God doth not firſt giue ſtrength to man to worke and doe them. A man then muſt firſt receiue grace of God to worke (which is giuen in his iuſtification) and then he worketh: ſo that good workes are the effect, not the cauſe of iuſtification. See the ſeale of the Martyrs to this doctrine, Part.1.of this Queſtion.

Decret.part.2.cauſ.3.qu.7.c.5. Gregor. vpon theſe words, Geneſ.4.4. *The Lord had reſpect to Abel and his offring:* firſt vnto *Abel,* then to his offring: *Ex qua re patenter oſtenditur, quia non offerens à muneribus, ſed munera ab offerente placuerunt:* By the which it is euident, that not the offerer by his gift, but the gift becauſe of the offerer pleaſed: *Ergo, Abel* was not iuſtified by his gift, but before his gift.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE IMPEDIMENTS of good workes.

FIRST, WHETHER THE WORKES OF the righteous be perfect.

The Papiſts.

70.Error. THeir opinion is, that a iuſt man in his good workes doth not ſinne ſo much as venially, *Concil. Tridentin.ſeſſ.6.can.25.* but that their workes are truely iuſt, without any ſpot or blemiſh of ſinne, *Bellarm.cap.15.*

*Argum.*1. Iob.1.22. *In all this did not Iob ſinne, nor charge God fooliſhly:* Pſal.7.6. *Iudge me according to my righteouſneſſe: Dauid* would not haue ſtood vpon his righteouſneſſe before God, if it had bin defiled with ſinne, *Bellarm.cap.15.*

*Anſw.*1. *Iob* is ſayd as yet not to ſinne, not that he was ſimply without ſinne, but in reſpect of his ſinne afterward committed with his mouth, in murmuring againſt God; he had not yet fallen into that great ſinne to charge God fooliſhly: for otherwiſe *Iob* confeſſeth himſelfe, that *if he ſhould waſh himſelfe moſt cleane, his owne clothes ſhould defile him,* Iob.9.30. that is, euen in his beſt workes, God could find ſufficient matter againſt him.

2. The Prophet *Dauid* doth not ſtand vpon his innocencie or righteouſneſſe before God: for elſewhere he ſaith, *If thou markeſt what is done amiſſe, who ſhall be able to abide it?* Pſal.133.2. *and in thy ſight no man liuing ſhall be iuſtified,* Pſal.143.2. But he cleereth himſelfe for his vpright and true dealing among men, as verſ.3. *If I haue done this thing, &c.* his enemies accuſed him wrongfully, and perſecuted him without a cauſe, Pſal.25.3.

*Argum.*2. Theſe places alſo are produced for the perfection of Workes.

1. Matth.6.22. *If thy eye be ſingle, all thy bodie is light:* Luke 11.36. *If thy bodie be light, hauing no part darke: Ergo,* in good workes there is no darkeneſſe at all.

2. 1.Corinth.3.12. *If any build vpon this foundation, gold, ſiluer: Ergo,* ſome workes are as precious and perfect as gold.

3. Iam.3.2. *In many things we offend all: Ergo,* in ſome thinges we offend not.

4. Pſalm.4.4. *Tremble and ſinne not;* Iſay.1.16,17. *Ceaſe to do euill, learne to do well:* to what end are we thus exhorted not to ſinne, if we cannot chooſe but ſinne in our good workes.

5. Act.10.35. *He that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſſe, is accepted before him:* but nothing can pleaſe God, but that, which is truely good.

6. In diuers places the Scripture calleth the works of the righteous, good works: as Matth.5. verſ.16. that men *ſeeing your good workes,&c. Bellarm.lib.4 de iuſtificat.c.15.*

1. *Contra.* 1. The ſimple eye, ſignifieth not perfection, but integritie and ſinglenes of heart, without guile or diſſimulation: as *Auguſtine* very well diſtinguiſheth betweene *rectum corde & mundum corde:* right in heart, and cleane in heart: *rectus corde eſt, qui recto curſu, i. recta fide peruenire contendit, vbi habitat mundus corde:* He is right in heart, which with a right courſe, that is a right faith, contendeth to come thither, where dwelleth the cleane in heart, *de perfect.iuſtic.contr.Celeſtin.* Secondly, the light hauing no darkneſſe, is Faith, which wholy lighteneth the body: as Chriſt ſaith, Iohn 13.10. *He that is waſhed, is cleane euery whit:* this maketh not for the perfection of workes. Thirdly, yet the light of faith, though conſidered in it ſelfe, it hath no darkeneſſe; yet in the ſight of God, and conferred with his light, is full of darkeneſſe: As *Hierome* well noteth vpon theſe wordes, 1.Iohn 1.5. *God is light, and in him is no darkeneſſe: Oſtendit omnia aliorum lumina aliqua ſorde maculari:* He ſheweth that all other lights are obſcured with ſome blemiſh.

2. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of teachers, and of ſound or corrupt doctrine, which he compareth to gold, ſiluer, or ſtubble, hay, &c. for he compareth himſelfe and other teachers to builders, verſ. 10. So then a man may teach pure and ſyncere doctrine, 2.Cor.2.17. *We ſpeake of ſynceritie:* though the Apoſtle denie himſelfe to be perfect in working, Philip.3.12. *Not as though we were alreadie perfect.* 2. This *gold, ſiluer,&c.* is ſo called not ſimplie, being layd to Gods touchſtone, but in reſpect of the *hay, ſtubble,&c.* So we denie not, but that good workes in reſpect of euill, are as gold. 3. S. *Peter* expoundeth faith to be that, *which is more precious then gold,* 1.Pet.1.7. This place therefore maketh nothing for the perfection of workes.

3. Firſt, *In many things we offend all;* ſaith the Apoſtle: whereupon it is well inferred, that in ſome things we offend not all, which is true: for euery man offendeth not in euery thing: but hereof it followeth not, that in ſome things no man offendeth. 2. The Apoſtle affirmeth the contrary, that *he is a perfect man, that offendeth not in word:* but no man is ſo perfect, and therefore in this point all offend in ſome meaſure: as Rom.3.4. *Let God be true and euery man a lyar.* 3. The word is πταίομεν, we fall or ſtumble: ſo that in his conſtruction, ſome thing there may be, wherein a righteous man doth not fall or ſtumble; that is, apparantly or notoriouſly tranſgreſſe, though he be not without fault.

4. Firſt, his meaning is, that we ſhould not be outragious or immoderate in our anger; as the Apoſtle expoundeth, Epheſ.4.26. Let not the Sunne goe downe vpon *your wrath:* not that we can be altogether free from corruption. 2. We are exhorted to ceaſe to do euill; that is, to abſtaine from the workes of the wicked: For as *Hierome* well ſaith, *hominem poſſe eſſe aio* ἀναμάρτητον, *ſed non abſq;* κακίᾳ *vitio,* I ſay, a man may be without ſinne, but not without fault, *dial.2.contra.Pelag.* 3. And as *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Præcipitur homini perfecta iuſtitia,&c.* Perfect iuſtice is commanded, though it cannot be performed, *non enim rectè curritur, ſi quò currendum eſt neſciatur,&c.* A man cannot runne well, if he know not whither to runne: *de perfect.iuſtic.contr.Celeſtin.*

5. Good workes are acceptable to God, but through Chriſt: *Such ſacrifices God is pleaſed with, but we muſt offer theſe ſacrifices by Chriſt,* Hebr.13.15.16.

6. Our workes are called good, *non ſecundum perfectam iuſtitiam, ſed hanc, quæ humanæ fragilitati competit,* not after perfect iuſtice, but as is agreeable to our humane fragilitie, *dialog.1.contra.Pelag.Hieron.*

I cannot here omit a moſt excellent teſtimonie of *Origen* to this purpoſe: *Etſi omnia fecerimus,&c.* Although we haue done all things, that are commanded vs, yet haue we not done any good: (for God onely is good) for if the things were truely good, that we do, it would not haue beene written, that doing thoſe things, wee ſhould ſay we are vnprofitable ſeruants, Luke 17.10. *Quantum ad comparationem cæterorum dicuntur bona, quæ agimus; quantum autem ad veritatem, bonum noſtrum non eſt bonum:* In reſpect then of other things, the workes are called good, which we do; but in regard of the trueth, our good doing is not good: *tract.8.in Matth.*

The Proteſtants.

THe moſt righteous men in earth, haue not onely their infirmities, and are in danger to ſinne dayly, but euen their beſt and moſt holy works are blemiſhed with ſome infirmitie, and haue a ſmacke of ſinne.

*Argum.*1. Eccleſ.7.22. *There is no iuſt man in the earth that doth good, and ſinneth not:* that is, not at another time, as *Bellarmine* gloſeth, but euen at the ſame time, wherein he doth good, is not free from ſinne: for who can ſay, I am cleane from ſinne? Prou.20.9. the iuſt man cannot ſay, that at any time he is cleane from ſinne.

*Argum.*2. Iſay.64.6. *All our righteouſneſſe is as a ſtayned clout: Ergo,* the beſt workes which we do, are ſomewhat defiled with our owne corruptions.

Bellarmine anſwereth: 1. That the Prophet ſpeaketh of the wicked men, with whom God was angry, not of the righteous.

Contra, Yea,euen of the righteous which ſay,verſ.5.*We ſhall be ſaued*,and verſ.8.*Thou art our father,and we are the worke of thy hands*.The wicked cannot ſay thus.

Bellarm.2.The Prophet vnderſtandeth onely their ceremoniall righteouſnes, in bringing ſacrifices,obſeruing their new Moones,and ſuch like.

Contra. The Prophets words are generall: *All our righteouſnes is ſtayned:* all,that is,whether the righteouſnes of the morall or ceremoniall law.

Argum.3. *Hierome* vrgeth againſt the Pelagians,theſe texts of Scripture: Firſt,1.Pet.4.18.*The righteous ſhall ſcarcely be ſaued: Saluaretur autem facile,ſi nihil in ſe maculæ haberet:* But he ſhould be eaſily ſaued,if he had no blot or blemiſh.

Secondly,Galath.5.17.*Ye cannot doe the ſame things ye would: Ecce Apoſtolus omneſque credentes quod volunt implere non poſſunt:* Behold,neither the Apoſtle,nor any beleeuer,can fulfill that which they would.

Thirdly,1.Ioh.1.5.*God is light, and in him is no darknes: Quando dicit nullas tenebras in dei lumine reperiri,&c.* When he ſaith no darknes is found in Gods light,he ſheweth that al other mens lights are ſtained.

Fourthly,Matth.9.13.*I came not to call the righteous,but ſinners to repentance: Nullus enim ad perfectum iuſtus,ſed aliqua ex parte peccator:* For no man is perfectly iuſt, but in ſome ſort a ſinner: *Dial.2.aduer.Pelag.*

Firſt,if the righteous then haue alwaies ſome ſtaine; ſecondly,if they cannot in any worke doe that they would; thirdly,if their light be alwaies mixed with darknes; fourthly,if they be not in any thing perfectly iuſt: then it followeth, that their beſt workes are blemiſhed, and imperfect.

Origen ſaith well: *Vix eſt qui ita curetur,&c.* As there is hardly any man ſo cured of his wound, but there remaineth ſome marke of it,*ita anima, quæ peccati vulnus accepit,etiamſi curetur,habet tamen peccati cicatricem:* ſo the ſoule, which receiued the wound of ſinne, though it be cured, hath ſome ſcarres of ſinne ſtill: *Hom.8.in Leuitic.*

Auguſtine vpon theſe words of *Iob.29.14. I put on iuſtice as a robe*, thus writeth: *Veſtis iſta belli magis ſolet eſſe quam pacis, vbi adhuc expugnatur concupiſcentia, non vbi erit plena, ſine aliquo prorſus hoſte iuſtitia:* This garment,that is a cloake or mantle,is rather for warre,than peace: for here we doe daily fight againſt concupiſcence,and there is no perfect righteouſnes without ſome enemie. But if ſo any worke of ours could be perfect without ſinne, righteouſneſſe might be without an enemie,which *Auguſtine* denieth.

Clementin.lib.5.tit.11.c.1.Vbi culpa non eſt,eam timere ſolent conſcientiæ timoratæ: Where no fault is,yet fearefull conſciences are afraide of it. If mens good workes were not ſubiect to fault and blame,what neede a righteous man to feare it?

Eſpenc.in 1.Timoth.5.7. Quis non quaſi in pulchro corpore, næuum aut verrucam habeat? Who hath not as in a beautifull bodie ſome ſpot or wart? *In 2.Timoth.p.110. ex Chryſoſtom. Nemo poteſt ſic in omnibus malus eſſe, quin aliqua bona habeat; vel bonus, quin quædam peccata:* No man can be ſo euill in all things,but he hath ſome good things; no man ſo good,but he hath ſome euill.

SECONDLY, WHETHER A RIGHTEOVS MAN may fall into any mortall ſinne.

The Papiſts.

72.Error. MOrtall ſinne(they ſay) cannot conſiſt together with the grace of God, and cannot be committed by a man continuing the ſonne of God: for *he that is borne of God ſinneth not*, ſayth the Apoſtle,that is,falleth into no mortall ſinne,*Rhemiſt.1.Ioh.3.ſect.5.*

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt,vnderſtanding mortall ſinne, as they doe for euery ſinne, that deſerueth death,as adulterie,theft,murther,their expoſition is hereticall: for then *Dauid* ſhould not haue bin the ſonne of God,when he committed adulterie,and conſequently ſhould haue been none of the predeſtinate: but he that is once the ſonne of God,is alwaies to the end: *For whom God loueth, he loueth to the end*,Ioh.13.1.

Secondly,the Apoſtles meaning,when he ſaith,he that is borne of God ſinneth not, is no other but as Saint *Paul* ſaith,*let not ſinne raigne,&c.* Rom.6.12.that is,the children of God, though they fall into ſinne,continue not in it,neither delight therein,neither are wholy ouercome of it: for it is true of them,that they doe it not,but ſinne that dwelleth in them,Rom.7.20. *Auguſtine* ſayth, *Quicunque in Dei prouidentiſſ.diſpoſitione prædeſtinati ſunt, non dico nondum renati,ſed etiam nondum nati,filij Dei ſunt & perire non poſſunt:* Whoſoeuer in the moſt wiſe counſell of God are predeſtinate to ſaluation, not onely before they are regenerate and borne againe, but euen before they are borne, are the children of God, and cannot periſh: *de corrept.grat.cap.9.* Such therefore cannot finally periſh, and ceaſe to be the ſonnes of God, though they may fall into ſinne.

Hierome to this purpoſe vrgeth that place of the Pſalme againſt the Pelagians: *Pſal.* 32.5. when the Prophet had ſaid: *I will confeſſe againſt my ſelfe my wickedneſſe*: it followeth: *Pro hoc, id eſt, impietate orabit ad te omnis ſanctus: ſi ſanctus eſt, quomodo orat pro iniquitate? ſi iniquitatem habet, qua ratione ſanctus appellatur? iuxta illum ſcilicet modum, qui in alio loco ſcribitur, ſepties cadit iuſtus & reſurgit:* For this, that is, impietie, ſhall euery holy man pray, &c. If holy, how prayeth he for iniquitie? if he haue iniquitie, how is he holy? Surely as it is written in another place, The righteous falleth ſeauen times a day and riſeth againe, *Dial.* 2. *ad Pelag. Ergo*, an holy man may fall into impietie or iniquitie, though by Gods grace he may be recouered againe.

THE THIRD IMPEDIMENT OF GOOD WORKS, namely, of ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt: whether it be a ſinne irremiſſible.

The Papiſts.

ALL ſinnes are pardonable, ſo long as the committers of them be in caſe to repent: as they are, ſo long as they liue in this world: It is great blaſphemie therefore, which the Caluiniſts vtter, that Apoſtaſie, and certaine other ſinnes of the reprobate, cannot be forgiuen at all in this life: *Rhemiſt.* 1. *Iohn.* 1.5. *ſect.* 4. And therefore they ſay, that blaſphemie againſt the ſpirit is ſaid to be irremiſſible, becauſe it is hardly forgiuen: And they define ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt to be nothing elſe but finall impenitencie, *Rhemiſt. Matth.* 12.4. 73. Error.

Bellarmine better aduiſed, ſaith, that blaſphemie againſt the holy ſpirit is neither euery ſin committed after Baptiſme, as *Origen* thought, nor finall impenitencie, nor yet euery ſinne committed of malice, but defineth it to be a malicious hatred, and deteſtation of the knowne truth: but hee ſaith as the reſt, that it is not a ſinne ſimply irremiſſible, *Bellarm. lib.* 2. *de pœnitent. cap.* 15.

Argum. Ioh. 20.23. *Whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer you remit, they are remitted, &c. Ergo*, all ſinnes are remiſſible: *Bellar. lib.* 2. *de pœnit. c.* 15.

Anſw. 1. The Apoſtles had not commiſſion to binde or looſe whom they would, but to binde all impenitent perſons, and to looſe all penitent ſinners; as Matth. 18.18. this authoritie of binding and looſing is giuen with a limitation, *that if any man would not heare the Church, he ſhould be as a heathen*; him they muſt binde, looſe him they cannot, whom they ſee impenitent. And therefore ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt, becauſe it is alwaies ioyned with impenitencie, cannot be looſed.

2. Secondly, *Bellarmine* ſpendeth many words in vaine, to proue *nullum eſſe peccatum, &c.* that there is no ſinne, which is not taken away by true repentance: none of vs euer denied it: yea we doubt not to ſay with *Ambroſe: Arbitror, quod etiam Iudas potuiſſet tanta dei miſeratione non excludi à venia, ſi pœnitentiam non apud Iudæos, ſed apud Chriſtum egiſſet:* I think, that Iudas might haue bin not excluded from forgiuenes by the great mercie of God, if hee had done repentance not before the Iewes, but with Chriſt, *lib.* 2. *de pœnitent. c.* 4. He ſhould then haue prooued, that repentance may be ioyned with ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt: but ſeeing all, which commit that ſinne are hardened in their hearts, and ſo finally impenitent, they cannot be forgiuen: for they which repent not ſhall periſh, Luk. 13.3.

The Proteſtants.

THis queſtion of ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt, though it come here ſomewhat out of place, (for it belongeth properly to the 18. Controuerſie, where the other queſtions are handled concerning ſinne) yet I thought it better to touch a matter ſo waightie briefly by the way, then altogether to let it be omitted: We haue therefore to deale both with the Rhemiſts, who doe not rightly deſcribe this ſinne, and then with *Bellarmine*, that together with the reſt affirmeth this ſin to be remiſſible, though not ordinarily and commonly.

Firſt then, againſt the Rhemiſts we ſhew, that ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt is not finall impenitencie: euery one indeede that ſo ſinneth, is finally impenitent, becauſe he ſhall neuer haue the grace to repent: But our Sauiour Chriſt meaneth ſome ſpeciall ſinne, in calling it blaſphemie againſt the holie Ghoſt: for many a wicked man may dye impenitently, and yet not blaſpheme.

And againe, if finall impenitencie were this ſin, then could it not be committed before death: But ſeeing our Sauiour chargeth the Phariſies then liuing, with blaſphemie, and S. *Iohn* ſpeaking of the ſinnes of the liuing, which are ſeene, ſaith, there is a ſin vnto death: If thou ſee thy brother ſinne, &c. 1. Ioh. 5.16. But if a man could not commit this ſin before he die, he could not be ſeene to ſinne.

Auguſtine better defineth this ſinne: *Cum quis aduerſus gratiam ipſam, qua reconciliatus eſt Deo, inuidentiæ facibus agitatur*: When a man maliciouſly doth oppugne that grace whereby hee was reconciled to God: *lib.* 1. *de ſerm. in mont.* 41. But moſt perfectly is this ſinne deſcribed, Hebr. 10.

verſ.29. where there are ſet downe three circumſtances that make this ſinne: firſt, the perſon; he muſt be ſuch an one as hath been lightened with grace, and been in outward appearance ſanctified: therefore Iewes, Turkes, or Infidels, cannot commit this ſinne; becauſe their mindes were neuer illuminate by the truth. Secondly, his affection muſt be conſidered, which is moſt deadly and hatefull in the higheſt degree: blaſpheming the ſpirit, and deſpiting the ſame, crucifying and perſecuting Chriſt againe as it were, Heb.6.6. Wherfore, they which offend of ignorance, as Saint *Paul* before his conuerſion, or infirmitie and weaknes, as Saint *Peter* did when he denied Chriſt; or which fall not into horrible blaſphemies, are not guiltie of this ſinne. Thirdly, it is the truth which they hate and deteſt, which ſometime they loued, and were thereby ſanctified, not denying ſome part thereof, as the heretikes doe, but making a general Apoſtaſie from the whole profeſſion of the faith, they *count the blood of the teſtament as an vnholie thing*. Blaſphemie then againſt the holie Ghoſt, is an horrible hatred and deteſtation of the truth, and grace of Gods ſpirit, whereby he that now blaſphemeth, was before illuminate.

Secondly, againſt *Bellarmine* we ſhew, that this ſinne not onely eaſily ſhall not be forgiuen, but
1 not at all, as our Sauiour ſaith, *Neither in this world, nor the world to come*, Matth.12.verſ.32. And it
2 is impoſſible for them to be renewed by repentance, Heb.6.verſ.6. From hence wee gather theſe
arguments: No ſinne without repentance can be forgiuen, Luk.13.3. *Vnleſſe ye repent, ye ſhall periſh*: But ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt is vtterly voide of repentance, neither can he that committeth it be renewed by repentance, it is impoſſible ſaith the Apoſtle: *Ergo*.

That ſinne, for the which there remaineth no ſacrifice, is not remiſſible: for our ſinnes cannot
otherwiſe be forgiuen vs, than by the ſacrifice of Chriſts death: But ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt,
3 which is a willing or wilfull backſliding after the knowledge of the trueth, cannot be done away
by any ſacrifice, Heb.10.26. *Ergo*.

4 There is no hope of forgiuenes for that ſinne, for the which it is not lawfull to pray: for ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt, which is a ſinne vnto death, it is not lawfull to pray, 1.Ioh.5.16. *Ergo*. Wherefore it is a great blaſphemie in the Papiſts ſo contrarie to the Scripture to affirme, that blaſphemie againſt the ſpirit may be forgiuen.

1 1. ***Bellarmine*** anſwereth, that ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt is ſaid not to be remitted in this world nor the next: *quia ordinariè & vt plurimùm*, becauſe ordinarily, and for the moſt part it is not forgiuen: *lib.2.de pœnit.c.16.reſp.ad arg.1.*

1. ***Contra***. Firſt, S. *Marke* ſaith: *Non habet remiſſionem in æternum*: He that blaſphemeth the holy Ghoſt, ſhall not be forgiuen for euer, Mark.3.29. If neuer, how then dare he contradict the Scripture? Yes, he ſhall be forgiuen, though hardly: if he be forgiuen at all, then the Euangeliſt ſayth not true, *he ſhall neuer, &c.* Secondly, as other blaſphemies are forgiuen, ſo this blaſphemie is not forgiuen: but other blaſphemies and ſinnes are alſo hardly forgiuen; 1.Pet.4.18. *The righteous ſhall ſcarcely be ſaued*: *Ergo*, this ſinne is not forgiuen, no not hardly. Thirdly, thus *Cyprian* expoundeth, *Non poſſe in Eccleſia remitti ei, qui in deum deliquerit, &c.* He cannot be forgiuen in the Church, which ſinneth againſt God: and then hee citeth this place, Matth.12.32. *lib.3. ad Quirinum cap.28.*

Origen: Quibus (qui, i. in ſpiritum ſanctum, blaſphemant) neque in præſenti, neque in futuro ſeculo remittetur: Whom (that ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt) it ſhall not be forgiuen, neither in this world nor the next.

Cauſ.33.diſt.1.c.59.gloſſ. Blaſphemiam in ſpiritum dominus neque in hoc ſeculo, nec futuro remittendam aſſeruit: Blaſphemie againſt the holie Ghoſt the Lord ſaid ſhall neither in this world be forgiuen, nor in the world to come, &c. that is neuer, or not at all.

2 2. ***Bellarmine*** to the ſecond and third place maketh the ſame anſwer, that he that is once lightened, that is baptized, if hee fall away, cannot be renewed againe by the baptiſme of repentance: and for ſuch there is no more ſacrifice, that is, no ſecond baptiſme to be expected: *Bellar.ibid.*

2. ***Contra***. Firſt, the Apoſtle, Hebr.6.1.2. maketh repentance from dead workes, and the doctrine of Baptiſmes two diuers things: therefore by repentance Baptiſme is not inſinuated. Secondly, the meaning of the Apoſtle is, that ſuch an one cannot at all repent, and ſo cannot be renewed by repentance: the reaſon is taken from the greatnes of ſinne, becauſe he doth crucifie againe the ſonne of God, and make a mocke of him, verſ.6. and therefore is neere to curſing, verſ.8. Thirdly, *Ambroſe* ſaith *in Luc.22. Caſſa erat proditoris pœnitentia, qui peccauit in ſpiritum ſanctum*: The traytors repentance was in vaine (meaning *Iudas*) which ſinned againſt the holie Ghoſt, &c. ſignifying, that ſuch an one cannot haue true repentance. Likewiſe ***Hierome***: *Nihil ita repugnat deo quam cor impœnitens; ſolum crimen eſt, quod veniam conſequi non poteſt; ſolum deſperationis crimen, quod mederi non poteſt*: Nothing doth ſo much reſiſt againſt God, as an impenitent heart; it is the only crime, which cannot obtaine pardon; only the crime of deſperation cannot be healed: *obiurgat. Sabinian.* The Apoſtles meaning then is, that they which ſinne againſt the holie Ghoſt, hauing no grace to repent, cannot at all be forgiuen.

3. Firſt, in the ſame ſenſe the Apoſtle ſaith, there remaineth no ſacrifice for this, nor any meanes at all of forgiuenes: but *a fearefull looking for of iudgement and violent fire*, Hebr.10.27. ſo that the Apoſtle excludeth all meanes and hope of comfort and remiſſion. Secondly, verſ.28. he dyeth without mercie that deſpiſeth *Moſes* law: but he that blaſphemeth the ſpirit, is worthie *of greater puniſhment*, verſ.29. therefore he alſo *ſine vlla miſeratione moritur*, dieth without mercie; and where there is no mercie, there is no forgiuenes. Thirdly, *Peter Lombard.lib.2.diſt.*43.*b.* rehearſeth thus out of *Auguſtine: Hoc ſolum peccatum veniam mereri non poteſt:* This ſinne onely againſt the holie Ghoſt can finde no mercie. And out of *Hierome: Taliter peccans dignè pœnitere non poteſt:* He that thus ſinneth, cannot worthily repent, &c. *Ergo*, there is no hope at all of mercie for ſuch, nor no ſacrifice for remiſſion of their ſinne.

4. *Bellar.* The Apoſtle doth not forbid vs to pray for ſuch, but onely ſheweth, that wee are not ſo eaſily heard, nor cannot pray with ſuch aſſurance: otherwiſe he had ſaid before, 1.Iohn.5.15. we know that he heareth whatſoeuer we aske: *Bellar.ibid.reſp.ad* 4.*loc.*

Contra. Firſt, the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe, verſ.14. *This is the aſſurance, that we haue in him, that if we aske any thing according to his will, he heareth vs:* but to pray for a ſinne irremiſſible, is to pray againſt his will. Secondly, the Apoſtle hauing before giuen a direct precept to pray for a brother, *ſinning not vnto death*, afterward giueth a flat exception, of this ſinne vnto death, *I ſay not that thou ſhouldeſt pray for it.* Now that which is excepted out of the precept, is it not denied, or forbidden? as Ioh.13.verſ.18. our Sauiour ſaith, *I ſpeake not of you all:* he doth manifeſtly except and exclude *Iudas:* ſo here to pray for a ſinne vnto death, being excepted from the generall precept before, is euidently forbidden and denied. Thirdly, the end of our prayer for ſinners, is, that God would giue them life, that ſinne not vnto death: but life cannot be granted for a ſinne vnto death, (for how is it a ſinne vnto death if it may finde life?) *Ergo*, there is no prayer for ſuch, where the end of the prayer cannot be hoped for. Fourthly, thus *Ambroſe* expoundeth: *Non poteſt ibi exoratio eſſe veniæ, vbi ſacrilegij eſt plenitudo:* There can bee no entreatie for pardon, where there is a fulnes of ſacrilege. *Hierome*, as he is cited by *Pet.Lombard. Rectè dicit Ioannes, non pro eo oret quis, &c.* Saint *Iohn* ſaith well, let not any man pray for him: *lib.*3.*diſt.*43.*b.* He maketh this exception of the Apoſtle a flat prohibition.

So I conclude this place, with that ſentence of *Hierome: Genus eſt lepræ, quod omnino mundari non poteſt, &c.* There is a kinde of leproſie, which cannot be cleanſed at all, and therefore ſuch a man was bid to goe out of the campe. This is that ſinne, which is committed againſt the holie Ghoſt, that is of blaſphemie, which, as our Lord ſaith in the Goſpell, ſhall not be forgiuen, neither in this nor the next world: *de diuerſ.generib.lepr.*

We haue alſo the teſtimonie of holie Martyrs: Maſter *Tyndall; Sinne againſt the holie Ghoſt is, when men of a ſet malice doe perſecute the truth, and of a grounded hate againſt the law of God, by reaſon of a full conſent they haue to ſinne, and to walke in their old wayes of ignorance, whereunto being now paſt all repentance, they haue vtterly yeelded themſelues, to follow with full luſt, without bridle or ſnaffle, &c. Fox.*pag.1080.col.2.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE DIGNITIE and worthines of good works, that is, of merits.

THE FIRST PART, WHICH BE THE good works of Chriſtians.

The Papiſts.

THey doe not onely call them good workes, which are commanded of God, but which are alſo inioyned by the Church and the gouernours thereof; and that euen by ſuch workes men are iuſtified, *Concil.Trident.ſeſſ.6.cap.*10.*Tapper.ex Tileman.loc.*11.*err.*1. 74.Error.

The Proteſtants.

SAint *Paul* defineth good workes otherwiſe, namely, thoſe which God hath ordained, that we ſhould walke in them, Epheſ.2.10. They are not the precepts of men, but the commaundements of God in his word, the doing whereof hath the name of good workes. As for the traditions and iniunctions of men not warranted by Gods worde, they are ſo farre from being commended or commanded, that our Sauiour calleth the doing thereof, but a Worſhipping of God in vaine, Mark.7.7.

Auguſtine vpon thoſe wordes, in the 103.Pſalme, verſ.18. The louing kindnes of the Lorde is vpon thoſe that keepe his couenant, and thinke vpon his commaundements to doe them, ſaith thus: *Vide vt præcepta teneas: ſed quomodo teneas? non memoria, ſed vita: Memoria retinentibus mandata eius, non vt reddant ea, ſed vt faciant ea:* See that thou keepe Gods commaundements: but how? not in thy memorie, but in thy life; not to ſay them by rote, but to doe them: *Ergo*, they are

Gods commaundements, which we muſt thinke of to doe them; for vnto ſuch the bleſſing is promiſed, not to the obſeruers of mens precepts or traditions.

Origen vpon thoſe words, Cantic. 1. 14. *Specioſa es proxima:* Thou art faire my loue, or neighbour: *Incipis eſſe ſpecioſa, quod proxima mihi es:* Thou beginneſt to be faire, becauſe thou art neere vnto me: *Hom. 2. in Cantic.* The neerenes then to God maketh vs beautifull and faire in good workes.

Eſpenc. out of *Theodoret*, thus expoundeth that 1. Timoth. *6.* 18. ἀγαθοεργεῖν, to doe well, that is, *Credere Deo, & quæcunque fidei conueniunt facere:* To beleeue in God, and to doe all things agreeable to faith: *in* 1. *Tim. p.* 171. Good workes then are thoſe which God hath appointed, and are according to faith.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THERE be any good workes without faith.

The Papiſts.

75. Error. THough they dare not altogether iuſtifie the workes of the Heathen and Infidels, yet they doe excuſe them, and doe blame vs for ſaying, that Infidels doe ſinne in honouring their parents, in fighting for their countrey, and ſuch like. They therefore doe diſcharge the Heathen of ſinne, in theſe workes of theirs, *Rhemiſt. Rom.* 14. *ſect.* 4.

The Proteſtants.

THeſe workes are not ſinne in themſelues, but in Infidels they are, becauſe they proceede of Infidelitie.

Arg. It is the rule of the Goſpell, that a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit, Mat. *7.* 18. But all Infidels are corrupt trees, being without faith: *Ergo,* they can bring forth no good fruit.

The Pelagians thought to haue poſed *Auguſtine* with the ſame queſtion, which the Papiſts propound to vs. Was it ſinne in the Heathen (ſay they) to clothe the naked? *Auguſtine* anſwereth, *Non per ſeipſum factum peccatum eſt, ſed de tali opere non in domino gloriari, ſolus impius negat eſſe peccatum:* The fact of it ſelfe is not ſinne, but in doing any ſuch thing not to reioyce in the Lord, none but wicked men will denie it to be ſinne. I may therefore ſay vnto theſe patrones of Ethnicke vertues, as *Bernard* in the like caſe: *Dum multum ſudat quomodo Platonem faciat Chriſtianum ſe probat Ethnicum:* While he laboureth to make *Plato* a Chriſtian, hee ſheweth himſelfe an Ethnicke: *Epiſtol.* 191.

Hierom. dialog. 3. *aduerſ. Pelagian.* vpon theſe words, Ioh. 15. *5. I am the vine, ye the braunches, &c. Rami illicò contabeſcunt:* As the boughs doe preſently wither, if they be pulled from the ſtock: ſo all mans ſtrength doth decay, if he be forſaken of God, &c. Like as then the braunch without the vine bringeth forth no fruite: ſo neither can a man without faith doe any thing, that is good.

Decr. par. 2. cauſ. 1. *qu.* 1. *c.* 26. *Gregor. Vbi Chriſtus non eſt fundamentum, nullum eſt boni operis ædificium:* Where Chriſt is not the foundation, there can be no good worke builded vpon.

Peter. Lombard. lib. 2. diſt. 41. *a. Quæ ſine fide fiunt, bona non ſunt:* The things done without faith, are not good.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE VSE and office of good workes.

THey make a threefolde vſe of good workes, as they call them: firſt, by them the merits of Chriſt, they ſay, are applyed vnto vs. Secondly, they doe purge our ſinnes. Thirdly, they are meritorious.

THE FIRST ARTICLE, WHETHER *bona opera* be *applicatoria.*

The Papiſts.

76. Error. BY any worke proceeding of faith and charitie, the merit of Chriſts paſſion is applied to vs, *Soto, ex Tileman. loc.* 11. *err.* 21. Men by their ſuffrings and other workes, may applie to themſelues the generall medicine of Chriſts merits and ſatisfaction, *Rhemiſt. annot.* 1. *Coloſſ. ſect.* 4.

The Proteſtants.

IT is the propertie of faith onely, to apprehend, and applie vnto vs the benefits of Chriſts paſſion, and all other his merits.

Argum. Rom. 10. 7, 8. *We need not* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *to aſcend to heauen, or deſcend into the deepe, to bring Chriſt from thence: it is the word of faith, which we preach.* By ſaith then we do ſcale the heauens, and behold Chriſt: it is not the doctrine of workes, but the word of faith that performeth this.

And therefore the Apoſtle defineth faith, to be the ground of things hoped for, and the euidence of things not ſeene,Hebr.11.1.This definition cannot agree vnto works,or vnto any other thing but faith : for then it were no good definition,nor yet deſcription : *Ergo,*faith only is the euidence of things inuiſible : and therefore onely applieth Chriſts precious merits, which are things beleeued and not ſeene.

Auguſtine thus alſo deſcribeth faith : *Rerum abſentium præſens eſt fides ; rerum,quæ foris ſunt, intus eſt fides ; rerum,quæ non videntur,videtur fides:* Faith maketh things abſent,preſent; things without vs,to be within vs; things not ſeene,to be ſeene: *Ergo,*faith only hath this applicatorie power, to applie Chriſts merits not preſent,nor ſeene,and to make them as our owne.

Ambroſ.in 2.*Cor.*3. *Lex ſpiritus dat libertatem ſolam fidem poſcens, vt quia quæ non vidit, credit,de conditione erui mereatur :* The law of the ſpirit giueth libertie,requiring onely faith, which becauſe it beleeueth thoſe things it ſeeth not,is thought worthie to be deliuered. This then is that which in faith is auaileable,becauſe it beleeueth,that which is not ſeene, which is only proper and peculiar to faith, and not to workes.

THE SECOND ARTICLE, VVHEther *bona opera* be *expiatoria.*

The Papiſts.

THe workes of charitie and mercie,as almes deedes,and ſuch like,haue force to extinguiſh our ſins,as Saint *Peter* ſaith,Charitie doth couer a multitude of ſins,*Epiſt.*1.4.8.*Rhemiſt.ibid.* 78.Error.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. THe Apoſtle ſpeaketh of mutuall charitie amongſt our ſelues, whoſe propertie is to couer a multitude of our neighbours offences, as *Salomon* ſayth, Prou. 10.11. *Hatred ſtirreth vp contentions, but loue couereth treſpaſſes :* what is this to the extinguiſhing of our ſinnes before God ?

Arg. It is an abominable and blaſphemous opinion,that any man by his works ſhould be able to redeeme his ſinnes: for the Scripture ſaith,that by *himſelfe Chriſt hath purged our ſinnes,*Heb.1.3. If he haue wholy done it by himſelfe,he hath not giuen this power and force of redemption to any other meanes.

If they vnderſtand by the force of extinguiſhing ſinnes, the meanes onely of applying Chriſts merits : in that ſenſe,faith only is ſaid to ſaue vs,Epheſ.2.8.

Auguſtine : Si merita noſtra aliquid facerent, ad damnationem noſtram veniret, ſed non venit ad inſpectionem meritorum, ſed remiſſionem peccatorum : If our merits were auaileable to any purpoſe, God ſhould come to our condemnation : but he commeth not to behold our merits, but to forgiue vs our ſinnes : *Ergo,*by our merits our ſinnes are not forgiuen.

Ambroſe : Peccatum aut donatur, aut deletur, aut tegitur ; donatur per gratiam, deletur per ſanguinem crucis,tegitur per charitatem : Sinne is either pardoned,extinguiſhed, or blotted, couered; it is pardoned by grace,blotted or waſhed away by Chriſts blood, couered by charitie : *apolog. Dauid. cap.*13.So then though before men by loue and charitie offences may be couered, yet before God by grace onely and faith in Chriſts blood, are they blotted and extinguiſhed. And that is *Ambroſe* meaning,that before God ſinnes are not couered by charitie,but by faith,it is euident by his owne words : *Remittere,tegere,non imputare,vna ratio,vnus eſt ſenſus :* To remit,to couer,not to impute,haue all one ſenſe : *in* 4.*ad Roman.* But hee had ſaid before, that ſinnes are pardoned and ſo remitted by grace : *Ergo,*by grace and faith they are alſo couered.

THE THIRD ARTICLE, VVHETHER our workes be meritorious.

The Papiſts.

GOd giueth as well euerlaſting life and glorie to men, for and according to their workes, as hee giueth damnation for the contrarie works, *Rhemiſt. Roman.*2.*ſect.*2. And men by their workes, proceeding of grace, doe deſerue or merit heauen,and the more or leſſe ioy in the ſame, 1.*Cor.*3.*ſect.*2. 79.Error.

*Argum.*1. *He will render to euery man according to his workes,*Rom.2.6. Euery man ſhall receiue his reward according to his labour. Here we ſee the kingdome of heauen is a retribution, hyre, wages for workes : *Ergo,* our workes are the value,price, worth and merite of the ſame : *Rhemiſt.*

Anſw. Our labours and workes are a meaſure of the reward, according the which God doth mete out and render vnto his Saints of the heauenly rewarde : but they are no meritorious or deſeruing cauſe thereof. The reward is of mercie,not of deſert ; of grace,not of merite: for life eternall is the meere *gift of God through Ieſus Chriſt,*Rom.6.23. But the wages of ſinne is death. Where the Apoſtle doth ſet a manifeſt difference betweene the reward of the righteous, and the iuſt recompence of the wicked: for life eternall is the free and gracious gift of God, not deſerued: but eternall damnation is the due debt of ſinne. Wherefore the Papiſts doe bid open battell to the Apoſtle, in ſaying, that the one is as due by debt as the other.

*Argum.*2. S. *Paul* ſaith, 2. Timoth. 4. 8. *That there is a crowne of righteouſneſſe layd vp for him, which God the iuſt Iudge ſhall giue him: Ergo,* the crowne is giuen not of mercie, but of iuſtice, as a wages and iuſt recompence to the Apoſtle.

Anſw. God rendreth heauen as a iuſt Iudge, not to the merite and worthines of our workes, but to the merite and worthineſſe of Chriſt, and as due to vs by his promiſe made to vs in Chriſt. The reward therefore of heauen is of the mercie of God, who hath freely promiſed it vs in Chriſt. It is of his iuſtice, in that he is faithfull and iuſt in keeping of his promiſe made to vs: So that it is a debt, not in reſpect of any deſert in vs, but in regard of his owne promiſe; As *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Debitorem ipſe ſe Dominus fecit, non accipiendo, ſed promittendo: Non ei dicitur redde, quod accepiſti, ſed redde quod promiſiſti:* God hath made himſelfe a debtor, by promiſing, not by receiuing any thing at our hands: We ſay not to him, render that thou haſt receiued, but giue that which thou haſt promiſed: *In Pſalm.*83.

Alexander Seton Preacher and Martyr thus witneſſeth: If you aske if good workes ſhall be rewarded, I ſay yea, and with no leſſe then eternall glorie: but for no merite they deſerue, but onely becauſe God hath promiſed, not for the merite of the worke, but for his promiſe ſake, and he will not breake his promiſe: *Fox.*pag. 1206.

*Argum.*3. Further, theſe places are produced for the proofe of merites.

1. Life euerlaſting is in Scripture called *merces,* a recompence or reward, therefore good workes doe properlie merite, Matth. 5. 12. *Reioyce and be glad, great is your rewarde in heauen.* Matth. 20. 8. *Call the labourers, and giue them their hire.*

2. Good workes are rendred as the cauſe, why eternall life is rendred, Matth. 25. 34. *Come ye bleſſed inherite the kingdome. for when I was hungred ye gaue me meate, &c.* verſ. 21. *Thou haſt been faithfull in little, I will make thee ruler ouer much, enter into thy Maſters ioy.*

3. Life eternall is promiſed to good workes: Matth. 19. 17. *If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commaundements.* 1. Tim. 4. 8. *Godlines hath the promiſe both of this life and the next:* ſo then, as he that promiſeth, is endebted by promiſe; ſo he that worketh, and fulfilleth the condition meriteth.

4. The Scripture counteth men worthie: Luk. 10. 7. *The labourer is worthie of his wages.* 2. Theſ. 1. 5. *That ye may be counted worthie of the kingdome of God, for which ye ſuffer:* Apocal. 3. 4. *They ſhall walke with me in white, for they are worthie.*

5. God is no accepter of perſons: Rom. 2. 11. *There is no reſpect of perſons with God.* Galat. 2. 6. Therefore he giueth vnto euery man according to their workes: *Bellarm.lib.5.de iuſtif.c.3.*

1. *Anſw.* Firſt *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quicquid promiſit indignis promiſit, vt non quaſi operibus merces promitteretur, ſed gratia gratis daretur:* Whatſoeuer God hath promiſed, he hath promiſed to theſe that are vnworthie, that it ſhould not be promiſed as a reward vnto works, but as grace freely giuen: *Præfat. in Pſalm.*109. The argument then followeth not, there is a reward, *Ergo* merite: For the reward may be counted of fauour as well as of debt, Rom. 4. 4. Secondly, S. *Ambroſe* inferreth the cleane contrarie concluſion: *Cum hi qui in multo labore ſudarunt, &c.* Seeing they, which were in all the labour receiued no more then the laſt, *Intelligant donum ſe gratiæ non operum accepiſſe mercedem:* Let them know that they receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of their workes, *Ambr. lib.1. de vocat. gent. c.3.*

2. Good workes are alleaged not as the cauſe or reaſon of life, but as the way and order thereunto: S. *Ambroſe* ſheweth the reaſon, *Habet vitam æternam fides, quia fundamentum eſt bonum, habent & bona facta, quibus vir iuſtus & dictis & rebus probatur:* Faith hath life eternall, as a good foundation, and good workes alſo, whereby a righteous man is proued in word and deede: *Officior. lib.2.c.2.* Good workes then are recompenſed as teſtimonies and proofes of our faith.

3. Promiſe and merite or worke cannot ſtand together, but promiſe is the obiect of faith: Rom. 4. 16. *It is by faith, that the promiſe might be ſure,* and that which is of faith is not of debt: as the Apoſtle ſheweth, Rom. 4. 3. *To him that worketh, the wages is counted of debt; to him that worketh not, faith is counted, &c.* And *Ambroſe, Veniam tanquam ex fide ſperemus, non tanquam ex debito:* Let vs hope for pardon as of faith, not of debt, *lib.2. de pœniten.c.*8. Wherefore it followeth not, God promiſeth life with a condition, *Ergo,* by the condition performed wee doe merite: ſeeing that the rewarde dependeth vpon the promiſe which is apprehended by faith, and ſo is not of merite.

4. Firſt, he that laboureth in the Goſpell, is worthie of his wages before men, but it followeth not that is ſo before God. Secondly, the text is: *That ye may be counted worthie:* and verſ. 11. *That God may make you worthie:* we are not then verilie worthie, but as it pleaſeth God in Chriſt to account vs worthie. *Ambroſe* ſaith well, *Quantum ad cæterorum comparationem pertinet, hi digni ſunt,*

quantum ad rem ipſam omnes indigni ſunt: In reſpect of others they are worthie, but indeede in reſpect of the thing, they are all vnworthie, *in* 2. *Timoth.c.*1.

5. God is no accepter of perſons, to admit vnto life thoſe that haue not laboured in his name, and to refuſe others with their righteous workes: but he giueth vnto euery one according to their workes, but not for, or becauſe of their workes: their workes as liuely teſtimonies of their faith, are a rule and meaſure of their reward, but no cauſe: men ſhall be both knowne here and iudged there by their workes, as the tree is diſcerned and iudged by the fruite. *Auguſtine* very well vpon theſe words, Matth.7.2. *With what meaſure yee mete, ſhall be meaſured to you againe,&c. Eſt apud te menſura veniæ dandæ, inuenies apud me menſuram veniæ accipiendæ,&c.* There is with thee a meaſure in giuing leaue or pardon, thou ſhalt finde with mee a meaſure of receiuing pardon: *in Pſalm.* 140. Our workes then are a meaſure, whereby it ſhall be meaſured againe to vs, but no merite or deſert. *Gregorie* ſaith, *Reddendum eſt vnicuique ſecundum opera, ſed aliud eſt ſecundum, aliud propter opera reddere:* It ſhall be rendred to euery man according to his works: but it is one thing according, another to render for works, *in Pſalm.*142.

*Argum.*4. Now whereas diuers Fathers are alleaged for merites, as *Ignatius epiſtol. ad Roman. Vt Deum poſſim promereri:* That I may merite God: *Hilar.c.*8. *in Matth. De noſtro eſt beata illa æternitas promerenda:* We muſt merite heauen of our owne. *Ambroſ.lib.*1. *de offic.c.*15. *Euidens eſt meritorum aut præmia aut ſupplicia manere poſt mortem:* It is euident, that either reward or puniſhment of our merites do remaine after death: *Bellarm.c.*4.

Our generall anſwere to theſe and the like places of the Fathers is this: Firſt, that this word *promereri*, to merite, ſometime ſignifieth nothing elſe but to pleaſe or be acceptable: as Heb.13.16. with ſuch ſacrifice, *promeretur Deus*, God is merited, as the vulgar latine readeth; the worde is εὐαρεστεῖται, is pleaſed: and ſo the vulgar text tranſlateth, Hebr.11.6. Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God: and in this ſenſe *Ignatius* is to be vnderſtoode.

Secondly, *promereri* ſignifieth as much as *ſatagere*, for a man to endeuour or put forward himſelfe, or to doe ſeruice; as the Latine phraſe is vſed, *mereri ſub aliquo*, to ſerue vnder one: ſo *Hilarie* is to be interpreted: for otherwiſe, heauen is not merited, *de noſtro*, of our owne. And as it followeth, *præſtandum aliquid eſt ex proprio*, ſomewhat muſt be performed of our owne: but he that meriteth, muſt not doe ſomewhat, but the whole: it ſignifieth therefore ſeruice rather and diligent endeuour, than deſert properly.

Thirdly, ſometime *meritum*, merit is taken abſolutely, for *opus*, worke: as *Auguſtine* ſo taketh it, *Tract.*3. *in Ioann. Deus coronat dona ſua, non merita tua: (.i.opera)* God crowneth his gifts, not thy merits, that is workes: for if they be properly merits, they ſhould be crowned. So then, merit noteth the ſubſtance of the worke, and not the qualitie: and thus the word alſo may haue a tolerable ſenſe.

Fourthly, the fathers vſe the word merit, properly referring it vnto ẏ efficacie of Chriſts death, and the merit thereof: *Auguſtine ſerm.*13. *ſerm.*14. *Per meritum eius cui nihil facere potes, reſurget,&c.* The bodie ſhall riſe by his merit, to whom thou canſt doe nothing &c. that is, by the merit of Chriſt. In this ſenſe *Bernard: Meum meritum miſeratio domini, non ſum inops meriti, quamdiu ille miſerationum non eſt:* My merit is Gods mercie, I am not without merit as long as he is not without mercie: *Cantic.*61. Gods mercie in Chriſt, or Chriſts merit by Gods mercie is our merit.

Fiftly, *mereo*, ſignifieth abſolutely to get, to compaſſe, obtaine: as *Plaut. Meruit illa virum dote:* She got or obtained an husband, with her dowrie. Thus *Auguſt.ſerm. de tempor.*252. *Nullis pracedentib. meritis per gratiam dei meruimus fieri templum dei:* Without any merits going before by grace we merited (that is obtained) to be the temple of God,&c. otherwiſe the grace of God properly is not merited. And how can we merit without merit, as here it is ſaid? And *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Lex ſpiritus dat libertatem, ſolam fidem poſcens,&c.* The law of the ſpirit giueth libertie requiring only faith, that becauſe it beleeueth, that which it ſeeth not, *de conditione erui mereatur*, it may deſerue to be deliuered: that is obtaine, *in* 2. *Cor.*3. for otherwiſe faith meriteth not: As *Ambroſe* againe, *Veniam tanquam ex fide ſperemus, non tanquam ex debito,&c.* Let vs hope for pardon as of faith, not of debt, *lib.*2. *de pœniten.c.*8. But if it were by the merit of faith, it ſhould be of debt. And *Auguſtine: Non pro merito accipies vitam æternam, ſed pro gratia, fides enim gratia:* Thou ſhalt not receiue life eternall for merit, but for grace, for faith is grace: *Tract.*3. *in Ioann. Ergo*, there is no merit of faith properly. If the fathers be vnderſtood in any of theſe ſenſes, when they ſpeake of merit, though the phraſe be not proper, it is tolerable: otherwiſe if they be conſtrued to aſcribe the kingdome of heauen any way to mans merit, they ſpeake contrarie to themſelues, as after in our arguments followeth to be ſhewed.

The Proteſtants.

WE confeſſe a neceſſarie vſe of good workes: As firſt, they doe ſerue as notable meanes and inſtruments to ſet forth Gods glorie by, Matth.5.16. Secondly, by them alſo our faith is ſhewed, publiſhed and made known, for the good example of others, Iam.2.18. Thirdly, our own conſcience alſo is thereby quieted, and our election daily made more ſure vnto vs: we doe grow and increaſe in the certaintie and aſſurance thereof, 2.Pet.1.10. But we acknowledge no power, force, or efficacie at all in them to deſerue and merite any thing at the hands of God, neither doth the Scripture in any place ſo ſpeake.

In Pſal.18. expoſit.2.

In Matth. ſerm.8.

*Argum.*1. If man conſider his deſerts, he ſhall finde, that he is worthie of nothing but death: To vs (ſaith the Prophet) belongeth ſhame, Dan.9.9. There is nothing elſe by debt due vnto vs: as *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Nihil præceſſerat in meritis noſtris, niſi vnde damnari deberemus:* Nothing goeth before in our merites, but that whereby we ought iuſtly to be condemned. And againe, *Omne peccatum noſtræ eſt negligentiæ, omnis virtus & ſanctitas eſt Dei indulgentiæ:* All euill and ſinne in vs, is of our owne negligence; all goodnes and holines, of the free mercie of God. *Si miſericordiæ Domini multæ, multus ego in meritis:* If the mercies of God be many, my merites are many. Gods mercies are our merites: our due debts are nothing elſe but puniſhment for ſinne.

Homil.8.

*Argum.*2. Betweene the deſert or merite, and the wages or recompence, there ought alwaies to be ſome proportion: a like ſtipend for a like labour: But heauen without compariſon exceedeth the worthines of our workes: *Ergo,* it is not giuen as a debt, but as a free gift: therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, that the afflictions that are preſent, are not worthie of the glorie that ſhall be reuealed, Rom. 8.18. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quàm paruo conſtat regnum cœlorum? duobus minutis emit vidua regnum cœlorum:* How little doth the kingdome of God ſtand vs in? a certaine widow for two mites bought the Kingdome of heauen. Shall we thinke that the widowes caſting in of two mites deſerued the kingdome of heauen? Farre be it from vs ſo to thinke: it is then a gift of fauour and mercie, not wages of debt.

*Argum.*3. Theſe places of Scripture do plentifully teſtifie againſt merits, aſcribing all to the mercie of God.

1. Pſal.103.4. *Which crowneth thee in mercie and compaſſion.*

2. Dan.c.9.18. *We do not preſent our ſupplications before thee, for our owne righteouſneſſe,* but for thy great mercies.

3. Luke 17.10. *When yee haue done all, ſay ye are vnprofitable ſeruants.*

4. Rom.6.23. *The wages of ſinne is death, but life eternall is the grace of God through Chriſt:* Life eternall then is not ſo the wages of good workes; as eternall death is of euill.

5. Rom.8.verſ.18. *The afflictions of this preſent time, are not worthie of the glory, which ſhall be reuealed.*

6. Rom.3.27. *Your reioycing is excluded by the law of faith: Ergo,* workes merite not, for then we might reioyce in them.

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, the Crowne is ſaid to be of mercie; becauſe the merites, which deſerue the crowne, are giuen vnto vs of mercy. Secondly, or Gods mercie is ſeene in pardoning our veniall ſinnes, while he giueth the crowne to our good workes. *Bellarm.c.5.reſponſ.ad argum.*1.

1. *Contra.* Firſt, this is like the anſwere of the Pelagians, that graunted, that free will was of grace, becauſe it was Gods grace and gift in giuing freewill to man at the firſt; as here he ſaith it is Gods mercie in giuing vs merites: But as *Auguſtine* anſwereth to that cauill, *epiſt.95. Gratia iſto ſenſu ſumpta non legitur apud Apoſtolos:* Wee reade not of grace taken in that ſenſe with the Apoſtles, &c. ſo neither do we reade of mercie ſo taken. 2. The Prophet ſaith in the ſame verſe, *which redeemeth thy life;* and before, *which forgiueth thy ſinne:* they may ſay as well, that Gods mercie is ſeene in giuing men power to redeeme themſelues and their ſinnes, as in giuing them power to merite. 3. If man meriteth the crowne, and Gods mercie forgiueth onely veniall ſinnes, then man doth more then God: for, to get the crowne, is more, then to wipe away veniall and ſmall ſinnes: and if a man may merit the crowne, how is it, that by his merites he alſo cannot extinguiſh his veniall ſinnes? there is no coherence in this broken ſtuffe. 4. Mercie and merit, grace and worke cannot ſtand together, Rom.4.4. *To him that worketh, it is not counted of fauour, but of debt:* but this fellow correcteth the Apoſtle, and ſaith; Yes, it is of fauour and mercie that they merite, and ſo challenge as of debt. *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Non pro merito accipies vitam æternam, ſed pro gratia; fides enim gratia eſt, & vita æterna eſt gratia pro gratia:* Thou ſhalt not receiue life eternall for merite, but for grace; for faith is a gift or grace, and life eternall is grace for grace, *tract.3.in Ioan.* But this conſequent were not good, if the ſame thing were both grace and merite.

2. *Anſw. Daniel* in that place doth not deſire the crowne of life, but onely deliuerance from captiuitie, whereunto their ſinnes had brought them, *ibid.reſp.ad loc.*2.

Contra. 1. If *Daniel* aſcribeth not a temporall deliuerance to his merite, but Gods mercie; how much leſſe can our eternall and ſpirituall deliuerance be deſerued. 2. *Daniel* vtterly excludeth himſelfe from all merite, in confeſſing with the reſt, Dan.9.5. *We haue ſinned, and committed iniquitie:* as *Hierome* ſaith, *in 7.ad Roman. Daniel, quem iuſtum fuiſſe nouimus, quaſi de ſe dicit cum alijs, peccauimus: Daniel,* whom we know to haue been iuſt, doth confeſſe as of himſelfe with others, we haue ſinned, &c. If a righteous and iuſt man be a ſinner, what place is there for merit? ſinners muſt clayme mercie, not chalenge merite : as the Publicane, Luke 18. *Lorde be mercifull to a mee ſinner.*

3. Firſt, we are vnprofitable ſeruants of our ſelues, but by grace made profitable. 1.

Secondly, we are ſaid to be vnprofitable in reſpect of God, becauſe the profite of our workes redoundeth not to him. 2.

Thirdly, we are taught ſo to ſay for humilities ſake, though indeed we are not vnprofitable. 3.

Fourthly, or the meaning is, that for all our ſeruice, wee can demaund no reward, ſeeing that God without reward might bind vs to do all we do, but that *gratuito pacto*, he dealeth with vs more graciouſly and liberally by his free couenant, in reſpect whereof wee may ſay with the Apoſtle, There is a crowne of righteouſneſſe laid vp in ſtore for me. *Bellarm. ad loc*, 3. 4.

Contra. 1. By grace indeed we are made profitable, becauſe it is not in vaine in vs, but not profitable to merite or deſerue any thing; but profitable, in that we are not *vnfruitfull:* as the Apoſtle ſheweth, Tit. 3.8.14. 2. Our Sauiour ſpeaketh here of ſeruants, and there of ſuch as are in the ſtate of grace; for before grace, we are not obedient ſeruants, but ſtubborne enemies: So *Ambroſe* ſaith, vpon this place; *Agnoſce te ſeruum plurimis obſequijs defœneratum, neq; te iactes ſi bene feciſti, quod facere debuiſti:* Acknowledge thy ſelfe a ſeruant diuerſly bound, neyther boaſt, if thou haue well done, that which thou oughteſt to do, *in* 17. *Luc.* But we cannot do any thing well of our ſelues, but by grace: *Ergo*, euen hauing receiued grace, we are in this ſenſe vnprofitable ſeruants. 1.

Contra. Firſt, it is true, that God in himſelfe is not by our ſinnes hindred, or by our righteouſneſſe furthered or profited, Iob. 35.6. *If thou ſinneſt, what doſt thou againſt him? if thou be righteous, what giueſt thou vnto him?* and therefore good workes *properly are ſaid to be profitable to men*, Tit. 3.8. And, though before men Gods glory be ſet forth by the ſeruice of the Saints, yet the profite, vſe and benefite thereof extendeth vnto themſelues. 2. Wherefore, euen in reſpect of our ſelues we are ſaid to be vnprofitable ſeruants: becauſe by our ſeruice we deſerue no thankes at Gods hands, Luke 17. verſ. 9. *Doth he thanke that ſeruant?* and thus *Ambroſe* expoundeth; *Sicut tu ſeruo tuo gratias non agis, &c. nec in te patitur Dominus vnius vſum eſſe operis, vel laboris, &c.* As thou doeſt not giue thy ſeruant thankes, &c. ſo the Lorde doth not ſuffer thee to haue vſe of any one woorke or labour, becauſe as long as wee liue, *wee muſt alwayes worke*; in 17. Luc. The vſe then and profite of our ſeruice, wherein wee are ſaid to be vnprofitable, is referred to our ſelues. 3. *Bernard* ſhall here anſwere for vs, writing vpon theſe words, *When yee haue done all that is commanded, ſay yee are vnprofitable ſeruants: Sed hoc inquies propter humilitatem monuit eſſe dicendum: planè propter humilitatem, nunquid contra veritatem:* You will ſay, we are taught thus to ſpeake for humilitie: indeed for humilitie, but not againſt the veritie? *ſerm. de triplic. cuſtod.* 4. He anſwereth well, that wee cannot challenge the crowne and reward by our workes, but, *ex gratuito pacto*, of Gods gracious couenant: which is none other thing, then we our ſelues affirme: the crowne of righteouſneſſe, whereof S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, dependeth not vpon the merite of our workes, but of Gods gracious promiſe: and ſo *Bernard* expoundeth the Apoſtle, 2. Timoth. 4.8. There is laid vp for me a crown of iuſtice, &c. *Eſt ergo, quam Paulus expectat, corona iuſtitiæ, ſed iuſtitiæ Dei non ſuæ, iuſtum eſt enim vt reddat quod debet, debet autem, quod pollicitus eſt: & hæc eſt iuſtitia Dei, de qua præſumit Apoſtolus, promiſſio Dei:* There is then a crowne of righteouſnes, which the Apoſtle doth expect, but of the righteouſneſſe of God, not his owne: for it is iuſt that God ſhould render that he oweth, and he oweth what he promiſed: this is the Iuſtice of God, whereof the Apoſtle preſumeth, euen his promiſe, *lib. de liber. arbitr.* 2

4. *Bellarm.* Eternall life is ſaid to be the grace of God; becauſe our merites whereby eternall life is procured, are of grace: for otherwiſe eternall life is as well the ſtipend of iuſtice, as death is the ſtipend of ſinne: *Bellarm. reſp. ad loc.* 4. 4

Contra. 1. This is a moſt corrupt gloſſe, by grace to expound workes: for the Apoſtle maketh a disiunction and oppoſition betweene works and grace, Rom. 11.6. *If of grace then not of workes, for then grace were no more grace.* And if it be anſwered, he meaneth workes of nature, not of grace: the Apoſtle ſaith againe, Tit. 3.5. *Not by the workes of righteouſneſſe, but by his mercie he ſaued vs:* Here euen works of iuſtice and grace are oppoſed to mercie and grace: wherefore grace and workes being ſo diuers, the one cannot be contained in the other.

Secondly, *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Non pro merito accipies vitam æternam, ſed pro gratia, &c.* Thou ſhalt not haue heauen by merite, but by grace: *tract. 2. in Ioan.* This were no good disiunction, if merite could be conteined in grace. And againe he ſaith, *Deus videtur vitam æternam tanquam debitam reddere, ſed fidei debitam:* God ſeemeth to giue eternall life as due; but due vnto faith, which is the grace of God, &c. *ibid.* Due, not to the merite of faith, but the grace and gift of faith. Thus better doth he vnderſtand the Apoſtle, *that life eternall is the gift of God*, then this corrupt gloſſer.

Thirdly, *Bernard* ſaith, *Merita omnia Dei dona ſunt, & ita homo magis propter ipſa Deo debitor eſt, quam Deus homini:* All our merites are Gods gifts, and ſo a man rather for them is a debter to God, then God to man, *de annunt. Mar. ſerm.* 1. Therefore our good workes cannot merite of God, ſeeing he meriteth of vs, becauſe he giueth vs grace to bring forth good workes.

5. Our afflictions indeed are not worthie in themſelues of heauen, becauſe they are but ſhort, and the reward is eternall: but yet, as Chriſts paſſions being but ſhort, for the worthineſſe of his perſon, were æquiualent to euerlaſting puniſhment, ſo our afflictions for the worthineſſe of charitie, are worthie of euerlaſting glory: as the Apoſtle ſayth, 2.Cor.4.17. *Our light affliction doth worke vnto vs an eternall waight of glorie: Bellarm.c.3.argum.6.*

Contra. 1. It is not farre from blaſphemie to aſcribe the like force to charitie in making our temporarie works æquiualent to the eternall reward, as to the dignitie of Chriſts perſon in the execution of his paſſion to be worthie to ſatisfie for euerlaſting puniſhment.

Secondly, the Apoſtle in ſaying, *Our affliction worketh, &c.* expoundeth himſelfe in the 18.verſ. *While we looke not on the things that are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeene:* which is the office of faith: affliction then as it ſheweth our faith, is ſaid to worke, not as the cauſe, but as the way and meane: and the Apoſtle ſaith no otherwiſe then Saint *Peter*, 1.Pet.1.7. *That the triall of your faith, may be found vnto your praiſe, &c,* Affliction then worketh, as the triall of our faith: and it worketh no otherwiſe, but becauſe it ſhal be *found*, and God wil not forget the ſeruice of our loue. Thirdly, otherwiſe the Apoſtle ſaith directly, that *the afflictions are not worthie, &c.* that is, not at all worthie of ſo great a reward: So *Ambroſe* expoundeth, *Quid poſſumus dignum facere præmijs cœleſtibus?* what can we do worthie of the heauenly reward? what merit can man bring, that this mortall ſhould put on immortalitie? *Indignæ ſunt huius temporis paſſiones ad ſuperuenturam gloriam:* the paſſions of this life are vnworthie the glorie to come, *ſerm.20, in Pſal.*119. So alſo *Gregorie*; *Beatæ vitæ nullus poteſt æquari labor, nulla opera, paſſiones nullæ:* To bleſſed life, no labour, worke, ſuffring can be equall, *in Pſal.*142. *Bernard*; *Quid ſunt merita omnia ad tantam gloriam?* What are all our merites to ſo great glory? *ſerm.1.de annunt.Mar.*

6. *Bellarm.* Faith doth indeed exclude their reioycing, that glorie in themſelues and their owne ſtrength, but not that reioycing whereby we reioyce in our workes and merites by grace, *reſponſ. ad loc.7.*

Contra. 1. Faith excludeth all reioycing euen in good workes wrought by grace: for the Apoſtle ſaith, that reioycing is excluded by the law of faith, and not by the law of workes: if faith then exclude reioycing, we muſt reioyce in nothing but faith. 2. Rom.4.2. The Apoſtle ſayth, *If Abraham were iuſtified by workes, he hath wherein to reioyce, but not with God:* he ſpeaketh of *Abraham* as a faithfull man, and of his workes, as good workes; euen at that time when he beleeued, and it was counted to him for righteouſneſſe; as it followeth in the next verſe. 3. *Bernard* alſo ſaith, *Perfecta & ſecura gloriatio eſt, cùm veremur omnia opera noſtra, ſicut teſtatur Iob de ſeipſo; omnes iuſtitias noſtras non aliud eſſe quam pannum menſtruatæ:* then our reioycing is perfect, when we feare all our workes, as *Iob* teſtifieth: all our righteouſneſſe is as a ſtayned clout, *ſerm.de triplic. gradu.* A man then is not to reioyce in any of his workes, no not in his righteouſneſſe. 4. S. *Paul* further ſaith, Epheſ.2.9. *Not of workes, leaſt any man ſhould boaſt himſelfe:* hee muſt not boaſt of workes: and what workes, the Apoſtle ſheweth in the next verſ.10. *We are his workemanſhip created in Ieſus Chriſt to good workes: Ergo,* we muſt not boaſt nor reioyce no not in good workes. And thus notwithſtanding all theſe cauils, I truſt it euidently appeareth by theſe Scriptures alleaged, that our workes are no way meritorious of life euerlaſting.

*Argum.*4. S. *Paul* ſaith, *Faith is counted to him for righteouſneſſe, that worketh not,* Rom.4.5. *If it be of grace, it is no more of workes, for then grace were no more grace: If of worke, then not of grace; for then worke were no more worke,* Rom.11.9. Wee ſee that the righteouſneſſe of faith or of grace, and the righteouſneſſe of workes, cannot ſtand together, nor be matched one with the other.

Our aduerſaries haue here two euaſions: Firſt they graunt, that the beginning of our iuſtification, which they call the firſt iuſtification, is meerely of Gods grace, neither can we haue any acceptable workes before we are iuſtified: but in the ſecond iuſtification, which is the increaſe of the former iuſtice, a man may merite by good workes, *Rhemiſt.Rom.2.3.*

Anſ. This is but a late and new deuice of the firſt and ſecond iuſtification: as afterward we wil ſhew in the proper place. The Scripture teacheth vs, that not onely the beginning of our righteouſneſſe, but the finiſhing and perfecting of it, is onely by grace in Chriſt, Epheſ.2.5.6. *When wee were dead in our ſinnes, he hath quickened vs together in Chriſt, by whoſe grace yee are ſaued, and hath rayſed vs vp, and made vs ſit together in heauenly places:* We ſee that this ſaluation by grace bringeth vs vp to heauen: *Ergo,* both the firſt and ſecond iuſtification are of grace, for they can bring vs no further then to heauen.

Rhemiſt. 2. Workes done of nature without, or before faith, cannot merite: but works done by Gods grace may, and are ioyned with it as cauſes of ſaluation.

Anſw. Not onely the workes of nature, but euen of grace alſo are excluded: Wee are ſaued (ſaith the Apoſtle) by grace through faith, not of workes: And then hee ſheweth what workes, namely good workes, ſuch as the Lord hath ordayned for vs to walke in, Epheſ.2.9,10. *Ergo,*

works

workes alſo of grace,wrought in vs by the ſpirit of God,are ſhut out from being any cauſes of our ſaluation. I conclude with *Auguſtine*,vpon thoſe words of the Pſalme,*Let the Lord alway be magnified: Peccator es? magnificetur,vt vocet: confiteris? magnificetur, vt ignoſcat: iam iuſte viuis? magnificetur,vt regat: perſeueras vſque ad finem? magnificetur,vt te glorificet:* Art thou a ſinner? Let God be magnified in calling thee: doeſt thou confeſſe thy ſinnes? let him be magnified in forgiuing them: doeſt thou liue well? let him be magnified in directing thee: doeſt thou continue to the end? let him be magnified in glorifying thee. God is as much to be praiſed for all things wrought after our calling and conuerſion, as for mercie ſhewed before: All then is wholy to be aſcribed to Gods grace and mercie: nothing is left for our merite or deſert.

Bernard hath of this matter an excellent ſpeech: *Si à Deo voluntas eſt,& meritum; Deus igitur author eſt meriti qui voluntatem applicat operi,& opus explicat voluntati: Alioqui, ſi propriè appellentur ea, quæ dicimus noſtra merita, ſpei quædam ſunt ſeminaria,occultæ prædeſtinationis indicia, futuræ fælicitatis præſagia; via regni,non cauſa regnandi; denique quos iuſtificauit,non quos iuſtos inuenit, magnificauit:* If our will bee of God, then alſo our meriting: for God is the author of the merite, in applying our will to the work,and fitting the work to our will: otherwiſe to ſpeake properly,our merites ſo called,are but the ſeedeplat of our hope, the ſignes of predeſtination, and the forerunners of our happines, the way to the kingdome, not the cauſe thereof: laſtly, whom God hath iuſtified, not whom he found iuſt,he glorifieth. What more euident teſtimonie can we haue againſt meriting of heauen? *Bernard* retaineth the name,but denieth the thing. De liber. arbitr.

*Concil. Arauſican.can.*18. *Debetur merces bonis operibus ſi fiant,ſed gratia,quæ non debetur,præcedit, vt fiant:* A reward is due to good workes, if they be done;but grace,which is not due nor of debt, goeth before,that they may be done. All therefore is to be aſcribed to grace.

Now whereas we doe alleage many teſtimonies of the Fathers againſt merites:*Bellarmine* would ſhift vs of with this anſwere, that they ſpeake of man, *qualis eſt ſine gratia Dei,* as he is without grace, that he cannot merite by his owne ſtrength: I will therefore ſhew out of the Fathers, that euen a man in the ſtate of grace cannot merite.

*Ambroſe de vocat.gent.lib.*1.*c.*5.*Nulla tam præclara opera exiſtere, quibus hoc,quod gratis tribuitur, per retributionis indicium debeatur.* There are no ſuch excellent workes, to the which, that which is freely giuen, ſhould by way of retribution be owing,&c. if to no excellent workes, then not to the workes of grace of man is God endebted.

*Auguſtine cont.Pelag.artic.*3. *De meritis in hoc ſeculo Chriſtianus extolli non debet, quia nemo hîc ſine peccato eſt, quicquid ergo in hac vita conſecutus fuerit, donum eſt, non meritum,&c.* A Chriſtian muſt not be lifted vp for his merites in this world, becauſe no man here is without ſinne,whatſoeuer he hath in this life is a gift, not a merite,&c. he ſpeaketh of Chriſtians that are vnder grace.

Bernard,Quærant alij meritum,nos gratiam inuenire ſtudeamus; Maria non prætendit meritum ſed gratiam quærit: Let other men ſeeke for merite, let vs ſtudie to finde grace: *Marie* pretendeth not merite,but ſeeketh grace,&c. *Serm.in natiu. Mar. Marie* was in the ſtate of grace,and yet depended not vpon any merite.

The holy Martyrs haue moſt confidently ſealed this trueth: *Alexander Seton* Martyr: *They that preach that workes doe merite,doe make workes the tree,which are but the fruite of iuſtice, wrought by him that is already a iuſt man: Chriſt was promiſed to be our onely iuſtifier: God ſayd to Abraham, In thy ſeede ſhall all people be bleſſed; he ſaid not in thy ſeedes,or in the workes of thy ſeedes,but in thy ſeede,that is Chriſt.* Againe,the ſame holy Martyr and Preacher thus witneſſeth moſt confidently: *He that can ſhew me in any Scripture,that workes doe merite, or be any meanes to our iuſtification: for the firſt Scripture, I will, without any further iudgement, loſe both mine eares; for the ſecond,my tongue; for the third, my necke: Fox.*pag.1206. Yea this holy Martyr,though no Scripture were ſhewed him,neither ſhall euer be ſhewed,yet he moſt conſtantly gaue his life in the defence of this truth. But in defence of popiſh merites,I haue not heard of any that hath aduentured ſo farre.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, CONCERNING the name of merite.

The Papiſts.

B*Ellarmine* would beare vs in hand,that the name of merite is either conteined in Scripture,or collected from the ſame: *Lib.*5.*de iuſtif.c.*2. 80.Error.

Argum. The places of Scripture,which he pretendeth for proofe hereof are theſe.

1. Eccleſiaſt.16.12. *He iudgeth a man according to the merite of his workes.*
2. Heb.13.16. *With ſuch ſacrifices,promeretur Deus, God is merited.*
3. The Scripture maketh mention of dignitie or worthines, which is the ſame that Merite is: 2.Theſſ.1.5. *That ye may be counted worthie of the kingdome of God:* Apocal.3.4.*They ſhall walke with me in white,for they are worthie.*

4. There is often alſo mention found in Scripture of reward: Matth. 5. 12. *Your reward is great in heauen.* 1. Corinth. 3. 8. *Euery man ſhall receiue his wages according to his labour.* And in diuers other places; as Geneſ. 15. 1. The Lorde ſaith to *Abraham, I am thine exceeding great reward:* But where there is a reward, there merit goeth before.

The Proteſtants.

1. *Anſ.* FIrſt, the Greeke text readeth onely κατὰ ἔργα, according to their workes, not the merit of their workes. Secondly, and in the ſame place he ſaith, *As his mercie is great, ſo is his puniſhment:* ſo that mens good workes are rewarded not of merit, but of mercie. Thirdly, neither is it all one to ſay, according to their workes, and after the merit of their workes, as he might haue learned out of *Gregorie* alleaged before: *Aliud eſt ſecundum, aliud propter opera reddere:* It is one thing to render according, and another to render for workes, *in Pſal.* 142. Fourthly, if wee had no other anſwere, the authoritie of this booke bindeth vs not, being no part of the Canonicall Scripture.

2. The word is εὐαρεστεῖται, *God is pleaſed:* as Hebr. 11. 6. the ſame word is vſed: *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God:* We graunt that God is well pleaſed with good workes, as proceeding from our faith in Chriſt: for ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ. 15. *Let vs by him offer the ſacrifice of praiſe.* By faith then in Chriſt God is pleaſed with our ſacrifice: what is this to merit?

3. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith: *That you may be counted worthie: Digni habeamini.* This worthines then is onely by imputation of Chriſts worthines. Secondly, they are worthie to haue white robes: becauſe *their robes are made white in the blood of the Lambe,* Apoc. 7. 14. *and the Lambe onely is found to be worthie,* Apoc. 8. 4. 9. The worthines of the Saints is none other, but the worthines of the Lambe, accounted theirs by faith: for if they be worthie, then is not the Lambe *onely worthie.*

4. Firſt, the reward is counted of fauour *as well as of debt,* Rom. 4. 4. Pſal. 103. 4 *Which crowneth thee in mercie.* Secondly, ſeeing God himſelfe is our rewarde, how is it poſſible, that man can merit God? *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Filium hominis non meruiſſe vt dei filius eſſet:* That the ſonne of man merited not to be the ſonne of God: *de correpţ. & grat. c.* 11. Euen ſo neither can man merit to haue God. Thirdly, further S. *Ambroſe* writing vpon that parable, Matth. 20. where the laſt hired labourers receiued as much as the firſt, that did endure the heate of the day, concludeth thus: *Vt intelligant donum ſe gratiæ, non operum accepiſſe mercedem:* That they may vnderſtand that they receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of their labour: *de vocat. Gent lib.* 1. *c.* 3. Thus we ſee, that out of the Scripture there can be no ſhew made for the vſe of this word *merit,* being aſcribed to the workes of men.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE diſtinction of merits.

The Papiſts.

81. Error. THey make two kindes of merit: *Meritum de congruo,* merit of congruitie: ſuch are the preparatiue workes before iuſtification, as were the prayers and almes deedes of *Cornelius,* Act. 10. which though they be not ſimply meritorious, *ex debito iuſtitiæ,* by the due debt of iuſtice, yet they deſerue at Gods hands of congruitie, becauſe he doth graciouſly accept them, *Act.* 10. *ſect.* 5. The other kinde, they call *Meritum de condigno,* merit of condignitie, when the reward is iuſtly due by debt: ſuch are the workes done in the ſecond iuſtification, which are truly meritorious, and worthie of heauen, *Gabriel. Biel. Rhemiſt. Rom.* 2. *ſect.* 3. Ex Tileman. loc. 11. err. 22.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, we vtterly denie any ſuch merit of condignitie: for Saint *Paul* ſaith, That the afflictions of this life are not condigne of the glorie to come, Rom. 8. 18. Condignitie then is wholy remoued and taken away.

Secondy, a reward of congruitie in ſome ſort wee graunt, but neither for any thing done before faith or iuſtification: for it is impoſſible without faith to pleaſe God, or doe any thing acceptable vnto him, Heb. 6. 6. Neither is it of congruitie for the merit of our workes: but it is (*congruum*) it is agreeable to the mercie and iuſtice of God in reſpect of his promiſe graciouſly made in Chriſt, to reward the faithfull obedience of his ſeruants: ſo then the congruitie is on Gods behalfe, not in reſpect of our workes.

We are iuſtified, ſaith the Apoſtle, *gratis per gratiam,* freely by grace, Rom. 3. 24. *Ergo,* there is no merit either of congruitie or condignitie, ſeeing all is done freely.

In Pſal. 5. 5. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quid ille latro attulerat de fauce ad iudicium, de iudicio ad crucem, de cruce in Paradiſum?* I pray you what merit did the theefe bring with him from the priſon to iudgement, from the iudgement place to the croſſe, from the croſſe to Paradiſe? Here was neither merit of congruitie, nor condignitie.

THE FIFT PART, OF THE MANNER of meriting.

The Papiſts.

OVr works (they ſay) are pleaſing and acceptable vnto God, euen after the ſame manner, that 82.Error. Chriſt and his works were, *Tapper.ex Teleman.loc.*11.*err.*14. Chriſts paines of their owne nature, compared to his glorie, were not any whit comparable, yet they were meritorious and worthie of heauen, not for the greatnes of them, but for the worthines of his perſon: So our workes, not of their owne nature, but as they are of grace, are meritorious of the ioyes of heauen, *Rhemiſt. Rom.*8.18.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, it is a great blaſphemie, to ſay, that Chriſts paſſions in themſelues deſerued not that glorie, which he hath purchaſed for vs: neither that there was any compariſon betweene them: for then, how could he haue fully ſatisfied the wrath of God? Chriſt hath payed the raunſome for our ſinnes: We are redeemed with his precious blood, as of a lambe vnſpotted, 1.Pet.1.19. His blood was the price of our redemption: therefore of it ſelfe meritorious. It was not in reſpect of Chriſt, of grace; but of merit in him: Vnto vs his redemption is of grace, Rom.3.24. Wherefore his paſſion being the paſſion of the Sonne of God, was a ful ſatisfaction, and worthie deſert of that glorie, which he hath purchaſed for vs.

Secondly, it is another great blaſphemie to match and compare in the way and manner of meriting, Chriſts workes and ours together. For firſt, there is no merit at all in vs vnto ſaluation: we haue no merits but Chriſts, and are ſaued onely by faith in him, not by workes, Epheſ.2.8. Secondly, by your owne confeſſion, our works are not of their nature meritorious, but of grace: but Chriſts works were of themſelues full of merit, without any externall helpe, or acceſſion of grace: for in himſelfe did all fulnes dwell, Coloſſ.1.19.

Auguſtine very well ſheweth the great difference in the way of meriting betweene Chriſt and vs, thus writing: *Quantum intereſt, cum duo ſint in carcere, inter reum & viſitatorem eius: illum cauſa* Tract.2.in Epiſt.Iohan. *premit, illum humanitas adduxit: ſic in iſta mortalitate nos reatu tenebamur, Chriſtus miſericordia deſcendit:* Looke what difference there is, when two are in priſon together, betweene the priſoner, and his friend that commeth to viſite him; the one is there of neceſſitie, the other commeth of good will: ſuch difference there is betweene Chriſt and vs: for when wee were detained in the priſon of this mortalitie, for the guilt of our ſinnes, Chriſt came in mercie to viſite vs. How can there now be any proportionable or like way of meriting, in the guiltie priſoner, and the innocent and friendly viſiter?

THE SIXT PART, OF THE QVALITIE and condition of merits.

The Papiſts.

B*Ellarmine* ſaith, that the good workes of the righteous, are properly and verily meritorious of 83.Error. eternall life, euen, *ex condigno*, of condignitie, or worthines, in the higheſt degree: *Bellar.c.*16. and that *non ſolum ratione pacti, ſed operis*, in reſpect of the worke, as well as of the couenant or promiſe.

Argum. 2.Timot.4.8. Saint *Paul* ſaith, that God the iuſt iudge ſhall giue him a crowne of glorie: but it is the part of iuſtice to giue vnto euery man as he hath deſerued: the Apoſtle therefore worthilie deſerued this crowne: it was of iuſtice, not of mercie: *Bellarm.ibid.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. THis crowne laid vp for the Apoſtle, was both of mercie, in that the Lord graciouſly promiſed it: Iam.1.12. *He ſhall receiue the crowne of life, which the Lord hath promiſed to all, that loue him.* It was alſo of iuſtice: *Iuſtum eſt* (ſaith *Bernard*) *vt reddat, quod debet; debet autem, quod pollicitus eſt:* It is right and iuſt, that God ſhould pay what he oweth: now he oweth that which he hath promiſed. All therefore was of Gods mercie toward the Apoſtle, not of his deſert. Gods iuſtice in keeping his promiſe, reſpecteth not any deſert in man, but dependeth vpon the conſtancie and truth of his word in himſelfe.

Argum. Saint *Paul* ſaith, Rom.8.18. That *the afflictions of this life are not condigne of the glorie, &c. Ergo*, there is no ſuch condignitie.

Bellarmine anſwereth, that in their owne nature they are not worthie, but as they proceed from the grace of God, they are, *cap.*18.

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh in this place of no other ſuffrings, but thoſe which are wrought by grace in the children of God: as verſ.17. *Suffer with Chriſt, that ye may be glorified with him.*

Therefore the Apoſtle excludeth euen ſuch ſuffrings, as are wrought by the ſpirit. 2. Grace or fauour, and deſert cannot ſtand together: Rom.4.4. *To him that worketh, the wages is not counted of fauour, but by debt.* Wherefore if heauen be merited, it is of debt, grace and fauour is excluded: therefore to ſay, that workes are meritorious by grace, and that their worthines and condignitie is partly of grace accepting, and partly of the worke deſeruing, is to affirme contrarie things, and to match things of diuers and vnlike nature together.

Herein alſo hee may be ouerthrowne by his owne poſitions: Firſt, he ſaith that God doth reward, *ſupra condignum*, aboue the worthines or condignitie of our workes, *cap.19.* then it will follow, that there is no ſuch condignitie, becauſe the reward exceedeth their worthines: but betweene the wages and the worke, there ſhould be an equalitie. Againe, heauen is the greateſt reward that can be, and therefore if God doe giue a reward beyond their deſert, heauen is not deſerued, for a better reward than heauen there cannot be.

Secondly, *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, that neither the grace of iuſtification, *cap.21.* nor the gift of perſeuerance to the end, or a mans reparation after his fall, can be merited, *ex condigno*, of condignitie: much leſſe can the kingdome of heauen be ſo merited, which is a more excellent thing, than any of the other: our glorification farre exceedeth in excellencie our iuſtification and perſeuerance: if the leſſe then cannot be ſo merited, neither can the greater.

The author of the Sermons *de tempor. ſer.210. Cum dies iudicij aduenerit, etſi coronam non meremur accipere, vel ad peccatorum indulgentiam mereamur peruenire, &c.* When the day of iudgement ſhall come, if wee deſerue not to receiue the crowne, let vs deſerue to attaine at the leaſt to pardon of our ſinnes, &c. *Ergo*, it is more to merit the crowne, than to merit forgiuenes: but this cannot be merited by their owne confeſſion: *Ergo*, not the other.

We haue witneſſe of a Synode of their owne: *Senonenſ. ſynod. decr. de fide. 16. Faciet tandem miſericordia dei vnicuiq; locum iuxta meritum operum ſuorum, non abſoluta condignitate quidem, (neque enim condignæ ſunt paſſiones, &c. Rom.8.18.) ſed gratuita magis & liberali repromiſſione, &c.* At the length the mercie of God ſhall make a place to euery one according to the merit of their workes, not by an abſolute condignitie, (for the afflictions of this life are not condigne, &c. Rom.8.18.) but rather by a gracious and liberall promiſe, &c. *Ergo*, our workes are not properly *ex condigno*, meritorious.

Diuers alſo of the Schoolemen are of the ſame opinion, that good workes, *ex condigno*, of condignitie, are not meritorious of life eternall: *Sic Thom. Waldenſ. tom.3. de Sacramental. c.7. Durand. in 2. ſenten. diſt.27. qu.2. Gregor. in 1. ſentent. diſt.17. qu.1. artic.2.*

THE SEVENTH PART, WHETHER ANY confidence is to be repoſed in merits.

The Papiſts.

84. Error. FIrſt, *Bellarmine* ſaith, that the truſt which the righteous haue in God, ariſeth not onely of faith, but ſpringeth alſo from their merits: *lib.5. de iuſtificat. cap.7.*

1. *Argum.* 1. Timoth.3.13. *They that haue miniſtred well, get themſelues a good degree, and great libertie or confidence in the faith:* Confidence or truſt is then wrought in vs by our faithfull ſeruice.

2. Rom.5.4. *Patience bringeth forth experience, experience hope.*

3. Hebr.10.32.35. *Ye endured a great fight of afflictions, caſt not therefore away your confidence.*

4. If our heart condemne vs not, wee haue boldnes toward God: *Ergo*, our confidence ariſeth vpon our workes: *Bellar. ibid.*

The Proteſtants.

1. *Anſ.* WE denie not, but that by a ſanctified life, and good workes, we may grow vp to the aſſurance of our election, yet not by the merit or worthines of the workes, but as they haue relation vnto faith, whereof they are liuely ſignes: for to ſpeake properly, it is faith whereby *we haue peace toward God*, Roman.5.1. And in this place the Apoſtle ſaith, *They haue confidence in the faith, which is in Chriſt:* Their confidence is grounded vpon faith, vnto the aſſurance whereof they are conducted and guided by their faithfull ſeruice.

2. All theſe depend vpon the ſecond verſe: *By whom we haue acceſſe through faith vnto this grace, &c. and not ſo onely, but we reioyce in tribulations.* All theſe then are rehearſed, as fruites iſſuing from our faith, reioycing in tribulation, experience, hope. Againe, hope maketh not aſhamed, verſ.5. *becauſe the loue of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts:* but this loue of Chriſt wee know no otherwiſe than by faith: Epheſ.3.17. *That Chriſt may dwell in your hearts by faith:* then it followeth, verſ.19. *and that ye may know the loue of Chriſt, &c.*

3. This confidence ſpringeth of faith, verſ.32. *After ye had receiued light, ye endured a great fight:* and therefore verſ.22. it is called πληροφορία πίστεως, *the aſſurance of faith.*

4. The peace of conſcience worketh confidence, and faith bringeth this peace of conſcience, Rom.5.1. And in this place, verſ.19. *Let vs not loue in word,&c. thereby wee know we are in the truth, and ſhall before him aſſure our harts:* The being in the truth, which is faith, is the ground of this aſſurance; the way whereby to know it, is by loue. Theſe places will hold no water for them.

Arg. That works of themſelues giue vs no aſſurance, but as they haue their actiuitie from faith, Saint *Peter* teacheth vs, 2. Epiſt.1.10. *Giue diligence to make your calling ſure in doing theſe things:* and what things he meaneth, it is before ſhewed, verſ.5. *Ioyne to your faith, vertue; with vertue, knowledge:* workes then breede no aſſurance or confidence, but as they are ioyned with faith, and iſſue out from the ſame. Rom.5.1. *Being iuſtified by faith, wee haue peace toward God:* Peace and confidence iſſueth from iuſtification by faith: Hebr.10.verſ.22. *The aſſurance of faith.* Faith then giueth aſſurance.

The Papiſts.

B*Ellarmine* againe ſaith, that our confidence ariſeth not onely from good workes, but that our confidence and truſt may be repoſed alſo in our merits: ſo that in his opinion, it hath both the beginning from thence, and againe hath recourſe thither. And thus merits (falſely ſo called) ſhall be both the efficient cauſe of our confidence, as alſo the matter or obiect thereof, wherein it ſhould reſt and be repoſed. 85. Error.

1. *Argum.* 1.Timoth.4.7. *I haue fought a good fight, I haue finiſhed my courſe,&c. henceforth is laid vp for me a crowne of righteouſnes &c.* Saint *Pauls* confidence and aſſurance of life eternall, is grounded vpon his meritorious workes. *Bellarm.*

2. Nehem.5.verſ.19. *Remember me O Lord in thy goodnes, according to that I haue done for this people.*

3. Pſal.18.20. *The Lord rewarded me according to my righteouſnes.*

4. Iſay.38.3. *Hezekiah* thus praieth: *Remember me O Lord, how I haue walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heurt, and haue done that, which is good in thy ſight: Ergo,* we may repoſe confidence in our workes.

The Proteſtants.

1. *Anſ.* SAint *Pauls* confidence is not builded vpon his owne works, but vpon the righteouſneſſe and ſurenes of Gods promiſes: *which God the righteous Iudge* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *ſhall giue me at that day:* As *Bernard* ſaith: *Eſt ergo, quam Paulus expectat corona iuſtitiæ, ſed iuſtitiæ dei non ſuæ: hæc eſt iuſtitia, de qua præſumit Apoſtolus, promiſſio dei:* It is the crowne of righteouſnes, which the Apoſtle looketh for, but not of his owne, but Gods righteouſnes: the promiſe of God is the righteouſnes, whereof the Apoſtle preſumeth: *de liber. arbitr.* Saint *Pauls* confidence then is in the promiſe of God, not in his owne merits.

2. *Nehemiah* ſaith, *Remember me in thy mercie.* And chap.13.22. *Remember me O Lord concerning this, and pardon me for thy great mercie:* verſ.31. *Remember me in thy goodneſſe.* His confidence wee ſee is not in his workes, but in Gods mercie.

3. Firſt, *Dauid* ſpeaketh not of his righteouſnes toward God, but of his innocencie againſt *Saul:* and who doubteth, but that the teſtimonie of a good conſcience, and the innocencie of a iuſt cauſe doth make vs bold and confident againſt our enemies? But the queſtion is of confidence toward God: in which reſpect *Dauid* ſaith, verſ.2. *The Lord is my rocke, in him will I truſt.* He doth not truſt in his owne innocencie.

4. It was *Hezekiah* his truth (that is faith) wherein he walked, and the perfitnes of his heart, which is cauſed by faith (for by faith God purifieth our hearts, Act.15.9.) that made him confident: which his confidence of faith, was indeede ſealed vnto him, and confirmed by his godlie life.

Argum. Saint *Paul* vtterly diſclaimeth, and renounceth his owne workes: hee counteth all things but loſſe and dung in reſpect of Chriſt, that he might be found in him, *not hauing his owne righteouſnes, but that which is through faith in Chriſt,* Philip.3.8.9. *Paul* therefore truſteth not to his workes, he will put no confidence in dung. Againe hee ſaith, *I know nothing by my ſelfe, yet am I not thereby iuſtified,* 1.Cor.4.4. Therefore he hath no confident opinion in himſelfe: but his confidence is ſtayed vpon the loue of God in Chriſt Ieſus.

Bernard well ſaith: *Diſcamus de noſtra omnino induſtria, magis autem de noſtris diffidere meritis:* Let vs learne to diſtruſt our owne induſtrie, or rather our merits; *in feſt. Paul ſerm.* 2.

Prætendat alter meritum, mihi adhærere deo bonum, ponere in domino ſpem meam: Let another pretend merite, it is good for me to cleaue to God, and in the Lorde to put my truſt: *in Pſalm.*90. *ſerm.*9.

OF GOOD WORKS IN PARTICVLAR, DEVIded into three parts,of prayer,faſting, almes deedes.

THE FIRST PART, OF PRAYER.

THe ſeuerall queſtions are theſe : Firſt,of the fruits of prayer. Secondly, of the condition and qualitie of prayer. Thirdly,of the order.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE FRVITS.

SVch fruites of prayer,as wee learne out of the word of God, wee moſt willingly acknowledge. Firſt,it comforteth the ſoule being in heauines : If any be afflicted,let him pray,Iam.2.13. Secondly,it obtaineth wiſedome for vs,and all ſpiritual grace,Iam.1.5. Thirdly,by prayer the good creatures of God are ſanctified to our vſe,1.Tim.4 5. Fourthly,by prayer are wee preſerued from all ſpirituall danger,Luk.22.31.32. *I haue prayed for thee Peter,&c.* And other ſuch fruits and vſes prayer hath : But theſe fruites following we doe refuſe.

The Papiſts.

86.Error. B*Ellarmine* maketh theſe two fruits of prayer : that it is ſatisfactorie,and meritorious.

*Argum.*1. For the firſt he reaſoneth thus : Euery good laborious worke is ſatisfactorie : prayer is a laborious worke : *Ergo.lib.*1.*cap.*3.

Anſw. 1. Though one man may ſatisfie and recompence another, yet no worke of ours can worke any ſatisfaction before God : but Chriſt onely by his death, hath made ſatisfaction for vs all : *All things are ſet at peace, through the blood of his croſſe,* Coloſſ.1.20. 2. Againe, whereas they muſt be good workes,whereby God ſhould be ſatisfied,ſeeing God is the giuer of euery good gift and worke,and all our good workes proceed from him,he thus ſhould be ſatisfied with his owne, which were no ſatisfaction. 3. Further,prayer is no laborious work to the ſpirituall man,though it be to the fleſh : for in the inner man there is a ſpirituall delight in all good things,Rom.7.22. 4. And what if it were laborious ? as though God delighted in the puniſhment, ſorrow,and trauell of his children,as the Idolatrous Prieſts of *Baal* conceiued of their Idoll, that by launcing of their fleſh,they ſhould be the ſooner regarded and heard.

*Argum.*2. That prayer alſo is meritorious, he would thereby proue it, becauſe God is ſaid to reward them openly,that pray ſecretly : Matth.6.6. his reaſon is this, reward is of merite, prayer is rewarded : *Ergo,* it is of merite.

Anſw. The propoſition is not true,for reward may as well be of fauour, as of deſert : *He that giueth but a cup of cold water,ſhall not loſe his reward.* Matth.10.42. Heauen is not merited by ſo ſmall a gift: this reward then is of mercie: wherefore this place ſheweth, that prayer is not in vaine, but is accepted of God,that it is meritorious it proueth not.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, prayer is not ſatisfactorie : no imperfect thing can ſatisfie before God, but our prayers are imperfect,Rom.8.26. *We know not what to pray as we ought : Ergo.* Againe, that onely ſatiſfieth God,whereby his wrath is once for euer appeaſed ; neither need that ſatisfaction often to be repeated: the reaſon is,becauſe if God be once ſatisfied, he is not mutable, he ſo continueth. But prayer muſt often be repeated, *Onely Chriſt hath once for euer,&c.* Heb.10.14. he hath once for all appeaſed the wrath of God , which ſatisfaction cannot be repeated : *Ergo,* the death of Chriſt is onely ſatisfactorie: prayer is not. *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of *Peters* repentance, which was tempered (no doubt) with prayer, ſaith: *Lachrymas lego, ſatisfactionem non lego:* I reade of *Peters* teares, but of no ſatisfaction: *de tempor. ſerm.*117. See more of this,*controu.*14.*queſt.*7.*part.*4.

Secondly,prayer is not meritorious, nor any other religious acte done by vs : where merite or deſert is,there ſomewhat is performed to him, at whoſe hands we deſerue : But by our workes, prayer,almes deedes,or whatſoeuer, we profite not the Lord : as Iob.35.7. *If thou be righteous, what giueſt thou vnto him,or what receiueth he at thy hand?* verſ.8. *Thy wickedneſſe may hurt a man, as thou art, and thy righteouſneſſe may profite the Sonne of man: Ergo,* prayer doth not merite at Gods hand.

Againe, we muſt not pray,as the heathen did, Matth.6.7. but they thought to be heard for the merite of their long prayers: *Ergo,* it becommeth not Chriſtians to pray with any opinion of merit to be heard. Further,that cannot merit at anothers hand,the benefit wherof wholy redoundeth to our ſelues: But prayer is wholy for our benefite; we doe pray for ſuch things, as we neede, Matth. 6.8. therefore it cannot merite before God. We haue alſo a direct place in Scripture againſt the merite of prayer: Daniel 9.18. *We doe not preſent our prayers before thee for our owne righteouſneſſe, but for thy great mercies.*

Bernard ſaith well: *Conſiderare debet is, qui orat, in ſeipſo duo: vt pro ſuis meritis nihil ſe accepturum putet, ſed de Dei miſericordia impetraturum:* He that prayeth muſt conſider two things in himſelfe, that he thinke not to receiue any thing for his owne merites, but onely for the mercie of God. *In Pſalm.91.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE CONditions required in Prayer.

THere be diuers conditions and qualities, which muſt alwaies concurre in a faithfull prayer: Firſt, that we pray in charitie, without wrath, 1.Tim.2.8. Secondly, we muſt pray with the deuotion and intention of the heart: God will be worſhipped in ſpirit, Ioh.4.24. Thirdly, we muſt perſeuere and continue in prayer: 1.Theſſ.5.17. *Pray continually.* Fourthly, we ſhould pray onely for things neceſſarie, Matth.6.32. *Your heauenly father knoweth, you haue neede of all theſe things:* Theſe and ſuch other conditions preſcribed in the word of God, we holde to be neceſſary in praier: but theſe following we refuſe.

The Papiſts.

FIrſt, *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that it is not requiſite to pray with faith, whereby we beleeue and are perſwaded, that God will heare vs: but it ſufficeth onely in generall to beleeue, that God is moſt mightie and moſt mercifull, both able and willing, to grant our prayer, if there be no defect in vs. 88.Error.

*Argum.*1. *Dauid*, when he prayed for the life of his childe, was not aſſured, that God would heare him: for he ſaith, *Who can tell, whether God will haue mercie on mee, that the childe may liue? 2.Sam.22. Bellarm.cap.9.*

2. So Saint *Paul* prayed doubtfully, that the pricke of the fleſh might be taken from him: for he prayed of faith, and yet beleeued not, that he ſhould obtaine that he prayed for, for then it ſhould haue been a falſe faith, ſeeing he obtained not his requeſt: *ibid.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. INdeede, when we pray for temporall things, we haue no warrant otherwiſe to receiue them, then as God ſeeth them to be good for vs: but for ſpirituall bleſſings, we may pray reſolutely with all aſſurance and confidence to be heard in Gods good time: As *Dauid*, though here praying for the temporall life of his ſonne, be not ſure to obtaine; yet when he prayeth for ſome ſpirituall grace, as for the forgiueneſſe of his ſinne, Pſalm.6.1. he is aſſured, that his prayer is receiued, verſ.9. *The Lord hath heard my petition, he will receiue my prayer.* This difference betweene the requeſt of things ſpirituall, and temporall, *Auguſtine* well noteth: *Sanitatem quis petit, cum agrotat; & tamen fortè adhuc ei agrotare vtile eſt, poteſt fieri vt hîc non exaudiaris: at verò cum illud petis, vt det tibi Deus vitam aternam, ſecurus eſto, accipies, &c.* A man asketh health when he is ſicke, and is not heard, for it may bee good for him yet to be ſicke; but when thou prayeſt for eternall life, be ſecure and out of doubt for this matter, thou ſhalt haue it, but the time is not yet. In Pſalm.59.

2. S. *Paul* alſo prayed inſtantly, euen thrice, and therefore he prayed with faith, not doubting: for though in that particular he was not aſſured to be heard, yet he doubted not but that God would graunt to him that which was needfull; and therein he was heard: for the Lord ſaid, *My grace is ſufficient for thee:* So our Sauiour prayed for the paſſing away of the cuppe of death, therein he was not heard; yet he was heard in generall, in that he ſubmitteth his humane will to his Fathers will, and was heard in that which he feared, Hebr.5.7. Shall we therefore inferre, that Chriſt prayed doubtfully?

Argum. That we ought to pray confidently with a liuely faith, nothing doubting, but that God will graunt vs all things needfull which we aske in Chriſt, the Scripture euidently teſtifieth: 1.Tim.2.8. *We muſt pray without doubting: let him aske in faith and wauer not:* Iames 1.6. *The prayer of faith ſhall ſaue the ſicke:* Iames 5.15. This confidence in our prayers, ſpringeth, as we ſee, from faith, not from an vncertaine and doubtfull hope, as the Ieſuite, ſeemeth to affirme.

Chriſt alſo ſaith, *Whatſoeuer ye ſhall aske the father in my name, he will giue it you:* Iohn 16.23. here is the ground of our confidence in prayer, the promiſe of God in Chriſt Ieſus, th[illegible]efore all doubting muſt be remoued.

Chryſoſtome ſaith well, *Si dixeris, niſi accepero non recedam, prorſus accipies:* If thou ſaiſt, I will not goe away till I haue receiued that I aske, thou ſhalt ſurely receiue it: *Homil.24.in Matth.*

Eſpenceus vpon theſe words: Iacob.1.6. *Let him aske in faith doubting nothing:* inferreth, *Perſuaſos nos eſſe oportet, exauditum diuinitus iri:* We muſt be perſwaded, that we ſhall be heard in heauen: *in 1.Tim.p.42.*

The Papiſts.

SEcondly, *Bellarmine* ſaith, that he that prayeth, muſt not be in any deadly ſinne, but come with an actuall and inherent righteouſneſſe: for God heareth not ſinners, vnleſſe it be extraordina- 89.Error.

rily ſometime, or when they begin to repent them of their ſinne, whereof notwithſtanding they haue no certaintie, *cap.*9.

Argum. Pſalm.66.18. *If I regard wickedneſſe in my heart, the Lord will not heare me: Ergo*, the prayer of wicked men is not heard.

Iſay 1.15. *Though ye make many prayers, I will not heare, for your hands are full of blood.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. WE grant, that they which delight and continue in their ſinne, are not heard of God, Prou.15.8. *The ſacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord:* yet it followeth not, but that the ſinner, which repenteth him of his ſinne, though his conſcience be not yet fully cleared, may pray vnto God aright, and be very ſure that his prayer is heard.

Argum. This is proued by *Dauids* experience: Pſalm.32.5. *I acknowledged my ſinne before thee, neither did I hide mine iniquitie, &c.* and thou forgaueſt the puniſhment of my ſinne: the prayer therefore of penitent ſinners is infallibly heard, which *Bellarmine* denyeth. We haue not onely the examples of holy men, but the promiſe alſo of God, for the hearing of ſinners prayers: as it appeareth by *Salomons* prayer made at the dedication of the temple, with the which God was pleaſed: a part of which prayer is this, that if they, which haue ſinned, returne and pray vnto God, and confeſſe their ſinnes: *Then heare thou in heauen*, ſaith *Salomon*, 1.King.8.49. God was pleaſed with this prayer of *Salomon*, and euery part thereof.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Si peccatores Deus non exaudiret, fruſtra publicanus oculos in terram demittens, & pectus ſuum percutiens diceret, Deus propitius eſto mihi peccatori:* If God did not heare ſinners, in vaine ſhould the Publicane caſting his eyes down vnto the ground, and knocking vpon his breaſt, haue ſaid, *Lord be mercifull to me a ſinner. Tractat.44. in Iohann.*

Bellarmine aunſwereth, that ſinners are heard praying for any ſpirituall or temporall gift, when they are in the way to repentance, as the Publicane was: but then they are heard, *Non ex iuſtitia, ſed ex miſericordia:* Not of iuſtice as worthie, but of Gods mercie: neither are they heard certainly or infalliblie.

*Contra.*1. Neither is the moſt righteous man heard for his righteouſneſſe, as *Daniel* was a righteous man: yet he prayeth thus, Dan.9.18. *We preſent not our ſupplications before thee for our owne righteouſneſſe, but thy great mercies.* 2. The Publicane was heard certainely being a ſinner, ſo are all other praying in faith, as our Sauiour ſaith, Mark.11.24. *Whatſoeuer ye deſire, when ye pray, beleeue that ye ſhall receiue it, and it ſhall be done vnto you.*

THE THIRD QVESTION, OF THE ORDER and manner of Prayer.

IT hath theſe ſeuerall parts: firſt, of the time and number of canonicall houres: ſecondly, of the matter of prayer: thirdly, the maner: fourthly, of the perſons.

THE FIRST PART, OF CANONICALL houres.

The Papiſts.

90.Error. THey haue their nocturne houres, and diurne or day houres appoynted for prayer: In the night, the third, ſixt, ninth, and twelfth houre, which were called the foure watches of the night: In the day they obſerue the prime, the firſt houre, the third, the ſixt, the ninth, and the twelfth: and they haue their complin immediatly after the euening or twylight.

Argum. Theſe canonicall houres the Ieſuite would warrant by the example of *Dauid*, who prayſed God ſeuen times a day, Pſalm.119. *Dauid* alſo kept his nocturnes: At midnight will I riſe vp, and praiſe thee, Pſalm.119. Thou ſhalt heare my voice in the morning, Pſalm.5. In theſe houres alſo the greateſt myſteries of our redemption were wrought by our Sauiour Chriſt: as in the veſpertine, or twelfth houre he inſtituted the Sacrament, at complin he was taken, in the prime led to *Pilate*, in the third houre condemned, in the ſixt crucified, in the ninth he gaue vp the Ghoſt: theſe houres therefore are conſecrate by Chriſts example vnto prayer: *Bellarm.cap.*13.

The Proteſtants.

*Anſw.*1. FIrſt, we denie not, but that at all times and houres both of the day and night, it is lawfull to pray, ſo oft as we are aright diſpoſed thereunto, as the Prophet *Dauid* did.

Secondly, further we alſo grant, a politike vſe in the Church of ſet houres for prayer, both publikely in the Church, and priuately in families, for order and decencie ſake; ſo it be done without any ſuperſtitious opinion of the houre and neceſſarie limitation of our prayers thereunto: and in this ſenſe we refuſe not the counſell of the author of the Epiſtle *ad Demetriad.* which goeth vnder *Hieromes* name: *Quanquam nullam prorſus horam à ſpirituali profectu vacuam eſſe conueniat, &c.* Although

though it be not conuenient, that any houre ſhould be void of ſpirituall exerciſe, yet there ſhould be ſome determinate and appointed number of houres, *quò plenius Deo vaces, & qui te ad ſummam animi intentionem quaſi lege quadam contineat:* in the which you ſhould more fully be vacant for God, and which as by a law ſhould bind you to a greater intention of the minde: I thinke the morning the fitteſt time for this, and the greater part of the day, *vſq; ad horam tertiam*, till the third houre, or three a clocke, &c. Here are three reaſons giuen of ſet houres, which wee miſlike not. 1. That we may ſet al other buſineſſe aſide, and be vacant onely for God. 2. That the houre comming, we may prepare our ſelues more zealouſly to pray. 3. That the morning be choſen, as the fitteſt time of the day: But of the veſpertine and complin and prime, here is no mention.

3. Yet it followeth not, that our prayer ſhould be tied and limited vnto certaine houres. Neither hath *Dauid* any ſuch meaning, in ſaying, ſeuen times a day, he meaneth, that often times in a day he prayſed God: Verſ.97. *He meditated in the law of God continually:* And Pſalm.55.17. theſe ſeuen times, he reduceth to three times, *Euening, morning, and at noone will I pray:* he kept therefore no certaine time. Further, if they ſtand ſo ſtrictly vpon *Dauids* example, why do they not keepe their nocturne houres? as *Dauid* ſaith, *he roſe at midnight, and his eyes preuented the night watches:* Pſalm.119. Their nocturne watches are too painfull for them.

Secondly, concerning the example of Chriſt, wee ſay that not onely theſe houres, but euery houre of the day and night was conſecrated with ſome vertuous act of his: that, as *Leo* ſaith of feſtiuall dayes, that if we ſhould keepe all dayes holy, wherein Chriſt did any notable thing, *Omnia tempora, continuatis erunt deputanda feſtis:* All times ſhould be feſtiuall: ſo if all houres ſhould be obſerued for prayer, wherein Chriſt wrought any part of our redemption; then we ſhould do nothing elſe but pray. See our reaſons againſt their popiſh nocturnes and canonicall houres: *Controu.6.quæſt.6 part.3. & controu.9.quæſt.8.appendix. ad 4. partem.* Leo 1.epiſt.4. cap.4.

S. *Ambroſe* ſaith notably vpon theſe words, *I preuented the morning light*, Pſal.119.verſ.144. *Qui ergo Dominum deprecatur, non velut præſcripta præcipuè tempora præſtoletur, &c. ſed ſemper in corde ſit Chriſtus, ſemper in ore ſit Chriſtus:* He that prayeth to the Lord, let him not ſtay as it were, for the preſcript times; but let Chriſt be alwayes in his heart, alwayes in his mouth, *ſerm.19.in Pſal.*119.

They are not themſelues agreed concerning the time of their canonicall houres; as for *completorium*, the *complin*, *Rabanus* holdeth, that it ſhould be celebrate *hora vndecima* in the eleuenth houre, that is the houre before Sunne ſet, the laſt but one; *lib.2.de inſtit. Cleric.c.8. Smaragdus Abbas* ſaith *horam duodecimam*, that the twelfe, that is the laſt houre of the day, belongeth to *Complin: comment.ad cap.16.regul.S.Benedic.* The reſt do generally hold, that *Complin* is in the beginning of the night.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE MATTER of diuine ſeruice and prayer.

91.Error. IN the matter of their ſeruice wee take exception againſt two partes of their leiturgie chiefly: firſt, wee miſlike the reading of the fabulous ſtories of their ſaints liues in ſtead of the Scriptures, which onely ought to bee read in the Church, as it may thus appeare; Nehem.8. *Ezra* did reade from morning to midday onely in the booke of the law: The Iewes did reade the Prophets onely in their Synagogues vpon the Sabboth day: Act.13.27. and *Moſes*, Act.15.21. And Chriſt ſendeth vs no whither but to the Scriptures: *Search the Scriptures*, Iohn 5.

See the conſent of antiquitie: *Concil.Laodicen.can.*59. *Non oportet libros extra canonem legere. Carthag.3.can.47. Placuit vt præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in Eccleſia legatur ſub nomine diuinarum Scripturarum:* It was decreed, that nothing beſide the canonicall Scriptures, ſhould be read for Scripture in the Church.

Gelaſius alſo thus decreed of this matter: *Geſta ſanctorum Martyrum, ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem, ſingulari cautela, in Eccleſia Romana non leguntur, quia & eorum qui conſcripſerunt, nomina ignorantur, & multa ſuperflua, aut minus apta ſcripta putantur:* The deedes of the Martyrs, we haue prouided, not to be read any more in the Romane Church, as afore time; becauſe their names are not knowne that writ them, and there is much ſuperfluous and vnfit matter there written: *decret. de Apocryphis.* Yet for all this, the Ieſuite, would beare vs downe, that it is a commendable vſe of the Church, to reade ſuch ſtories ſtill: *Bellarm.cap.*14.

92.Error. Secondly, 1. we condemne that idolatrous and blaſphemous ſong, called (*Salue Regina*) endited to the honour of the Virgine *Marie*; but to the diſhonour of Chriſt.

2. They call her in this ſong, *matrem miſericordiæ*, the mother of mercie: which is a title proper vnto God, to be called the father of mercie, 2.Cor.1.3.

3. They call her our life: but Chriſt onely is the way, the trueth and the life, Iohn 14.6.

4. Another title is (*dulcedo*) our ſweetnes, or comfort: but the Lord our God, onely is the God of all comfort. 2.Cor.1.3.

5. This ſong calleth *Marie* our hope: But the Scripture holdeth them accurſed that make man their confidence, Ierem.17.5.

6. They pray vnto *Mary* in this ſong, *Vt poſt hoc exilium Ieſum oſtendat*, that ſhee would ſhew vnto vs Ieſus after this life: contrary to the Scripture; for God the father bringeth vs to Chriſt, Iohn 6.44. and it is the office of Chriſt to ſhew himſelfe to vs, Ioh.4.21. It is great Idolatrie then to aſcribe this office proper vnto God, to any other: yet notwithſtanding all theſe blaſphemies, this ſong is defended by the Ieſuite: cap.15.

Bellarmines anſwere is here moſt abſurd.

1. *Marie* is called or ſaluted by the name of Queene; as all other Saints are, Matth.5.3. *Bleſſed are the poore in Spirit, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen, lib.1.de bon.operib.c.*15.and ſhe more ſingularly is called a Queene, being the mother of the King of kings.

Contra, 1. If *Marie* be no otherwiſe a Queene then all other Saints are, as it is ſaid, Apocal.1.6. *He hath made vs Kings and Prieſts*; then euery faithfull woman in earth is a Queene as wel as ſhe. 2. Why do you then robbe other Saints of this title, and giue it onely to her, if it be common to the reſt? 3. We are all indeed Kings and Prieſts, *but vnto God*, that is, ſpiritually, by faith, we are not made kings one to another. 4. As *Marie* was the mother of the King of kings, ſo was ſhe the mother of God; if the firſt make her a Queene, the ſecond muſt make her a Goddeſſe: and ſeeing Chriſt was a King, while he liued in the fleſh, and is noted to haue beene obedient to his parents, Luke 2.51. hee ſhould haue done his mother wrong, in not giuing vnto her the name of Queene, which was due vnto her.

2. She is called the Mother of mercie, becauſe ſhe was the mother of Chriſt, by whom we obtaine mercie: and for that ſhe prayeth dayly for mercie for vs, and obtayneth, *ibid.*

Contra. 1. Chriſt alſo is called the Sonne of *Dauid*, and the ſonne of *Adam*, Luk.3.18. Say alſo, that *Adam* and *Dauid* were likewiſe Fathers of mercie. 2. *Marie* obtaineth no mercie for vs: he only is our aduocate for mercie, that is the propitiation for our ſinnes, 1.Iohn 2.2. 3. *Marie*, while ſhe liued, had need of mercie herſelfe; acknowledging Chriſt to be her Sauiour, Luk.2. verſe 47.

3. She is called life, becauſe ſhe was the mother of Chriſt our life, and by him made the mother of all that liue ſpiritually; as *Eua* was the mother of all liuing the naturall life, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. 1. It is a great blaſphemie to ſay that *Marie* is ſo the mother of the ſpiritual life, as *Eua* was of the naturall: what is this els, but to make *Marie* the Sauiour of the world? 2. The prerogatiue to be Chriſts mother ſpiritually, Chriſt giueth to all faithfull beleeuers and followers, Matthew 12.50. Will you ſay alſo that euery faithfull woman that ſpiritually beareth Chriſt, is life. 3. Ieruſalem, which is from aboue, *is the mother of vs all*: Galath.4.26. The Church of God is the mother of the ſpirituall life: haue we then two mothers? 4. Chriſt ſaith, *I am the way and the life*, Iohn 14.6. If *Marie* be the life, make her alſo the way.

4. Shee is called the ſweetneſſe, becauſe of the innumerable benefites wherewith ſhe continually comforteth the afflicted, *Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. 1. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, Pſal.38. *Taſte and ſee how ſweete the Lord is, bleſſed is the man that truſteth in him*: will you haue alſo the Virgine *Marie* truſted in, or ſo truſted in, as that they are not bleſſed, that truſt not in her? 2. Chriſt ſaith, Ioh.14.16. *I wil pray the Father, & he ſhal giue you another comforter*: Doth he meane his mother ſhall be this comforter? or will you make two comforters, whereas Chriſt will ſend but another beſide himſelfe? how then is the Virgine *Marie* become a comforter of the afflicted? 3. S. *Paul* ſaith, *God, which comforteth the abiect, comforted vs*, 2.Cor.7.6. Is not God ſufficient to comfort the afflicted, but yee muſt alſo make the Virgine *Marie* a comforter? miſerable comforters are ye, that driue vs to ſuch comforts.

5. We may truſt in men, ſo that we chiefely truſt in God: as Chriſt ſaith of the Iewes, *There is one which accuſeth you, euen Moſes in whom ye truſt*, Iohn 4.45. and thus alſo may we truſt in the virgine *Marie, Bellarm.ibid.*

Contra. 1. By truſting in *Moſes*, our Sauiour vnderſtandeth *Moſes* law or *Moſes* writings: as to beleeue *Moſes*, is to beleeue *Moſes* writinges: Iohn 5.46.47. And where it is ſaide, Act.15.20. *Moſes hath in euery citie them that preach him*: is it to be vnderſtood of *Moſes* perſon, or *Moſes* doctrine? And thus the Iewes themſelues ſhew how they truſted in *Moſes*, Iohn 9.29. *Wee are Moſes diſciples, we know that God ſpake by Moſes*: their truſt then was in his doctrine. 2. But, that God onely is to be truſted in, the Prophet teacheth, Pſal.73.25. *Whom haue I in heauen, but thee?* S. *Ambroſe* well ſaith, writing vpon theſe wordes, 1.Cor.3. *What is Paul, what is Apollos, but your Miniſters? Vt quia miniſtri ſunt, ſpes in his non ſit, ſed in Domino cuius miniſtri ſunt*: Becauſe they are miniſters, let not truſt be in them, but in the Lord, whoſe Miniſters they are.

6. Like as S. *Paul* ſaith to Timothie, 1.Tim.4.16. *Take heede vnto learning, and thou ſhalt both ſaue thy ſelfe and them that heare thee*: and S. *Iames* 5.20. *He that hath conuerted a ſinner, &c.* ſhall ſaue a ſoule from death: as men may ſaue others by preaching, prayer, conuerting; ſo the Virgins

prayer is ſayde to ſhewe vs Chriſt by her interceſſion, ***Bellarmin. ibid.***

Contra. 1. If *Marie* do but ſhew you Chriſt by her mediation, then other Saints, whom yee make your mediators, do as much; yet you do not pray in theſe tearmes vnto them. 2. Men as inſtrumentall meanes by their preaching and prayers are ſaid to ſaue others, becauſe theſe are duties preſcribed, and commanded in the word: as Preaching, 1. Timoth. 4. 16. ***Take heed vnto doctrine:*** Prayer, Iam. 5. 16. ***Pray one for another:*** but where hath *Marie* any ſuch office committed to her to ſhew vs Chriſt, or to be a Mediator to that end? 3. Chriſt ſaith, ***I will ſhew mine owne ſelfe vnto him:*** Iohn 14. 21. what need we then a Mediator to him, to ſhew himſelfe? Yea, and he himſelfe is our Mediator herein: ***Father I will, that they, which thou haſt giuen me, be with me, &c. that they may behold my glory,*** Iohn 17. 24. Do ye thinke that Chriſt is not a ſufficient Mediator of himſelfe, but that you muſt ioyne another with him? Thus we ſee, notwithſtanding all theſe ſhifts, and miſtie conceites, that they cannot bring any good defence or excuſe for this their idolatrous ſong of (*Salue Regina.*)

Now let vs ſee what teſtimonie wee haue from themſelues: ***Eſpenc.*** thus rehearſeth out of ***Algerus de Sacrament. lib. 3. c. 13. Multi aliqua erroris verba per imperitiam precatores effundunt, &c. in quibus multa reperiuntur contra catholicam fidem:*** Many in their prayers vnskilfully do vtter erronious wordes, &c. wherein many things are contayned, contrarie to the Catholike faith, ***digreſ. lib. 1. c. 11.***

2. ***Nicolaus Clamengius*** thus complayned in his time: ***Qualiter hac tempeſtate legatur ſacer diuinæ legis Canon, &c.*** How in theſe dayes the diuine law is read, is manifeſt: ***vix ſola librorum capita inchoantur, &c.*** ſcarcely the titles of the bookes are read: I know a Cathedrall Church in this Kingdome, wherein, when the actes of the Saints are rehearſed, from the beginning to the ende, when as they come to the reading of Scripture, ***Lector ſingulis lectionibus vix quatuor lineas explet:*** the reader hardly endeth foure lines: ***ex citation. Eſpenc. ibid.*** This was another fault in the popiſh leiturgie, that they excluded the reading of Scripture.

3. ***Lodouicus Viues lib. 2. de corrupt. actib.*** giueth this teſtimonie of their legend: ***Quàm indigna diuis & hominibus ſanctorum hiſtoria, quam neſcio cur auream Legendam appellent, cùm ſcripta ſit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis: quid fœdius dici poteſt illo libro? &c.*** How vnworthie a ſtorie both for God and men, which I ſee no reaſon, they ſhould call a golden legend, ſeeing it was made by a man of iron lips, and a leaden heart: what can be ſaid to be more filthie then that booke? &c. Yet out of this booke the greateſt part of the leſſons vpon the Saints dayes were taken: Thus their leiturgie was filled with lies and fables.

4. ***Lindanus lib. 3, de interpret. ſcriptur. c. 3.*** reporteth theſe words of ***Agobertus*** Biſhop of Lions, ***Antiphonarium correximus, amputatis, quæ ſuperflua, leuia, falſa, blaſphema, ridicula, phantaſtica multa videbantur:*** We haue corrected the Antiphonary, cutting off many things that ſeemed ſuperfluous, light, falſe, blaſphemous, ridiculous, phantaſticall, &c. Is not here a goodly beadrowle of the vertues and ſingular qualities of their holy leiturgie? and theſe are the complaints of their owne ſide: and therefore we can iudge no leſſe, but that their popiſh prayers and ſongs are ridiculous, blaſphemous, ſuperſtitious, &c.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE MANner of their Church-ſeruice.

COncerning their Church muſicke, and the ſinging of their ſeruice, we haue ſhewed our opinion before, where we entreated of the Canon of the Maſſe: We do not condemne the commendable vſe of ſinging in the Church, which ſerueth to many good purpoſes, but wee onely would haue the abuſe remoued: the chiefe faultes committed in popiſh Church muſicke are theſe.

1. The yrkeſome length and tediouſneſſe thereof, produced with their multiplicitie of vnedifying ſongs and leſſons: which abuſe hath beene much complayned of in time paſt: ***opuſcul. tripartit. lib. 3. cap. 1. In multis Eccleſijs faciunt lectiones adeo prolixas in matutinis, quòd ferè nullus audiat totas matutinas, & ſiqui remanent ibi, dormiunt:*** In many Churches they make their leſſons ſo long at morning ſeruice, that few tary the whole; and they that ſtay, fall aſleepe.

2. Their ſongs are ſet forth in an vnedifying tongue, contrary to Saint *Pauls* rule, 1. Cor. 14. But of this matter we haue alreadie entreated at large, ***Controu. 1. appendic. ad tertiam queſtionem:*** ſo that we need not to handle it againe here.

3. They ſing that, which is not to be ſung, as the leſſons and lectures out of Scriptures, and prayers, which are to be ſaid, and not ſung: as *Hierome* ſaith; ***Non decet orantem canere:*** hee that prayeth muſt not ſing: ***præfation. lib. 2. in Habacuke.***

The Apoſtle alſo diſtinguiſheth prayer and ſinging, Is any afflicted? let him pray: is any merry? let him ſing, Iam. 5. 13.

Concil. Bracarenſ.1.30. Placuit, vt nihil veteris Teſtamenti poeticè compoſitum in Eccleſia pſallatur: That no part of the olde Teſtament ſhould be ſung in verſe. The decree is againſt the ſinging of leſſons. Other corruptions and imperfections in their ſinging ſeruice, we haue noted before, in the treatiſe of the canon of the Maſſe, whither we referre the Reader.

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE PERSONS THAT are bound to the Canonicall houres.

The Papiſts.

93. Error. THis duetie, ſaith *Bellarmine*, belongeth onely to Monkes, and thoſe which are of the Clergie.

Argum. 1.Chron.15.16. *Dauid ſpake to the chiefe of the Leuites to appoint certaine of their brethren to ſing with inſtruments of Muſicke.* As the Leuites were bound in the time of the lawe, to ſing the ſongs of the Church, ſo onely are the Monkes and Clergie now.

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. FIrſt, the argument followeth not, becauſe the Leuites then were deputed to the office of ſinging, that therefore the Clergie is onely bound to doe it now: for that legall diſtinction betweene the Prieſts and the people, is now taken away: And Chriſt hath made vs all Kings and Prieſts now, Apocal.1.6. to offer vp the ſpirituall ſacrifice of praiſe and thankeſgiuing. Secondly, the Leuites did not onely ſing the ſongs of the Church, but they as more skilfull men, were appoynted to moderate the voyce of the people, who did ſing together with the Leuites, 1.Chron.15.28. All Iſrael (not the Leuites onely) brought vp the Arke with the ſound of inſtruments, chap.16.36. Let all the people ſay ſo be it, and praiſe the Lord. Thirdly, your Monkes either are, or ought to be no Prieſts, but lay men; and are not therefore of the Leuiticall order, and yet you permit them to ſing Pſalmes: why may not other lay men doe the like? Fourthly, we graunt that all things ſhould be done in the Church in order: and therefore that it is the office of the Miniſter to moderate the aſſemblies of the people in their Chriſtian exerciſes of giuing of thankes, and prayer: But notwithſtanding the people may ioyne with their Paſtor, both with voyce and conſent of heart, in the common Pſalmes and prayer, ſo that all things be done decently, and in order.

Argum. The People in *Dauids* time did vſe to praiſe God together with the Leuites, 1.Chro. 16.36. In *Nehemiah* his time, at the dedication of the Temple, the people praiſed God together with the Leuites, chap.12.31. *I appoynted two great companies to giue thankes, and the one went on the right hand of the wall, &c.* And in theſe companies were the people, verſ.38. halfe of the people was vpon the wall. The Ieſuite alſo brought in *Dauids* example, who praiſed God ſeuen times a day, for the warrant of his canonicall houres: But *Dauid* was neither Monke nor Prieſt: wherefore the office of praiſe and thankeſgiuing belongeth not onely to ſuch.

THE SECOND PART OF FASTING, the particulars whereof follow.

The Papiſts.

94. Error. FIrſt, they hold that the holy time of Lent, as they doe fondly call it, as though any time in their ſenſe were holier than another, is an Apoſtolike tradition, warranted by the example of *Moſes, Elias*, and our Sauiour Chriſt, that faſted 40. dayes, *Rhemiſt. Matth.4.ſect.2. Bellarm.lib.2.de bon. opereb.cap.14.*

Bellarmine further ſheweth ſeauen cauſes of the inſtitution of Lent.

1. That Chriſtians may ſolemnely repent for the ſinnes of the whole yeere.
2. That they may be prepared to receiue the Communion at Eaſter.
3. To fulfill that ſaying of Chriſt, Matth.9.15. *When the Bridegrome ſhall be taken away, then ſhall they faſt.*
4. That they may be prepared to celebrate the feaſt of Chriſts paſſion and reſurrection.
5. That they might faſt and pray, for ſuch as were newly conuerted to the faith, which were baptized at Eaſter.
6. That wee might conſecrate by faſting vnto God the tenth part of our life, for 36. dayes are the tenth of the yeere.
7. That hereby wee ſhould imitate Chriſt, ſo neere as wee can, that faſted 40. dayes and 40. nights: *Bellarm.cap.16.*

The Proteſtants.

1. *Anſ.* FIrſt, ſhall it then ſuffice a man once in the yeere to repent for his ſins? Is not the Lords prayer daily to be ſayd, wherein wee pray for remiſſion of ſinnes, which cannot be ob-

tained without repentance? Secondly, or was it Lent, when *Peter* exhorted the people to publike repentance, Act.2.38. *Repent and be baptized.* Thirdly, *Quid enim quod differas, vt plura peccata committas?* Why ſhould you deferre your repentance, to commit more ſinnes, ſaith *Ambroſe de pœnit. lib.2.c.*11. This therefore could be no cauſe of the inſtitution of Lent.

2. In the Primitiue Church they receiued the Communion often, euen euery Lords day at the leaſt: Act.20.7. *The firſt day of the weeke,* (which is the Lordes day) *they came together to eate bread.* Saint *Ambroſe: Accipe quotidie, quod tibi quotidie proſit: qui non meretur quotidie accipere, non meretur poſt annum accipere:* Receiue that daily, which thou haſt vſe of daily: hee that is not fit to receiue daily, is not fit after a yeere: *de ſacram lib.*5.*c.*4. If Lent were inſtituted vpon this occaſion, it was no Apoſtolicall inſtitution: for then the Communion was miniſtred often, and not onely at Eaſter.

3. Firſt, that ſaying of Chriſt was ſpoken onely to his Apoſtles, that enioyed his carnall preſence. Secondly, if it be largely taken, then the Montaniſts did come neerer to the ſenſe, that obſerued the Lenton faſt ſtraight after Chriſts aſcenſion. Thirdly, or if they will expound the taking away of the Bridegrome, of Chriſts death, by this reaſon they ſhould not faſt before the celebration of the paſſion, but after.

4. Firſt, by this reaſon, we muſt haue a Lent alſo before the Natiuitie, and another before Pentecoſt, ſeeing theſe alſo are great feaſts, and a preparation ought to goe before. Secondly, this proueth Lent not to be Apoſtolicall, ſeeing the feaſt of Eaſter was not then vniformely obſerued, nor many yeeres after. Thirdly, the Sabboth was as great a feſtiuall as any beſide, being immediatly inſtituted of God: yet one day of preparation ſufficed for that.

5. Firſt, we haue now no Catechumeni, or Conuerts from Paganiſme: therfore by this reaſon, the Lenton obſeruation ſhould ceaſe, hauing no vſe that way. Secondly, neither did the Apoſtles deferre the baptiſme of Conuerts til Eaſter, but baptized them, as occaſion ſerued: Act.2.38. S *Peter* ſaith at the feaſt of Pentecoſt, *Repent and be baptized, &c.* Wherefore this reaſon ſheweth, that Lent was not Apoſtolicall.

6. Firſt, if 36. daies be the tenth of the yere, why do you obſerue 40. daies for the Lenton faſt? Secondly, theſe fellowes will ſet God to ſchoole, that hee ſhould rather haue taken the tenth day for the Sabboth, than the ſeauenth; ſo ſtrict they are in tithing of dayes. Thirdly, not the tenth day, but euery day of our life ought to be conſecrate to God; as *Ambroſe* ſaith of *Iob: Sanctus Iob quotidie pro filÿs offerebat ſacrificium:* Holy *Iob* euery day offered ſacrifice for his ſonnes: *de ſacram. lib.*5.*c.*4.

7. Firſt, *Ambroſe ſerm.*23. *Quadrageſima quadraginta duos dies habet, &c.* Lent hath 42. dayes according to *Moſes* 42. manſions: *ſerm.*34. He deriueth this obſeruation from *Noahs* flood, *quia tot dierum ſpatio pluuiæ defluxerunt:* becauſe ſo many dayes the raine was in falling, &c. If this bee ſo, then is it not grounded vpon the imitation of Chriſt. Secondly, *Moſes* faſted 40. dayes, and *Elias*; yet none in the old law did inſtitute a faſt vpon this example: neither are wee to ground the like vpon Chriſts miraculous abſtinence now. Thirdly, that faſting of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the holie Prophets was miraculous, and no more to be imitated, than Chriſts walking on the ſea, or raiſing of the dead, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Non tibi dicit, non eris diſcipulus meus, &c.* Hee ſaith not, thou ſhalt not be my diſciple, vnleſſe thou walke vpon the ſea, or raiſe the dead, but learne of me, becauſe I am humble and meeke. Againe he ſaith, *Non ergo, quia Chriſtus ſtatim poſt baptiſma ieiunauit, tanquam regulam obſeruationis tradidiſſe credendus eſt, ſed plane illo exemplo docuit ieiunandum eſſe, quando forte acriore luctamine cum tentatione confligitur:* In that Chriſt faſted after his Baptiſme, it is not to be thought, that he gaue vs a rule to obſerue, but taught vs by his example, that then wee muſt faſt, when we are more ſtrongly tempted.

Præfat.in Pſal.30.

George Marſh holy Martyr thus witneſſeth: *Let the faſting of Chriſt while hee was tempted in the wilderneſſe, be vnto vs an example of ſober liuing, not for the ſpace of fortie daies, (as the Papiſts doe fondly fanſie of their owne braine) but as long as we are in the wilderneſſe of this wretched life.*

Further, that the obſeruation of Lent was no Apoſtolike tradition, it appeareth, becauſe it was not vniformely kept of the Church a long time after them: for as *Ireneus* witneſſeth, ſome faſted one day, ſome two dayes, ſome fortie houres day and night: but if it had been neceſſarily inioyned and preſcribed by the Apoſtles, ſuch varietie of cuſtome could not haue ſprong vp; at the leaſt, not haue been ſuffered in the Church. Againe, *Epiphanius* ſaith, that the Wedneſdayes faſt was an Apoſtolike tradition; as likewiſe to obſerue the feaſt of the ſixe daies of Eaſter, with bread, ſalt, and water: which obſeruations are not kept amongſt the Papiſts themſelues, yet haue they as good teſtimonie of antiquitie to be Apoſtolike traditions, as the Lent faſt. Thirdly, in *Auguſtines* time, there was no neceſſarie enforcement for euery man to keepe Lent: *Si aliquis* (ſaith he) *ieiunare non poteſt, eleemoſyna ſine ieiunio bona eſt:* If any man be not able to faſt, almes without faſting is good and profitable. Wherefore ſeeing the Lent faſt was then voluntarie, it is euident that it was not an Apoſtolike preſcription, which ſhould haue bound all men neceſſarily.

Serm.de tempor.62.

That Lent is no Apoſtolicall tradition, it further appeareth, both becauſe of the vncertaine preſcript of the time, as alſo the diuerſitie of the manner in keeping the ſtrict time of Lent.

As touching the firſt, it was decreed : *Concil. Aurelianenſ.4.can.2. Vt quadrageſima æqualiter ab omnibus teneatur, non quinquageſima, aut ſexageſima :* That fortie dayes ſhould be obſerued for Lent, not fiftie, or threeſcore. *Agathenſ.can.12. Vt omnes in quadrageſima exceptis diebus dominicis ieiunent :* That euery man ſhould faſt fortie daies, excepting the Lords dayes. *Gregorie* the firſt, *Quadrageſimali ieiunio 4. dies addidit*, to the fortie dayes faſt added foure dayes more. *Par.3.diſt.5.c.16. Teleſphorus* Biſhop of Rome decreed, *Vt 7. hebdomadas plenas ante paſcha omnes clerici à carne ieiunent :* That Clergie men ſhould faſt ſeuen whole weekes before Eaſter, that is 49. dayes. *Diſt.4.c.4. Concil. Triburienſ.can.58.* They which had committed murther, were inioyned thrice in a yeere to faſt fortie dayes, before Eaſter, before S. *Iohn Baptiſts* day, and before the Natiuitie. And thus wee ſee ſome faſted fortie dayes, ſome fortie ſauing the ſixe Lords dayes, ſome 44. ſome 49. ſome. 120. dayes, that is three Lents.

Further, thus it is extant in their own decrees: *Diſtinct.4.c.6. Gregor. Sacerdotes à quinquageſima propoſitum ieiunandi ſuſcipiant:* The Prieſts muſt begin to faſt from the 50. day: *contr. par.3.diſt.3.c.6. Quadrageſ. non quinquageſ. teneatur.*

Diſtinct.76.c.8. Quadrageſimæ ieiunijs contriſtaremur : Wee muſt ſorrow with the faſt of fortie dayes. *Ambroſ ſerm.23. Quadrageſima quadraginta duos dies habet :* Lent hath 42. dayes.

Diſt.76.c.10. Poſt paſcha, &c. After the Paſch to Pentecoſt, they that will may faſt : *quia Antonius, Paulus, & cæteri patres his diebus in eremo leguntur abſtinuiſſe, neque ſoluiſſe abſtinentiam, niſi tantum die dominico :* Becauſe *Antonie, Paul*, and other fathers are read to haue faſted theſe dayes, neither to haue looſed their faſt, but onely vpon the Lordes day, &c. Here is another Lenton faſt from the Paſch to Pentecoſt tolerated.

Par.3.diſt.5.c.16. Gregor. Sex dies dominici de abſtinentia ſubtracti, &c. Sixe Lords dayes are taken from the faſt, and ſo there remaine but 36. and to fill vp the number of fortie dayes, he borroweth foure dayes from the weeke before.

Ibid.c.25. Quadrageſimam abſtinentia celebramus, cùm bene viuimus, &c. We keep the Lenton faſt, when we liue well : *ex Auguſtin.* By this decree there ſeemeth to be no neceſſitie of the Lenton faſt at all. And this difference we finde for the time of Lent.

The like diuerſitie is to be ſeene in the manner of the obſeruation : *Liberius* decreed, that the husband all Lent long ſhould abſent himſelfe from his wife. *Concil. Triburienſ.can.35. That no Iudge ſhould keepe aſſiſes in Lent time :* Yet the contrarie is practiſed euen among the Papiſts : *Toletan.10.cap.1. Quadrageſima nihil conuenit, de ſanctorum ſolemnitatibus celebrari :* That no Saints dayes ſhould be kept in Lent: Yet the Annuntiation falleth in Lent, which they make a feſtiuall of our Ladie. *Nicolaus 1. de bellis, can.4.* That all Lent time they muſt abſtaine from warre. *Salegunſtad.cap.19. Vt dum pœnitens quadrageſimam ieiunet, non migret à loco ad locum :* That while the penitent man keepeth his Lent, he ſhould not trauell from place to place.

Beſide : *Cod. lib.3. tit.12. leg.6. Tempore quadrageſimæ criminales cauſæ non agitandæ :* In Lent time criminall cauſes muſt not be handled.

Cauſ.22.qu.5.c.17. Non iurandum à ſeptuageſima : From Septuageſima Sunday till Eaſter no man muſt ſweare.

Cauſ.33.qu.4.c.3. Diebus ieiuniorum nullus coniungatur vxori : No man muſt in the faſting dayes haue companie with his wife.

C.8. Non nuptias celebrare : It is not lawfull to celebrate mariage.

C.9. Nec natalitia martyrum : Nor the Saints dayes.

C.11. Nec conuiuia facere: Nor to make feaſts in Lent.

Part.3.diſt.1.c.50. Non niſi veſpertina hora ieiunium ſoluant: The faſt muſt not be looſed till the euening.

Thus by thoſe vncertainties it may appeare, that the Lenton faſt is an húmane inuention, rather than an Apoſtolicall inſtitution : for then it ſhould haue remained alwaies the ſame, without any addition, or alteration : the contrarie whereof we haue ſeene.

The Papiſts.

95. Error. 2. A Second abuſe in their faſting, is to appoynt preſcript times, neceſſarily to faſt in, as in Lent, on Friday, Saturday, and vpon Ember dayes, which are preſcribed for the foure ſolemne times of giuing orders : And this alſo they ſay, is an Apoſtolike tradition, Act.13.3. They faſted and prayed, and layd their hands vpon them, *Rhemiſt. ibid. Bellar. lib.2. de bon. operib. in particul. cap.17.18.*

2. *Bellarmine* alſo groundeth the foure quarters faſts vpon the example of the Iewes, Zach.8. verſ.19. that faſted the fourth, fift, ſeuenth, and tenth moneths : but Chriſtians ſhould not be inferiour to them in faſting.

3. Likewiſe, Act.27.9. where Saint *Luke* ſaith, *ſayling was now ieopardous, becauſe the faſt was*

paſſed: Bellarmine would haue this vnderſtood not of the faſt of the Iewes, but of the ſolemne faſt of the Chriſtians in the tenth moneth: *Bellarm.c.*19.

4. Other faſts alſo he vrgeth, as the faſt of Aduent, the faſt in Rogation weeke, the Vigill faſts, or on Saints eeues, as very ancient, and commendable, and fit ſtill to be retained, *cap.*20.21.22.

The Proteſtants.

*Anſ.*1. FOr prayer and faſting to be vſed at ſuch times as Miniſters are ordained, we doubt not but it is an Apoſtolike tradition, becauſe we finde it written in the Acts of the Apoſtles: but it was faſting from all meate and drinke, which the Apoſtles vſed, not abſtinence from fleſh onely, as vpon your Imber dayes. Neither doe you obſerue thoſe dayes of faſt for any ſuch purpoſe: for your Imber dayes are kept amongſt you, though there be no orders giuen in the whole dioces.

2. It is not fit that Chriſtians ſhould imitate the ſuperſtitious faſts of the Iewes: ſuch as theſe were not commaunded of God, but inuented and taken vp by themſelues: as the Prophet *Zacharie* reproueth them, Zach.7.5 *When ye faſted and mourned in the fift and ſeuenth moneth; did ye faſt vnto me?* 2. Againe, thoſe faſts were taken vp among the Iewes vpon ſpeciall occaſions: the faſt of the fourth moneth, becauſe then the citie was broken vp, Iere.52.6.7. of the fift, when the temple was deſtroyed, Ierem.52.12. of the ſeuenth, when *Gedaliah* was ſlaine, Ierem.41.1. of the tenth, when the citie began to be beſieged, Iere.52.4. But ſeeing that the Chriſtians haue no ſuch occaſions, as theſe were to the Iewes, they haue no reaſon to keepe the like faſts. 3. *Origen* to this point ſaith well: *Paulus dicit,&c. Paul* ſaith, if thou wilt obſerue any one of the obſeruations of the law, thou art ſubiect to the whole lawe: *Qui ergo obſeruat ieiunia, aſcendat ter in anno ad Ieruſalem:* Hee therefore that will obſerue their faſts, let him goe vp thrice a yeere to Ieruſalem: *Hom.9.in Leuitic.*

3. Saint *Luke* deſcribeth the ſolemne faſt of the Iewes, which was about October, when as ſayling began to be ieopardous; as both *Chryſoſtome* and *Oecumenius* do interprete it: And whereas *Bellarmine* ſaith, that Saint *Luke* wrote an hiſtorie for the Chriſtians, not for the Iewes: it is true, but yet he diſtinguiſheth the times by the feaſts of the Iewes: as Act.20. hee nameth Pentecoſt: yea hee refuſeth not by way of deſcription to vſe the Heathen names, as of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, Acts 28.11. which was the badge of a ſhip.

4. As touching theſe ſet times of faſt, there hath been great diuerſitie and vncertaintie in the Church, whereby it appeareth to be a meere humane conſtitution.

Concerning the foure ſolemne faſts of the yeere: firſt, at the firſt there were but three; *Calixtus* made them foure, *diſt.76.c.*1. Secondly, they were appoynted to be celebrated; the firſt weeke of March, the ſecond of Iune, the third weeke of September, the fourth weeke of December: *ex Synod.Moguntin.diſt.*76.*c.*2. Thirdly, after this another rule was made, *Synod.Salegunſtad.* that if the Calends of March fell out vpon Friday, Saturday, Sunday, the quarter faſt ſhould be kept the ſecond weeke of March: and ſo vpon the like occaſion, the third weeke of Iune, the fourth weeke of September, &c. Fourthly, *Vrbanus concil.Placentin.* taketh a new order, that the firſt time ſhould be in the beginning of Lent, the ſecond in Pentecoſt weeke, *diſt.76.c.*4. Fiftly, *Eliberin.c.*23. *Ieiunia per ſingulos menſes placuit celebrari, exceptis diebus Iulij, Auguſti, ob eorundem infirmitatem,&c.* Faſts muſt be kept euery moneth, except Iuly, Auguſt, which are but faint moneths. Sixtly, *Concil. Gerundenſ.c.*2. *Sequenti die poſt Pentecoſten, & calendis Nouembris per triduum ieiunetur:* Let them faſt the day after Pentecoſt, and in the Calends of Nouember for three dayes ſpace. Seuenthly, *Turonn.c.*18. *Poſt quinquageſimam Monachi tota hebdomada ieiunent, poſtea vſque ad calendas Auguſti ter in Septimana,&c.* After Pentecoſt the Monkes muſt faſt a whole weeke; and then till the Calends of Auguſt thrice in a weeke; September whole; in Nouember thrice in a weeke; in December till the Natiuitie euery day. Eightly, *Matiſconenſ.*1.9. *A feria S.Martini vſque ad natalem, ſecunda, quarta, & ſexta ieiunent:* From S.*Martins* day (which is the 11. of Nouember) vntill the Natiuitie, let them faſt, Monday, Wedneſday, Friday.

If all theſe times be laid together, we ſhould doe nothing elſe but faſt all the yeere long: Thus it falleth out, that when men leaue the ſimplicitie of trueth, and certaine direction of the word to follow their owne inuentions, they erre infinitely, and wander they know not whither.

5. Preſcript and ſet times of ciuill abſtinence frō ſome meats, for the benefit of the Commonwealth, as your Lent and Imber dayes, are ſtill retained in England, and no otherwiſe, wee condemne not: But to appoynt ordinarie times of neceſſarie and religious faſting, without ſpeciall cauſe, was of the ancient Church accounted hereſie in *Montanus, Euſeb.lib.5.cap.*18.

This alſo was the practiſe of the Church of God in the old Teſtament, vpon ſpeciall occaſion, not at ſet and ordinarie times, to inioyne publike faſting, as the Prophet ſaith, *Blow the Trumpet in Sion, ſanctifie a faſt, call a ſolemne aſſemblie,* Ioel 2.15. which ſheweth that their publike faſts were not vſuall and ordinarie, but eſpecially ſanctified, and ſolemnely proclaimed.

6 As for the fixed and ſet faſting dayes in the weeke, in *Auguſtines* time, onely the Churches

of Rome kept the Saturdayes faſt, all the Eaſt Churches, and many of the Weſt obſerued it not. And whereas ſome alleaged, that *Peter* faſted vpon Saturday, being the next day, which was the Lords day, to encounter with *Simon Magus*, *Auguſtine* ſaith, it was *opinio plurimorum*, the opinion of many, *quam tamen falſam eſſe perhibent plerique Romani:* yet many of the Romanes hold it but for a fable. And ſo he generally concludeth, concerning preſcript dayes of faſting: *Quibus diebus non oporteat ieiunare, & quibus oporteat, præcepto Domini vel Apoſtolorum non inuenio definitum:* Vpon what dayes we ought to faſt, vpon what dayes not, I finde it not defined by any precept giuen by our Lord or any of the Apoſtles, *Epiſtol.86.*

Concil. Colonienſ. part.9. cap.4. Eccleſia liberum facit quolibet tempore quibuſlibet veſci, modò id vel charitas, vel neceſſitas ſuadeat, adhibito tamen vtriuſque medici ſi præſto ſint, aut ſaltem alterius, i. animæ conſilio: The Church giueth libertie to eate all things at all times, where charitie, or neceſſitie requireth, with the counſell of both Phiſitions, or at the leaſt of the phiſition of the ſoule: *Ergo,* preſcript times of faſt by this Councell are not allowed, where all things at all times are lawfull to be eaten.

7. And concerning the Saturdayes faſt, it is directly forbidden in yͤ ſixe general *Trullane Councel. can.55. Si quis inuentus fuerit in ſancto dominico vel ſabbato ieiunans, ſi Clericus deponatur:* If any man faſt the Lordes day, or the Sabboth day, if hee be a Clergie man, let him be depoſed; if a lay man, let him be put from the Communion.

Likewiſe, *can. Apoſtol.65. Ieiunans diem dominicum aut Sabbatum, vno tantum dempto, deponitor:* He that faſteth th Lords day, or Saturday, one day onely excepted, let him be depoſed.

How dare then *Innocentius* contradict the Apoſtles Canons, thus decreeing, *epiſt.1.c.4. Sexta feria & ſabbato perpetuo ieiunandum eſſe:* Friday and Saturday muſt be kept continually faſt.

Honor.3. doth alſo contradict this decree: That if the day of the Natiuitie fall vpon Friday, it ſhould not be kept faſt: *decr. Greg. lib.3. tit.46. c.3.* how then doth *Innocentius* decree ſtand, *perpetuo ieiunandum,* that we muſt faſt Friday for euer?

8. It is euident, that this preſcription of faſting dayes is contrarie to the doctrine of the Apoſtle: Galat.4.10. *Ye obſerue dayes, moneths, times, yeeres:* ſo they faſt certaine dayes euery weeke: and certaine moneths euery quarter, and certaine times euery yeere, as in Lent: and they obſerue alſo for yeeres the yeere of Iubile.

Origen well ſaith, *Hom.9. in Leuitic. Si vis ieiunare ſecundum Chriſtum, omne tibi tempus aptum eſt totius anni:* If thou wilt faſt according to Chriſt, all the time of the whole yeere is fit, &c. And *Hom.10. in Leuitic. Eſt certe libertas Chriſtiana per omne tempus ieiunandi non obſeruantiæ ſuperſtitione, ſed virtute continentiæ:* It is Chriſtian libertie to faſt at any time, not of a ſuperſtitious obſeruation, but of a vertuous continencie.

Hierome alſo: *Vtinam omni tempore ieiunare poſſimus, &c.* I would we might faſt at all times, as the Apoſtles did in Pentecoſt, and vpon the Lords day: *diſt.76. c.11.* This ſuperſtitious addicting of times and dayes to faſt, miſliked theſe fathers.

The holy Martyrs haue witneſſed this truth: *Thomas Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Thomas Thirtell,* and others, put to death, for ſaying, *that the appoynting of dayes for faſting, and abſtaining from fleſh vpon faſting dayes, and eſpecially in the time of Lent, is not allowable by Gods word, but is hypocriſie, and that men ought to haue libertie at all times to eate all kindes of meate: Fox pag.1975.*

The Papiſts.

3. A Third abuſe in popiſh faſting, is the difference that they make betweene meates and drinkes: as the forbidding of fleſh-eating vpon faſting dayes for more holines, and the eating of egges, butter, and cheeſe in Lent: as it was decreed at Lucerna in Heluetia, *anno* 1524. Fox.pag.867. Abſtinence alſo from ſome meates vpon certaine daies for religion, is warranted by the Rhemiſts; as God prohibited *Adam* the eating of ſome fruites in Paradiſe for obedience, and in the law for ſignification, *Annot.1.Timoth.4.ſect.6.*

Bellarmine being here charged, that the Papiſts differ very little from the old Heretikes the Tatianes and Manichees, which condemned the eating of fleſh as vncleane in it ſelfe; would thus excuſe the matter.

Firſt, they condemne not fleſh abſolutely, becauſe out of Lent they allow it. Secondly, and in Lent to thoſe that are ſicke. Thirdly, and though ſome Monkes, as of *Bennets* order and the Cathuſians doe altogether abſtaine from fleſh, no man is compelled to be of that order; neither doe they iudge or condemne others that eate fleſh, *Bellar.cap.4.*

Anſw. Firſt, that which the Manichees counted alwaies vncleane, the Papiſts in times prohibited hold to be vncleane: what elſe moued B. *Stokeſlie* to cauſe poore *Frebarnes* pigge to be buried in Finsburie field, for the which his wife longed? See afterward Err.99. they are therfore halfe Manichees. Secondly, neither did the Manichees compell any to be of their ſect, and as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Eſcarum vſum diſcipulis permittunt:* They allowed their diſciples to eate fleſh: *cont. Adimant. cap.15.* as the Carthuſian Monkes allow others. Thirdly, this ſheweth they count fleſh vncleane, becauſe they vſe other delicate meates with wine and ſpices, which doe more prouoke luſt, than fleſh doth: as *Auguſtine* writeth of ſome: *Ipſa vaſa, in quibus cocta carnes, &c.* They feare as vncleane the veſſels wherein fleſh is ſod, but they feare not the immoderate filling of their bellie. Serm.57.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, now Antichriſt ſheweth himſelfe in his colours, making it as lawfull for him, to forbid the vſe of ſome meates for religion, now vnder the Goſpell, when God hath made them all lawfull and free, as God himſelfe might forbid the vſe of ſome, for obedience in Paradiſe, or ſignification in the Law. Secondly, Saint *Paul* calleth it the doctrine of diuels, to commaund to abſtaine from meates, 1.Timoth.4.3. Again, *Let no man condemne you in meate and drinke*, Coloſ.2. verſ.16. The Rhemiſts anſwere, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in the firſt place againſt thoſe heretikes, that condemned meates as euill by creation, ſuch were the Manichees: and in the ſecond, againſt the Iudaicall obſeruation of meates. But they onely prohibit the vſe of ſome meates for the chaſtiſing of the bodie.

Anſw. Firſt, not onely the Manichees and other heretikes preferred ſome meates before other, as more holie, but euen the Papiſts alſo in the preſcript times of their faſts doe commaund to abſtaine from meates for pietie and religion: and therefore they are counted moſt holie amongſt them that neuer eate fleſh. And *Durand* teſtifieth, that fiſh in interdict dayes, is rather vſed than fleſh, becauſe fleſh and not fiſh was accurſed in the dayes of *Noah*. Durand.lib.6. de alijs ieiunijs. Yea they commaund abſtinence from meates vnder paine of damnation: what is this elſe, but with the old heretikes to condemne the creatures of God themſelues? Secondly, the popiſh prohibition of meates, is no leſſe ſuperſtitious, than was the Iewes: For they prohibited ſuch meates alſo, as by the law were counted vncleane, as to eate beaſts that died alone, or were torne with beaſts, or ſtrangled, or touched any vncleane beaſt, as likewiſe they inioyned penance to them, that did eate or drinke, where a dogge or cat had lapped, or a mouſe had been drowned, and ſuch like, *Fulk. annot. 1. Timoth.*4. *ſect.6.*

Thus Pope *Zacharie* giuing inſtructions to *Boniface*, forbiddeth him to eate, *Ciconias, & Lepores*, Storkes, and Hares or Conies: and as touching *Lardum*, Larde or Porke, he giueth counſell, that it ſhould not be eaten, *priuſquam ſuper fumo ſiccetur, aut igne coquatur*, before it be dried in the ſmoke, or boyled with fire.

So *Synod. Trullan. can.67. Damnamus eos, qui cuiuſcunque animalis ſanguinem aliqua arte condiunt, & ſic comedunt:* We condemne thoſe, that doe dreſſe the blood of any beaſt by arte, and ſo eate it. A graue decree for a Councell to forbid the eating of puddings. *Vormatienſ. can.65. Si porci cadauer manducauerint, carnes eorum comedere non licet, vſque dum macerantur per annum:* If ſwine chaunce to eate a carion, their fleſh muſt not be eaten, till they haue been dried a yeere.

I pray you how farre are they now from the ſuperſtition of the Iewes? Nay they goe beyond them: for the legall difference of meates for ſignification, was inſtituted of God for thoſe times: but this ſuperſtitious diſtinction of meates vnder the Goſpell, which giueth vs the free vſe of all the creatures of God, which are ſanctified by the word and prayer, 1.Tim.4.5. is brought in by Antichriſt, who is an enemie vnto God.

3. Neither doe they abſtaine from fleſh and other meates for chaſtiſing of the fleſh: for they permit the vſe of all other meates vpon their faſting dayes, that may prouoke luſt, fleſh only excepted, as the eating of ſpices, and other daintie and delicate confections, the drinking of wine, and all kinde of fiſh. De moribus Manich. lib.2. cap.13. Euen like as *Auguſtine* reporteth of the Manichees, that would drinke no wine, nor eate fleſh: but in ſtead of wine, they had *Pomorum nonnullorum expreſſos ſuccos vini ſpeciem ſatis imitantes, atque id etiam ſuauitate vincentes:* The ſweete liquor of pleaſant fruites like to wine in colour, but excelling it in ſweetnes: and for fleſh they had their ſtraunge and exquiſite fruits, with great varietie of diſhes, ſeaſoned and ſtrawed with pepper. This was the Manichees faſt: and this is the popiſh cuſtome in their faſtings at this day.

Hereof **Hierome** thus complained: *ad Neopotian. Audio quoſdam aquam non bibere, nec veſci pane, ſed ſorbitiunculas delicatas non calice ſorbere, ſed concha:* I heare how ſome will drinke no water, nor eate bread, but yet drinke not out of a cup, but in a ſhell more delicate ſuppings.

Decret.30.c.13. Siquis carnem manducantem ex fide cum religione: If any man condemne one eating of fleſh in faith, with religion, let him be accurſed, &c. But the Papiſts condemne one eating fleſh in Lent. *Ergo.*

Decret. diſtinct.41.c.1. Fieri poteſt, vt ſine aliquo vitio cupiditatis ſapiens precioſiſſimo cibo vtatur, &c. It may ſo fall out, that a wiſe or godly man may vſe a moſt precious meate, without any vicious luſt, and affect ſinne in eating courſe herbes, &c. *Sanius quiſque maluerit piſce veſci more domini, quam lenticula, &c.* A man were better to eate fiſh as Chriſt did, than Lentiles with *Eſau, &c.*

Cabilonenſ. ſub Carolo, can.35. Ille magis parſimoniæ ſeruire cenſendus eſt, qui ſibi non ſolum quarundam rerum perceptiones, ſed delectationes corporis penitus interdicit: Hee is thought to be more giuen to parſimonie, which doth not only refraine from receiuing ſome things, but euen from the pleaſures of the bodie. *Concil.Colonienſ.part.9.cap.5. Admonendus eſt populus, cùm ieiunandum erit non minus prolixa & ſumptuoſa illa piſcium fercula, quàm carnium vitanda; bellaria item illa, magis, quàm carnes inflammantia:* The people muſt be admoniſhed, that when they faſt, they ought no leſſe to refraine from the long and ſumptuous ſeruices of fiſh, as from the fleſh diſhes, and from thoſe iunkets, that do inflame no leſſe than fleſh. But our aduerſaries are farre off from keeping theſe rules in their faſts.

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Now if our aduerſaries forbeare ſome meates for chaſtiſement of the bodie, why might it not be as lawfull to eate butter, and egges, in the time of Lent, as vpon other faſting daies: but that they make difference of the times, as one being holier than another, and ſo alſo a difference of meates, ſome being more agreeable to holie times, than other?

Wherefore to conclude this point: ciuill abſtinence from fleſh, as for policie ſake, and the better maintenance of the Common-wealth, that there ſhould be a vent for fiſh, as well as for fleſh, and that euery man might liue of his trade and calling: as alſo for the health of the bodie, to abſtaine from hurtfull meates: as likewiſe to keepe a temperate and ſober diet, and to take heede of ſurfetting and drunkenneſſe: theſe kindes of abſtinence, in making difference of meates, we miſlike not: but for pietie or religions ſake to diſtinguiſh them, it is to too great ſuperſtition.

Our arguments further out of Scripture againſt the difference of meates, are theſe.

1. Matth.15.11. *That which goeth into the mouth, defileth not the man.*

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2. Yet S. *Paul* forbiddeth fleſh offered to idols to be eaten, if it offend the conſcience of our weake brother, 1.Cor.10.29. much leſſe would he haue the Church-faſt broken, to the great offence of others, *Bellarm.c.*8.

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3. 4. In both theſe places the Apoſtle condemneth thoſe, which did forbid fleſh, as vncleane of it ſelfe, as though by the very handling thereof they were defiled, *Bellarm.ibid.reſponſ.ad.*3.5.

Contra. 1. In the firſt place the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch, as with a ſhew of holineſſe refuſed to taſte meate: but there is no ſhew of holines, but it is meere prophaneneſſe abſolutely to condemne meates, and a plaine doctrine of diuels, 1.Tim h.4.1, therefore the Papiſts that place holineſſe in not touching or taſting of fleſh, and would not ſeeme ſimply to condemne them, are here ſignified. 2. In the ſecond place the Apoſtle ſpeaketh generally of all that forbid meates for any doctrine or religion: whenas they make it vnlawfull, to *receiue them with thankeſgiuing,* and *refuſe them.* 1. But thus do the Papiſts forbid meates for religion and doctrine, ſo that the creature of God is refuſed: *Ergo,* 2. The Apoſtle maketh but two impedimentes of not receiuing and eating meates: Want of faith and knowledge; Want of thankeſgiuing: but with them it is not lawfull for beleeuers, and ſuch as giue thankes, to receiue Gods creatures: therefore they are theſe forbidders. 3. Againe the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the laſt times, and of ſuch as ſhould make a generall Apoſtaſie from the faith: this doth moſt fitly agree to the now preſent popiſh Church: the old heretikes the Tatianes and Manichees, were aboue a thouſand yeeres agoe, and neuer any heretikes ſwarued more vniuerſally in the whole body of religion from the faith, then they do.

Origen ſhall conclude, *Abſtinere à cibis, quos Deus creauit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione, acceptum eſſe non poteſt Deo:* To abſtayne from meats, which God hath created to be receiued with thankeſgiuing, cannot be acceptable to God: *homil.9. in Leuitic.*

Auguſtine: Non propter porcum, ſed propter pomum mortem primus homo inuenit; & Eſau primatus ſuos propter gallinam non propter lenticulam perdidit: The firſt man found death, not for eating fleſh, but fruite: *Eſau* loſt his birthright, not for capons, but for corne: *tract.73. in Ioan. Ergo*, there is no difference to be made of meates for religion.

The Papiſts.

FOurthly, their religious kind of faſting they hold not to be a general abſtinence from all meats and drinkes, but onely from ſome certaine kindes, as from fleſh, and wine, as *Timothie* refrained from drinking of wine, and in ſtead thereof vſed water, 1.Timoth.5.verſ.23.*Rhemiſt.* 97. Error.

Daniel for 3. weekes ſpace abſtayned from fleſh and wine, Dan.10.3. *Bellarm.c.5.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. FIrſt, for chaſtiſing of the body, it is lawfull to abſtaine either wholy for a time, or in reſpect of the quantitie or qualitie of the meates, which may more prouoke carnall luſtes, not in the prohibition of the whole kind, as the Papiſts do of all fleſh, be it neuer ſo groſſe or ſmall in quantitie. Likewiſe it is lawfull for chaſtiſing of a mans body to abſtaine from any kinde, as of wine, fruites, ſpices, fleſh, ſo that the vſe of them be not forbidden, as though in the very abſtinence there were religion, *Fulke. ibid. Daniel* abſtayned from pleaſant and laſciuious meate to be the better prepared for that heauenly viſion; *Timothie* refrayned the drinking of wine, to keepe his body in ſubiection: but neyther of them placed any religion herein; for hee afterward by the aduiſe of the Apoſtle did drinke wine: and ſo *Auguſtine* in the like caſe ſaith, *Quanto honeſtius eſt, vt qui &c.* How much more honeſt a thing is it, that he which for the infirmitie of his ſtomacke cannot drinke water, ſhould vſe wine moderately, *Serm.157.*

Secondly, but the true and properly religious faſte of Chriſtians, is a generall abſtinence from all meates and drinkes, during the time of ſuch faſting: Eſther 4.16. Nehem.9.4. Where the maner of their faſt is deſcribed: how the law was read vnto them foure times in the day, and as oft did they worſhip the Lord and confeſſe their ſinnes. It was the cuſtome of the Church alſo in *Auguſtines* time, in the dayes of faſte, not to abſtayne onely from fleſh, or ſome certaine kinde of meat, as the Papiſts vſe, but altogether to continue faſting till the eeuen. *Rogo vos (fratres)* (ſaith he) *vt in iſto ſacratiſſimo tempore, exceptis diebus dominicis, nullus prandere præſumat:* I pray you, brethren, that in this holy time, none of you preſume to dine at all, except it be vpon the Lords dayes. De tempor. ſerm.66.

So likewiſe was it concluded, *Concil. Aurelianenſ.4.can.2.quadrageſima ab omnibus æqualiter teneatur: ſed neque per ſabbata abſque infirmitate quiſpiam ſoluat quadrageſimale ieiunium, niſi tantum die dominico prandeat:* Let the Lent or 40. dayes faſt be kept indifferently of all, and let no man, no not vpon the ſaturdayes vnleſſe for infirmities ſake breake his lenton faſt, vnleſſe he take his dinner vpon the Lords dayes onely. Their faſt then vpon other dayes, was continued from morning till night, without taking their dinner: *Ergo*, they that will keepe a true religious faſt, if they are able, ought for the time wholly to abſtayne.

Bellarmine here ſeemeth to conſent with vs, propounding this propoſition to proue, *vnicam in ieiunio refectionem, &c.* That there ſhould be but one refreſhing in a faſt, & that to be ſupper, *cap.2.* this he taketh vpon him to confirme by Scripture, as Iudg.20.26. They faſted all that day till the Euening: 2.Sam.3.31. *Dauid* would eate no bread till the Sunne went downe: he alleageth alſo to the ſame purpoſe diuers teſtimonies of the fathers: thus farre he agreeth with vs, but afterward he turneth cat in pan (as we ſay) and alloweth the contrarie practiſe in the popiſh Church, that vſe to take their dinner in their faſtes: But *Auguſtine* flatly reproueth this abuſe; *Vidiſti alium indicto publico ieiunio velle prandere, eum dilectione admone:* Thou ſeeſt another, that a publike faſt being inioyned, will take his dinner; admoniſh him in loue, *de tempor. ſerm.102.*

George Marſh holy Martyr: We neuer reade that the Iewes euer tooke it for a faſt to abſtayne from fleſh, and to eate fiſh, or white meate, *Fox*.pag.1570.col.2.

The Papiſts.

FIftly, they erre, in affirming faſting to be a meritorious worke, *Rhemiſt. 1.Corinth.15.verſ.32.* and immediatly and properly a part of Gods ſeruice, *Bellarm.lib.2, de bon.oper:b.c.11.*

Bellarmine thus reaſoneth out of Scripture:

1. Luc.2.3. *Anna* ſerued the Lord with faſting and prayer night and day.
2. Rom.12.1. *I beſeech you brethren, giue your body a liuing ſacrifice acceptable to God, &c. which is your reaſonable ſeruice of him.* Faſting then, by the which the body is mortified, and made a ſacrifice, is a ſeruice acceptable to God.
3. 1.Sam.7.6. The people faſted and prayed, and God was pleaſed: 1.Reg.21. *Ahab* by his faſting

ſures of the bodie. *Concil.Colonienſ.part.9.cap.5. Admonendus eſt populus, cùm ieiunandum erit non minus prolixa & ſumptuoſa illa piſcium fercula, quàm carnium vitanda; bellaria item illa, magis, quàm carnes inflammantia:* The people muſt be admoniſhed, that when they faſt, they ought no leſſe to refraine from the long and ſumptuous ſeruices of fiſh, as from the fleſh diſhes, and from thoſe iunkets, that do inflame no leſſe than fleſh. But our aduerſaries are farre off from keeping theſe rules in their faſts.

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Contra. 1. Not the breaking of ſuperſtitious lawes, but the obſeruing rather doth miniſter offence: ſtill he beggeth the thing in queſtion; that the ſuperſtitious inhibiting of eating of fleſh is a lawfull conſtitution of the Church. 2. If then fleſh may be ſafely eaten at all times, but where our brothers conſcience is offended, it is not ſimply vnlawfull: neyther do wee denie, but that in this Chriſtian libertie, reſpect is to be had to our brothers weakneſſe: as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1.Corinth.10.29. *Why ſhould our libertie be condemned of anothers conſcience?* 3. Hereupon we inferre that there ought to be no other reſtraint of eating of fleſh for religion, but the conſcience of him that may be offended.

3. 4. In both theſe places the Apoſtle condemneth thoſe, which did forbid fleſh, as vncleane of it ſelfe, as though by the very handling thereof they were defiled, *Bellarm.ibid.reſponſ.ad.*3.5.

Contra. 1. In the firſt place the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch, as with a ſhew of holineſſe refuſed to taſte meate: but there is no ſhew of holines, but it is meere prophaneneſſe abſolutely to condemne meates, and a plaine doctrine of diuels, 1.Timoth.4.1, therefore the Papiſts that place holineſſe in not touching or taſting of fleſh, and would not ſeeme ſimply to condemne them, are here ſignified. 2. In the ſecond place the Apoſtle ſpeaketh generally of all that forbid meates for any doctrine or religion: whenas they make it vnlawfull, to *receiue them with thankeſgiuing,* and *refuſe them.* 1. But thus do the Papiſts forbid meates for religion and doctrine, ſo that the creature of God is refuſed: *Ergo,* 2. The Apoſtle maketh but two impedimentes of not receiuing and eating meates: Want of faith and knowledge; Want of thankeſgiuing: but with them it is not lawfull for beleeuers, and ſuch as giue thankes, to receiue Gods creatures: therefore they are theſe forbidders. 3. Againe the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the laſt times, and of ſuch as ſhould make a generall Apoſtaſie from the faith: this doth moſt fitly agree to the now preſent popiſh Church: the old heretikes the Tatianes and Manichees, were aboue a thouſand yeeres agoe, and neuer any heretikes ſwarued more vniuerſally in the whole body of religion from the faith, then they do.

Origen ſhall conclude, *Abſtinere à cibis, quos Deus creauit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione, acceptum eſſe non poteſt Deo:* To abſtayne from meats, which God hath created to be receiued with thankeſgiuing, cannot be acceptable to God: *homil.9. in Leuitic.*

Auguſtine: Non propter porcum, ſed propter pomum mortem primus homo inuenit; & Eſau primatus ſuos propter gallinam non propter lenticulam perdidit: The firſt man found death, not for eating fleſh, but fruite: *Eſau* loſt his birthright, not for capons, but for corne: *tract.73. in Ioan. Ergo,* there is no difference to be made of meates for religion.

The Papiſts.

FOurthly, their religious kind of faſting they hold not to be a general abſtinence from all meats and drinkes, but onely from ſome certaine kindes, as from fleſh, and wine, as *Timothie* refrained from drinking of wine, and in ſtead thereof vſed water, 1. Timoth. 5. verſ. 23. *Rhemiſt.* 97. Error.

Daniel for 3. weekes ſpace abſtayned from fleſh and wine, Dan. 10.3. *Bellarm. c. 5.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. FIrſt, for chaſtiſing of the body, it is lawfull to abſtaine either wholy for a time, or in reſpect of the quantitie or qualitie of the meates, which may more prouoke carnall luſtes, not in the prohibition of the whole kind, as the Papiſts do of all fleſh, be it neuer ſo groſſe or ſmall in quantitie. Likewiſe it is lawfull for chaſtiſing of a mans body to abſtaine from any kinde, as of wine, fruites, ſpices, fleſh, ſo that the vſe of them be not forbidden, as though in the very abſtinence there were religion, *Fulke. ibid. Daniel* abſtayned from pleaſant and laſciuious meate to be the better prepared for that heauenly viſion; *Timothie* refrayned the drinking of wine, to keepe his body in ſubiection: but neyther of them placed any religion herein; for hee afterward by the aduiſe of the Apoſtle did drinke wine: and ſo *Auguſtine* in the like caſe ſaith, *Quanto honeſtius eſt, vt qui &c.* How much more honeſt a thing is it, that he which for the infirmitie of his ſtomacke cannot drinke water, ſhould vſe wine moderately, *Serm.* 157.

Secondly, but the true and properly religious faſte of Chriſtians, is a generall abſtinence from all meates and drinkes, during the time of ſuch faſting: Eſther 4.16. Nehem. 9.4. Where the maner of their faſt is deſcribed: how the law was read vnto them foure times in the day, and as oft did they worſhip the Lord and confeſſe their ſinnes. It was the cuſtome of the Church alſo in *Auguſtines* time, in the dayes of faſte, not to abſtayne onely from fleſh, or ſome certaine kinde of meat, as the Papiſts vſe, but altogether to continue faſting till the eeuen. *Rogo vos (fratres)* (ſaith he) *vt in iſto ſacratiſſimo tempore, exceptis diebus dominicis, nullus prandere præſumat:* I pray you, brethren, that in this holy time, none of you preſume to dine at all, except it be vpon the Lords dayes. De tempor. ſerm. 66.

So likewiſe was it concluded, *Concil. Aurelianenſ. 4. can. 2. quadrageſima ab omnibus æqualiter teneatur: ſed neque per ſabbata abſque infirmitate quiſpiam ſoluat quadrageſimale ieiunium, niſi tantum die dominico prandeat:* Let the Lent or 40. dayes faſt be kept indifferently of all, and let no man, no not vpon the ſaturdayes vnleſſe for infirmities ſake breake his lenton faſt, vnleſſe he take his dinner vpon the Lords dayes onely. Their faſt then vpon other dayes, was continued from morning till night, without taking their dinner: *Ergo,* they that will keepe a true religious faſt, if they are able, ought for the time wholly to abſtayne.

Bellarmine here ſeemeth to conſent with vs, propounding this propoſition to proue, *vnicam in ieiunio refectionem, &c.* That there ſhould be but one refreſhing in a faſt, & that to be ſupper, *cap.* 2. this he taketh vpon him to confirme by Scripture, as Iudg. 20.26. They faſted all that day till the Euening: 2. Sam. 3.31. *Dauid* would eate no bread till the Sunne went downe: he alleageth alſo to the ſame purpoſe diuers teſtimonies of the fathers: thus farre he agreeth with vs, but afterward he turneth cat in pan (as we ſay) and alloweth the contrarie practiſe in the popiſh Church, that vſe to take their dinner in their faſtes: But *Auguſtine* flatly reproueth this abuſe; *Vidiſti alium indicto publico ieiunio velle prandere, eum dilectione admone:* Thou ſeeſt another, that a publike faſt being inioyned, will take his dinner; admoniſh him in loue, *de tempor. ſerm.* 102.

George Marſh holy Martyr: We neuer reade that the Iewes euer tooke it for a faſt to abſtayne from fleſh, and to eate fiſh, or white meate, *Fox.* pag. 1570. col. 2.

The Papiſts.

FIftly, they erre, in affirming faſting to be a meritorious worke, *Rhemiſt. 1. Corinth. 15. verſ. 32.* and immediatly and properly a part of Gods ſeruice, *Bellarm. lib. 2, de bon. oper. ib. c.* 11.

Bellarmine thus reaſoneth out of Scripture:

1. Luc. 2.3. *Anna* ſerued the Lord with faſting and prayer night and day.

2. Rom. 12.1. *I beſeech you brethren, giue your body a liuing ſacrifice acceptable to God, &c. which is your reaſonable ſeruice of him.* Faſting then, by the which the body is mortified, and made a ſacrifice, is a ſeruice acceptable to God.

3. 1. Sam. 7.6. The people faſted and prayed, and God was pleaſed: 1. Reg. 21. *Ahab* by his

faſting did mittigate Gods wrath : the Niniuites by their faſting appeaſed Gods wrath : *Ergo*, faſting is ſatisfactorie and meritorious, *Bellarm.cap.*11.

Anſw. Firſt, we doubt not, but that faſting is a worke acceptable to God, being referred to the right end, as to chaſtiſe and humble the bodie, 1.Cor.9.27. and to make our prayers more feruent, 1.Cor.7.5. But otherwiſe there is no holines or vertue in faſting of it ſelfe; neither is it by the worke wrought of any merite or worthineſſe : For our prayers, which are a more principall worke, then faſting is, yet of themſelues by any worthineſſe in them, are not regarded of God: for *Salomon* ſaith, When thou heareſt, haue mercie, 1.King.8.30. It is of the Lords mercie, that our prayers are heard, not of any worthineſſe in them.

Now for our further anſwere in particular : 1. *Anna* her ſeruing of God, conſiſted chiefly in her prayer, vpon the which her faſting waited as an handmaid, to make it more feruent.

2. We denie not, but that faſting is a very good meane to helpe to mortifie the fleſh, and to make it ſeruiceable to God, and ſo an exerciſe by faith acceptable to God : but it followeth not, that immediatly and properly it is a part of Gods ſeruice, which conſiſteth in the inward worſhip: the Apoſtle ſaith, *bodily exerciſe profiteth little*, 1.Timoth.4.8. that is, of it ſelfe without faith and godlineſſe, it is not auayleable.

3. Firſt, beſide the faſting of the people, they ſhedde teares in ſuch abundance, that they are ſaid to haue drawen water : they alſo confeſſed their ſinnes: their prayers and teares made their faſting acceptable : but they were ſo farre from ſatisfying God, that for all this they were afraid, and deſired *Saul* to crie vnto God for them.

As concerning *Ahab*, how could he ſatisfie or merite, being a man ſold to worke wickedneſſe, 1.King.21.25. and ſo without faith? his temporall repentance was rewarded with a temporall reward : this was of Gods mercie, not of his merite.

It was not the act of faſting in the Niniuites, but their true repentance ioyned with it, that pleaſed God, Ionas 3.10. *God ſaw their workes, that they turned from their euill wayes, &c.* Neyther did their repentance ſatisfie : for they were fearefull and doubtfull, verſ.9. *Who can tell if God will turne?* it was therefore Gods acceptance, they haue no confidence in their repentance.

The Proteſtants.

OVr contrarie arguments, that faſting is not a worke meritorious or ſatisfactorie, nor properly the ſeruice of God, out of the Scripture are theſe.

*Argum.*1. Iſay 58.5. *Is this ſuch a faſt, that I haue choſen, that a man ſhould afflict his ſoule for a day? &c.*

2. Ioel 2.13. *Rent your hearts, and not your cloathes* : it is not then the affliction of the fleſh, but the contrition of the heart that God requireth.

3. 1.Tim.4.7,8. *Exerciſe thy ſelfe to godlines, for bodilie exerciſe profiteth little, godlines is profitable to all things.*

4. Luk.18.12. The Phariſee alleaging his faſting is not iuſtified.

5. Coloſſ.2.23. S.*Paul* calleth the religion, which is in not ſparing the bodie, ἐθελοθρησκείαν, a voluntarie worſhip, deuiſed of man.

1. *Bellarmin.* The Lord doth not ſimplie reiect faſting, but onely ſuch a faſt, as is not ioyned with pietie and iuſtice: *c.*12.*reſp.ad.*1.

Contra. You haue anſwered well : for if faſting without godlines and iuſtice profite not, then is it not in it ſelfe meritorious, neither hath any force, but by the faith and true contrition of the heart : iuſtice it ſelfe, and true contrition, which giue ſtrength to faſting, are not meritorious, much leſſe is faſting it ſelfe.

2. The renting of the garments is not ſimplie forbidden, but when it is not accompanied with the contrition of the heart, *Bellarm.ibid.*

*Contra.*1. Neither doe we ſay that faſting is forbidden ſimplie, but that in it ſelfe it is the leſſe principall, and without the deuotion of the heart not at all accepted, and therefore it hath no merite, hauing no life, nor force of it ſelfe. Contrition of the heart meriteth not: for *Dauid* ſacrificing a contrite heart vnto God, Pſalm.51.17. yet prayeth for mercie, verſ.1. *Ergo*, much leſſe doth faſting merite, which is quickened by the deuotion of the heart.

3. By bodilie exerciſe either may be vnderſtoode faſting without almes or mercie, or the exerciſe of the bodie: ſuch as champions vſed in their fight : which was vnprofitable to attaine any thing in the next life, *Bellarm.ibid.*

*Contra.*1. By godlines cannot properlie almes be vnderſtoode, or any other externall or bodilie action : for the Apoſtle oppoſeth godlines to bodily exerciſe : but that which is contrarie or oppoſite to bodily, is ſpirituall. 2. Yet admitting this expoſition, faſting cannot be meritorious, ſeeing it hath no power without almes, which neither are themſelues meritorious: with ſuch ſacrifice indeede the Apoſtle ſaith, *God is pleaſed*, Hebr.13.16. but offered vnto God through Chriſt, verſ.15. 3. What need had S.*Paul* to giue *Timothie* warning to take heede of bodilie exerciſe, being ſo weake, and full of infirmities, that he giueth him counſell afterward to drinke wine? 1. Tim.5.23. by bodilie exerciſe then, he vnderſtandeth all externall ſeruices, and outward ceremonies, ***not tending to edifying by faith***, 1.Tim.1.4. which alſo include ſuperſtitious phariſaicall faſting.

4. The Phariſee was not iuſtified becauſe he thought to be iuſtified by his faſting, but becauſe he boaſted of his workes and deſpiſed others, ***Bellarm.ibid.***

Contra. The Phariſee is not onely reiected for his diſdaine and contempt to the poore Publicane: but for his hypocriſie in ſetting forth his owne righteouſneſſe, which notwithſtanding he thanketh God for after a ſort. Firſt, the occaſion of the Parable doth inſinuate ſo much, verſ.9. ***He ſpake this Parable vnto certaine that truſted in themſelues, that they were iuſt and deſpiſed others***: they truſted to be iuſt toward God by their workes, and alſo deſpiſed their brethren: here are two faultes, both which the Phariſee was infected with. Secondly, this appeareth by the contrarie in the Publicane, who pleadeth for mercie, as the other ſtoode vpon merite. Thirdly, ſo ***Ambroſe*** expoundeth, ***Verecundia prætulit Publicanum, qui ne oculos audebat leuare ad cœlum***: Modeſtie preferred the Publicane, who durſt not lift vp his eyes to heauen: ***Offic.1.c.18.*** The Publicanes humilitie was toward God, in not preſuming to lift vp his eyes to heauen; therefore the Phariſees pride was toward God in boaſting of his workes.

5. 1. Will worſhip is not oppoſed to that which is not written, but to that which is not grounded vpon reaſon: for though it be not commaunded, if it be reaſonable, it is no Will worſhip. 2. The Apoſtle reproueth them for their immoderate faſting, not yeelding neceſſarie things to the fleſh. 3. They did abſteine of a ſuperſtitious opinion, in abhorring fleſh as euill and vncleane in it ſelfe, ***Bellarm.ibid.***

Contra. 1. The Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe, verſ.22. ***Which are after the doctrines, and commandements of men***: ſo that it is a Will worſhip which is after mans, and not Gods commaundement: therefore all worſhip not preſcribed in the word, is Will worſhip: and this Will worſhip had a ſhew of wiſdome, and ſo of reaſon, yet was a voluntarie ſeruice.

Secondly, this is not the chiefe thing that is reprehended, the not ſparing of the fleſh (for herein, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, conſiſted their ***ſhew of wiſdome***) but for that they followed the doctrines of men, and neglected the commaundement of God, concerning the internall worſhip; ***and the not ſparing of the fleſh***, is expounded, ***the not ſatisfying of the fleſh***, which of it ſelfe is not ſo euill a thing: beſide many of their Monkes and Heremites haue offended this way, in pinching and pining their bodies, by their immoderate faſting to death.

Thirdly, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of thoſe, which of Iewiſh ſuperſtition, rather then heathen prophanenes abſtained from meate. Firſt, there had bin no ſhew of wiſdome, in condemning the creatures of God ſimplie. Secondly, he calleth them στοιχεῖα, the elements of the world, verſ.20. which the Apoſtle expoundeth to be the ceremonies of the Iewes, Galath.4.9. 3.verſ.17. they were ſuch ceremonies, as were ſhadowes of Chriſt: but theſe were the Iewiſh, not heathen obſeruances. Thirdly, he ſaith, verſe 20. δογματίζεσθε, ye are burdened with traditions: which traditions, δόγματα, he ſaith were faſtened to Chriſts Croſſe, verſ.14. which were the traditions of the lawe, not of the Gentiles.

Auguſtine ſaith very well, ***Si volumus bene ieiunare à cibis, ante omnia ieiunemus & à vitys. Quid prodeſt. pallidum eſſe ieiunijs, ſi odio & inuidia liueſcas?*** What doth it helpe to faſt from meate, if we faſt not from ſinne? What auaileth it to be pale and wan with faſting, if thou fretteſt with hatred and enuie? ***Ergo***, the externall or outward acte of faſting of it ſelfe is little or nothing worth. De tempor. Serm.64.

Synod. Moguntin.cap.47. Non exiſtiment Chriſtiani ſola carnis abſtinentia ſe Deo gratos eſſe, cum meminerint primos homines, qui carnem nondum guſtauerant, ob vitæ nequitiam diluuio deletos: ſed cum abſtinentia carnis, cæterorum ciborum moderationem & perpetuam ſobrietatem coniungant: Let not Chriſtians thinke, that they are accepted of God, onely for their abſtinence from fleſh, when they may remember, that the men of the olde world, that taſted no fleſh, were for the wickedneſſe of their life deſtroyed in the flood: but let them ioyne with their abſtinence from fleſh, the moderate vſe of other meates, and the perpetuall ſobrietie of their life.

This truth the Martyrs haue ſealed, that our faſting, nor yet any thing elſe that we doe meriteth at Gods hand. ***George Marſh*** Martyr, holdeth it to be Iewiſh to thinke, that we doe God great pleaſure when we faſt, pag.1570. In this faith died ***Iohn Warne***, that we obtaine nothing at Gods hands through our workes, pag.1581.col.1.

S. ***Hierome*** ſaith, ***Caue ne ſi ieiunare cœperis, te putes eſſe iam ſanctam: hæc enim virtus adiumentum eſt, non perfectio ſanitatis: prouidendum eſt ne cum licita contemnas, hoc tibi illicitorum ſecuritatem faciat***: Take heede, when thou beginneſt to faſt, that you thinke not your ſelfe to be holy: this vertue is a helpe, it is not the perfection of health: take heede, leaſt in contemning things lawfull, you be ſecure in vſing vnlawfull: ***ad Celantiam: Ergo***, faſting is not meritorious.

The Papiſts.

99.Error. SIxtly, and laſtly, they grieuouſly offend in their faſtings, in laying ſo ſtreight and hard a yoke vpon mens ſhoulders, as charging them vnder paine of damnation to keepe their faſting daies, making it deadly ſinne, yea, hereſie to tranſgreſſe them, as one *Lawrence Staple* was troubled and
Fox p 1043. perſecuted, *Anno* 1531. becauſe in Lent hauing no fiſh, he did eate egges, butter and cheeſe: Nay they were ſo cruell, that hardly they ſuffered women in childebed to haue any fleſh in their houſes, as *Anno* 1532. Two young girles were conſtrained to abiure, becauſe they were found vpon Saint *Peters* euen eating broath made of mutton, their mother lying in childebed. How was poore *Frebarne* toſſed to and fro, and brought into great danger, becauſe a Pigge was found in his houſe in Lent time, for the which his wife longed?

Argum. That Eccleſiaſtical lawes enioyning faſts for religion do ſimply binde in conſcience, *Bellarmine* would thus proue out of Scripture.

1. Ierem.35.14. The Rechabites are commended for keeping the inſtitution of *Ionadab* their father, not to drinke wine.

2. Heſter.9.22. *Mordecai* inſtituteth a new faſt to be obſerued for euer.

3. Zachar.8.19. There is mention made of foure faſts; of the fourth, fift, ſeuenth, tenth moneths, which were not commaunded of God.

4. Act.15.29. Abſtinence from ſtrangled and from blood is enioyned by the Apoſtles to be obſerued of all the Church, *Bellar.c.*7.

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, the inſtitution of *Ionadab* was according to the law of the Nazarites, preſcribed Numb.6. that were to drinke no wine nor ſtrong drinke by Gods precept, and therefore it did binde the Rechabites in conſcience: but now there is no ſuch lawe of abſtinence giuen by Chriſt vnder the Goſpell, and therefore the argument followeth not. Secondly, neither did the Rechabites hold themſelues ſo bound in conſcience, but that by neceſſitie they might be diſpenſed with: for one of their fathers precepts was, to dwell in tents, verſ.10. yet becauſe the hoſt of the Aſſyrians was in the land, for that time, they came and dwelt in the citie.

2. Firſt, we reade of a feaſt inſtituted yeerely to be celebrated by *Mordecai*, not of a faſt. Secondly, yet we doubt not but that the Magiſtrates may enioyne a publike religious faſt, as *Heſter* did, chap.4.16. which is not a prohibition from fleſh meate, but a generall reſtraint of all meate, not for ſet and ſtinted times, but vpon extraordinarie occaſion. This maketh nothing for their eccleſiaſticall iniunctions, for the perpetuall reſtraint of ſome kinde of meate onely.

3. Firſt, thoſe faſts mentioned in *Zacharie* are reproued by the Prophet, Zach.7.5. *Did ye faſt vnto me?* Secondly, Zach.8.19. He ſaith onely that *the faſts ſhall be turned to ioy and gladnes*: which is no approbation of them, but onely a declaration and promiſe, that the like calamities ſhall not fall vpon them, as before, by occaſion whereof they tooke vp thoſe faſts: ſuch were the ſacking of the citie, and deſtruction of the temple. Thirdly, in their faſts they abſtained wholy from al meate, *weeping and ſeparating themſelues*, Zachar.7.3. and their eating and drinking is oppoſed *to their faſting*, verſ.6. what is this to popiſh faſting, which is not a totall abſtinence, but from ſome kinde onely?

4. Firſt, Eccleſiaſticall gouernours haue not like authoritie now to make lawes to binde the conſcience, as the Apoſtles had. Secondly, they did not inhibite things ſtrangled for any religion in the abſtainer, but for the conſcience of others, namely the Iewes that might be offended: which we hold to be the only religious reſtraint of not eating. Thirdly, this conſtitution of the Apoſtles was but to endure for a time: how doth this then warrant a perpetuall yoke of abſtinence for religion to be layd vpon the Church?

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, no poſitiue law not grounded vpon Scripture, can ſo binde any man, that in the breaking thereof hee ſhall ſinne deadly, and of this ſort is the faſt of Lent and other dayes for religion, which were ordained without warrant of Scripture: *Lambert ad articul.* 17.*pag.*1110. Ciuill and politike lawes for the reſtraint of fleſh at certaine ſeaſons, made by the godly and wiſe Magiſtrate for the benefit of the Common-wealth, not for any religion, are in conſcience to be obeyed ſo far forth, as we by the law of God are bound in conſcience to obey the Magiſtrate in al lawful things: but ſimply they do not binde the conſcience in reſpect of the thing commaunded. Seeing the reſt of the Sabboth being commanded of God, might yet vpon neceſſarie cauſe be broken, how much greater liberty ought the people to haue had in the obſeruation of theſe daies which were only inioyned by men? yet was it counted an heynous ſin, to eate fleſh vpon a day interdict, and a ſmall offence or none to violate the reſt of the Sabboth?

Secondly, S. *Paul* could ſee no ſuch neceſſitie of faſting and abſtinence, when he willeth *Timothie* to drinke wine, and no longer water, for his infirmitie ſake, 1.Tim.5.23. But if there were religion in faſting and abſtinence, it ought not to be intermitted for bodily health.

Further, the Apoſtle calleth theſe the precepts and commaundements of men, *Touch not, taſte* *not, handle not ; which things periſh with the vſing*, Coloſſ.2.21. they concerne not the conſcience: but Gods precepts in religious matters doe not periſh with the vſing : but in the keeping or breaking thereof, the conſcience is either accuſed, or excuſed.

Saint *Iames* alſo ſaith, Iam.4.12. *There is but one lawgiuer, that is able to ſaue and to deſtroy: Ergo,* men haue no power to make lawes to binde mens conſciences, either to ſaue them by keeping thereof, or deſtroy them by breaking.

*Canon. Apoſtol.*68. *Si quis impediatur imbecillitate corporis, non tenetur ieiunare quadrageſimam:* If any be hindred by the weaknes of their bodie, they are not bound to keepe the Lenton faſt. *Colonienſ.part.9.cap.4. Eccleſia liberum facit quolibet tempore quibuſlibet veſci, modò id vel charitas, vel neceſſitas ſuadeat:* The Church giueth libertie at all times, to eate all manner things, if charitie or neceſſitie require. *Synod. Moguntin.cap.47. Tempora ieiunandi, prout ſalubritati corporum & animarum expedire videbatur, ab eccleſia ordinata:* The times of faſt were ordained by the Church, as it was thought meete for the health of bodie and ſoule. Men therefore are not bound to faſt, if thereby their health be empayred : for no man euer hated his owne fleſh, as S.*Paul* ſaith.

In *Auguſtines* time there was no ſuch ſtrict neceſſitie of faſting : *Qui ieiunare non præualet, in domo ſua præparet, quod accipiat:* He that is not able to faſt, let him prepare in his houſe for his owne eating. And againe, *Si poſſibilitas non fuerit ieiunandi, ſufficiat eleemoſyna ſine ieiunio:* If a man haue not poſſibilitie to faſt, in ſtead of faſting, it ſhall ſuffice to giue almes : *ſerm. de tempor.*62. What is become now of your Lent and Imber dayes, which you preſcribe as neceſſarie to bee kept of all?

THE THIRD PART, OF Almes deedes.

THe difference betweene our aduerſaries and vs is chiefly in theſe two poynts : firſt, concerning the fruits and benefits, that come by giuing of almes. Secondly, of the manner.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE fruits of Almes deedes.

The Papiſts.

FIrſt, *Bellarmine* ſaith that almes deedes are meritorious ; they doe merit eternall life. 100.Error.

Argum. Matth.25. *Receiue the kingdome prepared for you: for when I was hungrie you gaue mee meate, &c. Bellarm.cap.4.lib.3.de bonis operib.in particular.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, this place prooueth not that almes deedes merite heauen : but it rather ſheweth, that Chriſt in mercie crowneth the charitable workes of his children : heauen is giuen though not for their good workes, yet according to their good workes : this kingdome was prepared for them before the beginning of the world, verſ.34. before they had yet done any almes deedes : therefore they could not merit that which was prepared for them, and giuen them, before they had done any good thing.

Argum. Rom.6.23. *Life eternall is the gift of God through Chriſt:* If it be a franke gift, then is it not merited. No man can merit by doing that which was his dutie to doe : Luk.17. *Doth the maſter thanke his ſeruant, becauſe he did that, which was commaunded vnto him, I trow not?* If the maſter be not bound to thanke his ſeruant, becauſe hee did no more than his dutie, much leſſe is the Lorde bound to reward vs. But all our almes deedes, and whatſoeuer elſe, that wee doe, are but of dutie. *Ergo.*

Auguſtine ſaith : *Ne putetis fratres, quia facienda ſunt quotidie adulteria, & quotidianis eleemoſynis mundanda ſunt, ad illa ſcelera maiora non ſufficiunt eleemoſyna vt illa mundent:* Thinke not brethren, that ye may commit adulterie daily, and by daily almes be cleanſed. *Almes are not ſufficient to purge thoſe great ſinnes, de* 10.*Chord.cap.*11. If almes are not auaileable to purge our ſinnes, much leſſe to purchaſe heauen for vs.

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ALmes deeds are a diſpoſition vnto the grace of iuſtification proceeding from Gods motion, and by his ſpeciall helpe. 101.Error.

*Argum.*1. Prou.15.28. *By mercie and faith ſinnes are purged.*

2. Luk.11.41. *Giue almes, and all things are cleane vnto you.*

3. Luk.19.8. When *Zacheus* had ſaid, *halfe of my goods I giue to the poore,* Chriſt ſaith vnto him, *This day is ſaluation come to thy houſe.*

4. Act.10.4. The Angell ſaith to *Cornelius, Thine almes and thy prayers are come vp into remembrance*

The Papiſts.

99.Error. SIxtly,and laſtly,they grieuouſly offend in their faſtings, in laying ſo ſtreight and hard a yoke vpon mens ſhoulders,as charging them vnder paine of damnation to keepe their faſting daies, making it deadly ſinne,yea, hereſie to tranſgreſſe them, as one *Lawrence Staple* was troubled and Fox p 1043. perſecuted, *Anno* 1531. becauſe in Lent hauing no fiſh,he did eate egges,butter and cheeſe: Nay they were ſo cruell,that hardly they ſuffered women in childebed to haue any fleſh in their houſes, as *Anno* 1532. Two young girles were conſtrained to abiure,becauſe they were found vpon Saint *Peters* euen eating broath made of mutton, their mother lying in childebed. How was poore *Frebarne* toſſed to and fro,and brought into great danger, becauſe a Pigge was found in his houſe in Lent time,for the which his wife longed?

Argum. That Eccleſiaſtical lawes enioyning faſts for religion do ſimply binde in conſcience, *Bellarmine* would thus proue out of Scripture.

1. Ierem.35.14. The Rechabites are commended for keeping the inſtitution of *Ionadab* their father,not to drinke wine.

2. Heſter.9.22. *Mordecai* inſtituteth a new faſt to be obſerued for euer.

3. Zachar.8.19. There is mention made of foure faſts; of the fourth, fift, ſeuenth, tenth moneths,which were not commaunded of God.

4. Act.15.29. Abſtinence from ſtrangled and from blood is enioyned by the Apoſtles to be obſerued of all the Church, *Bellar.c.*7.

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, the inſtitution of *Ionadab* was according to the law of the Nazarites,preſcribed Numb.6. that were to drinke no wine nor ſtrong drinke by Gods precept, and therefore it did binde the Rechabites in conſcience: but now there is no ſuch lawe of abſtinence giuen by Chriſt vnder the Goſpell, and therefore the argument followeth not. Secondly,neither did the Rechabites hold themſelues ſo bound in conſcience,but that by neceſſitie they might be diſpenſed with: for one of their fathers precepts was, to dwell in tents, verſ.10. yet becauſe the hoſt of the Aſſyrians was in the land,for that time, they came and dwelt in the citie.

2. Firſt,we reade of a feaſt inſtituted yeerely to be celebrated by *Mordecai*, not of a faſt. Secondly,yet we doubt not but that the Magiſtrates may enioyne a publike religious faſt, as *Heſter* did,chap.4.16.which is not a prohibition from fleſh meate, but a generall reſtraint of all meate, not for ſet and ſtinted times,but vpon extraordinarie occaſion.This maketh nothing for their eccleſiaſticall iniunctions,for the perpetuall reſtraint of ſome kinde of meate onely.

3. Firſt,thoſe faſts mentioned in *Zacharie* are reproued by the Prophet, Zach.7.5. *Did ye faſt vnto me?* Secondly,Zach.8.19. He ſaith onely that *the faſts ſhall be turned to ioy and gladnes*: which is no approbation of them,but onely a declaration and promiſe, that the like calamities ſhall not fall vpon them,as before,by occaſion whereof they tooke vp thoſe faſts: ſuch were the ſacking of the citie,and deſtruction of the temple. Thirdly,in their faſts they abſtained wholy from al meate, *weeping and ſeparating themſelues*, Zachar.7.3.and their eating and drinking is oppoſed *to their faſting*, verſ.6. what is this to popiſh faſting, which is not a totall abſtinence,but from ſome kinde onely?

4. Firſt,Eccleſiaſticall gouernours haue not like authoritie now to make lawes to binde the conſcience,as the Apoſtles had. Secondly,they did not inhibite things ſtrangled for any religion in the abſtainer,but for the conſcience of others,namely the Iewes that might be offended: which we hold to be the only religious reſtraint of not eating. Thirdly,this conſtitution of the Apoſtles was but to endure for a time: how doth this then warrant a perpetuall yoke of abſtinence for religion to be layd vpon the Church?

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4. Act.10.4. The Angell ſaith to *Cornelius, Thine almes and thy prayers are come vp into remem-*

brance before God: ſend therefore to Ioppa, and call for one Simon. Cornelius by his almes obtaineth faith: *Bellarm. lib. 3. de bon. operib. cap. 4. 5.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, there is no ſuch text in the Hebrue, nor yet in the old Latine copie: as may appeare by the annotations in the margent of the vulgar Latine vpon this place: yet admit the reading: it is faith working by almes that purgeth ſinnes, and not almes it ſelfe.

2. Our Sauiour is to be expounded by the verſe going before, Luk. 11. 39. *Ye make cleane the outſide of the cup, &c. but the inward part is full of rauening, &c.* Our Sauiour then teacheth them how to make the inſide of the platter cleane alſo from couetouſnes by the contrarie vertue of liberalitie: he ſpeaketh not of cleanſing the heart before God, but how to cleanſe their outward acts before men, and to make amends by their almes for their greedie rauening. In like ſort *Daniel* aduiſed the King to breake off his ſinne of mercileſſe crueltie by almes and charitie, Dan. 4. 24. So then couetouſneſſe is cleanſed or broken off by almes and mercie, as drunkenneſſe and ſurfetting by abſtinence. This expoſition *Bellarmine* himſelfe miſliketh not, *cap. 3. obiect. 1.* Againe, *Origen* expoundeth it thus: Like as Chriſt ſaith here, *giue almes of that which is within,* τὰ ἐνόντα, ſo Mat. 23. 26. he ſaith, *cleanſe firſt the inſide of the platter:* that is (ſaith he) the heart: *Qui facit eleemoſynam vt gloriam ab hominibus conſequatur, &c.* He that giueth almes to get the glorie of men, doth cleanſe the outſide of the cup, &c. *& quicquid boni fecerit homo non ex conſcientia munda, &c.* And whatſoeuer a man doth not of a good conſcience before God, he cleanſeth the outſide of the cup, but inwardly he is full of euil, *Hom. 25. in Matth.* So in this ſenſe our Sauiour ſheweth in what manner the Phariſees ſhould giue almes, with a cleere and ſincere conſcience, and ſo the heart being cleane, all their outward acts ſhould be cleane. This place then maketh nothing for iuſtification by almes before God.

3. Firſt, Chriſt ſignifieth, that ſaluation was come to the whole houſe and familie of *Zacheus,* becauſe he himſelfe was alreadie the childe of *Abraham.* Secondly, for before this Chriſt had looked vpon *Zacheus* as he looked vpon *Peter,* and called him firſt and inſpired him with grace. So *Hierome* well interpreteth: *Chriſtus Zachæum latentem in arbore, quaſi in peccatorum tenebris obumbratum ſollicitè vt ouem perditam requirit aſpectu, & venire cunctantem vocat:* Chriſt doth carefully ſeeke *Zacheus* as a loſt ſheepe with his ſight, lying hid in the tree as in the darknes of ſinners, and foreſlowing to come hee calleth him: *de duob. filijs. Zacheus* almes then was a fruit of his calling alreadie begun, not a preparation to his calling.

4. Neither was *Cornelius* without faith: for he *feared God, and prayed continually,* Act. 10. 2. But prayer is a fruit of faith; Iam. 5. 15. *The prayer of faith:* From this faith proceeded his almes, which faith was afterward encreaſed and confirmed by the preaching of *Peter.*

Argum. But that almes being without faith, are no diſpoſition or preparation to iuſtification is euident: firſt, Hebr. 11. 6. *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* Secondly, Hebr. 13. 15. *By Chriſt we muſt offer vp our ſacrifices, by the which God is pleaſed.* Thirdly, Tit. 1. 15. *Vnto the pure all things are pure:* And our hearts are purified by faith, Act. 15. 9. Wherefore almes are impure, if the heart be not firſt purified and cleanſed by faith. Fourthly, Rom. 3. 24. *We are iuſtified freely by grace: Gratis per gratiam:* If *gratis,* freely, then our workes as almes deedes are no preparation, motiue or inſinuation thereunto, for then it ſhould not be freely.

And whereas *Bellarmine* ſpeaketh of almes hauing Gods ſpeciall helpe, this is no other but the helpe of grace and faith, that is, Gods ſpeciall aſſiſtance; as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Our abilitie or ſufficiencie euen to thinke that is good, is of God;* *Ambroſe* alſo ſaith: *Plenè & veraciter confitenda eſt gratia dei, de cuius hoc primum munere eſt, vt auxilium ipſius ſentiatur:* Fully and truly the grace of God muſt be confeſſed, of whoſe gift this is firſt, that his helpe is felt or perceiued: *Ambroſ. epiſtol. 84.*

Concil. Arauſican. 2. can. 25. Hoc ſalubriter profitemur & credimus, quod in omni opere bono non nos incipimus, &c. This we ſafely profeſſe and beleeue, that in euery good worke we doe not begin, and afterward are helped by Gods mercie: *ſed ipſe nobis nullis præcedentibus meritis fidem & amorem ſui priùs inſpirat, vt quæ ſibi ſunt placita, implere poſſimus:* But he without any merits of ours before going inſpireth faith and loue, that we may fulfill thoſe things which pleaſe him, &c. *Ergo,* faith is firſt inſpired before we can doe any thing that pleaſeth God.

Decr. part. 1. qu. 1. c. 26. Gregor. Vbi Chriſtus non eſt fundamentum, nullum eſt boni operis ædificium: Where Chriſt is not the foundation, there can no good worke be in the habitation: *Ergo,* almes goe not before iuſtification, becauſe the building is not before the foundation.

The Papiſts.

102. Error. THirdly, almes deedes are a ſufficient ſatisfaction for our ſinnes before God.

Argum. Toby 4. Almes doe deliuer from death, *Bellar. cap. 4.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, the authoritie of this booke, being not Canonicall, bindeth vs not. Secondly, almes deliuer from death, and ſuffer not to goe into darknes: that is, thereby we finde fauour among men, and are preſerued from daunger: So *Toby* expoundeth himſelfe: *Thou laieſt vp a good ſtore for thy ſelfe againſt the day of neceſſitie*, verſ.9. that is other men, which were before by him relieued, ſhall now in the time of his neceſſitie ſuccour him: and not ſuffer him to periſh in penurie and darkenes. So alſo Eccleſiaſticus, lay vp thy almes, *They ſhall keepe thee from affliction*, chap.29.12. *They ſhall keepe a mans fauour*, verſ.13. *They ſhall fight for thee againſt thine enemie, better then the ſhield of a ſtrong man:* This it is then to be deliuered from death, and darkenes, namely from outward perill and danger among men: if theſe Apocryphall bookes doe yet aſcribe more vnto almes deeds, as making them auailable to redeeme our ſinnes, which is contrarie to the Scripture, we doe refuſe them.

Argum. Pſalm.49.7. *A man can by no meanes redeeme his brother, he cannot giue his ranſome to God*, verſ.8. *So precious is the redemption of their ſoules:* All ſoules are of alike price, and are redeemed alike, a man cannot any way redeeme another mans ſoule, and ſo conſequently not his own: almes deedes therefore haue no force to redeeme the ſoule: they are of too great a price.

Auguſtine thus writeth: *Fateor, quia peccaui, &c. ſed pœnitentia mea non ſufficit ad ſatisfactionem; ſed certum eſt, quod miſericordia tua ſuperat omnem offenſionem:* I confeſſe I haue ſinned, but my repentance ſufficeth not to make ſatisfaction, but thy mercy exceedeth all my offences, *lib. meditation.cap.39.tom.9.* If repentance worke no ſatisfaction, much leſſe almes deedes, which are farre inferior vnto it.

This alſo is the confeſſion of the holy Martyrs, that there is no ſatisfaction for ſinne, in our owne workes. *Iohn Warne* Martyr, *I doe beleeue, that my ſinnes are forgiuen onely through Ieſus Chriſt, of whom I profeſſe, that I haue my whole and full ſaluation, which commeth not thorough our workes, but freely by grace: ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, that thorough the blood of his croſſe, he hath reconciled all things in heauen and in earth*, Coloſſ.1.*Fox*.p.1581.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE MANner in diſtributing of Almes.

THat almes ought to be giuen, firſt cheerefully, the Scripture teacheth vs, *God loueth a cheerefull giuer*, 2.Cor.9. Againe readily without any delay: *Say not to thy neighbour goe and come to morrow, if it be in thy power to giue him now*, Prou.3. Further, we muſt giue bountifully, when occaſion ſerueth, and other mens neceſſitie requireth, 1.Cor.8.3. to their power, and beyond their power they were willing, 2.Cor.8.3. Theſe and other ſuch conditions are to be obſerued in chriſtian almes, but we deny this that followeth.

The Papiſts.

ALmes muſt be done, *intentione placendi Deo*, with an intention to pleaſe God thereby. 103. Error.

Argum. Matth.6.2. Our Sauiour Chriſt reproueth the Phariſees, becauſe they gaue almes to haue praiſe of men: but we muſt giue our almes in ſecret, that God may reward vs, verſ.5. As they ſeeke the praiſe of men, ſo we muſt ſeeke the praiſe of God: *Bellarm.cap.13.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. OVr Sauiour Chriſt biddeth vs not in this place in giuing our almes to propound, and ſet before vs the praiſe and reward of God: but onely to take heede of the praiſe of men, and to ſhunne the ſame by giuing in ſecret: the praiſe or reward at Gods hand followeth vpon this ſimplicitie and ſinglenes of heart in giuing of almes: but we muſt doe well for conſcience ſake, not onely for hope of reward: although we graunt that our almes deedes are well pleaſing and acceptable vnto God through Chriſt: Hebr.13.16. *With ſuch ſacrifice God is pleaſed:* Yet we ought to doe them of duetie, without any other reſpect.

Argum. If Magiſtrates muſt be obeyed for conſcience ſake, Rom.13.5. not for feare of puniſhment or hope of reward: if ſeruants muſt yeeld obedience to their maſters in ſinglenes of hart and with good will, Epheſ.6.6. much more for very conſcience ſake muſt we ſerue the Lord: if they muſt be obeyed for the Lords ſake, much more the Lord for his owne ſake. But now if in giuing almes we reſpect the reward at Gods hands, then doe we it not of conſcience, nor for the Lords ſake, but for the rewards ſake.

Auguſtine ſaith: *Da de quo dederat tibi Deus: ipſe te diuitem fecit, ergo illi redde, quod ſuum eſt:* Giue of that, which God gaue to thee: he made thee rich; therefore render to him his owne: *Homil.*47. We are bound therefore of dutie to giue, which is ſufficient to moue vs, without reſpect to the reward.

Bernard alſo ſaith notably: *Cauſa diligendi Deum Deus eſt, modus ſine modo diligere: non ſine præmio diligitur Deus, et ſi abſque præmij intuitu diligendus:* God himſelfe is the cauſe why wee loue God: hee is not beloued without a reward, yet is hee to bee loued without reſpect had to the reward.

Lib.de diligend deo.

The Papiſts.

104. Error. LAſtly, the *Rhemiſts* charge vs very vntruely, to be enemies to good workes: and moſt ſlaunderouſly affirme of vs, that we condemne them as vncleane, ſinful, hypocritical; in c.2. to the Romans, *ſect.*3. and it is the generall accuſation of the Papiſts againſt vs, that we preaching onely faith, haue deſtroyed good workes, and ſlaked mens charitie and deuotion thereunto.

The Proteſtants.

THis is an vncharitable ſclaunder, and a moſt falſe accuſation, that the doctrine of faith is a deſtruction of manners: or that we, preaching iuſtification onely by faith, do hinder good workes: for firſt, for the doctrine it ſelfe, though we affirme, that faith onely iuſtifieth; yet we alſo vrge good workes as neceſſarie fruites, and liuely teſtimonies of our faith. Secondly, concerning our ſelues; we do continually call vpon the people to ſhew their faith, by their workes: wee ſay with S. *Paul*, that *they, which haue beleeued in God, might be carefull to ſhew forth good workes*, Tit.3.8. and *let ours alſo learne to ſhew forth good workes for neceſſarie vſes, that they be not vnfruitfull.* verſe 14. Yet the ſame Apoſtle aſcribeth iuſtification to faith onely without workes, Rom.3.28. We alſo ſay with *Hierome, Inter Chriſtianum & Gentilem non fides tantum debet ſed vita diſtinguere; & diuerſam religionem per diuerſa opera monſtrare:* Betweene a Chriſtian and a Gentile, not faith onely, but our life muſt make a difference; and wee muſt ſhew a diuers religion, by diuers and differing workes, ***Hieron. ad Celantiam.*** Thirdly, that it may appeare to all the world, how ſhameleſſe theſe men are in forging vntrue reportes of vs, I will by particular inſtance of ſome ſpeciall charitable workes, done vnder the Goſpell, and eſpecially within theſe fourtie yeeres of the happy raigne of our bleſſed Soueraigne, briefly ſhew, that the doctrine of faith hath not beene among vs vnfruitfull.

And to begin with the raigne of K. *Edward* of bleſſed memorie: what worke can they ſhew done in the time of ſuperſtition, equall to that excellent foundation of that good *Ioſias* of three hoſpitals in London, erected for the poore, namely, Chriſts hoſpitall, S. *Thomas* hoſpital, and Bridewell? the firſt for poore and friendleſſe children, to bring them vp and inſtruct them: the ſecond for the maymed and impotent poore, to heale and refreſh them: the third for valiant and ſturdie vagrants, to diſcipline and correct them.

But of all other times (thanks be giuen vnto God) this ſpace of fourtie yeeres profeſſion of the Goſpell, vnder the leading and direction of our happie *Deborah*, hath excelled: I cannot rehearſe the hundreth part of ſuch fruites as the Goſpel hath brought forth in this land: I would they were come to my knowledge, that I might make ſome memoriall of them: I will onely teſtifie that I know, and giue an inſtance of that place, which I in affection loue, and in dutie owe deuotion vnto, namely, the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge: wherein the charitable beneuolence, bountifull liberalitie, large expenſes, beſtowed 1. in the founding and erecting of Colledges: 2. augmenting ſome already erected, with larger reuenues: 3. the adorning and beautifying of the buildings, within the compaſſe of theſe 40. yeeres, may compare with any time of the like or longer continuance in any age.

Firſt, there haue been of late within leſſe then twentie yeeres by many, two famous Colledges rayſed out of the ground: the one called *Emmanuel* Colledge, founded by the right honourable Sir *Gualter Mildmay*, conſiſting of a Maſter and twelue fellowes, 34. ſchollers, and 10. poore ſchollers: whereof 7. fellowſhips were giuen by the founder, by Sir *Robart Iermin* 1. Sir *Francis Haſtings* 1. M. *Skinner* 1. M. *Taylor* 1. M. *Fuller* 1.

The other erected by the honorable Counteſſe of Suſſex, called Sidney-Colledge, conſiſting of a Maſter and 10. fellowes, and diuers ſchollerſhips mainteined by the gift of the founder: and ſince encreaſed by a fellowſhip of Sir *Iohn Harts* gift of London.

Secondly, theſe Colledges haue beene augmented and encreaſed in reuenues.

To *Peter-houſe*, ſixe Bibleclarkeſhips giuen by the honorable Lord *Eward North*: three by M. *Wilſhaw*: one by the moſt reuerend the L. Archbiſhop of Canturburie that now is: three Bibleclarkes and one Fellow by D. *Pearne* late Maſter of the Houſe: two fellowſhips and foure bibleclarkſhips by the vertuous and charitable Lady *Marie Ramſey* of London.

Clare Hall by the gift of *Edward Leeds* ſometime Maſter of the houſe maintaineth 20. Scholars.

Pembroke Hall hath beſide the foundation one fellow, and two ſchollerſhips, and a Greeke Reader, by the liberalitie of Archbiſhop *Grindall*: one ſchollerſhip by the gift of *Iane Cox* wife of the late reuerend Biſhop of Elie of good memorie: ſeuen ſchollerſhips giuen by *Thomas Wats*: one ſchollerſhip by M. *Marſhall*.

Bennet Colledge hath 2. fellowſhips and 15. ſchollerſhips added to the foundation, by *Matthew Parker* Archbiſhop of Canturburie, beſide a goodly Library, and diuers rich pieces of plate, giuen vnto them by the ſaid right reuerend Prelate.

Trinitie Hall is encreaſed to 6. ſchollerſhips, beſide the foundation, by the liberalitie of *Matthew Parker, Gabriel Dunne, Henry Haruie, Humfrey Buſbie.*

Caius Colledge maintaineth by *D. Caius* liberalitie, three fellowſhips, twentie ſchollerſhips: by *Ioane Traues* of London widow, foure ſchollerſhips: by *Humfrey Busbie* one: by *Matthew Parker* one ſchollerſhip, by *Richard Williſon*, one fellowſhip, by the liberal gift of *Iodoca Franklin*, twelue ſchollerſhips and ſixe fellowſhips.

Queenes Colledge by Sir *Thomas Smiths*, gift enioyeth two fellowſhips, with a Geometrie and Arithmetike Reader.

Chriſts Colledge that ſacred *Celle* of Theologie, hath one fellowſhip, & three ſchollerſhips founded by *B.* King *Edward*: by Sir *Gualter Mildmay* it enioyeth a yeerly penſion of twentie pounds, wherby a Preacher is maintained, and a Greeke Reader, to each of them foure pounds being allowed, the reſidue is for the maintenance of ſixe ſchollers. To this ſocietie Maſter *Bunting* a right Worſhipfull and Chriſtian Gentleman hath lately aſſured fortie markes by the yeere: whereof fifteene pound is allotted for three ſchollers, fiue pound for a preacher, and fiue pound for the maintenance of common fires; the reſt to be diſtributed at the diſcretion of the houſe.

In Saint *Iohns* Colledge ſix ſchollerſhips founded by the right Honourable Ladie *Mildred Burghley*, three ſchollerſhips by Sir *Henry Billingſley* of London, one ſchollerſhip by Miſtres *Francis Iermin*: thirtie pound by the yeere giuen by the thrice Honourable Sir *William Cicill* late Lord Treaſurer, and the moſt worthie Chancellor of that Vniuerſitie.

Magdalen Colledge hath beene encreaſed with three fellowſhips, and ſix ſchollerſhips by Sir *Chriſtopher Wray* his gift late Lord chiefe Iuſtice: with one ſchollerſhip, by *Edmund Grindall* the late moſt Reuerend Archbiſhop of Canterbury: with three ſchollerſhips by Maſter *Robarts* of Norffolke: and by the bountifull gift of Maſter *Spenlaſſe* of Lincolne, it receiueth fortie pounds yeerely.

Trinitie Colledge hath encreaſe of 75. pound of yeerely reuenue by *Thomas Allin*, and of ſeuen pound ten ſhillings, by Miſtres *Francis Iermin*.

In the third place for the coſt and charge of building: *Emanuel* Colledge was builded with no leſſe ſumme then of 2750. pound.

The building of Sidney Colledge coſt 2600. pound.

The tranſlating of the edifices of Trinitie Colledge is valued at the charge of 4000. pound beſtowed by the liberality of the moſt Reuerend the now Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the right Honourable the Earle of Eſſex now their louing Chancellor; Maſter *Vincent Skinner*; Doctor *Neuill* the Maſter of the ſaid houſe; Doctor *Barrow*; and at the commendable and worthy charges of the ſaid houſe.

The beautifull enlarging of Saint *Iohns* Colledge will ſurmount to the ſumme of 3700. pound, at the charge of a moſt Honourable perſonage, that deſireth not yet to be knowen or ſeene in this charitable worke: whoſe noble liberalitie is ſo much the more worthie of eternall memorie, which ſeeketh to approue it ſelfe rather by ſecret charitie vnto God, then by outward oſtentation to the world.

Other Colledges alſo haue beene much enlarged and beautified in their buildings; as *Caius* Colledge, *Magdalens*, *Bennet* Colledge, *Peter* houſe; the particular ſummes whereof came not to my hands; the charge of theſe together could not be ſo little as 2000. pound, beſide Queenes Colledge, where the Maſters lodging hath beene lately very much enlarged and beautified, partly at the charge of Doctor *Tyndall* Maſter there, Deane of Ely, and of the houſe, to the ſumme foure or fiue hundred pounds: So that I account, that in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge there hath been beſtowed in the edifices & buildings of the Colledges not ſo little as 15000. pound: The encreaſe of the yeerly reuenue will ariſe, if it be laid together, to twelue or thirteene hundred pound or thereabout: So that within the ſpace of theſe fortie yeeres, the whole acceſſion and encreaſe in the buildings and reuenues of the Colledges in Cambridge, will draw verie neare to fortie thouſand pounds. I thinke for ſo much time, we may compare with the like ſpace of yeeres in any age whatſoeuer: I ſpeake of the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge. And I doubt not, but the like might be ſaid for our famous ſiſter the Vniuerſitie of Oxford: but neither had I readie any ſuch particular direction, or could preſently procure it, for this, as for the other: and I thinke, though thoſe worthie foundations haue had moſt bountifull benefactors, yet they were without the compaſſe of this time, wherein I giue inſtance. Yet I cannot here omit to make mention of ſome worthie coſte beſtowed in that excellent Vniuerſitie now in the time of the Goſpell: as in the enlarging of *Martine* Colledge, with a goodlie peece of newe building by the prouident care of the preſident there, and liberall charge of the houſe.

And now of late I am certainly enformed of the bountiful diſpoſition of diuers honourable and worſhipfull perſons in adorning and augmenting the Vniuerſitie librarie there: to the finiſhing of which worke there hath beene giuen by the right Honourable Earle of Eſſex an hundred and fiftie pound; by the Lord Vicount *Mountague* an hundred pound; by Sir *Robert Sidney* an hundred pound; by M. *Bodlie* of London beſtowed in repayring of the ſaid librarie fiue hundred pound, beſide by the ſaid worſhipfull and well diſpoſed Citizen an hundred markes by the yeere is intended for the maintenance and keeping of the ſaid library.

Other godly workes done in that Vniuerſitie, I am forced to omit, becauſe I know them not. Neither doe I profeſſe in this place to ſet downe all other worthie works and foundations of hoſpitals, almes houſes, free ſchooles, which haue beene erected ſince the time of the goſpell in this land; whereof I much deſire that I might haue attayned to any certaine knowledge, that they might alſo haue beene remembred: I haue onely heard of a goodly hoſpitall erected by the late Lord *Cobham* at Cobham in Kent: of another at Greenwich by Maſter *Lambert*: one at Weſtminſter by the Ladie *Dakers*: one at Algnam in Hartfordſhire by Maſter *Plat*: a free ſchoole founded by Sir *Iohn Hart*. Neither can I heere conceale ẏ worthie foundation of an hoſpital, with a free ſchoole at Croydon, raiſed from the ground by one, rayſed vp of God for the good of many, a moſt reuerend prelate before named; which ſaid hoſpitall is founded for the reliefe and maintenance of thirtie poore folke or aboue, with a warden and ouerſeer: to the which is annexed a free ſchoole, with a Maſter and an Vſher: the reuenue laid to the houſe, and intended to be laid, is eſtimate at two hundred pound yeerely: the edifice of the hoſpitall with the chappell built in moſt comely manner, is thought to haue coſt not ſo little, as two thouſand pound: for this ſo chriſtian and acceptable a worke done to the honour of Chriſt, and the reliefe of his poore members, we are much to thanke God, that hath ſtirred vp the heart of ſo reuerend a perſon, to adorne his honourable profeſſion with ſuch a charitable act.

And further, the Citie of London hath abounded to Gods glorie with ſuch examples: Sir *Thomas Greſham* beſide the erection of an hoſpitall, hath founded a Colledge of Readers, wherof three are of Diuinitie, Law, Phiſicke; and foure other for the liberall ſciences; to each of them is allowed yeerely fiftie pound, with a moſt beautifull houſe appointed to that vſe.

By the Merchant Taylors alſo was built, & ſo by them maintayned, an hoſpitall in Eaſt Smithfield: another by Maſter *Cure* ſometime the Queenes Sadler in Southwarke: By Maſter *Smith* the Queenes Embroderer another at Lambert hill: By Maſter *Balthaſar* the Queenes Comfitmaker likewiſe an hoſpitall euen now erected at Totnam by London.

Many other hoſpitals, almes houſes, free ſchooles, haue beene in euery corner of this land built to Gods glory, ſince the flouriſhing of the Goſpell and Chriſtes truth amongſt vs: all which, if they were numbred together, a whole booke would not containe the names of them; thoſe, which I for want of knowledge haue omitted, are before God remembred.

It hath beene alſo credibly told me, that one Maſter *Sutton* of Cambridgeſhire, whom God hath bleſſed with a great meaſure of ſubſtance, is purpoſed to erect a goodly foundation for an hoſpitall, and to endowe the ſame with more then a thouſand pound by the yeere: whoſe heart as God hath moued to ſo godly a worke; ſo I wiſh vnto him all ſtrength & good direction for the accompliſhing thereof: that if it would pleaſe him by the worthie example of that Honourable man Sir *Gualter Mildmay*, to ſee his charitable purpoſe effected in ſome good ſort, while he liueth, & to employ part thereof for the maintenance of learning in the Vniuerſitie adioyning, or where elſe it pleaſeth him, I thinke nothing could be wanting in ſo Chriſtian an enterpriſe: who by this means ſhall both ſhew himſelfe a faithfull ſteward of his Maſters goods, and be a worthie example to all other rich men.

Theſe and many other ſuch charitable workes doe gliſter as pearles, and the workers thereof, doe ſhine as ſtarres amongſt vs: their religious actes are as the pomegranates in *Aarons* prieſtly garment, and themſelues as the tinkling bels hanging thereon, doe ſound abroad the praiſes of the Goſpell. Thoſe godly benefactors, whom I for want of knowledge haue not remembred, are before God regiſtred: and they which are not here mentioned in the lines of this leafe, their names are written in the booke of life. And this I truſt may ſerue for a full and ſufficient anſwere to the Rhemiſts vniuſt accuſation, that we condemne good workes: though we abound not in fruite, as we ſhould, yet (God be thanked) we are not fruitleſſe: and ſo I conclude with that ſaying of *Hierome*, *Veneratio Dei non proficit ad ſalutem, niſi præcepta creatoris impleueris:* The veneration of God doth not profite, where the obſeruation of his precepts doth not preuaile, *Hieron, Fabiolæ tom.* 4. And heere an end of this Centurie.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OR CENTVRIE, CONTAINING SVCH CONTROVERSIES AND QVESTIONS OF RELIGION, AS DOE ARISE

betweene the Proteſtants and Papiſts, about the
natures of Chriſt:

FIRST OF AND CONCERNING THE HVMANE NATVRE OF CHRIST, THEN OF HIS

diuine, laſtly of them both
together.

HEREVNTO ALSO IS ADDED

A BRIEFE ANSWERE TO BELLARMINES
treatiſe of Indulgences and of the
Iubilee.

AT LONDON
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MAN, dwelling in Pater noſter rowe at the ſigne of
the Talbot. 1600.

THE TWENTIETH GENERALL CONTROVERSIE.

WE haue now,through Gods gracious aſſiſtance,entreated of al thoſe queſtions, wherein wee diſſent from our aduerſaries , both as touching all the offices of Chriſt,his Propheticall office,kingdome and Prieſthood : as likewiſe concerning the benefits purchaſed by the death of Chriſt,the benefits of our redemption,and ſaluation. Now,in the laſt place we are to proſecute ſuch matters in queſtion betweene vs,as doe concerne the natures of Chriſt : and this treatiſe containeth three Controuerſies. Firſt, of the humane nature of Chriſt. Secondly,of his diuine nature. Thirdly,of them both conſidered together.

THE FIRST PART OF THIS CONTROuerſie,concerning the humane nature of Chriſt.

THis part is diuided into theſe queſtions. Firſt,of the vbiquitie of the humanitie of Chriſt. Secondly,whether he encreaſed in wiſedome. Thirdly,whether he ſuffered in ſoule. Fourthly, whether he deſcended into hell. Fiftly,concerning the place of hell.

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE VBIQVITIE of the bodie of Chriſt,whether his humanitie be euery where.

The Papiſts.

1.Error.

THey doe ſeeme in wordes mightily to impugne this opinion of the Vbiquitaries, as they are called,which doe erroniouſly hold, that the humanitie of Chriſt is euery where, as his Deitie is,and that the proprieties of one nature are really imparted vnto the other : whereupon it followeth,that the humanitie of Chriſt is euery where,becauſe it is verily vnited,and made one perſon with the Godhead in Chriſt. This opinion the Papiſts would be thought to deteſt & abhorre : and *Bellarmine* beſtoweth great paines by ſundrie arguments to confute it : as by diuers places of ſcripture,Matth.28.He is riſen, he is not here,verſ.6. Ieſus ſaid, *Lazarus* is dead,and I am glad for your ſakes,that I was not there,Ioh.11.4. *Ergo,* Chriſt, as he is man, is not euery where. Againe, the opinion of the Vbiquitaries doth ouerthrow the article of Chriſts aſcenſion : for if Chriſts bodie be euery where,as they hold,he can neither aſcend nor deſcend : *Bellar.de Incarnat.verbi.lib.3. cap.11.12.*

The Proteſtants.

IT is true Catholike and ſound doctrine,that the humane and diuine nature are truly vnited in Chriſt,and doe make but one perſon, or hypoſtaſis, neither by confuſion of the natures,nor conuerſion of one into the other, but by vnitie of perſon : for as the bodie and ſoule make one man,ſo God and man is one Chriſt. And the better to vnderſtand this myſterie, wee muſt ſet downe theſe three poſitions.

1. Though the two natures in Chriſt be ſo vnited,that they make but one perſon, yet neither the natures are confounded,nor yet the proprieties : but as Chriſt is both God and man, ſo there is in him a double power,will,and vnderſtanding,one humane and created;the other diuine and vncreated.

2. By reaſon of this vnion, all the excellent graces of the ſpirit in the higheſt degree, and aboue meaſure,are giuen and beſtowed vpon the humanitie of Chriſt,Ioh.3.34.but ſuch notwithſtanding,as deſtroy not his humane nature, but are qualities created, as his humanitie alſo was created.

3. There is alſo a mutuall communication of the proprieties of both natures each to other, though not really in reſpect of the natures : So we ſay *in Concreto,* in the concrete,that is, taking the whole perſon of Chriſt, that *Chriſtus homo,* that is, the man Chriſt is omnipotent, is euery where:and *Chriſtus Deus,*that is,Chriſt being God,dyed for vs,was buried,roſe againe:but in the

abſtract it is great blaſphemie to ſay; that the Godhead of Chriſt dyed, was buried, or roſe againe, or that the humanitie of Chriſt is omnipotent, or in euery place.

The Vbiquitaries now hold, that there is a reall communication of the proprieties of both natures: and therefore doubt not to ſay, that the fleſh and bodie of Chriſt is euery where in all places at once. The Papiſts in outward ſhew are enemies to that opinion: but in deede, and in truth, as it ſhall now appeare, they are not farre off from being in the ſame error.

Firſt, the ſame arguments which they vrge againſt the Vbiquitaries, doe returne vpon themſelues: for although they will not ſay, that Chriſts bodie is euery where, yet they hold that it may be in a thouſand places at once, yea and more to, if the Sacrament be at once in ſo many places celebrated: for Chriſts bodie is really and verily in the Sacrament. But thoſe places alleaged, *He is riſen, he is not here*, and the reſt, doe proue that Chriſt can be but in one place at once. This their opinion alſo is againſt the article of Chriſts aſcenſion, and abiding in heauen till the day of iudgement: for if the ſame bodie wherein Chriſt ſitteth in heauen, be in the Sacrament; either when he is preſent in earth, he is abſent in heauen, contrarie to the ſcripture, Act.3.21. which ſaith, *The heauens muſt containe him till that all things be reſtored:* or elſe, if he be in both places at once, they muſt needes make his bodie infinite, and ſo deſtroy the nature of his humanitie, which can be but in one place. If they ſay it is another bodie and fleſh, which Chriſt by his diuine power maketh to be preſent in the Sacrament, that were much more abſurd: for then Chriſt ſhould haue many bodies, and other fleſh than that which was borne of the Virgin *Mary*. We ſee then they are not farre off from the opinion of the Vbiquitaries.

Secondly, the Rhemiſts doe approue that argument, whereby *Hierome* proueth that the Saints may euery where be preſent at their bodies and monuments: *They follow the Lambe, whither ſoeuer he goeth*, Apocal.14.4. but the Lambe is in euery place: therefore they that be with the Lambe Chriſt, be preſent euery where. Whereupon it followeth, that the Lambe Chriſt in humanitie muſt be euery where: for how can he be preſent elſe in innumerable places at once, where any reliques or monuments of Saints are? Neither can they excuſe this vbiquitarie preſence of the humanitie of Chriſt and the ſoules of Saints, by their agilitie and celeritie: becauſe they can quickly paſſe from one place to another: for if they muſt be preſent at their monuments, whenſoeuer they are called vpon, they muſt of neceſſitie be often in many places at once: for in one and the ſame inſtant, men may reſort to their monuments which are in diuers places farre aſunder. Thus they are driuen not onely to graunt an vbiquitie or omnipreſence of the humanitie of Chriſt, but euen of Saints alſo: which thoſe whom they call Vbiquitaries would neuer graunt.

Thirdly, the bodie of Chriſt is viſible and palpable now in heauen, and hath a place according to the quantitie of his bodie: *Bellarmine* confeſſeth as much, *cap*.12. But that bodie which is in the Sacrament hath none of theſe properties, it is neither ſeene, nor felt, neither hath a place according to the quantitie of a bodie, for they cloſe it vp in ſmall round cakes. Wherefore deſtroying theſe properties of the humanitie of Chriſt, they may as well, and doe in effect, take away the other, namely, the being of Chriſts bodie in one place: for it is as proper to the bodie of Chriſt to be ſeene and felt, as to be in one place at once.

Fourthly, *Bellarmine* graunteth, being vrged with that argument, that Chriſts ſoule was in Paradiſe after his paſſion, and therefore not in hell: hee confeſſeth, that it was not impoſſible that Chriſts ſoule ſhould be in two places at once, *lib.4.de Chriſti anima, cap*.15. Yea he ſaith, that Chriſt may, if he will, turne all the world into bread, and the bread ſo made conuert into his fleſh; and ſo his bodie may be as well in euery place of the world, as now it is in the Euchariſt, *lib.3.de incarnat.cap*.11. What great oddes now, I pray you, is there betweene the opinion of the Vbiquitaries and of the Papiſts? but that they ſay, that the bodie of Chriſt is euery where ordinarily by the power of the Godhead: the other ſay, his fleſh is in many places at once by a myracle. The one ſaith, Chriſts bodie actually is in euery place: the other ſaith, it is actually in many places at once, and may be in all places, if Chriſt will: which is true in reſpect of his omnipotent will, if Chriſt would deſtroy his bodie: but we are ſure Chriſts will cannot be contrarie to it ſelfe, to deſtroy his owne bodie. We confeſſe then with *Hierome: Stultum eſt illius potentiam vnius corpuſculi paruitate finiri, quem non capit cœlum, & tamen qui vbique erat in filio hominis totus erat: in omnibus locis verſabatur, cum Thoma in India, &c*. It is a fooliſh thing, that the power of Chriſt ſhould be determined in the ſmalnes of a little bodie, whom the heauen is not able to receiue: and yet he that was euery where, was all and whole in the ſonne of man: in all places hee was conuerſant, with *Thomas* in India, *Peter* at Rome, with *Andrew* in Achaia, *Paul* in Illyricum, &c. *tom*.4. *Marcell.* All this wee acknowledge to be true of Chriſt as hee is God, according to his owne promiſe made to his Diſciples, *I am with you to the end of the world*, Matth.28.20. But to imagine Chriſts bodie to be in all places, or many places at once, is to limit his power and preſence within the compaſſe of his bodie, which *Hierome* here ſaith is a fooliſh matter. The Maſter alſo of the Sentences ſaith well: *Chriſtus*

ſtus vbique totus eſt, ſed non totum; totum ad naturam refertur, totus ad hypoſtaſin: Whole Chriſt is euerie where, but not wholly: whole is referred to his perſon, whollie to his natures. *lib.*3. *diſtinct.* 23.*liter.c.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER OVR SAuiour Chriſt did verily encreaſe in knowledge and wiſedome, as he was man.

The Papiſts.

CHriſt, they ſay, in the very firſt creation of his ſoule, and from his conception, was endued 2.Error. with the fulnes of all wiſedome, grace, and knowledge; neither can he be ſaid properly to haue encreaſed in any of theſe gifts.

1. Chriſt was annoynted from his mothers wombe; and then the ſpirit of God was vpon him: for the Angels that appeared to the ſhepheards cal him Chriſt, Luk.2.11. And *Iohn* ſaith, *The word was made fleſh, full of grace and truth*, 1.verſ.11. Therfore euen then he had receiued all aboundance of grace and knowledge, *Bellarm.de Chriſti anima.lib.*4.2.

*Anſ.*1. We grant, that our Sauiour was the Ieſus and the Chriſt euen from his Natiuitie: not that then he actually ſtraightwaies entred into thoſe offices, or receiued plenarie power of all the graces of the ſpirit in his humanitie, but becauſe he was euen from his mothers wombe conſecrated and appointed thereunto: for it no more followeth, becauſe he is called Chriſt, that he then had his actuall annoynting fully, then that, becauſe he was called Ieſus from his Natiuitie, he had actually performed our redemption. The full annoynting of the ſpirit was fulfilled in his Baptiſme, when the holy Ghoſt came downe in the likenes of a Doue: and then beginning to preach, in his firſt ſermon at Nazareth, he ſhewed the accompliſhment of the prophecie of *Eſay*, The ſpirit of the Lord is vpon me, &c. Luk.4.18.

2. Neither doe the words of *Iohn* import ſo much, as they gather. The *word was made fleſh, and dwelt amongſt vs, full of grace and trueth*: which is not to be vnderſtood onely of the very firſt aſſuming of the fleſh, but of the dwelling of the word in the fleſh amongſt vs, and ſo appeared to be full of grace and trueth. As it followeth, Iohn 1.16. *Of his fulnes haue we receiued grace for grace*: this receiuing of the fulnes of Chriſt, was not performed in his infancie, but afterward by his holy doctrine and preaching, and the Apoſtle ſaith, *That when he aſcended vp on high, he led captiuitie captiue, and gaue gifts vnto men*, Epheſ.4.8. We denie not but that this fulnes of grace was in Chriſt in his firſt incarnation, yet after encreaſed and made more full in his humane nature.

*Argum.*2. Chriſt was the Sonne of God in his verie incarnation, and euen then was the humanitie perfectly vnited to the Godhead: therefore immediately vpon this vnion and coniunction of both natures in one perſon, muſt needs follow the fulneſſe of grace in the humane nature. Againe, *Adam* was created in perfect wiſedome, therefore much more the ſecond *Adam*. *Bellar.cap.*4.

*Anſw.*1. If preſently vpon the vniting of the two natures together, it had beene neceſſarie that the humane nature of Chriſt ſhould haue receiued whatſoeuer by the preſence of the diuine nature was to be conferred vpon it, then Chriſt ſtraightwaies muſt alſo both in bodie and ſoule haue beene glorified: for it cannot be denied, but that as the bodie of Chriſt after the reſurrection receiued more glory then before; ſo alſo his ſoule being the other part of his humanitie, was more glorified. By this it is euident, that the humanitie receiued not at once the fulnes of all grace and glory, in the firſt vniting of the Godhead.

2. *Adam* was created perfect in bodie and ſoule: and if Chriſt therefore ought to haue his fulnes of the gifts of the ſoule in his natiuitie as *Adam* had his in the creation, why ought he not alſo to haue had a perfect bodie, as *Adam* was created withall? Wherefore as it was no diſhonour to Chriſt to growe vp in ſtature of bodie, ſo neyther was it to encreaſe in the giftes of the minde.

Againe we confeſſe, that Chriſts ſoule in his perfect growth was farre more excellent then *Adams* in his perfection of creation. 3. In the firſt inſtant of his conception we doubt not alſo, but it exceeded in heauenly grace all the ſoules that euer came into the bodie by natiuitie; yea and *Adams* ſoule likewiſe, if it had beene ſent into the like bodie. 4. and the like equiualent perfection being admitted in Chriſts ſoule, proportionable to their ſtate: yet as *Adams* ſoule ſhould haue encreaſed, if he had not fallen; ſo Chriſts ſoule being moſt perfect in that infantile eſtate might and did receiue a greater fulnes.

*Argum.*3. Firſt, Chriſt created his owne ſoule. Secondly, he himſelfe by his diuine power infuſed knowledge and grace into it: therefore at the firſt he gaue vnto it the very fulnes and perfection of knowledge. Thirdly, Chriſt is the head of men and Angels, therefore he had a moſt wiſe ſoule, it is not fit that the head ſhould be leſſe wiſe then the members. *Bellarm.c.*4.

Anſw. 1. We denie not but that Chriſt, if it had pleaſed him, could haue created himſelfe, a moſt perfect ſoule that ſhould not haue receiued afterward any acceſſion of knowledge : but it pleaſed him to be herein like vnto vs, that as he grew vp in ſtature of bodie, ſo likewiſe to encreaſe in the inward graces. 2. As he created himſelfe a ſoule; ſo likwiſe he made his owne body; as he infuſed grace to his ſoule; ſo he did giue life to his fleſh : yet it followeth not,that Chriſt did or was to make at the firſt incarnation a perfect bodie to himſelfe. 3. We acknowledge notwithſtanding the ſoule of Chriſt in his growth and perfection to haue beene moſt wiſe,and exceeding the wiſedome of the ſoules of any of his members : *for God gaue not him the ſpirit by meaſure.* Iohn. 3.34. as others haue.

The Proteſtants.

THat Chriſt was euen from his birth and firſt conception perfect God, and perfect man; we do aſſuredly beleeue, and that in the very incarnation, the diuine and humane nature were vnited together. Alſo we grant,that the Lord Chriſt might haue created to himſelfe a ſoule full of all wiſedome and knowledge, as he might haue made himſelfe a perfect bodie : but ſeeing it pleaſed him to be borne of a woman, and firſt to dwell in the bodie of an infant, we doubt not to ſay, as the Scripture teacheth vs, that he alſo encreaſed in wiſedome.

1. He was in all things like to his brethren,only ſin excepted,Heb.2.17.4.15 *Ergo*, he grew vp and encreaſed in knowledge,according to the manner of men,which may be done without ſinne.

Bellarmine anſwereth, he was like vs in all things which concerned the perfection of nature, and the worke of redemption : for if he ſhould haue beene like vs in all things ; then could he not haue beene borne of a virgin,nor free from the rebellion of the fleſh. *Bellarm.c.5.*

Contra. 1. He did not take vpon him the perfection onely, but the imperfections alſo of our nature, ſuch as he might receiue without ſinne, as in the bodie hunger, thirſt, wearines; in the ſoule, ſorrow,feare,&c. 2. It was requiſite euen to the worke of our redemption, that he ſhould be like vs in euery reſpect both in ſoule and bodie without ſinne : *That he might be mercifull, and a faithfull high Prieſt in things concerning God:* Hebr. 2.17. 3. From this ſimilitude of Chriſt with vs, ſinne is excepted, Hebr.4.15. and ſo both the cauſe of ſinne which is originall corruption, and therefore Chriſt was to be borne of a virgin, and the effects of ſinne, as is the rebellion of the fleſh ; which could not any way be faſtened vpon Chriſt being free from ſinne.

2. The Scripture ſaith plainely, which cannot lye, that Ieſus grew vp and encreaſed in wiſedome and ſtature, Luk.2.52. And leaſt they ſhould anſwere, that this encreaſing was onely in the opinion of men, it followeth, And in fauour with God and men : he encreaſed in wiſedome, ſtature and fauour, not onely in ſhew before men, but in truth before God : and as verily and indeed he grew vp in ſtature, ſo alſo in wiſedome.

3. Chriſt teſtifieth of himſelfe, that neither the Angels nor the Sonne of man, as he is man, knoweth of the day or houre of his comming to iudgement, but the father onely, Mark.13.31. *Ergo*, Chriſt as he was man had not at once all fulnes of knowledge. *Bellarmine* thus expoundeth this place, *Filius dicitur neſcire, quia non ſciebat ad dicendum alijs:* The ſonne is ſaid not to know becauſe he knew it, not to reueale it to others, but to keepe it ſecret to himſelfe.

Anſw. Firſt, then by the ſame reaſon, the Angels doe know it alſo : but that they are charged not to declare it to men : for the text ſaith, that neither the Angels, nor the Sonne of man knoweth the time. Secondly, in this ſenſe alſo the father might be ſaid not to know it : for neither hath he reuealed it to any. Laſtly, although we doe affirme according to the Scripture, that the childe Ieſus did increaſe in the gifts of the minde, as he did in the ſtature of his bodie; yet we do put great difference betweene him, and all other children that euer came into the world : for as his conception and birth were not after the common manner; (for he was conceiued by the holy Ghoſt, and brought forth without trauell and labour : as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Nec concipiendo libidinem ; nec pariendo perpreſſa eſt dolorem* : In conceiuing ſhe felt no carnall deſire ; in bearing ſhe ſuffered no paine :) ſo likewiſe, the holy and bleſſed babe, in the conſtitution both of bodie and ſoule excelled the common condition of all other infants : for as he was void of original ſinne, ſo he was without the effects and fruits thereof, which do ſhew themſelues in children : for neither ſuffered he the like pangs and infirmities in bodie , being in his infancy, as other children do, that are vexed and tormented in bodie : neither was he ſubiect to the vnreaſonable and brutiſh motions of the minde, which are in children. Therefore *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Hanc ignorantiam & animi infirmitatem, quam videmus in paruulis, nullo modo fuerim in Chriſto paruulo ſuſpicatus:* This kind of ignorance & infirmitie of minde, which is in children, I cannot thinke to haue beene in the babe Chriſt. And what ignorance and infirmitie he meaneth, afterward he expreſſeth, *Cum motibus irrationabilibus perturbantur, nulla ratione, nullo imperio cohibentur:* When their brutiſh & vnreaſonable motions come vpon them, they are ruled neither by reaſon, nor any other gouernment. Theſe infirmities both in body and ſoule we deny to haue been in Chriſt : and yet we doubt not to cõclude, that, as Chriſt grew in ſtature of body; as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Mutationes ætatũ perpeti voluit ab ipſa exorſus infantia* : He paſſed through

De 5.Hæreſ. cap.5.

De peccat. merit.& remiſ.29.

Ibid.

through the ages of mans life, beginning with his infancie: So likewiſe, as the Scripture ſaith, hee encreaſed in wiſedome, Luk.2.52.

The teſtimonie of *Cyrill* is here moſt notable, *De incarnat. Domini cap.12. Deus verbum humanitatem ſuam more ſuo proficere permittebat: & quaſi paulatim diuinitatis ſuæ voluit gloriam declarare, & cum corporis ætate ſua extendere: corporale quidem augmentum, & profectus gratiæ & ſapientiæ humanitatis magis menſuræ conueniat: ipſum Deum verbum per ſuam naturam perfectiſſimum confitemur, non egenum profectus ſapientiæ vel gratiæ:* God the word ſuffered his humanitie to grow, and by little and little, as the age of his bodie encreaſed, ſo it pleaſed him to ſhew forth his diuine power: the growth of the bodie, and his encreaſe in grace and wiſedome belong to his humane nature: as he was God he was moſt perfect, and needed no encreaſe. Hence we gather this argument: As Chriſt encreaſed in bodie, ſo in gifts of the minde, but he verily did grow in bodie. *Ergo.*

Saint *Ambroſe: Senſu hominis profecit, ſicut ſcriptum eſt, & Ieſus proficiebat ætate & ſapientia, profectus ætatis, profectus ſapientiæ; ſed humanæ, ætas non diuinitatis, ſed corporis eſt: Ergo ſi proficiebat ætate hominis, proficiebat ſapientia hominis: ſapientia autem ſenſu proficit, quia à ſenſu ſapientia: ſenſus ergo proficiebat humanus, ſenſum ergo ſuſcepit humanum:* He encreaſed in the ſenſe or vnderſtanding of man, as it is written, Ieſus encreaſed in age and wiſedome: the encreaſe of age, is the encreaſe of wiſedome, but humane; for age is not of the diuinitie, but of the bodie: therefore if he encreaſed in the age of man, he encreaſed in the wiſedome of man: but wiſedome encreaſeth by ſenſe, for wiſedome is of the ſenſe: wherefore humane ſenſe encreaſed in him, and he tooke vpon him humane ſenſe: *lib. de incarnat. c.7. Ambroſe* thinketh, that Chriſt verily encreaſed in wiſedome, not in the opinion of men only, as the Maſter doth gloſſe vpon him: *lib.3. diſt.13. liter. E.* His reaſons are theſe: firſt, hee exempteth nothing from encreaſing but his diuine nature, then all the reſt encreaſed. Secondly, as hee enſcreaſed in ſtature of bodie, ſo likewiſe in wiſedome. Thirdly, his wiſedome encreaſed as his ſenſe and experience encreaſed; which was verily and in deede, not in opinion onely.

Hierome: Virginitat. laus. Dominus noſter, qui nobis viuendi exemplum reliquit, proficiebat non ætate tantum corporea, ſed ſapientia & gratia, &c. Our Lorde, who left vs an example of liuing, did encreaſe not onely in his bodily age, but in wiſedome and grace, before God and men, &c. Here alſo are three reaſons: firſt, Chriſt encreaſed to giue vs an example: but wee muſt not encreaſe onely in opinion. Secondly, hee encreaſed not onely in bodie, but in ſoule: *Ergo,* hee encreaſed in ſoule. Thirdly, *before God and men:* but there is no encreaſing before God in opinion onely.

Origen alſo vpon theſe words, *Ieſus encreaſed in wiſedome & ſtature,* Luk.2.52. *Quis eſt hominum? &c.* There is no man, but doth encreaſe in ſtature, this is no great matter to be written of Chriſt: therefore vnderſtand *ætate animæ proficiebat,* hee encreaſed in the ſtature of his ſoule: whereupon the Apoſtle vnderſtanding this ſtature to be vnderſtoode of the inward man, writeth: *Vntill we all meet together to a perfect man, to the meaſure of the age of the fulnes of Chriſt,* Epheſ.4.13. *Hom.12. Leuitic.* He doubteth not to affirme, that we muſt encreaſe and grow in the inward man, as Chriſt did: *Ergo,* he did verily and in truth encreaſe.

AN APPENDIX, OF THE MANNER of Chriſts birth.

The Papiſts.

THey ſay, Chriſt came out of his mothers wombe, the clauſure not ſtirred: as he paſſed thorow the doores when he came in to his diſciples, the doores being ſhut, Ioh.20.19. and as hee paſſed thorow the ſtone, ariſing out of the Sepulchre, *Rhemiſt. annot. Iohn* 10. *ſect.2. Bellarm. de Eccleſ. lib.4. cap.9.* 3.Erro

The Proteſtants.

1. IT can neuer be prooued, that Chriſts bodie came either thorow the wood of the doores, or thorow the ſtone of the Sepulchre, or clauſure of his mothers wombe. And concerning the laſt, the Scripture is euident to the contrarie, where it is ſaid, that our Sauiour Chriſt was preſented to the Lord, according as it is written: *Euery male that firſt openeth the matrix, &c.* Luk.2.29.

2. Wee graunt, that both the birth of Chriſt, his riſing out of the graue, his comming in, the doores being ſhut, was ſtraunge and miraculous, becauſe one ſubſtance gaue place to another for a time, and after the paſſing of his bodie, the place remained whole and ſhut as before: but not in the very inſtant of paſſing. The red ſea gaue place to the Iſraelites while they paſſed, and cloſed together againe: ſo did the priſon doores open miraculouſly to the Apoſtles, Act.5.19. An incredulous Iew ſeeing the eare of *Malchus* ſo ſoone healed, would not haue thought that *Peters* ſword went betweene it and his head, as we are ſure it did: So we ſay concerning the birth of Chriſt, that the place gaue way while hee paſſed, and cloſed vp afterward againe as before. *Auguſtine* bringeth in Chriſt, thus ſpeaking: *Ego viam meo itineri præparaui:* and a little after, *tranſitu meo il-*

Epiſtol. 57.

lius non eſt corrupta virginitas: I made a way for my ſelfe out of the wombe: neither by my paſſage was her virginitie loſt. Chriſt had a way out of his mothers wombe: but if the clauſure had not giuen place, there had been no way made. Againe he ſaith, *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, nuſquam erunt, & quia nuſquam erunt, nec erunt:* Take away ſpace of place from bodies, and they ſhall be no where; and if they be no where, then are they not at all. But the Papiſts in ſaying that Chriſt went thorow the very ſubſtance and corpulence of things, doe take away from his bodie his proper place: for two ſubſtances cannot be in one place, and therefore they deſtroy the nature of his bodie.

Gaij decret. Iacuit in ſepulchro, & reuoluto lapide monumenti tertia die caro reſurrexit: He lay in the graue, and the third day, the ſtone being rolled away, his fleſh roſe againe. This decree ſaith, that Chriſts bodie went not thorow the ſtone, but the ſtone was firſt remoued.

But this matter I haue entreated of at large before, *Controuerſ.* 13. *err.* 17. *argum. Pap.* 2. whither I referre the reader.

THE THIRD QVESTION, WHETHER Chriſt ſuffered in ſoule.

First, before I come to the handling of this queſtion in the ſeuerall parts thereof, I will lay open the ſlaunderous and malicious accuſations, which the Papiſts charge this opinion with, and eſpecially one Frier *Fenardentius*, that hath directly of this argument written againſt Maſter *Caluine*, that worthie Miniſter of Chriſt of bleſſed memorie. And againſt this Frier, together with *Bellarmine* and the *Rhemiſts*, I purpoſe to deale *ex profeſſo*, in this queſtion. If any other from amongſt our ſelues haue therein written ſomewhat diuerſly from the common opinion, I leaue them to their owne beſt thoughts: and being deſirous to maintaine peace, and not to encreaſe domeſticall contentions, I ſay with *Hierome* writing to *Auguſtine: Non audeo ſcribere contra Epiſcopum communionis meæ.*

Error ſeu falſ. 4.

Firſt, then he chargeth *Caluine* and others, as though they ſhould denie Chriſts prayer and requeſt in the garden to *be holie, iuſt, righteous: Feuard. de Chriſto patiente. p.* 415. *p.* 418. Firſt, Maſter *Caluine* himſelfe confeſſeth, *Affectus in Chriſto vitio caruiſſe:* That Chriſts affections were without fault, being framed to the obedience of God: *in cap.* 11. *Ioann. verſ.* 33. *And Chriſt tooke vpon him mans affections, but without any diſorder.* Secondly, where M. *Caluine* then is alleaged to ſay, *Chriſtũ votum correxiſſe*, that Chriſt did correct his vow, which he brake into through griefe; and, *inconſiderate effluxiſſe*, and that it came from him inconſiderately: *in cap.* 12. *Ioann. verſ.* 27. though this ſpeech ſeeme ſomewhat hard, yet hee is to be expounded by himſelfe, and not his wordes to bee ſo much preſſed, as his meaning to be accepted: for *Caluine* is farre, from charging Chriſt, with any imperfection or corruption in his deſire: but doth interprete himſelfe, that Chriſt prayed, *ex ſenſu carnis*, from the ſenſe of his humane nature, and of a meere humane deſire, which may without ſinne wiſh to eſcape griefe and trouble, conditionally ſo it may ſtand with Gods will, as here our Sauiour prayeth. Thirdly, Maſter *Beza* may very well explicate Maſter *Caluines* meaning: whoſe words and ſenſe cannot be miſliked, where he ſaith, that theſe words of our Sauiour, *Yet not my will, &c. are not a correction, but the explication of the condition:* neither doth this ſhew a repugnancie or contrarietie of Chriſts humane will, and Gods, but onely a diuerſitie: *Bez. annot. in* 26. *Mat. v.* 39. As *Damaſcene* well ſaith, οὐκ ἐναντιότητι γνώμης, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἰδιότητι τῆς φυσεων: Chriſt prayed not with a contrarie will, but proper to his humane nature: *lib.* 3. *de fide. cap.* 14.

Secondly, *Caluine* is charged to ſay, that Chriſt had forgotten, that he was ſent to be the redeemer of the worlde, and that he refuſed to accompliſh the worke of our redemption: *Feuard. p.* 423. 426.

Maſter *Caluines* words are theſe, that *Chriſt through the vehemencie of his agonie remembred not, or thought not vpon the heauenly decree: Vt non reputaret in ipſo momento, &c.* That he did not thinke in that moment, that he was ſent, *hac lege*, with this condition to be the Sauiour of the world: *in cap.* 26. *Matth. c.* 39. And againe in the ſame place: *Mediatoris officio defungi, quantum in ſe eſt, renuit:* He refuſeth, as much as in lieth, or in his humane nature to doe the office of a Mediatour.

Firſt, I here ſay with *Auguſtine*, if Maſter *Caluine* ſhould ſeeme to any ſomewhat to exceede in termes: *Nunquam errari tutius exiſtimo, quam cum amore nimio veritatis & reiectione falſitatis erratur:* I thinke a man cannot erre more ſafely, than in the too much loue of the truth, and reiecting of falſehood.

Secondly, Maſter *Caluine* is very farre himſelfe from charging Chriſt with any ſuch forgetfulnes or vnwillingnes: for thus he ſaith: *Quia non deſtitit mundi eſſe ſeruator, &c.* Becauſe hee neuer ceaſed to be the Sauiour of the world, he was alwaies endued with an heauenly power to the fulfilling of his office: neither can it be, that he ſhould forget thoſe, which doe commend their ſaluation vnto him: *in Luc.* 23. 43. how then could he be forgetfull of himſelfe, and his own office?

Thirdly, Maſter *Caluine* further expoundeth himſelfe in theſe very words: firſt, he ſaith, *In ipſo momento*, in that very moment onely, and, *quantum in ſe eſt*, in reſpect of his humane nature, Chriſt prayed, that the cup might paſſe, his humane nature now fullie ſhewing it ſelfe: ſo that this paſſion in Chriſt proceeded onely from his humane infirmitie; and it was but for a moment, Chriſt in that very inſtant remembring himſelfe: Ioh. 12. 27. *What ſhall I ſay? Father ſaue me from this houre, but therefore came I into this houre.*

Fourthly, Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith as much: *Hæc humana voluntas erat proprium aliquid & priuatum orans*: This was his humane will, praying now for ſomewhat proper and priuate to himſelfe, *par.* 1. *in Pſal.* 32. If it were priuate that he prayed, then it was beſide the publike office of the Mediatorſhip. And againe, Pſal. 93. *Oſtendit hominis voluntatem, et ſi in illa voluntate permaneret iam prauum cor oſtendere videretur*: He ſhewed the will of a man, and if he had continued in that will, his heart had not been aright. So then *Auguſtine* affirmeth, that for a moment Chriſts humane will deſired ſomething priuate: *Caluine* ſaith no more.

Damaſcene alſo ſaith, that Chriſts humane will, τῆς φυσικῆς ἀσθενείας πειρασθεῖσα, being firſt tempted of his naturall infirmitie, νευρωθεῖσα, was afterward ſtrengthened by his diuine will, and receiued courage againſt death: *lib.* 3. *de fid. c.* 18. Wherefore *Feuardent.* ſheweth his Frierly cauilling ſpirit, in wreſting that as ſpoken of Chriſt abſolutely as he was the Mediatour, which onely brake foorth from his humane infirmitie, yet without ſinne; and maketh that to be as a ſetled diſpoſition in Chriſt, which was but a momentanie paſſion.

Thirdly, he chargeth *Caluine*, as though hee ſhould ſay, that the bodily death of Chriſt profited nothing: and therefore he taketh vpon him to prooue, that *the bodily death of Chriſt did much further the ſaluation of mankinde*: which no man is ſo impious to denie. Error ſeu falſ. 6.

Firſt, theſe are *Caluines* words: *Nihil actum erat, ſi corporea tantum morte defunctus fuiſſet*: Nothing had been done, if Chriſt had onely performed a bodily death: *lib.* 2. *Inſtitut. c.* 16. *ſ.* 10. He denieth not the profitable and neceſſarie vſe of the bodily death; but ſaith it was not auaileable alone without the ſoule. The Frier himſelfe ſaith in effect as much: *Dial.* 5. *p.* 452. *Tales fuerunt pœnæ, quas non tantum ſecundum corpus, &c.* Such were the paines which Chriſt onely ſuffered not for vs according to his bodie, which without the ſoule is altogether impaſſible, but in the ſoule alſo.

Secondly, *Damaſcene* ſaith, ἡ ψυχὴ παθητὴ οὖσα συμπάσχει τῷ σώματι, The ſoule being paſſible, doth ſuffer together with the bodie, *lib.* 3. *de. fid. cap.* 26. If then the bodie without the ſoule is impaſſible, and the ſoule doth ſuffer with the body, why is *Caluine* blamed for ſaying, that Chriſts bodily death onely had not been auaileable?

Thirdly, Maſter *Caluine* himſelfe euery where magnifieth the bodily death of Chriſt: as he is alleaged by *Feuard. Quiſquis nutritiam ſibi eſſe cupit Chriſti carnem, &c.* Hee that deſireth the fleſh of Chriſt to be his nouriſher, muſt conſider the ſame offered vpon the croſſe, as the price of our reconciliation: *in Luc. c.* 22. *verſ.* 16. How then is hee not aſhamed to charge him with ſo notorious a lye, as though he held the bodily death of Chriſt altogether vnprofitable?

Fourthly, *Feuardentius* ſlaundereth *Caluine*, as though hee ſhould ſay, *Chriſtum omnia reprobis & damnatis debita ſupplicia pertuliſſe*: That Chriſt did beare all the puniſhments due vnto the reprobate: *p.* 443. And thereupon inferreth, that whereas theſe foure are the puniſhments of the reprobate: 1. *That they ſhall for euer want the viſion or ſight of God.* 2. *They ſhall for euer be perplexed with the horror of a guiltie conſcience.* 3. *By their owne fault, they are depriued of all the gifts of the ſpirit.* 4. *Inſtead of vertues, they are defiled with all wickedneſſe*: *p.* 446. 447. He would by *Caluines* ſentence force all theſe vpon Chriſt. Error ſeu falſ. 7.

Contra. 1. Though in ſome ſenſe Chriſt may be ſaid to haue ſuffered the paines of the damned, though not all, nor in that manner, as they ſuffer them; yet, becauſe the Scripture ſo ſpeaketh not, I could wiſh, for feare of offence, that ſuch phraſes had been forborne: that neither the aduerſarie ſhould haue catched any aduantage thereby, nor the weake conſcience taken offence.

2. That Chriſt notwithſtanding did beare ſome puniſhments due vnto the reprobate, as *deſertion* for a while and *dereliction*, the Scriptures (we ſee) doe warrant it.

3. Whereas *Caluine* ſaith: *Vt dependeret omnes, quæ ab illis expetendæ erant pœnas, &c.* that hee might pay all puniſhments to be required of them: *Inſtitut. lib.* 2. *c.* 16. *ſect.* 10. he meaneth, as *Auguſtine* in the like caſe expoundeth the word (*omnis, omnia*) not *ſingula generum*, but *genera ſingulorum*, not euery paine in particular, but in generall: as by all puniſhments, the kinds of all puniſhments are vnderſtood, that is in the bodie, and ſoule, though not euery particular puniſhment in the bodie and ſoule.

4. *Caluine* himſelfe excepteth the manner: *Excepto, quod doloribus mortis, &c.* It muſt be excepted, that Chriſt could not be held in the ſorrowes of death, as the reprobate are: *ibid.* The puniſhment then, which Chriſt did beare, and the reprobate ſuffer, differ in the perpetuitie: wherefore the Frier impudently doth obiect the two firſt puniſhments produced, which doe include a continuance and perpetuitie for euer.

5. *Caluine* according to the Scriptures profeſſeth, that Chriſt in all his actions & puniſhments was immaculate and without ſinne: ſuch puniſhments then of the reprobate, as are not ſuffered without ſinne, of the which ſort are the two laſt rehearſed, Chriſt by the ſentence of *Caluine* is to be freed: ſo then none of thoſe foure puniſhments can be faſtened vpon Chriſt in *Caluines* iudgement: ſo that the Frier is ſent away here with a flea in his eare.

Error ſeu falſ.8. Fiftly, he obiecteth, that *Caluine* ſhould affirme, that Chriſt doubted of his eternall ſaluation: Theſe are *Caluines* words, *Inſtitut.lib.2.c.16.ſect.12. Some will crie out againſt me, as though I did great iniurie to Chriſt: Quia minimè conſentaneum fuerit eum de animæ ſalute timere:* Becauſe it is not conuenient, that he ſhould feare the ſaluation of his ſoule: *Fenard.p.458.*

Firſt, Maſter *Caluine* is flat of a contrarie iudgement, that Chriſt neuer doubted his ſaluation, neither did his faith faile: *in eius diro cruciatu illæſa fuit eius fides:* in his greateſt perplexitie his faith was not violated: *fixa ſtetit fides eius in corde,* his faith ſtood firme in his heart: *in c.27.Mat.ver.46.* He might be aſhamed therefore to preſſe *Caluines* words againſt his owne meaning.

Secondly, *timere*, to feare, is not *dubitare*, to doubt: for feare may proceede from the infirmitie of nature without ſinne, but doubtfulnes ſpringeth of diffidence or diſtruſt. And here *Damaſcene* helpeth vs with a very good diſtinction of feare: There is δειλία φυσικὴ, a naturall feare; and a feare, ἐξ ἀπιστίας, that proceedeth of diffidence or diſtruſt: the firſt was in Chriſt; as the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr.5.7. *He was heard in that he feared; but not the ſecond: Damaſ.de fid.lib.3.c.23.*

Thirdly, why doth not the Frier open his throte againſt *Ambroſe*, who doubteth not to ſay of Chriſt: *Dubitatio illa nos firmat, ne tu ſi cæperis dubitare deſperes:* His doubting doth ſtrengthen vs, leſt thou, when thou beginneſt to doubt, ſhouldeſt deſpayre: *de incarn.c.4.*

Error ſeu falſ.9. Sixtly, another lye wherewith the Frier ſlaundereth *Caluine* is this, that he ſhould ſay, that Chriſt was, *reipſa peccator*, a ſinner indeed: *non tantum noſtrorum, ſed propriorum peccatorum reum,* not guiltie onely of our ſinnes, but of his owne. *p.462.*

Firſt, *Caluine* onely ſaith: *Oportuit eum ſiſti ad dei tribunal, vt cunctorum noſtrorum maleficiorum reum:* He was to ſtand before Gods iudgement ſeate, as guiltie of all our ſinnes. Hee tooke vpon him our perſon, and vndertooke our ſinnes; as the Prophet ſaith, Iſay.53.6. *God hath layd vpon him the iniquitie of vs all:* And the Apoſtle ſaith, *He was made ſinne for vs, that knew no ſinne, that wee ſhould be made righteouſnes in him.* As we are ſinners in our ſelues, yet made righteous by imputation of his righteouſnes: ſo Chriſt being righteous in himſelfe, was a ſinner for vs, and in our perſon by imputation of our ſinnes. This is neither hereſie nor blaſphemie.

Secondly, *Damaſcene* hath a diſtinction to this purpoſe: that there is οἰκείωσις φυσικὴ, ϗ σχετικὴ, an appropriation naturall and perſonall; the naturall appropriations in Chriſt are ſuch, as he receiued together with our nature: the perſonall, which agreed not to him, but as he tooke vpon him our perſon, as to be forſaken, to be accurſed, *lib.3.de fid.c.25.* ſo Chriſt in our perſon ſtood as guiltie before God.

Error ſeu falſ.10. Seuenthly, he challengeth *Caluine* to ſay, *Quod Chriſtum Deus exhorreret, deteſtaretur, &c.* That God hated, deteſted and abhorred Chriſt: *Fenard.* pag.468. *Caluine* ſaith not ſo, but thus; *Species Chriſto obiecta eſt, quaſi Deo aduerſo, &c.* It ſo ſeemed vnto Chriſt (for that moment) as though God were his aduerſarie, *in c.26.Matth.* Now it is one thing for God to be an enemie indeed, another to be felt and feared for a time as an enemie: *Iob* complayneth in the bitterneſſe of his ſoule of God, *He counteth me as one of his enemies,* Iob.19.11. Though *Iob* ſo feared, yet neither was God his enemie, nor he as one of Gods enemies, yet beloued of God: ſo Chriſt was alwayes the beloued ſonne of God, yet in that inſtant, the puniſhment of our ſinnes lying vpon him, hee felt the wrath of God as of an enemie. 2. This is agreeable to the Apoſtle, who ſayth, that *Chriſt vpon the croſſe hath ſlaine hatred in himſelfe,* Epheſ.2.16. but otherwiſe, how hath he ſlaine it, but by bearing it for vs. 3. *Beda* ſaith, *3.ad Galat. Quid mirum ſi maledictum eſt Deo, quod odit Deus, &c.* No maruell, if that be curſed of God, which God hateth: Chriſt then vndergoing the curſe and malediction, did beare alſo the hatred. 4. Here then theſe conſiderations are neceſſarie, 1. that Chriſt was not wholy or finally accurſed, hated or forſaken of God, but *ex parte*, in part, and for a time: 2. that it was rather in Chriſts ſenſe and feeling, then in Gods reiecting of him. 3. that Chriſt in himſelfe was alwayes beloued and bleſſed of God: he ſtood onely accurſed for vs by reaſon of our ſinnes laid vpon him: as *Auguſtin* ſaith, *Benedictus in iuſtitia ſua; maledictus ob peccata noſtra:* Bleſſed in his innocencie, curſed for our iniquitie, *lib.14.contr.Fauſt.ad c.12.*

Error ſeu falſ.11. Eightly, he belyeth *Caluin* to ſay, *Patrem reipſa filium ſuum, cùm pateretur, deſeruiſſe:* That the father did truely and indeed forſake his ſonne, when he ſuffered, pag.472.

Caluine ſo ſaith not: his wordes are theſe, *Alienationem Dei mente concepit, ſicut ſenſus dictabat:* He conceiued in his minde, that he was alienated from God, according to his preſent ſenſe and feeling: *in c.27.Matth.verſ.46. Nec verò fictè conqueritur ſe à patre derelictum:* Neither doth he fainedly complaine that he was forſaken of God, *Inſtit.lib.2.c.16.ſect.12.* It is one thing to be indeed forſaken finally and totally of God; another, ſo to thinke and conceiue for the time: *Dauid* ſaid in his haſte, *I am caſt out of thy ſight*, Pſalm.31.22. Yet was hee not caſt wholly out: for it followeth, *Yet thou heardeſt the voyce of my prayer:* So *Beda* witneſſeth *in* 15. *Marc. Vt homo loquitur meos circumferens metus, quod in periculis poſiti à Deo nos deſeri putamus*: Hee ſpeaketh as a man bearing about in himſelfe our feare; becauſe being in danger, wee thinke we are forſaken: The ſame ſaith *Caluin*, and no otherwiſe, that Chriſt truely complayned in his owne ſenſe, that he was forſaken of God; yet God in his eternall purpoſe neuer did forſake him.

Error ſeu falſ.12.

In the ninth place, the Frier obiecteth, that *Caluine* ſhould affirme, that Chriſt deſpayred: pagin.480. *Caluines* wordes are theſe: *Abſurdum videtur elapſam Chriſto deſperationis vocem &c.* It may ſeeme abſurd, that a voyce or word of deſperation fell from Chriſt, the anſwere is eaſie, that this deſperation proceeded from the ſenſe of the fleſh, *in cap. Matth.*27.

Firſt, Frier *Feuardentius* needed not to haue taken ſuch exception againſt *Caluine* for theſe words, ſeeing his fellow Frier *Ferus* hath the like: nay, he ſayth more, *Non ſolum ſupplicium à nobis meritum, verum etiam deſperationem noſtram in ſe tranſtulit*: Chriſt did not onely take vpon himſelfe our deſerued puniſhment, but alſo our deſperation: And againe, *Vt deſperationem deſperatione, mortem morte, infernum inferno vinceret*: That he might ouercome deſperation with deſperation, death by death, hell with hell, *lib.4. in Matth.*27.

Secondly, he reporteth M. *Caluines* words otherwiſe then they are: for thus he writeth: *Sed abſurdum videtur Chriſto elapſam eſſe deſperationis vocem: ſolutio facilis eſt, quanquam ſenſus carnis exitium apprehenderet, fixam tamen ſtetiſſe fidem illius in corde, qua Deum præſentem intuitus eſt, de cuius abſentia conqueritur*: It ſeemeth abſurd, that a voice of deſperation ſhould fall from Chriſt: the ſolution is eaſie; although the ſenſe of the fleſh did apprehend deſtruction, yet faith was fixed in his heart, whereby hee did behold God as preſent, of whoſe abſence hee complaineth. And againe, *Diſcrimen notauimus inter naturæ ſenſum, & fidei notitiam, &c.* We haue noted a difference betweene the ſenſe of nature and the notice of faith: ſo that nothing hindreth, but that Chriſt both in his mind might conceiue an alienation of God, according to his common ſenſe, and yet together by faith, did hold or receyue God to be mercifull: Thus wee ſee, how maliciouſly this Frier clippeth and culleth, changeth and turneth *Caluines* wordes, contrary to his owne minde: he is farre from aſcribing deſpayre vnto Chriſt; but onely affirmeth that he was tempted of the infirmitie of his fleſh: *Cum deſperatione luctatus eſt, non tamen victus, neque enim qui deſperati ſunt poſſunt Deum appellare ſuum*: he did wraſtle with deſpaire, but was not ouercome; for they that are deſperate cannot call God, their God, *in Matth.*24.*v.*46.

Damaſcene affirmeth as much, that Chriſt was tempted of his naturall infirmitie, but ſtrengthened by the diuine will: and theſe were, φυσικῆς δειλίας τὰ ῥήματα, the words of his naturall feare or infirmitie, *lib.3. de fid.c.*18. And though from vs ſuch words cannot proceede without ſinne, yet we muſt ſo thinke of the integritie of Chriſts nature, that he had the very force and fulneſſe of humane affections, yet without corruption, though we be not able to iudge of it: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, that we cannot iudge *de moribus ſanctorum*, of the manners of the Saintes by our ſelues, *Sicut de ciborum ſuauitate febrientes iudicare non ſinimus*, wee do not ſuffer thoſe that are ſicke of feuers, to iudge of the taſte or ſweetneſſe of meate: *contr. Fauſt. lib.*22.*c.*48. If we muſt not meaſure the acts of the Saints by our owne, how much more vnable is the corruption of our fleſh to comprehend the perfection of Chriſts humane nature: So then it is euident, that this is but a frierly tricke, and a lowde lie, that either *Caluine* or any other Proteſtant beſide chargeth Chriſt with deſpayre.

Error ſeu falſ.13.

In the tenth place this doctrine is charged with a great abſurditie, or rather blaſphemie, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer the death of the ſoule or the ſecond death: *Feuard.*p.453.lin.3. which is contrary to the Scriptures: which euery where teſtifie of Chriſt, 1. *that he is life, & gaue life to the world*, Ioh 1.3. how then could he die the death of the ſoule? *Feuard.*297.*l.*19. 2. It is alſo contrary to reaſon: for ſeeing as the departure of the ſoule is the death of the bodie; ſo the departure of God is the death of the ſoule: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *de verb. Apoſtol. ſerm.*30. Chriſt being perſonally vnited to God, could not die the death of the ſoule, *Feuard.pag.*474.*lin.*19. Thirdly, the fathers make but two deaths of the ſoule: the firſt is *ſinne* in this life, the other *damnation* in the next, but neither of theſe agree to Chriſt. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Epiſtol.*99. *Certè anima Chriſti, nullo mortificata peccato, vel damnatione punita eſt, &c.* Surely the ſoule of Chriſt was neyther mortified with ſinne, nor puniſhed with damnation; for which two cauſes the death of the ſoule is vnderſtood: and *Fulgentius* ſaith, *Anima Chriſti inferni doloribus non torquebatur*: Chriſtes ſoule was not tormented in hell, *Feuard.pag.*357.*lin.*26.

1. *Contra.* Firſt, we willingly giue conſent to theſe Scriptures, reaſons, and fathers, that Chriſt cannot be ſaid in any ſuch ſenſe to die the death of the ſoule, either by *ſinne* or *damnation*, eyther by a voluntary or neceſſary ſeparation from God: therefore all that labour may be ſpared, to accumulate reaſons, or multiplie teſtimonies of fathers, to free Chriſt from ſuch death of the ſoule, which without blaſphemie cannot be affirmed of Chriſt.

Secondly, though the concluſion be granted, yet the premiſſes are too weake to enforce it: firſt, it followeth not, *Chriſt is life in his ſoule: Ergo his ſoule died not:* as it is no conſequent, *Chriſts bodie giueth life, Ergo,* it died not: the contrarie rather is inferred, that Chriſts fleſh by dying, gaue life to the world, Iohn 6.51. Secondly, it is no good argument, Chriſts ſoule *was neuer ſeparated, but perſonally vnited vnto the word, Ergo, it died not:* for his bodie was alwaies perſonally vnited to the ſoule ὑποστατικῶς, though not τοπικῶς, as *Damaſcene* ſaith, *cap.*27. *Hypoſtaticallie, though not locallie:* ſo likewiſe was the bodie alwaies perſonally vnited to the Godhead, euen then, when it lay in the graue, yet the bodie dyed.

Thirdly, neither doe we much preſſe or vrge this phraſe of ſpeech, that Chriſt dyed the *death* of the ſoule. Firſt, becauſe we finde it not ſo euidently vſed in Scripture. Secondly, and we haue other phraſes as fit to expreſſe the ſufferings of Chriſt in ſoule. Thirdly, and for that it may giue occaſion of ſtumbling to the weake, and of gaineſaying and exception to the contrarie minded.

Laſtly, yet notwithſtanding, becauſe ſome in defence of this trueth haue ſo ſpoken and written, I will briefly ſhew in what tolerable ſenſe Chriſt is affirmed to die in the ſoule: and that there is *another death of the ſoule, then either by ſinne or damnation.*

Firſt, as the bodie is not ſaid onely to dye, when the ſoule departeth from it, but when it is preſſed with dangerous and deepe afflictions, which threaten death: ſo in like ſenſe the ſoule may be ſaid after a ſort to die, not only, when it is finally ſeparated from God, but perplexed and troubled with the horror and feeling of Gods wrath and indignation. The firſt is proued by S. *Paul,* 1. Cor. 15.31. He there ſaith, *I dye daily:* that is in reſpect of his great afflictions and perſecutions, that threatned death: otherwiſe the bodie by the ſeparation of the ſoule dieth but once, and not daily: Thus Chriſt then in ſome ſort is affirmed to die in ſoule, not in any ſeparation made betweene his ſoule and God, but in the feeling and fearing of Gods indignation, which in the reprobate is the forerunner of their finall ſeparation.

Secondly, whereas the Lord threatneth *Adam* thus: *In the day that thou eateſt thereof, morte moriemini, ye ſhall die the death:* Geneſ. 2.17. This muſt be vnderſtoode of the death of the ſoule: as *Felix. epiſtol. ad Petrum Antiochen.* expoundeth it: *Adam quo die comedit ex ligno in ipſo ſecundum animam mortuus, nam ipſius corporis mors poſt* 930. *annos contigit:* *Adam* the ſame day he did eate of the tree, died according to this ſoule; for the death of his bodie followed 930. yeares after: and this death of the ſoule which *Adam* incurred, was not his ſinne, but cauſed by it, for his diſobedience in eating was puniſhed by this death: this death of his ſoule was a puniſhment of the firſt death by ſinne: And S. *Ambroſe* well noteth this difference betweene, *morte mori,* and *vita mori: vita moritur, qui viuit corpore, ſed actu moritur ſuo,* He in liuing dieth, that liueth in bodie; but dieth in his acte or worke: as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1. Tim. 5.6. *She that liueth in pleaſure, is dead, while ſhe liueth: but to die the death, is to die both in bodie and ſoule: de paradiſ. c.*9. Neither was this death of the ſoule, whereinto *Adam* fell actuall condemnation for euer; for *Adam* was not condemned but ſaued by faith in Chriſt: *Ergo,* by this death of the ſoule, a third kinde is ſignified, namely, the feare or debt, horror or danger of the proper death of the ſoule, which is condemnation.

Thirdly, this threatning of *Adam, Thou ſhalt die the death, was truly performed in Chriſt:* but if this death to *Adam* threatned be the death of the ſoule, and not of the bodie, as I haue proued, becauſe *Adams* bodie died not *in that day, &c.* how could the death of *Adams* ſoule be *truely performed in Chriſts bodie?* ſo that this maketh a ſtrong argument, to proue a kinde of dying in ſoule in Chriſt: that death which was to *Adam* threatned, Chriſt ſuffered: I thinke this will be confeſſed; that it was truely performed in Chriſt, but not in his bodie, *Ergo* in his ſoule: And ſo it followeth in the epiſtle of *Felix* before alleaged: *Itaque Deus donum dimidiatum non fecit, ſed totum ſimul Adam ex virginis vtero ſumpſit, vt etiam perditum totum ſaluum faceret:* God gaue not halfe a gift, but he tooke whole *Adam* of the virgins wombe to ſaue the whole, that was loſt: the reaſon thus ſtandeth: to redeeme the whole, Chriſt muſt die in the whole, for he tooke the whole to redeeme the whole; if it had not been needfull to die or ſuffer in the whole, he needed not to haue taken the whole: but Chriſt redeemed the whole, *Ergo,* he died in the whole. Thus then it appeareth, how both without feare of ſinne or damnation, a kinde of death may be affirmed to haue been ſuffered by Chriſt in his ſoule: which phraſe of ſpeech notwithſtanding vpon the reaſons before alleaged, I wiſh rather to be more ſparingly vſed, if not altogether forborne and diſcontinued.

Thus haue I ſhewed what vntrue accuſations this holy truth of the ſufferings of Chriſt is charged with, and how it is againe diſcharged: for we neither affirme; 1. that Chriſts prayers in the Garden were vniuſt or vnholy, but ſober, temperate, godly, onely ſhewing his humane deſire to eſcape death, yet conformable to his fathers will. 2. Or that Chriſt was forgetfull of his office. 3. Or that his bodily death profited not. 4. Or that Chriſt ſuffered all the puniſhments of the damned and reprobate. 5. Or that Chriſt doubted of his ſaluation. 6. Or that he was verilie, and in deed a ſinner. 7. Or that God in deed hated, and deteſted Chriſt. 8. Nor yet that Chriſt was indeed forſaken of God. 9. Nor that Chriſt deſpaired. 10. Nor that he ſuffered the true and proper death of the ſoule. Theſe ten ſeuerall chalenges, whereby they practiſe to make this doctrine odious, I haue anſwered: and all thoſe blaſphemies, which they would faſten vpon vs, and Chriſts holy cauſe, we wipe them off, as *Paul* did the Viper, without any hurt to our cauſe, no more than the Viper did to the Apoſtles hand.

Wherefore, that the trueth may appeare to the ſight of all men of vnderſtanding, I will ſpeake of euery thing diſtinctly, and deuide this queſtion of Chriſts inward ſufferings into theſe conſiderations following.

1. Whether the bodily paſſion of Chriſt were ſufficient for the redemption of the world.
2. Of the feare and aſtoniſhment of Chriſt, and the cauſe thereof.
3. Whether he ſuffered properly and immediatly in ſoule.
4. Whether he ſuffered the ſorrowes and paines of hell.

And to this queſtion is adioyned as an appendix, whether hell fire and torment be onely corporall.

5. Whether Chriſt ſtoode before God, as guiltie of our ſinnes in our perſon.
6. Whether in Chriſt there were any horror or perplexitie of conſcience for the ſinne of the world, which he bare.
7. Whether Chriſt in Gods iuſtice ought to haue dyed for vs as our ſuretie.

Hereunto is added as an appendix, whether Chriſts blood were giuen to the diuell as a price for our redemption.

8. Whether Chriſt felt the wrath of God in his ſoule.
9. Whether he truely complained as forſaken of God.
10. Whether he did beare the curſe of God in his ſoule.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER THE BODILIE death of Chriſt were ſufficient for mans redemption.

The Papiſts.

14. Error.

THis is ſo affirmed by the Rhemiſts: *Annot.Mat.*27.*ſect.*3.*Bellar.c.*8.*de Chriſti anim.arg.*1.*Fenar. dialog.*5.*de Chriſto patiente.p.*439. The leaſt droppe of blood, the leaſt teare, the leaſt grone in Chriſt had been ſufficient in reſpect of the dignitie of the ſufferer: *Fenard.p.*450. they reaſon thus.

*Argum.*1. The Scriptures euery where aſcribe our whole redemption to the death, and blood of Chriſt: Epheſ.1.7. *We haue redemption thorough his blood.* Coloſſ.1.20. *He hath ſet at peace thorough the blood of his croſſe,&c.* Hebr.9.12. *Chriſt by his owne blood entred once into the holy place:* and euery where the Scripture ſetteth forth the death and blood of Chriſt: *Ergo,* that onely was ſufficient, without any other ſuffering: *Bellarm.ibid.argum.*1. *Fenard.p.*441.

*Anſw.*1. If theſe places be litterally preſſed, for the ſufficiencie of Chriſts blood only, then all his 1. ſufferings before in his life, his hunger, thirſt, buffetings, reproches, ſlaunders were ſuperfluous. Secondly, then his fleſh alſo ſhould be excluded, which is not his blood: for *his fleſh is our meate, his blood our drinke,* Iohn 6.55. Thirdly, and ſeeing Chriſt ſhed not onely *blood vpon the croſſe* but water: as S. *Iohn* ſaith, *he came by water and blood,* 1.Iohn 5.6. if blood be ſtrictly taken, then the water was ſpilt in vaine out of his ſide: wherefore by the blood of Chriſt by a figuratiue ſpeech, the reſt of his painefull ſufferings both in bodie and ſoule are inſinuated.

2. For if blood be taken ſimplie, we ſhall finde, that it was no part of his death, for his ſide was pearced after he had giuen vp the Ghoſt, yea after he had ſaid, *it is finiſhed,* that is the worke of our redemption: Iohn 19.verſ.30.34. And ſo S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Poſt mortem, percuſſus eſt non ante, vt exitus eius voluntarius non neceſſarius videretur:* He was pierced after death, not before, that his departure might ſeeme voluntarie, not neceſſarie. In deede his croſſe was embrued with his blood before, which the nayles forced from his hands and feete, and the thornes from his temples, and the whipping before from his ſide: but that blood which iſſued forth with water, which S. *Iohn* eſpecially noteth, came out of his ſide after the ſurrendring of his ſpirit: which was the moſt notable part of his bodilie ſufferings. as *Origene* ſaith: *Petra niſi fuiſſet percuſſa non dabat aquas; ſic percuſſus Chriſtus in cruce noui teſtamenti fontes produxit:* Vnleſſe the rocke had been ſmitten, it had yeelded no water, and Chriſt being ſtricken, brought forth the fountaines or ſtreames of the new Teſtament: *Hom.*11. *in Exod.*

3. Neither is this vnuſuall in Scripture: by one part to expreſſe the whole: as when the word is ſaid *to be made fleſh,* Iohn 1.14. the ſoule is vnderſtoode: for Chriſt tooke not a ſoule without a bodie. Likewiſe Hebr.10.5. *A bodie thou haſt ordained:* certainely a bodie with a ſoule alſo: and he tooke the ſeede of *Abraham,* Hebr.2.16. that is both humane fleſh and ſoule: and *he was made of the ſeede of Dauid according to the fleſh,* Rom.1.3. The Apoſtle hereby expreſſeth the whole humane nature of Chriſt: In like manner in the death of Chriſts bodie, ſuffering of his fleſh, ſhedding of his blood, euen the paſſions of his ſoule are comprehended.

4. Wherefore, as in theſe places alleaged, we reade the blood of Chriſt, or the blood of the

croſſe,ſo other where in more generall tearmes the Apoſtles call it the dying of Chriſt,1.Cor.4 10. the *ſufferings of Chriſt*, 1.Pet.4.13.

5. S. *Ambroſe* giueth this reaſon,why the ſoule of Chriſt is ſignified by the blood : *Caro ſaluatoris pro ſalute corporis, ſanguis pro anima noſtra effuſus eſt: ſanguis enim pro anima, ſicut præfiguratum eſt in Moſe.in* 1.*Cor.*11. The fleſh of our Sauiour for the ſauing of the bodie, his blood was ſhed for our ſoule : for the blood is the life or the ſoule,as was prefigured in *Moſes* : for ſo it is written, *the blood is the life*,Geneſ.9.4. Leuit.17.14.

6. Firſt, that the blood of Chriſt in Scripture is ſaid to *redeeme,cleanſe,ſanctifie vs, &c.* it is euident: but by *blood*,we muſt vnderſtand the other ſufferings and partes of Chriſt,as I haue ſhewed before : if blood alone ſufficed,what did Chriſts fleſh ? what did the water,whereby Chriſt came, and not onely by blood, 1.Iohn 5.8. or Chriſts ſpirite, which he ſurrendred vnto God, are they excluded? Secondly, Chriſts blood we confeſſe in Gods omnipotencie to haue been ſufficient to redeeme vs, though but one droppe had been ſhed; but it ſo ſtoode not with the decree and purpoſe of God : wherefore from his power to his will, from his omnipotencie to his ordinance,from that he can doe, to that which he will doe,the argument followeth not.

7. Neither is an vnregenerate ſoule onely called by the name of fleſh in Scripture, as *Bellarmine* imagineth,*lib.*5.*de ſtat.peccat.c.*7.2. For of *Adam* and *Eue* it is ſaid, before ſinne entred, or the ſoule was vnregenerate, or corrupted, they *two ſhall be one fleſh*, Geneſ.2.24. which ſignifieth not onely a coniunction of bodie,which is in wicked couples,but an vnitie of ſoule and affection: and where S. *Paul* ſaith, *We are members of his bodie, of his fleſh, and of his bones*, Epheſ.5.30. ſpeaketh the Apoſtle of the vnregenerate parte ? Likewiſe, where the Scripture ſaith : *Videbit omnis caro ſalutare Dei:* All fleſh ſhall ſee the ſaluation of God, Luk.3.6. S. *Auguſtine* proueth by this place, that the ſoule is comprehended vnder the name of fleſh, *lib.*83.*qu.c.*80. And it is euident, that the regenerate and faithfull are here vnderſtoode : for the vnbeleeuers and vnfaithfull cannot ſee the ſaluation of God. *Ambroſe* alſo thus expoundeth theſe words of Chriſt, the ſpirite is readie,the fleſh is weake : *Vt in ſpiritu Deum,in carne hominem ſignificaret:* To ſignifie God in the ſpirit, and man in the fleſh : *in* 8.*ad Rom.* Chriſts whole humanitie then is ſignified by fleſh.

8. It is euident,that by Chriſts fleſh, in Scripture his whole humanitie, and ſo conſequently his ſoule is expreſſed. Firſt,the Apoſtle thus teſtifieth,Rom.1.3. *Chriſt was made of the ſeede of Dauid according to the fleſh, and declared mightilie to be the ſonne of God, touching the ſpirit of ſanctification,&c.* Here whole Chriſt is deſcribed vnto vs as God and man : the ſoule then of Chriſt is comprehended vnder the name of fleſh,or elſe it is excluded, and ſo the Apoſtle ſhould ſet before vs an vnperfect Chriſt. Secondly,likewiſe Heb.2.14. *For as much as the children were partakers of fleſh and blood he alſo himſelfe tooke part with them :* tooke he part with them in the fleſh onely, and not in the ſoule alſo? Thirdly,where it is ſaid, *The word was made fleſh*, the ſoule is not onely here by conſequence implied, but properly in the ſignification included. Firſt, the *Apollinariſt* heretikes confeſſed humane fleſh in Chriſt,and denied him an humane ſoule,ſupplying it by his diuine ſpirite;they therefore tooke this conſequent not to be neceſſarie ; wherefore it is more ſafe to affirme here an *incluſiue ſignification*, then an *excluſiue implication* onely of the ſoule, becauſe of the hereſie of the *Apollinariſts*, as we reade of one *Euſtathius*, a *Monothelite* heretike, condemned in the Councell, *Chalcedon. act.*1. who affirmed: *Hominem non aſſumpſit Chriſtus, ſed carnem aſſumpſit,&c.* Chriſt tooke not man,but tooke onely fleſh.

2. Saint *Paul* doth very well expound the Euangeliſts meaning,when he ſaith, *Chriſt being in the forme of God,&c.tooke vpon him the forme of a ſeruant,&c and was found in ſhape as a man*, Phil.2.7. This is that which the Euangeliſt ſaith, *The word was made fleſh*,that is man,and dwelt among vs.

3. Thus the Fathers expound by fleſh in this place the whole humane nature : *Cyrill. de incarnat.Vingenit.c.*23. *Carnem accipiens ex muliere exijt homo idem ſimul & deus:* Chriſt taking fleſh of the woman,came forth man,and the ſame alſo God. *Athanaſ.in* 9.*can.Epheſin.ſynod. Confitemur vnum Chriſtum filium dei ſecundum ſpiritum, filium hominis ſecundum carnem :* Wee confeſſe one Chriſt the ſonne of God in the ſpirit,the ſonne of man after the fleſh. *Ambroſ.in Pſal.*119. vpon theſe words: *Particeps ſum omnium timentium te :* I am partaker with all thoſe that feare thee : *Chriſtus habet participes carnis,quia carnem ſuſcepit,&c.* Chriſt hath vs partakers of his fleſh,becauſe hee tooke fleſh; partakers of Baptiſme,becauſe he was baptized,&c. In all theſe places by the fleſh the Fathers vnderſtand the whole humanitie of Chriſt.

*Argum.*2. The true ſacrifice for ſinne was ſhadowed and foreſhewed by the ſacrifices of the Law : but thoſe ſacrifices onely foreſhewed a bodily and bloodie ſacrifice : *Ergo*, the true ſacrifice for ſinne was made by the bodie and blood of the Redeemer. So reaſoneth *Bellarm.argum.*3.*Feuardent.p.*439.*artic.*9.

1. *Anſw.* Firſt,the propoſition if it be generall is falſe : for all the true ſacrifice for ſinne and euery part thereof was not,neither could be ſhadowed forth by the ſacrifices : they onely ſignified the viſible part,which they were apt to expreſſe: the inuiſible part by the viſible ſacrifices of beaſts

could not be deſcribed: as the blood of the propitiatorie ſacrifice muſt be the blood of the ſonne of God: this the ſacrifices could not point at, nor yet the inuiſible ſuffrings of the ſoule. If the propoſition be not general, then the argument concludeth not conſiſting al of particulars. 2. We graunt alſo the concluſion, if it be but particular, not of the whole true ſacrifice, but of a part: for we confeſſe that the blood of Chriſt was a part of the true ſacrifice, but not the whole: chuſe then, which you will: if the propoſition be generall, we denie it; if particular, it concludeth not.

2. Secondly, we denie the aſſumption: 1. For in the ſacrifices of the Law there may be found ſomewhat, which may repreſent the ſuffring of Chriſt in ſoule: as Leuitic. 16. 8. there were two hee goates preſented vnto the Lord, the one of them was ſacrificed, the other ſent into the wilderneſſe, verſ. 21. The ſcape goate may ſignifie Chriſts ſoule, which died not vpon the croſſe as his bodie did. 2. Againe, the holocauſts or burnt offrings which were wholy conſumed and burnt vpon the altar, may betoken the whole and abſolute offring of Chriſt in ſoule and bodie.

Thirdly, though the ſcape or liue goate were not ſacrificed to death, yet was he preſented before the Lord, verſ. 8. reconciliation was made by him, verſ. 10. the iniquities of the people layd vpon him, verſ. 21. So although Chriſts ſoule died not, as his bodie, yet was it in the proper ſuffrings thereof a meane of reconciliation together with the bodie.

4. What though ſome of the Fathers expound the ſcape goate to bee the wicked of the the people? yet all are not of that minde, neither the ſame alwaies hold that ſenſe. 1. *Origen* thus expoundeth, ***Hom. 9. Leuitic. Si ira aſcendit in cor tuum, ſi inuidia &c. paratus eſto, vt abijcias in eremum:*** If anger riſe into thy heart, if enuie, caſt it forth, and ſend it as the ſcape goate into the deſert, &c. Hee expoundeth the ſcape goate not to bee wicked men, but carnall affections in good men. 2. It is manifeſt that the ſcape goate was a figure of Chriſt: for as the ſinnes of the people were put vpon the head of the goate, verſ. 21. ſo God did lay vpon Chriſt the ſins of vs al, Iſai. 53. 6. and the prieſt by this ſcape goate did make reconciliation: wherefore it is but wreſted to ſignifie the wicked: wee muſt take heede that the Fathers fanſies leade vs not from the euident ſenſe of Scripture. 3. *Origen* himſelfe that is alleaged applieth the ſcape goate vnto the croſſe of Chriſt, ***Hom. 9. in Leuitic. In eo quòd dicitur, quia affixit cruci ſuæ poteſtates, ſortem in eis apopompæi compleuit, & tanquam homo paratus abduxit in eremum:*** In that it is ſaid, he faſtened the powers to his croſſe, &c. he fulfilled in them the lot of the ſcape goate, and as a man readie or prepared carried them into the wilderneſſe. Thus *Origen* referreth the accompliſhment of that figure of the ſcape goate to the croſſe of Chriſt: who in reſpect of his bodie, that died, was not that ***homo paratus***, that readie meſſenger: ***Ergo***, in reſpect of his ſoule.

Fiftly, in what ſenſe the ſacrifice of the croſſe is called an holocauſt, Saint *Cyprian* ſheweth ***ſerm. de paſſion. Sine hoc holocauſto poterat deus tantum condonaſſe peccatum, &c.*** God without that holocauſt might haue forgiuen ſo great ſinne, &c. And elſewhere he giueth the reaſon, why he calleth it an ***holocauſt: Chriſtus totum effudit ſpiritum in cruce vt nos reſpiraremus, quicquid erat humoris aquei reliquum expreſſit vt nos ablueremur, quicquid reſederat in corde ſanguinis emiſit, vt nos confirmaremur:*** Chriſt did ſhed forth his whole ſpirit vpon the croſſe, that wee might be refreſhed, the water that was left in his bodie he ſent forth, that we might be waſhed: the reſidue of his blood came forth, that we might be cleanſed. Thus Chriſt then made an holocauſt or whole ſacrifice of himſelf, both in his ſpirit and in his blood.

Argum. 3. The Sacraments of the Goſpell doe ſet forth vnto vs the memoriall of Chriſts paſſion: but they repreſent not the ſuffrings of Chriſts ſoule, but onely the paſſion of his bodie: ***Ergo***, his bodily paſſions were ſufficient, ***Bellar. cap. 8. lib. 4. de Chriſti anima, argum. 3. Fenardent. p. 440. artic. 11.***

Anſw. Firſt, for the propoſition, if Chriſts paſſion be taken for the effect of Chriſts croſſe in the remiſſion of ſinnes, it is true, that the ſame is ſealed vnto vs and ſet forth in the Sacraments: but if by Chriſts paſſion all the neceſſarie parts, circumſtances and concurrences of Chriſts croſſe be implied, the propoſition wanteth his due waight: for therein is not repreſented the Godhead of Chriſt, which was the onely vpholder of his croſſe: nay, all the viſible parts of the croſſe are not expreſſed in the Euchariſt; as the water, which iſſued out of Chriſts ſide. 2. The viſible parts then of Chriſts croſſe are repreſented by the elements, and in theſe viſible parts ſpirituall graces and effects: the inuiſible power of his Godhead and the ſpirituall ſuffrings of his ſoule cannot ſo well by terrene elements be deſcribed.

Secondly, for the aſſumption: 1. it is not true that the bodie and blood of Chriſt onely are repreſented in the Euchariſt: for the bodie and blood of Chriſt is not ſet before vs as dead fleſh or blood without a ſoule: for *Chriſt dyeth now no more*, Rom. 6. 9. If then the life and ſoule of Chriſt is ſignified together with his bodie and blood, why not the ſuffrings alſo of the ſoule? 2. Saint *Ambroſe* (whom I alleaged before) ſheweth how the ſoule is reſembled by the blood: ***Sanguis pro anima, ſicut transfiguratum eſt in Moſe:*** The blood is taken for the ſoule, as it was prefigured in *Moſes: in* 11. 1. *ad Corinth.* 3. And therefore it is called ***calix ſanguinis***, the cup of his blood: and by the cup is ſignified not onely the bodily ſuffrings of Chriſt, but his ſoule ſorrowes: as when he prayed to his father, that the *cup might paſſe*, he did not meane onely his bodily death, but his ſpirituall agonie alſo.

3. Thirdly, the argument may be returned thus: In Baptiſme is ſealed vnto vs the true propitiation for our ſinnes: in Baptiſme is ſealed onely the blood of Chriſt ſhed for vs ſignified by water: *Ergo*, the blood of Chriſt onely without his fleſh or bodie is the true propitiation. What other anſwere can here be made, than the ſame which was giuen before, that either all the circumſtances and concurrences of Chriſts paſſion are not ſet forth in Baptiſme, but the effects onely, or that by one part of the croſſe the reſt are expreſſed?

*Argum.*4. The Rhemiſts ſeeme to frame an argument from the nature of a teſtament: *Chriſts death* (ſay they) *was neceſſarie for the full confirmation, ratification and accompliſhment of the new teſtament: Annot. in Hebr.9.verſ.*20. where if their meaning be, that Chriſts death was neceſſarie to the confirmation of the teſtament, and that without it could not be ratified, wee willingly yeeld: for as the Apoſtle ſaith, a teſtament is confirmed when men are dead, Hebr.9.17. But if they will further preſſe this ſimilitude, and reaſon thus: A mans death is ſufficient to confirme his teſtament, without any other ſuffrings in ſoule, therefore Chriſts bodily death was ſufficient to confirme his teſtament: we doe then further anſwere as followeth.

Anſw. Firſt, ſimilitudes muſt not be forced to agree in euery point, as in this example there is great difference betweene the teſtaments of men, and the teſtament of Chriſt: firſt, the reaſon why mens teſtaments ſtand is giuen in the lawe, *Quia aliud velle non poſſunt:* Becauſe they can now will no more; *Conſtantin. Cod. lib.*1.*tit.*5.*l.*1. but Chriſt is able to will ſtill. Secondly, it is a rule in law, that *Scripta voluntas diſpoſitiuè valet, non enuntiatiuè:* A written will is of force in diſpoſing, but not in affirming, *Diocletian. Cod lib.*3.*tit.*38.*leg.*10. that is, whatſoeuer is affirmed in a will, is not alwaies receiued; but whatſoeuer is bequeathed or diſpoſed, ſtandeth: but it were blaſphemie to ſay, that Chriſts teſtament doth not hold affirmatiuely. Thirdly, by the law a will ſtandeth not, *ſi liberos prætererit in tabulis*, if a man doe paſſe by his ſonnes in his will, and bequeath them nothing, *Cod. lib.*6.*tit.*12.*leg.*1. *Alexander.* yet Chriſt in his teſtament reiected the Iewes, and receiued the Gentiles: yet who will ſay, that his will herein ſtandeth not? Fourthly, if any man did *contra leges teſtari, aut iuri publico derogare*, did make a will contrarie to the publike lawes, it was of no force, *Diocletian. Cod. lib.*6.*tit.*23.*leg.*13. But Chriſts teſtament did derogate and abrogate the ceremoniall lawes of *Moſes*, yet notwithſtanding remaineth in force. Fiftly, the Apoſtle ſaith, the will of men is of no force, as long as hee that made it is aliue, Hebr.9.17. but Chriſt now liueth, and henceforth dieth no more, Rom.6.9. yet his teſtament is in force, though much be preſumed in the world againſt it; as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Mortuus ſine ſenſu iacet, & valent verba ipſius; ſedet Chriſtus in cœlo, & contradicitur teſtamento eius: in Pſal.*21. A man lieth dead without ſenſe, and his laſt words ſtand; Chriſt ſitteth in heauen, and yet his teſtament is contradicted. Sixtly, in ſome caſes by the Ciuill law a will vnwritten preuailed againſt a will written: *Cod. lib.*3.*tit.*36.*leg.*5. *Alexander.* If a man in his teſtament did bequeath or award his ſeruant to bonds, and afterward change his mind, *licet non ſcripſerit, valebit*, although hee wrote it not, it ſhall ſtand: but nothing that is vnwritten ought to be receiued againſt the written teſtament of Chriſt. In theſe and many ſuch other points Chriſts teſtament and mans teſtaments doe differ: they therefore muſt be made to agree onely, wherein the Apoſtle compareth them, that as touching the death of the bodie, it is neceſſarie for the confirmation both of mens teſtament and Chriſts: but as concerning the ſpirituall paine of the ſoule the reaſon is not alike, there is no cauſe or neceſſitie thereof toward the conſtitution of a mans will, as there was in Chriſt toward the finiſhing of the ſacrifice of the new teſtament.

Secondly, the Apoſtle concludeth, that no death, but of the bodie, is neceſſarie for the confirmation of a teſtament: which we graunt, and further acknowledge that Chriſt onely died properly in his bodie: the proper death of the ſoule (which is either by ſinne or damnation, in the finall ſeparation of Gods fauour) Chriſt died not: ſuch a death and damnation of the ſoule who is ſo blaſphemous to attribute to Chriſt? in confuting that, which no man denieth, labour may well be ſpared. And therefore as *Hierome* ſaith, *Non poſſum te exiſtimare victorem, niſi aduerſarium videro vulneratum:* He cannot haue the victorie, that doth not wound the aduerſarie, *Apolog. ad Pammach.* Therefore theſe darts, which they caſt in the ayre, *Feuard.p.*453. pierce not our cauſe, neither can thoſe ſtrokes wound the bodie, that touch it not.

Thirdly, the Apoſtle by this ſimilitude onely inferreth, that without the death of the bodie a teſtament is not ratified: as verſ.18. *neither was the firſt ordained without blood:* So without Chriſts death the new teſtament could not be confirmed: doth it therefore follow that nothing elſe is required? Many things beſide the bodily death muſt concurre to make a mans teſtament: firſt, he muſt be *ſanæ mentis*, of a ſound and perfect minde; and therefore a mad man, except hee haue *dilucida interualla*, ſome intermiſſion of his fits, cannot make a will, *Cod. lib.* 6.*tit.*22.*leg.*9. Secondly, *Pupillus non poteſt teſtari:* A pupill, that is vnder the gouernment of others, cannot make a will:

*ibid.tit.*21.*leg.*18.*Iuſtinian.* Thirdly, *Filiusfamilias non poteſt:* A ſonne that is vnder his father can not: *ibid.tit.*22.*leg.*11. Fourthly, *Si teſtes non fuerint in conſpectu teſtatoris,&c.* If the witneſſes be not in the ſight of the teſtator, the will is not good, *Cod.lib.6.tit.*23.*leg.*9.*Diocletian.* Fiftly, *Si compulſus ſit teſtari,&c.* If a man be compelled to make a will, it is not good, *lib.6.tit.*34.*leg.*1. Sixtly, *Mutus non poteſt, niſi ſciat ſcribere:* A dumbe man by the Ciuill law cannot make a will, vnleſſe he can write, *lib.6.tit.*22.*leg.*10.*Iuſtinian.* Theſe conditions and many beſide, are required as neceſſarie for the conſtitution of wils: ſo that the death of the bodie is not onely ſufficient to adde ſtrength to a will, though without it, it ſtandeth not in force. In like manner without the death of Chriſts bodie the new teſtament was not ratified, and yet not onely by it: the innocencie of Chriſts birth, the righteouſnes of his life, his obedience in his ſuffrings vpon the croſſe muſt concurre with his death to eſtabliſh the new teſtament. Wherefore the argument followeth not, the new teſtament was confirmed by Chriſts bodily death: *Ergo,* hee ſuffred not the terrors of ſoule.

Fourthly, if this reaſon conclude any thing, it taketh away all compaſſion, ſorrow, and affection in the ſoule of Chriſt, (which they themſelues graunt, *Feuard.p.*452.*lin.*25.) as well as the terrors of conſcience: for if the bodily death be ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of the teſtament, then the ſoule neede not any way to bee affected at all. So then they may here ſay as *Hierome,* though not in the like caſe: *Noſtra contra nos dimicat armatura:* Our owne weapons doe fight againſt vs: *ad Ioann.Hieroſolymitan.*

*Arg.*5. Chriſt was more effectuall to ſaue vs, than *Adam* to condemne vs, *Feuard.p.*383.*cauſ.*4. & 454.*lin* 20. But *Adams* fleſh by the which ſinne entred, was ſufficient to deſtroy vs: *Ergo,* ſo muſt Chriſts fleſh be to redeeme vs.

2. Againe, the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.5.19. *As by one mans diſobedience many are made ſinners, ſo by the obedience of one ſhall many be made righteous:* This obedience of Chriſt was in his death, *Feuard. ibid. Ergo,* by the obedience of Chriſt to death we are made righteous.

1. *Anſw.* Firſt, the aſſumption is falſe, if it be vnderſtood ſo, that *Adams* fleſh onely infected his poſteritie: firſt, it would follow hereupon, that the fleſh is the ſeate of ſin, which is a popiſh error, and maintained by *Bellarm.de ſtat.peccat.lib.5.c.7.vid.ſupra contr.*18.*qu.*4.*par.*5. Diſeaſes and other outward infirmities are the infection of the bodie, but ſinne is properly the infection of the ſoule: for ſeeing ſinne is a ſpirituall euill, and the fleſh but a terrene and earthie veſſell, how can it be, that ſinne ſhould be propagated onely by the fleſh?

2. The Scriptures are contrarie: Geneſ.5.3. *Adam begat a childe in his owne likenes after his owne image:* was this image in the bodie onely, and not in the ſoule alſo? whereby is vnderſtood, that *Adam* begot a ſonne in the like ſinfull and corruptible ſtate, Ioh.1.13. *Which are borne not of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man,&c.* Where is the fleſhly will, whereof men are borne, but in the ſoule? Iohn.3.6. *That which is borne of the fleſh is fleſh, that which is borne of the ſpirit is ſpirit:* By fleſh here is ſignified the vnregenerate part both of the ſoule and bodie: whatſoeuer then is fleſhly and carnall in vs, whether in ſoule or bodie, is borne of the fleſh: and ſo ſinne propagated by them both.

3. *Obiect.* Then it will follow, that the ſoules of men, as well as their bodies are deriued from their parents, if originall infection be propagated by both.

Anſw. Firſt, I ſay with *Auguſtine* thus writing to S. *Hierome* of this very matter: *Illa de animarum nouarum creatione ſententia ſi hanc fidem fundatiſſimam non oppugnat,* (*i. de originali peccato*) *ſit & mea; ſi oppugnat, non ſit & tua:* This ſentence of the creation of new ſoules, if it do not impugne this grounded faith, (that is, of originall ſin,) let it be my opinion alſo, if it do, let it not be yours neither: So I ſay, that if it did neceſſarily follow, if ſoules be created of God; that pollution ſhould come onely by the fleſh, I had rather leaue that vncertaintie, then go againſt a certaine truth: for what were this els, but to extenuate originall ſinne, and in effect to make it no ſinne at all; ſeeing it is the ſoule, not the fleſh, that ſinneth: as the Prophet ſaith, Ezech.18.20. *The ſoule that ſinneth ſhall die.*

Secondly, neyther is it neceſſary to graunt, that ſoules ſhould be deriued from the parents, if ſin be propagated both by the bodie and the ſoule: S. *Auguſtine* ſheweth how, *lib.3.de liber.arbitr.c.*20. *Quod ſi ſigillatim in ſingulis fiunt animæ, conuenientiſſ.eſt, vt malum meritum prioris eſſet natura ſequentis, vt bonum meritum ſequentis natura eſt prioris:* Though that euery ſoule ſhould ſeuerally be made in the bodie, yet it is moſt conuenient, that the euill merite of the firſt man ſhould be the nature of the ſecond, as the good merit (that is vertue) of the ſecond is the nature of the firſt: that is, like as the image of grace renewed in *Adams* poſteritie, is the ſame that *Adams* nature was before his fall: ſo the euilneſſe in *Adam* corrupted, is become the nature of his corrupt poſteritie.

The Maſter of the ſentences is not here to be refuſed: *Ipſius carnalis concupiſcentiæ cauſa non eſt in anima ſola, nec in carne ſola, ex vtroq; enim fit,&c.* The cauſe of carnall concupiſcence is not in the ſoule alone, nor in the fleſh alone, but is made of them both, *lib.3.diſtinct.*17.*b.*

Like as a fountaine ſpringing vp in a clay ground, preſently receiueth of the nature of the ground: this clay water is neyther of the fountaine, for there is no clay, nor of the earth alone, for there is no water, but ioyntly from them both: ſo is the ſoule corrupted at the very firſt coniunction with the bodie: the ſinne is not in the ſoule, which is created pure, nor in the fleſh, which is not capable of ſinne, but it ſpringeth forth of the coniunction, and commixtion of them both.

4. How is it like, that *Adams* fleſh ſhould only infect his poſteritie; ſeeing it was not the fleſh, that firſt infected himſelfe? as *Magiſter ſententiar.* thus reporteth out of *Auguſtine, lib.2.diſt.32. liter.E. Non fuit corruptio corporis, quæ aggrauat animam, cauſa primi peccati, ſed pœna; nec caro corruptibilis animam peccatricem fecit, ſed peccatrix anima carnem corruptibilem fecit:* The corruption of the fleſh, which preſſeth downe the ſoule, was not the cauſe of the firſt ſinne, but the puniſhment: neyther the corruptible fleſh made the ſoule ſinfull, but the ſinfull ſoule made the fleſh ſubiect to corruption. Sinne then entred into *Adam* by his ſoule firſt, and then his fleſh: and ſo doth it enter vpon his poſteritie.

Secondly, 1. though the croſſe and paſſion of Chriſt did chiefly ſhew the obedience of Chriſt; *For he learned obedience by the thinges which he ſuffered*, Hebrewes 5.8. yet his obedience to his Father was ſeene through his whole life: as Iohn 4.34. *My meate is, that I may do the will of him that ſent me.* 2. Chriſts obedience is ſet againſt *Adams* diſobedience: As then *Adams* diſobedience ſignifieth the whole maſſe of corruption in him; ſo Chriſts obedience betokeneth all his iuſtice and righteouſnes. 3. So the Apoſtle expoundeth it himſelfe, Rom. 5.18. calling it *the iuſtifying of Chriſt*. 4. And though his obedience in his death were onely inſinuated, where was this obedience, was it not in his will, when he ſaith, *Not my will, but thine be done?* and he ſubmitteth himſelfe to drinke of the cup, not onely to taſte of the bodily death, but to endure all ſorrowes beſide, that ſhould be laid vpon him.

S. *Ambroſe* euidently declareth his mind of this matter, *de vocat. Gentium lib.1.c.3, inde (ex hominis præuaricatione) Multiplex corporis animiq; corruptio, inde ignorantia, difficultas, &c.* From mans tranſgreſſion proceedeth the manifold corruption of ſoule and body, as ignorance, hardnes of vnderſtanding, *curæ inutiles, ſacrilegi errores, &c.* vaine cares, ſacrilegious errors: if ignorance, error be propagated from *Adam*, then is not this propagation onely by the fleſh, which is not ſubiect to ignorance, error; but the ſoule onely: *Origen* alſo thus witneſſeth, *hom.8.in Leuitic. Audi Dauidem dicentem, in iniquitatibus conceptus ſum, oſtendens, quod quæcunq; anima in carne naſcitur, iniquitatis & peccati ſorde polluitur:* Heare *Dauid* ſaying, I was conceaued in iniquitie, ſhewing that any ſoule whatſoeuer is borne in the fleſh is polluted with the filthines of iniquitie and ſinne. The ſoule then in the very firſt birth is polluted, and ſo the corruption is ſpread as well by the ſoule as the body.

Argum.6. The leaſt teare, the leaſt groane, the leaſt drop of blood in Chriſt had been ſufficient, becauſe of the excellencie of the perſon of the ſufferer: how much more his whole painfull paſſion in his bodie? *Feuardent.pag.450.*

Anſw. Firſt, the argument followeth not; the Sonne of God was able with his blood onely to redeeme vs, *Ergo*, he thought good ſo to do: he had been able without his blood, or death at all, in his omnipotent power to haue ſaued vs; but it ſeemed not good vnto him ſo to do.

Secondly, if Chriſts blood onely did it, then were theſe ſorrowes of his ſoule, which you confeſſe he felt, ſuperfluous: if they were not in vaine, his teares, his heauineſſe, his groanes; then his blood onely without theſe redeemed vs not.

Thirdly, *Bernard* reporteth this to haue been the Error of one *Abaillardus, epiſt.191. Cur redemit nos per ſanguinem, cùm potuit per ſermonem?* Why did hee redeeme vs by his blood, when hee might haue done it by his word? *Bernard* anſwereth, *Quid prodeſt, quod nos inſtituit, ſi non reſtituit?* What had it auayled vs, if he had giuen vs inſtitution, but not reſtitution? In like ſort is it now vrged; what needed Chriſt to redeeme vs by his ſoule, ſeeing he did it in his bodie? we may alſo anſwere, *Quid prodeſt ſi nos reſtituit, ſi non plenè reſtituit?* What had it auayled vs, if hee reſtored vs, but fully had not reſtored vs?

Fourthly, we graunt, that Chriſt in reſpect of his great power, might haue redeemed vs not only without his ſuffrings in ſoule, but in bodie alſo: as M. *Caluin* ſaith, *Potuit nos Deus verbo, aut nutu redimere:* God might haue redeemed vs with his word, yea, with a becke: *in 15.Ioan.verſ.13.* But this was not agreeable to Gods iuſtice; who had otherwiſe determined, that his Sonne ſhould pay by his ſuffring the full price of our redemption: and therefore the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, 53.10. *The will of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand.* And here *Origen* hath a very good diſtinction, *Quod ad potentiam Dei omnia poſſibilia, quod ad iuſtitiam Dei poſſibilia ſolum, quæ iuſta ſunt:* In reſpect of Gods power, all things are poſſible; in reſpect of his iuſtice, thoſe things are onely poſſible, that are iuſt: *in Matth.tract.35.* So in reſpect of Gods power, Chriſt needed not to haue ſuffered, but in his bodie: but in regard of his iuſtice, it was not poſſible, but that Chriſt in himſelfe ſhould beare the whole and entire puniſhment due vnto our ſinnes.

Laſtly, whereas the fathers doe moſt worthily amplifie the bodily ſuffrings of Chriſt, and the death of his fleſh, denying that he dyed in ſoule, and to this purpoſe they may eaſily be produced: Our anſwere is this: 1. That concerning the death of the ſoule, we willingly condeſcend, that it is not to be admitted in Chriſt. 2. If the fathers vrge the blood of the Croſſe, and the offring of Chriſts fleſh, they muſt be vnderſtood according to the phraſe of the Scripture, which by one part ſetteth forth the reſt: and Chriſts blood is eſpecially mentioned, becauſe it was the moſt viſible and conſpicuous part of his paſſion. 3. Yet not one of the fathers can be brought forth, which denieth Chriſts ſuffering in ſoule. 4. Nay, they do witneſſe and teſtifie for the ſame: as *Cyril* ſaith, *Neceſſe erat cum ſuo corpore adunatam ei animam dolere, vt dum timebat paſſiones ſubditam ceruicem Deo ſubmitteret:* It was neceſſarie that his ſoule ſhould be grieued with the bodie, that while he feared his paſſions, he ſhould ſubmit his necke vnto God, *de incarnat. vnigen. c.7.* If Chriſts blood ſtrictly taken had ſufficed, the griefe of the ſoule had not beene neceſſarie. And if it be anſwered, that hee meaneth the griefe of the ſoule, ariſing from the ſuffring of the body: I ſay further, 1. that if it were ſo, yet this griefe is ſomewhat els beſide his blood, which was before affirmed to be ſufficient: a ſufficiencie is without the neceſſitie of other things: but hee ſaith there was a neceſſitie of the griefe of the minde: *Ergo,* without it there was not a ſufficiencie. 2. He meaneth a deeper griefe, feare and ſuffring, then ariſing from the ſuffring of the bodie: he feared his paſſions; but the paſſion of his bodily death he feared not; that had beene great weakeneſſe: and he was heard in that he feared, Heb.5.7. but in reſpect of his bodily death, that it might paſſe, hee was not heard: therefore it was a greater griefe and feare that perplexed his minde.

The Proteſtants.

THat the bodily death of Chriſt was not the whole ſuffring and ſacrifice of his Croſſe, neither in reſpect of Gods iuſtice the whole and full price of our redemption; though in reſpect of Gods power, leſſe might haue ſufficed; thus we ſhew it:

***Argum.*1.** That which Chriſt tooke, he offered: Chriſt tooke not the body or fleſh of man only: *Ergo,* he offered not his body onely.

Anſw. If any thing be here denied, it will be the propoſition, which is further thus confirmed.

Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr.2.14. *For as much as the children were partakers of fleſh and blood, hee tooke part with them, that he might deſtroy thorough death, &c. and that he might deliuer all them, which for feare of death were all their life long ſubiect to bondage:* from this place I reaſon thus: *that which Chriſt by his death deliuered vs from, he tooke part with vs in:* but hee deliuered vs not onely from the death of the bodie, but from the feare and bondage *of the ſoule*: *Ergo,* herein hee tooke part with vs.

Secondly, they are S. *Ambroſe* words, *Hoc obtulit Chriſtus, quod induit:* Chriſt offered that, which he tooke or put on, *de incarnat. c.7. Ergo,* he offered not his fleſh onely, becauſe he tooke it not alone.

Thirdly, he giueth this reaſon in the ſame place: *Quæ erat cauſa incarnationis, niſi vt caro, quæ peccauerat per ſe redimeretur:* What cauſe was there of his incarnation, but that the fleſh, that had ſinned, ſhould be redeemed by it ſelfe? The reaſon ſtandeth thus: 1. That which Chriſt tooke of mans nature, he tooke to redeeme by ſuffring in it: but Chriſt tooke not onely the fleſh of man, but his ſoule: *Ergo,* he redeemed mans ſoule, by ſuffring in it. 2. That part of man, which had ſinned, muſt be redeemed by it ſelfe: not mans fleſh onely, but his ſoule alſo had ſinned: *Ergo,* not the fleſh onely, but the ſoule muſt be by it ſelfe redeemed.

***Argum.*2.** The ſecond reaſon I take out of *Cyprian*; and it is framed thus: That which Chriſt offered vpon the Croſſe, he ſuffered in: Chriſt offered not his body onely: *Ergo,* he ſuffered not in body onely.

Firſt, the propoſition or firſt part is proued by the Apoſtle, Heb.9.25,26. *Not that he ſhould offer himſelfe often, &c. for then he muſt haue often ſuffered:* So then there is no offering of Chriſt without ſuffring: and therefore he is ſaid to haue offered *a ſacrifice for ſinnes,* Heb.10.12. But a ſacrifice is not offered without ſuffring: for the ſacrifice was firſt killed, and then offered.

Secondly, S. *Cyprian* proueth the aſſumption, as I haue alleaged him before, *lib. de duplic. Martyr.* who applieth that place of Iohn, 1. Epiſt.5.8. *There are three that beare record in earth; the ſpirit, water and blood*; vnto the oblation of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe: *Triplex à Chriſto teſtimonium accepimus, &c.* We haue receiued a threefold teſtimonie from Chriſt; of the ſpirit, water, and blood: *Totum effudit ſpiritum, &c.* He did ſend forth his whole ſpirit, that we might be refreſhed; the water, that we might be waſhed; the blood that was left, that we might be confirmed: So there was nothing in Chriſt, that was not powred out vpon the Croſſe; his ſoule firſt and ſpirit, then all the moiſture and blood left in his body: Chriſt then offered not his bodie onely vpon the Croſſe: for he further ſaid, *Father, into thy hands I commend my ſpirite: Ergo,* he ſuffered not onely in body.

***Argum.*3.** That which Chriſt tooke of our nature, hee ſanctified in himſelfe, Hebr.2.11. *Hee that ſanctifieth, and they which are ſanctified, are all of one:* Our reaſon then ſtandeth thus: that which Chriſt ſanctified in himſelfe, hee ſanctified by ſuffring in it: So ſaith the Apoſtle, Heb.2.10. that *Chriſt was conſecrate through afflictions:* and by the ſame meanes did Chriſt ſanctifie himſelfe, whereby we are ſanctified: Ioh.17.19. *For their ſakes doe I ſanctifie my ſelfe, that they alſo may be ſanctified:* But we are ſanctified by Chriſts oblatiõ vpon the croſſe, Heb.10.14. *With one offring hath he conſecrated for euer them that are ſanctified.* The propoſition then is true, that Chriſt was ſanctified by his ſuffring and offring vpon the croſſe, but both his bodie and ſoule was ſanctified: *Ergo,* hee ſuffered not in bodie onely, but both in bodie and ſoule. This reaſon and euery part thereof is grounded vpon Scripture.

*Argum.*4. Chriſt offered the true ſacrifice of himſelfe in the true tabernacle: his bodie alone is not, but bodie and ſoule both are this true tabernacle: *Ergo,* hee offered himſelfe a ſacrifice not in bodie onely, but both in bodie and ſoule.

Firſt, the propoſition is affirmed by the Apoſtle, Hebr.8.2. *that Chriſt is a miniſter of the true tabernacle,* that is, by the offring of himſelfe who is both the Prieſt, the ſacrifice and tabernacle.

Secondly, the aſſumption is thus prooued: firſt, his humane nature is called the *true tabernacle,* becauſe it is not to bee ſhifted or chaunged, as the old tabernacle was, but to remaine for euer: and in this ſenſe though the fleſh of Chriſt was the true tabernacle, becauſe it was incorruptible, yet his ſoule more properly: for his fleſh was layd aſide, and put off by death, but his ſoule remained with him ſtill: herein then it was the true tabernacle indeede, being eternall and immortall. Secondly, Heb.9.11. *It is called a tabernacle not made with hands, which God pight & not man,* Heb.8.3. This more properly agreeth to his ſoule: for though his fleſh was borne of a virgin, and ſo brought forth without the helpe or hands of man, in reſpect of the common birth; yet receiued he his fleſh of his mother, ouerſhadowed by the holie Ghoſt: but his ſoule was immediatly and wholy ſent from God, and ſo *this tabernacle* was not at all *pight by man.* Thirdly, that is the true temple and tabernacle, wherein the holie Ghoſt dwelled *bodily,* as the Apoſtle ſaith, Col.2.9. *In him dwelleth the fulnes of the Godhead bodily:* but the Godhead dwelt not only in Chriſts bodie, but in his ſoule: *Ergo,* both made this holie temple, and true tabernacle. Fourthly, to this purpoſe *Auguſtine* thus reſembleth the holy ſoule of Chriſt, he calleth it *vas vnguenti,* the veſſell of the holy oyntment, of the ſpirit; *& tanquam ferrum ignitum;* and as an yron red hot, in euery part thereof receiueth the fire: ſo was the fulnes of the Godhead in the ſoule of Chriſt, *de Trinitat. vnitat. cap.*3. It followeth then, that ſeeing not the body and fleſh of Chriſt onely make the true tabernacle, but his ſoule alſo, and that in the true tabernacle the true ſacrifice of atonement was offered, that Chriſt offered not this ſacrifice in his bodie onely.

*Argum.*5. If the bodily ſuffrings of Chriſt had been ſufficient, then his other ſuffrings in his ſoule had been ſuperfluous; as the heauineſſe of his ſoule, where he ſaith, *My ſoule is heauie vnto death,* Matth.26.38. *his ſighs and grones,* Ioh.11.38. *his feare,* Heb.5.7. But theſe and the like paſſions in Chriſt, were not ſuperfluous: for the Prophet ſaith, Iſay.53.11. *He ſhall ſee of the trauaile of his ſoule: Ergo,* his bodily ſuffrings were not alone ſufficient.

*Argum.*6. We will reaſon *ex confeſſis:* It is graunted by the reſt, that Chriſt alſo beſide his bodily ſuffrings had inwarde feare and griefe: *Bellarm. cap.*8. *reſponſ. ad argum.*3. *Vt redemptio eſſet copioſa, voluit etiam pœnam mœroris, & timoris ſubire:* That the redemption might be the more full, Chriſt would vndergoe the paine of griefe and feare. *Feuardentius* thus confeſſeth, *p.*455. *Tantam concepit de his triſtitiam, &c.* Chriſt conceiued ſuch ſorrow and griefe for the ſinnes of the world, *vt omnem verè reſipiſcentis animæ pœnitentiam exuperauerit, &c.* that he exceeded the griefe and ſorrow of a ſoule truly penitent. Againe, *Tanta animi pœnitudine dolet, vt par ei nemò vnquam fuerit:* He was ſo much grieued in his ſoule, as that no man was euer equall to him. Theſe ſorrowes in Chriſts ſoule, were neither bodily, nor yet procured by his bodily paines, being occaſioned by the ſinnes of the world: This being then their owne confeſſion, how can they aſcribe our redemption wholy to the bodily ſuffrings of Chriſt, vnleſſe they will make thoſe other afflictions of Chriſt either fained, or ſuperfluous, which farre be it from any Chriſtian heart to thinke?

*Argum.*7. The Fathers iudgement againſt the ſole bodily ſuffrings of Chriſt, I haue alleaged before: as *Cyrill. reſp. ad argum.*7. *Ambroſe argum.*1. *Cypriane argum.*2. and ſo I will conclude this place with another ſentence of *Cyprian: Sine hoc holocauſto poterat deus tantum condonaſſe peccatum, ſed facilitas veniæ laxaret habenas peccatis effrænibus, quæ etiam Chriſti vix cohibent paſſiones, &c.* God could haue forgiuen vs our great ſinne without this holocauſt, or whole burnt offring: but then the facilitie of pardon would haue let looſe the raines vnto vnruly ſins, which are hardly reſtrained by the paſſions of Chriſt. Out of this ſentence I obſerue firſt, that *Cyprian* calleth Chriſts ſacrifice an holocauſt, an whole ſuffring, which could not be of one part onely, but of both: for that is not whole, which wanteth a part. Secondly, he granteth, that God in his infinit power could haue found out forgiuenes of ſins by ſome other meane, but it pleaſed him otherwiſe: that by the manifold paſſions, which were layd vpon Chriſt for our ſinne, wee ſhould be brideled from committing the ſame. And ſo we conclude;

1. If what Chriſt tooke of the nature of man, he offered vpon the croſſe;
2. If Chriſt ſuffered in all that, which he offered;
3. If that by his ſuffrings he ſanctified the whole nature of man;
4. If in the true tabernacle of bodie and ſoule he offered the ſacrifice;
5. If all other grieues and ſorrowes, which Chriſt endured in his ſoule ſhould be ſuperfluous;
6. Seeing it is confeſſed by the aduerſarie part, that Chriſt had greater ſorrowe in his ſoule, than euer any man had;
7. The Fathers likewiſe ſet forth the holocauſt or whole offring of Chriſt: Then it doth neceſſarily followe, that Chriſts ſuffrings and ſmart in his fleſh onely wrought not our redemption; which though in themſelues, in reſpect of Gods great power, had been ſufficient, yet it ſo ſtoode with Gods iuſtice and euerlaſting purpoſe, that his ſonne in his owne perſon, ſhould make a full ſatisfaction both in his bodie and ſoule for our ſinnes.

THE SECOND PART, OF THE FEARE AND aſtoniſhment of Chriſt, and the cauſe thereof, that it proceeded from the very feare and feeling of Gods wrath, which Chriſt did beare and endure for our ſinnes.

THE OBIECTIONS AND CONTRARIE arguments anſwered.

The Papiſts.

FIrſt, their opinion is, that the feare and agonie of Chriſt proceeded not from any feeling of Gods wrath or indignation, but ***humani ſenſus mortem exhorreſcentis affectum, &c. effundebat:*** But he onely ſhewed the affection of humane ſenſe fearing death, ***Feuard.p.***430. ***ſic Bellarm.cap.***8. ***reſp.ad argum.***6. They reaſon thus: 15. Error.

Argum.1. There are other cauſes of Chriſts heauines, feare, and agonie: Firſt, the reiection of the Iewes. Secondly, the diſperſion of the Apoſtles, ***Bellarm reſp.ad argum.***8. Thirdly, the lamentation for mans ſinne: ***Omnem verè reſipiſcentis animæ pœnitentiam exuperauit:*** He went beyond or exceeded the greateſt repentance of the ſoule that may be, ***Feuard.pag*** 455. Fourthly, the ſeueritie, and iuſtice of God vpon him the Redeemer of the world, ***Feuard.p.***456. ***lin.***13. Fiftly, hee feared death in his humane ſenſe, ***Feuard.p.***430. ***Ergo***, Chriſts feare and agonie ariſing of theſe cauſes, can not be aſſigned to any other.

Anſw. Firſt, the argument followeth not: theſe were the cauſes of Chriſts agonie: ***Ergo***, the other was not: for they may all ſtand well together: that the conſideration of theſe forenamed cauſes might moue Chriſt; and yet the feeling of Gods heauie wrath and diſpleaſure for ſin moue and trouble him much more.

Secondly, that Chriſt was heauie for the ***reiection*** of the Iewes, and ***diſperſion*** of his Apoſtles, 1 though it be graunted for reuerence to the Fathers; ***Hilarie, Ambroſe, Hierome***, that ſo thinke; yet 2 it concludeth not againſt vs: firſt, at other times thoſe thoughts for the Iewes, and his Apoſtles troubled Chriſt; as Matth.23.verſ.37. he prophecieth with griefe of the deſolation of Ieruſalem: Ioh.17.11. he had commended his Apoſtles to the protection and keeping of his father: ſo that though they ſhould be diſperſed by his death, yet hee knew they ſhould be gathered together againe and ſtrengthened: as he ſaith of ***Peter, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not***, Luc.22. verſ.32. Chriſt therefore for that matter was ſetled. Secondly, but now it is euident, that Chriſt is properly touched with ſome inward obiect: in that he prayeth ***the cup might paſſe from himſelfe:*** how could either the ***reiection of the Iewes***, or the ***diſperſion*** of his Apoſtles be this cup? Thirdly, he prayeth ***that that houre might paſſe from him***, Mark.14.35. but neither the reiection of the Iewes, nor the diſperſion of his Apoſtles fell out in that houre or inſtant. Fourthly, Chriſt was heard in that he feared, Heb.5.7. but he was not heard in this, that the Iewes ſhould not be ***reiected***, nor his Apoſtles ***diſperſed: Ergo***, this was not that hee feared. Fiftly, though the Fathers conceit here be admitted, it concludeth not againſt vs: for none of them affirme, that Chriſt onely was troubled for theſe cauſes pretended.

Thirdly, Chriſts ſorrow and lamentation for ſinne by way of ***compaſſion*** or ***commiſeration***, cau- 3 ſed not this agonie: firſt, for ſo he wept at other times for the ſinne of the citie, Luk.19.41. he wept onely drops of water, not drops of blood, as now: but if it had been the ſame cauſe, it would haue then brought forth the ſame effect. Secondly, Chriſt ſpeaketh here of an houre, to the which this griefe was peculiar: but to ſorrow in compaſſion, was at all houres and times in Chriſt, and ought to be alwaies in Chriſts members. Thirdly, if Chriſt onely had ſorrowed for the ſinnes of other in compaſſion,what needed he to haue been comforted by the Angell? Luk.22.43. the obiect therefore of this griefe was inward. He ſorrowed not now by way of *compaſſion*,but hee ſorrowed for ſinne by way of appropriation: our ſinnes were now as appropriated to his perſon, and this *godly* ſorrow for ſinne,among other effects in the ſoule,hath *feare* and *puniſhment*,2.Cor.7.11.then conſequently in the ſoule of Chriſt, there was feare and chaſtiſement for our ſins now his by imputation,which is the ſame thing we affirme.

Fourthly: firſt,if the preſence of the Maieſtie of God were the cauſe of Chriſts feare and agonie in his prayer, why did not the like agonie fall vpon him,at other times,when hee preſented himſelfe before the Maieſtie of God in prayer? Secondly, and Chriſt being innocent, iuſt and perfect,what cauſe had he to tremble in the preſence of God in reſpect of himſelfe, ſeeing that the Saints his members haue ſuch confidence to ſtand forth boldly in Gods preſence? Iſay.8.18. *Behold*,(ſaith the Prophet)*here am I,and the children which thou haſt giuen me.* Thirdly, Chriſt feared then and trembled before God as a Iudge,readie to execute wrath againſt ſinne:Gods wrath then is cauſe of this agonie,which is the very poynt by vs maintained.

Fiftly,if Chriſt feared his bodily death and corporall affliction aboue his ſtrength,hee feared more than Saint *Paul*, 1.Cor.10.13, *God is faithfull, which will not ſuffer you to be tempted aboue that you are able.* If Chriſt feared the ſeparation of the ſoule from the bodie by death,hee ſhould haue ſhewed himſelfe weaker than his members. *Auguſtine* ſaith,*Paulus ſeruus exultat,cupio diſſolui,&c. Chriſtus imperator triſtis eſt: Paul* the ſeruant deſireth to be diſſolued,and to be with Chriſt;and is Chriſt the captaine heauie? *in Pſal.93.* And as for the ſeparation of the humanitie from the diuine nature,if any man ſay Chriſt feared it, hee is in a great error: for the bodie ſtill lying in the graue was hypoſtatically vnited to the Godhead, as *Damaſcene* ſoundly ſaith, ἡ θεότης ἀχώριστος ἀμφοτέρων διέμεινε: The diuinitie remained inſeparable from them both: *de fid lib.3.c.27.* Hee neuer feared therefore the diſſolution of the vnitie of his perſon.

Argum.2. If the ſenſe and feeling of Gods wrath was the cauſe of Chriſts agonie, they muſt ceaſe with the agonie;for the cauſe remaining the effect alſo muſt continue: but his agonie ended in the garden, his helliſh ſorrowes (you ſay) endured vpon the croſſe: *Ergo*, they were not the cauſe. And if the things which Chriſt afterward ſuffered, as his whipping, piercing of his hands and feete,and death it ſelfe did not amaze or aſtoniſh Chriſt; how much leſſe did the feare and griefe thereof perplexe him in the garden,which were but *ſimplicia prælndia*, but forerunners only,of his ſuffrings that followed: *Feuard.p.424.conf.4.*

Anſw. Firſt,Chriſts feare in the garden proceeded not from the expectation of his bodily ſuffrings that followed,but as they were accompanied with the wrath of God: that which then hee feared and trembled at,he afterward felt in his ſoule, namely the wrath of God: and vpon the croſſe he was no leſſe perplexed,but indeede more vehemently touched in ſoule,when hee cryed out he was forſaken,than before in the garden. And as *Chryſoſtome* well ſaith, *Chriſtus pluribus in morte vexatus doloribus,quam omnes tragœdi ſcribere poſſunt,expirauit:* Chriſt being vexed with more ſorrowes in his death, than all tragicall writers can deſcribe, gaue vp his ſpirit: *Hom.31.in Matth.*

Secondly, for further anſwere to the argument: firſt, the propoſition followeth not, that the cauſe ſhould ceaſe, when the effect ceaſeth; the cauſe indeede leaueth working, when the effect ſtayeth;but it hath ſtill a being: Like as in the bodie vexed with tertian or quartan feuers, there is an intermiſſion of the fits for a time, yet the ſame cauſe ſtill liueth and raigneth in the bodie, which when it beginneth to worke againe, the fits are renued; ſo is it in the vexation and agitation of the minde. Secondly, 1.for the aſſumption,we ſay that there was in Chriſt an intermiſſion of that inward perplexitie and vexation of his ſoule, that ſore fit and agonie being paſt, which was afterward reuiued vpon the croſſe. 2. The grieues and comforts of the ſoule doe ebbe and flow,compared in this behalfe to the waues of the ſea, Pſal.42.4. when one is lift vp by the waue he ſeeth the comfortable light; when he is caſt downe,he beholdeth nothing but darknes. 3. This was *Iobs* caſe: firſt in griefe he complaineth,Iob.19.11.*he counteth me as one of his enemies:* then againe he receiueth ſtrength,verſ.25.*I know my redeemer liueth:* after this his ſoule is caſt downe againe; Iob.30.21.*Thou turneſt thy ſelfe cruelly againſt me.* 4. *Auguſtine* very fitly thus reſembleth this matter,writing vpon theſe words of the Pſalme 10.*Palpebræ dei:* The eye-lids of God do examine the ſonnes of men: *Interdum clauſis dei oculis exercentur vt quærant; interdum apertis illuminantur vt gaudeant:* Sometime they are exerciſed or troubled,when God ſhutteth his eyes, that they may ſeeke; ſometime they are illuminate with his open eyes,that they may reioyce. As is then the ſhutting and opening of the eyes;ſo ſometimes the ſoule is obſcured with griefe,ſometimes lightened with ioy. In Chriſt then as the agonie ceaſed, ſo there was an intermiſſion of the inward terror that cauſed it.

Argum.3. Chriſts anſwere to *Caiphas*,his prayer for his enemies,his promiſe to the theefe vpon the croſſe,his commending of his ſpirit to God, doe ſhew that Chriſt was not all this while aſtoniſhed:

niſhed: *ſic Bellar.lib.4.de Chriſti anima cap.8.argum.2.& Feuardent.p.425.6.* Thus they conclude, that Chriſt was not amazed or aſtoniſhed at all with the feare and feeling of Gods wrath.

Anſw. Firſt, there is none that affirmeth, that this amazing or aſtoniſhment of Chriſt continued ſo long together, from the beginning of his agonie to the end of his paſſion. Maſter *Caluine* ſaith onely, *In ipſo momento non reputabat:* In that moment he did not bethinke himſelfe, *in 26.Mat. verſ.39.* S.*Peter* giueth a reaſon, Act.2.24. that it was *impoſſible that Chriſt ſhould be held of the ſorrowes of hell,* as their vulgar Latine readeth.

Secondly, the anſweres then of Chriſt at his examination, condemnation, ſuffering, doe ſhewe that hee was not then as a man amazed or aſtoniſhed: for in the beginning of his agonie in the garden he was afrighted and perplexed; but this his aſtoniſhment continued not in that meaſure, he eftſoones recouered himſelfe: As *Origen* writeth, *Non ſcriptum eſt, quia pauit, vel triſtatus eſt, ſed cæpit pauere: pij guſtant tantum dolorem, impij guſtant tantum fidem, Hebr.6.5.* It is not written, that he was afraid or ſorrowfull, but began to be afraid: the godly onely taſte griefe, the vngodly onely haue a taſte of faith: *in Matth.tract.35.*

Thirdly, neither neede it ſeeme ſtraunge, that our Sauiour ſo ſoone *correcteth*, or rather *directeth* his naturall infirmitie, ſaying, *not my will, &c.* for as *Auguſt.* ſaith, *Si in illa voluntate permaneret, vtiq; prauum cor oſtendere videretur:* If Chriſt had continued in his firſt will or deſire, he had ſhewed an heart not aright, *in Pſal.93.* Therefore it became Chriſt forthwith to ſubmit his naturall infirmitie to Gods will and pleaſure, being free from all ſinne and diſobedience. Alſo *Damaſcene* confeſſeth, that Chriſts will was firſt τῆς φυσικῆς ἀσθενείας πειραθεῖσαν, tempted of his naturall infirmitie, and by and by ſtrengthened by the diuine will.

Fourthly, the children of God are often ſoone recouered from the gulfe of griefe: as *Iob* in the ſame place, chap.19.11.25. as I euen now alleaged, is an example of comfort, and diſcomfort. *Dauid* with the ſame breath ſaith, *I am caſt out of thy ſight:* And againe, *Thou heardeſt the voyce of my prayer, when I cryed vnto thee,* Pſal.31.22. If the members of Chriſt ſo ſoone ouercame theſe brunts of griefe; it is no marueile if Chriſt were thought not altogether rid, yet eaſed of it and refreſhed. Yet notwithſtanding, if it be graunted that this perplexitie of Chriſt did hang vpon him ſtill in ſome meaſure, from the beginning of his agonie vntill his death, as *Origen* ſeemeth to thinke: *Non ſemper, ſed vſque ad tempus mortis in me eſt, vt cum mortuus fuero peccato, moriar & vniuerſæ triſtitiæ:* This heauines is not alwaies in me, but vnto yͤ time of death, that when I am dead to ſin, I ſhall be dead to al ſorrow, *Hom.35.in Matth.* All this being admitted, yet Chriſt might both pray in faith, and confidently commend his ſoule vnto God, and make wiſe anſweres vnto his perſecutors: Firſt, his faith failed not in his agonie, though his carnall ſenſe were afrighted and aſtoniſhed, and therefore hee might and did effectually pray. Secondly, the vehement fittes of his agonie were ſometime ſlaked and intermitted, and as the terme of the law is, though in another kinde, as men naturally diſquieted in their minde, may haue *dilucida interualla*, lightſome ſeaſons, when they come to themſelues, *Cod.lib.6.tit.22.leg.9.* So Chriſt in this ſupernaturall aſtoniſhment, had ſome ſpaces of intermiſſion. Thirdly, this agonie and combat which he had with the wrath of God, did not make him the more vnfit in his cariage to men; but that he might and did exhort his Apoſtles, reproue and refute his aduerſaries: like as *Iob*, though he complained of the terrors of God in his ſoule, Iob.6.4. yet knew well how to anſwere the deceitfull and comfortleſſe obiections and oppoſitions of his friends; ſo Chriſt in this agonie hauing to doe with God, not with men, though toward God he were aſtoniſhed in his ſenſe, his faith ſtill remaining ſound, yet toward men he was notwithſtanding moſt readie and expert in his heauenly anſweres and oracles.

Argum.4. Firſt, Chriſts prayers were meritorious: *Precibus & meritis patrem nobis cæleſtem propitium reddidit:* By his prayers and merits he made his father well pleaſed with vs. But what merit could there be in his prayer if he were aſtoniſhed? *Feuard.p.421.conf.12.lin.4.* 1

Secondly, *Quæ conſtantia, &c.* What conſtancie, what fortitude of minde, if through feare and aſtoniſhment Chriſts memorie failed? *Feuard.p.423.conf.2.lin.7.* 2

But Chriſt ſhewed in his agonie, faith, conſtancie, fortitude, obedience: *Ergo*, he was not aſtoniſhed.

Thirdly, if Chriſt feared his fathers wrath, then hee doubted: ſo *Feuardentius* inferreth vpon *Caluines* wordes, that becauſe hee ſaith, *Chriſtum timere*, that Chriſt did feare, therefore hee doubted, *p.458.* 3

Fourthly, Saint *Peter* ſaith, Chriſt ſuffered for vs, leauing for vs an example that we ſhould follow his ſteppes, 1.Pet.2.21. but it were hard for vs, if Chriſt were aſtoniſhed with feare, and ſo beſide himſelfe, therein to imitate him: this place of the Apoſtle is vrged by the Frier, *p.361.conf.4. lin.4.* 4

Anſw. Firſt, 1. if Chriſt had continued ſtill amazed and afrighted, and not eftſoone recouered himſelfe, the firſt argument might haue ſome colour, but the ſhortnes of that brunt nothing hindered his meritorious working. 2. It was a meanes rather to encreaſe his merite, in that he 1 yeelded not to this naturall feare and infirmitie, but in wreſtling againſt it, and ſubduing his humane will to Gods will, his obedience became meritorious. 3. Yet I further boldly ſay, that euen this feare and aſtoniſhment of Chriſt being without ſinne, and all other his naturall infirmities, of hunger, thirſt, wearineſſe in the bodie, feare, griefe, with the like in his ſoule, were meritorious: as *Hierome* well ſaith, *Manifeſtum ei eſſe poterit, qui Euangelia ſollicita mente perlegerit, quomodo & cibus & potus eius & deambulatio, & vniuerſa quæ geſſit in corpore ſalutem hominum procurarint:* It may be manifeſt to him that carefully readeth the Goſpell, how that Chriſts meate and drinke, his walking and all which he did in his bodie, did procure our ſaluation, *tom.4.de fil.prodig.* 4. Chriſt amazed, aſtoniſhed, merited not indeed for himſelfe, neyther did he at any other time els: but for vs euen then and there he merited.

Secondly, 1. there was no diſtempered humor in Chriſt; but euen in his agonie, his heart was ſetled, his faith firme and fixed, without any diſtruſt, or deſpaire. 2. It is vntrue, that there can be no faith, obedience, conſtancie, fortitude, while a man is in a traunce or aſtoniſhed; for *Peter* ſhewed both, Act.10. when hee fell into a traunce: Firſt his faith, verſ.14. *I haue neuer eaten any thing vncleane:* his obedience, verſ.15. in that he reſted notwithſtanding in the anſwere of God, ſubmitting himſelfe thereunto. 3. Chriſt continued not in this aſtoniſhment long, but preſently plunged out of it: and therefore all his prayer while, he was not in this traunce; but as on the one ſide he was aſſaulted in his humane ſenſe with feare and griefe; ſo he recouered himſelfe by his faith, and encountred with that brunt of ſorrow: ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, *that Ieſus for the ioy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſſe:* Heb.12.2. And *Cypriane* thus witneſſeth, *Sanguineo ſudore madefiens, noſtræ naturæ in ſe expreſſit imbecillitatem, ne nos in deſperationem caderemus, ſi quum omnia mortem præſentem intentant, horrorem naturæ ſenſerimus, &c.* Chriſt dropping with his bloodie ſweate, did expreſſe the imbecillitie of our nature, leaſt we ſhould fall into deſpaire, if we feele the horror of nature, when all thinges threaten preſent deſtruction, *de duplic.Martyr.* Chriſt then *felt* our ſorrowes, but *fainted* not, he was *diſtreſſed*, but *deſpaired* not, *vexed*, but not *vanquiſhed.*

Thirdly, the argument followeth not, neither is it true, that feare is more intollerable in Chriſt then doubting. 1. *Damaſcene* vſeth a good diſtinction of feare, *lib.3.de fide c.23.* that there is δειλία φυσικὴ, and παρὰ φύσιν, a naturall feare, ſuch as this was in Chriſt to decline death; and a feare vnnaturall, which proceedeth from diffidence or diſtruſt, which was not in Chriſt: all feare hath not diſtruſt, but all doubting is ioyned with diſtruſt and diffidence; therefore there may be feare naturall, where neyther ſinne is nor diſtruſt. 2. The Scriptures teſtifie of Chriſt, that hee began to be afraid, Marke 14.33. ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, but doubtfulneſſe or diſtruſt is no where mentioned to haue bin in Chriſt: therefore the one was in Chriſt, and not the other. 3. *Origen* ſaith, *Proprium eſt omnis hominis primum quidem nolle pati aliquid doloris:* It is proper to euery man, firſt not to be willing to ſuffer any griefe, &c. *In Matth.Tract.35. Chryſoſtom. Neque nolle mori carnem reprehenſio:* Neither is it to be reprehended, if the fleſh be vnwilling to die: *Ex Epiſtol. Agathon. ad Conſtantin:* Thus theſe Fathers doubt not to aſcribe vnto Chriſt a naturall feare, and deſire to eſcape ſorrow, without ſinne or doubtfulnes.

Fourthly, whereas the reaſon is thus framed: Chriſt in his ſufferings is to be imitated of vs; but in his aſtoniſhment and amazednes, he is not to be imitated, or in that he was beſide himſelfe: *Ergo*, he was not in any of his ſufferings ſo aſtoniſhed or beſide himſelfe.

*Anſw.*1. It is deuiſed onely by them, not affirmed by vs, that Chriſt, in his agonie, was *beſide himſelfe*, which is nothing elſe, but to be madde: we affirme onely according to the Scripture, that Chriſt began to bee *amazed*, and with feare to bee aſtoniſhed: Mark. 14.36. So the word ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι there vſed, ſignifieth. 2. Chriſt is not to be imitated in all parts of his ſuffering, neither can be: for who is able to beare ſuch a heauie burthen of Gods wrath and diſpleaſure, as he did, which cauſed him to be aſtoniſhed? Chriſt is to be imitated, wherein he may be imitated of vs, as he himſelfe ſaith, *Learne of me, for I am humble and meeke:* ſo *Auguſtine* ſaith, *In Pſalm.90.præfat. In quo imitaturi ſumus Chriſtum, nunquid hoc à nobis exigit, vt talia miracula, qualia ipſe fecit, faciamus, &c.* Wherein are wee to imitate Chriſt, doth hee require of vs to doe ſuch miracles as hee did? &c. hee ſaith, *Learne of me, for I am humble and meeke.* If Chriſt be not to be imitated in his miracles, then not in this his aſtoniſhment: for ſo to be aſtoniſhed as he was, and not faile in faith, was a great miracle. 3. Yet we haue here in Chriſt, that which is worthy & fit to be imitated of vs, namely his ſubmiſſion and obedience: that though his naturall deſire caried him one way, yet he ſubdued it to the will of God, ſaying, *not my will, but thy will be done:* as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Statim fac, quod ideo fecit, vt te doceret, non quod ego volo, &c.* Doe ſtraightway as he did, to the end to teach thee, not that I will, &c.

*Argum.*5. *Hilarie* may be obiected, as he is alleaged by the Maſter of Sentences, *Lib.3.diſt.15. tit.9. Nec fieri poteſt, vt timor eius ſignificetur in verbis, cuius fiducia continuatur in factis:* It cannot be, that his feare ſhould be ſignified in word, whoſe fiduce is continued in fact, *Lib.10.de trinitat. Hilarie* ſeemeth to exempt Chriſt from all feare and infirmitie, in his bloodie ſweate and agonie; rather aſcribing the drops of blood to his power and diuine omnipotencie, then to his naturall infirmitie.

*Anſw.*1. *Peter Lombard* in the ſame place bringeth in this anſwere, *Neceſſitas timendi non fuit in Chriſto?* There was not the like cauſe and neceſſitie of feare and griefe in Chriſt, which is in vs, and ſo he ſaith *Hilarie* is to be vnderſtoode, not denying feare to be in Chriſt, but the like cauſe of feare.

*Anſ.*2. It is true, that it was not infirmitie in Chriſt, but power to ſtand out in this agonie, and to ſtriue againſt it, euen vnto blood, but yet the beginning of it proceeded of feare: *Damaſcene* ſaith, that our naturall paſſions were in Chriſt, κατὰ φύσιν, ὑπὲρ φύσιν: according to nature, and aboue, or beyond nature: according to nature, in that he had them; but aboue nature, in that he gouerned and moderated them: *Lib.*3.*de fide.c.*20. So *Hilarie* ſaith, *Non ſecundum naturæ conſuetudinem geſſit,&c.* He did it not after the cuſtome of nature: for he did gouerne and execute them aboue nature. 3. But otherwiſe, that his naturall feare and infirmitie gaue beginning to this agonie: *Ambroſe* teſtifieth: *Audi vtramque vocem & carnis infirmæ, & ſpiritus prompti pater, ſi poſſibile, tranſeat calix, hæc carnis eſt vox; non quod ego volo, habes deuotionem ſpiritus:* Heare both voices, both of weake fleſh, and of the readie ſpirit: Father, if it be poſſible, let this cup paſſe, this is the voyce of fleſh; not that I will, here is the deuotion of the ſpirit, *lib.*4. *in Luc.*

THE TRVTH CONFIRMED.

The Proteſtants.

CHriſt thorough the very feare and feeling, ſight and ſenſe of Gods heauie wrath and diſpleaſure againſt our ſinne layed vpon him, was in an exceeding great agonie, and therein his humane nature for a while was ſo amazed and aſtoniſhed, that in that moment, he wiſhed to ſhunne the cuppe prepared for him for the worke of our redemption; yet ſo, that he preſently conformeth his will and deſire, to the will and pleaſure of God.

*Argum.*1. The Apoſtle ſaith, that Chriſt when he prayed in the daies of his fleſh, *With ſtrong cries and teares, was heard in that he feared,* but he was not heard nor deliuered from his bodily death, *Ergo,* it was not that which he feared: and ſo conſequently it was the heauie wrath of God in his ſoule, which he feared.

*Anſw.*1. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that Chriſt was heard in that which he deſired, namely, that the will of God might be done in his death, or that he might be deliuered from death by his reſurrection: *reſp.ad argum.*6.

2. It may alſo be anſwered, that Chriſt was heard in that he feared, and deliuered from his feare: he felt not then that which he feared: ſo then if he feared Gods wrath, he was deliuered from it before he felt it: *Feuard.* to this effect, *p.*464.*con.*4.*lin.*11.

3. It will be anſwered, that εὐλαβεία, muſt be expounded, not feare, but reuerence: and ſo *Bellarmine* affirmeth, that *Chryſoſtome, Theophylact, Oecumenius* doe ſo interpret this place, that Chriſt was heard, *pro ſua reuerentia,* for his reuerence to his Father, *Bellarm.ibid.*

*Anſw.*1. *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, that this prayer of Chriſt, which the Apoſtle ſaith, he made with ſtrong cries and teares, is the ſame which the Euangeliſts make mention of, when Chriſt was in his agonie in the garden: *Bellarm ibid.* Firſt, but that prayer proceeded from griefe and feare: for his words ſhew his griefe, *My ſoule is heauie to death*; his geſture, in ſweating drops of blood declareth his feare: yet Chriſt neither grieued at, neither feared the ſucceſſe of his paſſion, that Gods will ſhould not bee done in it, or his releaſe from death by his reſurrection: *Ergo,* in theſe things, at this time, and in this Prayer, hee was not heard. Secondly, the ſumme of his requeſt is, that the cuppe might paſſe, which petition hee limiteth in deede with ſubiection to Gods will; but the *paſſing of the cuppe,* cannot bee referred to the reſurrection: neither is the paſſing of the cuppe, the performing of Gods will in the not paſſing of the cuppe: this were to expound one contrarie by another. Thirdly, that thing againſt which Chriſt prayeth, made him heauie, but neither the redemption of man by his death, nor the hope of the reſurrection could make him heauie, but rather ioyous, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *He endured the croſſe for the ioy ſet before him:* Hebr.12.2. Theſe were not then the ſubiect of his petition at this time, though I deny not, but Chriſt continually did pray, both for the finiſhing of our redemption, and the perfecting of the ſame by his reſurrection: Wherefore ſeeing Chriſt was deliuered from his feare, but not from death, therefore death he feared not: as *Hierome* ſaith, *Erubeſcant, qui putant ſaluatorem mortem timuiſſe, & paſſionis pauore dixiſſe,&c.* Let them bluſh at it, that thinke our Sauiour feared death, and thorough this feare ſaid, *My ſoule is heauie,&c. In Matth.*26.

Secondly, that fearing is a kinde of inward feeling in the ſoule, 1. the Scripture confeſſeth, 1.John 4.18. *Feare hath puniſhment,* κόλασιν: there can be no payne or puniſhment without feeling: Luk.22.44. *conſtitutus* ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, being ſet or pitched *in an agonie:* an agonie is not without feeling.

ling. 2. This is that which *Bernard* ſaith, that Chriſt had in his life, ***actionem paſſiuam***, an action paſſiue; and in his death, ***paſſionem actiuam***, a paſſion actiue: ſo was this paſſion of feare actiue, working a ſenſe and feeling in Chriſts ſoule. 3. But feare goeth before griefe, and the ſame thing is not felt which is feared, eſpecially where there is a deliuerance from the thing feared. *Anſw*. 1. Neither do wee ſay that Chriſt felt the ſame meaſure of Gods wrath, which hee feared: for Chriſt might feare to be left comfortleſſe and to be forſaken of Gods helpe in that combate: from this feare he was deliuered, for hee was ſupported and vphelde in this terrible aſſault, that hee did not ſincke downe in it. 2. So S. *Paul* prayed, that the meſſenger of Sathan, the pricke of his fleſh, might be taken from him, which he obtayned not, but a ſupplie of grace was giuen him, whereby he ſhould ſtand faſt in that tentation, 2.Cor.12. as S. *Paul* was heard, not by remouing of the temptation, but by giuing of grace to ouercome it: ſo Chriſt was aſſiſted with the preſence of Gods power, the abſence whereof he feared, and from this feare hee was heard and deliuered, but not from all ſenſe and feeling of Gods wrath in his ſoule.

Thirdly, concerning the vſe of the word εὐλαβεία. 1. We denie not, but that both in Scripture and prophane authors, the word is taken for a religious warineſſe, and reuerence. 2. In like manner, it muſt be graunted, that it is alſo vſed to ſignifie feare, both in Scripture, and eccleſiaſticall and prophane writers: firſt, in the Scripture, Act. 23.10. εὐλαβηθεὶς, ***timens***; the Tribune feared leſt *Paul* ſhould haue beene pulled aſunder, &c. Heb. 11.7. *Noe* fearing, prepared the Arke: what or for whom the Tribune feared, it skilleth not; we onely ſhew the vſe of the word, that it cannot be here tranſlated ***reuerence***, but *feare*: We graunt alſo that *Noah* his feare was ioyned with faith, but Chriſts much more; a feare it was notwithſtanding, though not diſtruſtfull.

3. *Nazianzene* reckoneth εὐλαβεῖς, feare, among the infirmities of Chriſt, ***orat.2.de filio***: And *Theodoret* alſo followeth the ſame ſenſe vpon this place.

4. And for prophane writers, *Plutarch.in Pericle* teſtifieth that εὐλαβεῖτο, hee feared the people, when hee ſpake vnto them. *Sophocles* ſaith, εὐλαβοῦμαι πεσεῖν, I am afraid to fall. 5. The circumſtance of the place alloweth this ſenſe: for both before mention is made of his teares, and prayers, and verſ. 8. *he learned obedience by the thinges which he ſuffered*: which do argue his feare rather then reuerence. 6. The vulgar Latine in the two places before alleaged tranſlateth the word εὐλαβηθεὶς, ***timens***, fearing, and our vulgar tranſlation allowed with priuiledge readeth in this place, ***hee was heard in that he feared***: the firſt ought to moue the Papiſts; the other ſhould preuaile with Proteſtants, who are not ſuddenly to depart from the receiued tranſlation.

Argum. 2. If the feare of the death of the bodie had ſo aſtoniſhed Chriſt, and caſt him into ſuch an agony, he ſhould haue ſhewed himſelfe weaker then many of his members, the Martyrs, that went boldly without feare to their death: *Ergo*, it was not the feare of bodily death, that troubled him.

Anſw. 1. This is the difference betweene the feare of death in Chriſt, and others: they do feare of neceſſitie, but Chriſt ***timuit, quia voluit***, feared willingly: and therefore at other times, when he thought vpon his Paſſion, as at the inſtitution of his laſt Supper, he feared not, becauſe then he would not: but now in the garden he beginneth to feare, ***quia voluit***, becauſe he would ſo do, ***Bellarm.reſp.ad argum.3.***

2. If Martyrs feare not death, it is becauſe God giueth them greater comfort, this benefite they receiue from Chriſt, *Bellarm.ibid.*

3. ***Chriſtus, vt copioſa eſſet redemptio, &c.*** Chriſt to make our redemption more full, would alſo take vpon him our feare, *Bellarm.ibid.* Chriſt then had greater cauſe to feare, in reſpect of his perſon and office being appointed to be our redeemer.

Contra. 1. Firſt, in ſome ſenſe it is true, that all Chriſts affections were voluntarie, in reſpect of his voluntary aſſuming of our fleſh: as ***Auguſtine*** ſaith, ***Hos humanæ infirmitatis affectus ſicut ipſam carnem & mortem non humanæ conditionis neceſſitate, ſed miſerationis voluntate ſuſcepit***: Theſe affections of humane infirmitie like as fleſh it ſelfe and death, Chriſt tooke, not by neceſſitie of humane condition, but by the willingnes of his compaſſion, ***in Pſal.87.*** but after Chriſt was incarnate, as it was neceſſary he ſhould haue our fleſh; ſo it was neceſſary he ſhould haue the infirmities and affections thereof without ſinne: but as *Peter Lombard* ſaith, ***Hanc neceſſitatem habuit, non ex neceſſitate conditionis, &c.*** Chriſt had this neceſſitie of retayning our affections, not of the neceſſitie of his condition, but willingly: it was now then a neceſſitie in Chriſt, which at the firſt was voluntary, ***lib.3.diſt.16.liter.a.***

2. Another difference betweene Chriſts affections and ours is this, in vs they are violent, and immoderate; in Chriſt they were ſo temperate and ordered, that he alwayes ſubmitted them to the will of his Father: ſo that not the hauing of them, but the moderating of them was voluntarie in Chriſt: So *Hierome* ſaith, ***Verè contriſtatus eſt, ſed non paſſio eius dominatur animæ***: He truely ſorrowed, but the paſſion did not rule ouer his ſoule, ***in Matth.26.***

3. Otherwiſe the affections of Chriſts ſoule were as neceſſarie, as the infirmities of his bodie,

as hunger, thirſt, ſleepe: els Chriſt ſhould not haue been like vs in all things, if he had not beene ſubiect to the ſame infirmities without ſinne: and this were to make Chriſts agonie to be in ſhew onely, what needed he to pray againſt this cuppe, to ſweat drops of blood, to be comforted of the Angel, if he had been acceſſarie to his owne griefe, and might of himſelfe as man haue auoided them?

2 Secondly, as Chriſt gaue power to his members to die boldly, ſo much more had he power himſelfe to be emboldned againſt the feare of death. 2. Whereas the Martyrs were armed with his example of patience againſt death; now ſhould they haue been diſarmed with his example of feare and weakeneſſe, if he had feared onely the death of the body.

3 Thirdly, 1. Chriſt had no greater cauſe in himſelfe to feare bodily death, nor ſo great as others haue, becauſe he was without ſinne, and ſo death to him was without ſting; for the ſting of *death is ſinne:* but no man els, though neuer ſo perfect is without ſinne. 2. In reſpect of vs and our redemption, as Chriſt had greater cauſe, &c. ſo had he greater ſtrength to beare it.

4 Fourthly, the fathers haue allowed and approued this argument, *Theodoret* vpon that place Hebr.5.7. If bleſſed *Paul* feared not death, but deſired to be diſſolued, &c. how did God the word feare death? *Auguſt. in Pſal.93. Nullo modo formidaret Chriſtus, quod non formidauit Paulus, cupio diſſolui, &c. Melior enim eſſet ſeruus quàm Dominus:* Chriſt in no wiſe would feare that which *Paul* feared not; *I deſire to be diſſolued, &c.* for then the ſeruant ſhould be better then the Maſter.

*Argum.*3. Our third argument is taken from the prayer of Chriſt in the garden, Matthew 26.39. *O my Father, if it bee poſſible, let this cuppe paſſe from mee; neuertheleſſe not as I will, but as thou wilt.*

1 Firſt, here Chriſt prayeth for a thing, in reſpect of Gods decree not poſſible, that the cuppe might paſſe from him: and therefore afterward he ſaith, verſ.42. *If this cuppe cannot paſſe away from me, &c.*

2. Secondly, he prayeth for that, which was not granted, that the cuppe of death and ſorrow prepared for him might paſſe.

3. Thirdly, he prayeth in his humane and naturall deſire ſomewhat diuerſlie from Gods will; yet with ſubmiſſion of his will vnto the will of God: what elſe could cauſe Chriſt in this manner to pray againſt his cuppe and croſſe, but the exceeding feare and feeling of Gods heauie wrath, and irefull indignation, wherewith he was ſo amazed at the firſt and aſtoniſhed, that in his humane weakenes he was caried (his diuinitie now hiding and repreſſing it ſelfe) to deſire the paſſing of that cuppe, which he was to drinke of, for the redemption of mankinde.

1 *Anſw.* Firſt *Feuardentius* anſwereth, that it was not impoſſible with God to ſaue his ſonne from death, and to redeeme the world without his death or croſſe; for Chriſt ſaith, Mark.14.36. *All things are poſſible to thee.* And Hebr.5.7. the Apoſtle ſaith, *He offered prayers to him, that was able to ſaue him from death p.*418.

Secondly, againe he ſaith, *Chriſtum rem impoſſibilem, &c.* That Chriſt did not aske a thing impoſſible: *Vel abſolutæ voluntati repugnantem,* or repugnant to Gods abſolute will: *Feuardent. ibid. confutat.*2. So then, hee ſeemeth thus to take this clauſe, *If it bee poſſible,* that is, agreeable to thy will.

Contra. Firſt, we deny not, but in reſpect of Gods abſolute power, it had been poſſible for Chriſt not to haue died, and man ſome other way to haue been ſaued; and ſo the places alleaged are to be vnderſtoode: but in reſpect of Gods iuſtice, which could not otherwiſe be appeaſed, then by the death of his Sonne, it was not poſſible: thus the Scripture ſpeaketh, Act.4.12. *There is giuen no other name vnder heauen, whereby we muſt be ſaued:* Reuel.5.3. No man in heauen was able to open the booke but the Lambe. Saint *Ambroſe* bringeth in this diſtinction of things impoſſible: *Aliud ſecundum naturam:* Some things are impoſſible in nature, but ſo nothing is impoſſible to God, Matth.19.26. *Aliud per definitionem immutabilis conſilij:* Some things are impoſſible in reſpect of the decree of Gods immutable counſell, as Hebr.6.18. It is impoſſible that God ſhould lie, *lib.*4.*de fide.c.*3. and in this ſenſe it was impoſſible, that Chriſt ſhould not dye, becauſe God had ſo determined: and *Origene* vpon this place, *Quod ad potentiam Dei omnia poſſibilia; quod ad iuſtitiam Dei poſſibilia ſolum, quæ iuſta ſunt:* In reſpect of Gods power, all things are poſſible, in reſpect of his iuſtice, thoſe things are onely poſſible, that are iuſt: *In Matth. tract.*35.

Secondly, that the poſſibilitie expreſſed in the firſt clauſe of Chriſts prayer, hath no reference to Gods will, it thus appeareth: firſt, Chriſt ſaith in generall, *all things are poſſible vnto thee,* Mar.14. verſ.36. but if no more be poſſible to God, than he will; then it would follow, that he can doe no more than he doth, or will doe, which is a great error. Secondly, if this were the meaning, *if it be poſſible,* that is, ſtand with thy will, what needed that limitation, or explanation following, *yet not my will,* ſeeing he had expreſſed ſo much before? Thirdly, in reſpect of Gods will, it was impoſſible the cup ſhould paſſe: as our Sauiour ſaith, verſ.43. *If this cup cannot paſſe away from me, but that I* *muſt drinke it, thy will be done*: how could the ſame thing be both poſſible & impoſſible in regard of Gods will? Fourthly, Chriſt was not ignorant of the will of God, and therfore knew well enough that it was not poſſible, neither ſtood with Gods will, that the cup ſhould paſſe: this clauſe therfore, *if it be paſſible*, cannot be referred to the will of God, but rather to his power.

2 Secondly, it is replied, that Chriſt obtained that he asked: firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr. 5.7. *he was heard.* Secondly, our Sauiour ſaith to his father, Iohn. 11.42. *Thou heareſt me alwaies: Feuard. p.464. con.*4. Thirdly, *Origen* thinketh, that the cuppe of Gods euerlaſting wrath did paſſe both from Chriſt and vs, and ſo in that behalfe he obtained that he deſired: *Orig. in hunc locum.*

1 *Contr.* Firſt, the Apoſtle ſaith, he was heard in or frō his feare: Chriſt in his humane infirmitie (his diuine power for the time withdrawing it ſelfe) feared a greater meaſure of Gods wrath, leaſt he ſhould haue been left alone in it; from this feare hee was heard and deliuered. So then the cup of Gods wrath paſſed not from him, as in the beginning of his prayer his humane will tempted (as *Damaſcene* ſaith) of his naturall infirmitie deſired, but from the manner and meaſure thereof which he feared.

2 Secondly, Chriſt was indeede alwaies heard of God, ſo was he in this place: for though hee was in that moment ſtirred in his humane deſire to wiſh the eſcaping of that cuppe (for it is a naturall inſtinct, and not in it ſelfe ſinfull, to wiſh to decline euery thing that is hurtfull) yet he limiteth this deſire, and ſquareth his will to his fathers: ſo that this was the ſumme of his prayer, that howſoeuer his humane deſire wiſhed to eſcape that cup, yet he was contented Gods will might ſtand; and ſo it did, and thus Chriſt was heard: though not in the ſudden wiſh of humane infirmitie, yet in the aduiſed requeſt of his filiall conformitie.

3 Thirdly, *Origen* indeede hath ſuch a conceit: *Expediebat omnibus, vt tranſiret calix ab eo, propterea quòd biberat eum ſaluator:* It was expedient for all men, that the cup ſhould paſſe from Chriſt, becauſe hee dranke of it: ſo hee thinketh, that the cuppe of Gods euerlaſting wrath paſſed from Chriſt and vs, by his drinking of it. This is contrarie to the Scripture: *If this cup cannot paſſe, but that I muſt drinke of it, thy will be done*, Matth. 26.42. Chriſts meaning was then, that the cup might ſo paſſe, that he might not drinke of it: how then could it paſſe by his drinking and taſting of it? Secondly, Chriſt feared not *eternall vengeance* after death, and ſo euerlaſting deſtruction, it were not farre from blaſphemie ſo to affirme: but he was heard in that which he feared: *Ergo*, herein he was not heard, neither did he deſire the cup to paſſe in that ſenſe, in the *appeaſing of Gods euerlaſting wrath*, which was indeede an effect of Chriſts croſſe, but not of that part of his prayer in the garden, for the *paſſing of the cup:* though in the explanation, limitation and condition of his prayer I doubt not but that effect is comprehended.

Obiect. If Chriſt neither feared the death of the bodie, nor euerlaſting death; what then did he feare?

Anſw. I ſay with *Cyprian: Metus ille infirmitatis humanæ communem exprimebat affectum, vt difficultas extremi exitus timeretur:* That feare of humane infirmitie did expreſſe a common affection, that the difficultie of the laſt end ſhould be feared, *ſerm. de paſſion.* So then Chriſt feared not the end of his life, but the difficultie thereof, that is, the bitternes of his fathers wrath, and the anguiſh of ſoule, that was ioyned with death. To this purpoſe the ordinarie gloſſe vpon the third to the Galathians: *Inſipiens honorificentia, Chriſtum à maledicto, quod morti coniunctum eſt, ſeparat:* It is a fooliſh honoring of Chriſt to exempt him from the curſe, which was ioyned with death, &c. So then it was Gods wrath and curſe, which did concurre with Chriſts bodily death, which did ſo afflict and perplexe his ſoule.

Fourthly, that Chriſt in his humane deſire wiſhed for ſomewhat, that was not graunted; *Chryſoſtome* teſtifieth: *Neque nolle mori carnem reprehenſio eſt, quia hoc naturæ eſt, ipſe autem, quæ naturæ ſunt, omnia ſine peccato oſtendit:* Neither is it reprehenſible to feare death, becauſe it is of nature, but Chriſt ſhewed all that is of nature without ſinne: *Ex epiſt. Agathon. ad Conſtantin.* Chriſt then in *Chryſoſtomes* iudgement would in his humane deſire haue eſcaped death (though it was not that onely or chiefely which he feared, but as the ſenſe of Gods wrath for ſinne concurred with it) yet did he not eſcape death. *Athanaſ.* is alſo cited in the ſame place: *Humana voluntas propter infirmitatem carnis refugiebat paſſionem, diuina prompta erat:* His humane will becauſe of the infirmitie of the fleſh refuſed the paſſion, his diuine will was readie.

Thirdly, it is replied that Chriſt prayed not contrary to Gods knowne will: Firſt, Chriſt prayed in faith, and was moſt aſſured his prayer ſhould take effect, *Feuar. p.464. conf.4. lin.*13. Therefore not againſt the knowne will of God. Secondly, he prayed the ſame prayer thrice, which had been a voluntarie ſpurning againſt Gods will, if he had prayed againſt it. Thirdly, he taught his Apoſtles to pray aright, and reproued the ſonnes of *Zebedee. You know not what ye aske:* much more doth he pray himſelfe aright: *Feuard. p.* 421. *conf.*11. Fourthly, if he prayed directly contrarie to the will of God, he had ſinned: but his prayers were iuſt and pure: *Feuar. p.*419. *conf.*7.

Contra. Firſt this replie is altogether impertinent: Firſt, we ſay not, that Chriſts will or prayer was contrarie to Gods will, but diuers onely from it. Secondly, his whole prayer was not contrarie, or diuers or different, but onely the ſhort motion in the beginning of his prayer was ſomewhat diuers. Thirdly, though Gods will were knowne vnto Chriſt, yet in this moment, wherein he ſtoode amazed and aſtoniſhed, ſeeing his diuine power and knowledge, by the which Gods will was reuealed vnto him, did now withdrawe and repreſſe it ſelfe, how could it otherwiſe be, but that this knowledge and reuelation of Gods will, was for the time as ſuſpended alſo, and not obiected to Chriſts humane ſenſe, being now fully poſſeſſed of this agonie?

Secondly, for anſwere to the arguments. Firſt, notwithſtanding the diuerſitie of deſire in Chriſts humane will, yet he prayed in faith, in that he ſubmitted his will in all obedience to his Fathers. Secondly, he might repeate the ſame requeſt of his naturall deſire thrice, becauſe ſo long his agonie continued, without any repugnance to Gods will, ſtill remembring the ſame condition, in ſubmitting his naturall deſire to his fathers heauenly will. Thirdly, the prayer of the ſonnes of ***Zebedee*** was raſh and ignorant, becauſe it was not conditionall nor limited, but humorous and diſordered; failing both in the occaſion, which was ambitious; and the manner, which was peremptorie and abſolute: but Chriſt prayed from the feeling and neceſſitie of his humane infirmitie, and with the moſt obedient condition of his fathers will: and therefore his prayer ſo begun, and ſo ended and limited, was neither raſh nor ignorant. Fourthly, firſt he prayed not contrarie to Gods will, but a diuers thing hee asked, yet with a ſubordination to Gods will. Secondly, it is not ſinne for the natural affection to deſire to decline that which is hurtfull or contrarie vnto life: as ***Origen*** ſaith, whom I alleaged before: ***Proprium eſt omnis hominis fidelis primũ nolle pati aliquid doloris,&c.*** It is proper euen to euery faithfull man, to be vnwilling to ſuffer any trouble, ***Tract.*35.*in Matth.*** So it was no more ſinne in Chriſt in his humane ſenſe to deſire to ſhun griefe and trouble, than it was for him, being hungrie, to couet to eate of the fruit of the figge tree, where was no fruit but leaues, Mark.11.13. Thirdly, but it will be obiected, that Chriſt knew Gods will to the contrarie, and therefore ſhould haue ſinned in making any ſuch requeſt.

Anſw. Firſt, I ſay with ***Auguſtine: Si in illa voluntate permaneret,&c.*** If Chriſt ſhould haue ſtaied in that minde or wil, then his heart might haue ſeemed not to be aright, ***in Pſal.*93.** Wherefore the preſent moderation of his humane deſire, and the ſubmiſſion of it to Gods will, doe free our Sauiour from all corruption. Secondly, ſome doe giue this ſolution: ***Non ideo petiit, vt impetraret,&c.*** He did not therefore aske to obtaine, for hee knew God would not doe it: ***ſed vt membris formam praberet,*** but to giue his members an example how to ſubmit their will and deſire to Gods: ***ſic Magiſter.lib.*3.*diſt.*17.*liter.c.*** Thirdly, I anſwere, that in this very moment Chriſts humane infirmitie being aſtoniſhed with this vehement obiect of griefe, and al amazed, did not turne it ſelfe to conſider of Gods ſecret will and decree herein: Like as ***Moſes*** and ***Paul*** knew very well, that they were both Gods elect ones, and could not finally periſh: yet in the exceſſe of their zeale, beſide this their knowledge, they wiſh one to be raſed out of the booke of life; the other to be ***anathema***, that is, accurſed for the people of Gods ſake, Exod.32.33. Rom.9.3. Did Saint ***Paul*** ſinne againſt his owne knowledge, who hauing firſt ſaid, that nothing could ſeparate him from the loue of God in Chriſt, Rom.8.38. preſently in his great zeale wiſheth to be ſeparated from Chriſt? If this were no ſinne in the member, how could it be in the head? Further, wee muſt conſider now of Chriſt as a perfect man (his Godhead now not ſhewing it ſelfe) and that, as ***Damaſcene*** ſaith, hee tooke vpon him ἀγνοοῦσαν φύσιν, a nature of it ſelfe ignorant, but that it was by the conioyning of the diuine nature enriched with the knowledge of future thinges, ***lib.*3.*de fide.c.*21.** Whereupon our Sauiour doubteth not to confeſſe himſelfe, as hee is man, ignorant of Gods ſecret will, Mark.13.32. what inconuenience then is it to graunt, that Chriſt as man (the light of his diuine knowledge for a time withholding the beames thereof) being plunged in this agonie in his humane ſenſe, did either preſently not know or not remember his fathers ſecret determination concerning his drinking of this cup?

Thirdly, that Chriſt prayed at the firſt for ſomewhat not obtained, and that he deſired and willed a diuers thing from his fathers will in that inſtant: the fathers doe thus teſtifie: ***Auguſt. Hac humana voluntas erat proprium aliquid & priuatum orans:*** This was his humane will praying for ſomewhat proper and priuate, ***in Pſal.*32.*part.*1. *Hieronym.in Marc.*14. *Hîc oſtendit humanam voluntatem, quæ propter infirmitatem carnis recuſat paſſionem, & diuinam, quæ prompta eſt perficere diſpenſationem:*** Here hee ſheweth an humane will, which becauſe of the infirmitie of the fleſh, refuſeth the paſſion, and a diuine will, which is readie to performe the diſpenſation. ***Origen tract.*35.*in Matth. Hæc voluntas, quam dicit, non ſicut ego volo,&c.*** This will, which hee ſaith, not as I will, is not according to his diuine and impaſſible ſubſtance, but his humane, and infirme. ***Chryſoſt. ex epiſtol. Agath.ad Conſtantin. Si in diuinitate dictum eſt, aliqua eſt contradictio; ſi de carne, nullum eſt ſcandalum:*** If it be ſaid of his diuinitie, there is ſome contradiction; if of his fleſh, (***not as I will, &c.***) there is no offence. Theſe fathers tooke this as a pregnant place to prooue two wils in Chriſt, his diuine and humane, againſt the Monothelite heretikes: if Chriſt had then two wils, hee had two deſires, and one diuers from the other: it is euident then, that Chriſt in his humane deſire wiſhed ſomewhat diuerſly from his diuine, yet without ſinne, becauſe he eftſoones ſubmitted his humane *affection* to the diuine *diſpoſition*.

*Argum.*4. That Chriſt was exceedingly amazed and aſtoniſhed being in his agonie, the ſcripture euidently teſtifieth: he began ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι ϗ ἀδημονεῖν, to be aſtoniſhed with feare, and to faint or fall away in his ſoule: for ſo the words ſignifie: what elſe could be the cauſe thereof, than the preſent ſenſe, which he had in his ſoule, of the wrath and indignation of God againſt ſinne? what elſe cauſed him to pray ſo earneſtly, to ſweate drops of blood, to be all amazed, to neede to be comforted of the Angell? the feare of bodily death could not doe it, Chriſt was not ſo weake and infirme: if it were not the ſenſe of bodily daunger, it was the feeling of ſpirituall griefe and terror of ſoule, which procured it.

Anſw. Firſt, the expiation of the ſinnes of the world before God, whoſe iuſtice was to be ſatiſfied, and the contemplation and beholding of the ſame in the ſoule of Chriſt, cauſed this great heauines in Chriſt, and in ſuch meaſure, *vt par ei nunquam fuerit*, that no man was euer like him, *Feuardent.p.*455.*lin.*37. So then the preſence of Gods Maieſtie, and the pitifull beholding of mans miſerie, did thus aſtoniſh him.

Secondly, the conſtant continuing of the ſame prayer three ſeuerall times, with intermiſſion of time, *Feuard.p.*486.*conf.*8.*lin.*11. and admonition to his Diſciples, prooueth he had not forgotten himſelfe, *Feuard.p.*425.*conf.*5.*lin.*8.

Thirdly, this religious aſtoniſhment, though it might for the preſent ſuſpend all other thoughts in our Sauiour, yet is there no neede it ſhould depriue him of vnderſtanding, ſenſe and memorie, *Feuard p.*425.*conf.*6.*lin.*4.

Contra. Firſt, 1. If the pietie of Chriſt, or preſence of Gods Maieſtie had thus aſtoniſhed Chriſt, why was hee not at other times aſtoniſhed, when he came into Gods preſence? as Ioh.17.13. hee ſaith in his prayer, *now I come vnto thee:* and pietie there was alwaies in Chriſt: if the ſame cauſe, why not the ſame effect? 2. What cauſe had Chriſt to feare the Maieſtie of God in himſelfe, being the dearely beloued ſonne of God, moſt iuſt, righteous, holie, but onely as our pledge and ſuretie, preſenting himſelfe in our perſon, to anſwere our debts? 3. And if commiſeration of humane miſerie, had ſtriken into him this aſtoniſhment, it muſt 1. follow, that either he was without commiſeration at other times, which were blaſphemie to ſay; or that his commiſeration wrought not in him this proper effect, namely aſtoniſhment, which were great raſhnes to auouch. 2. When Chriſt wept ouer Ieruſalem, foreſeeing their vtter deſolation for euer, why did not this commiſeration then alſo aſtoniſh him? 3. And where Chriſt prayeth to be deliuered from that houre, Mark.14.35. will they tye Chriſts pietie and charitie, which they ſay was now the cauſe of this aſtoniſhment, onely to this houre? Wherefore theſe were not the cauſes now: for at other times they could not haue wanted the ſame effects.

Secondly, 1. his repeating of his prayer thrice, his admoniſhing of his Apoſtles, doe prooue that he had not forgotten himſelfe, we graunt; neither doe we ſo affirme, as it is vnderſtood; that Chriſt had cleane forgotten and was as beſide himſelfe: he was not ſo amazed or aſtoniſhed, but that he had ſome intermiſſion and breathing time, and comforts mixed with his tentations: neither yet ſo confounded, as that hee either forgot pietie in his obedience to God, or charitie and pitie in warning his Diſciples. 2. The repeating of his prayer thrice for the paſſing of the cup, his praying to be deliuered from that houre, the comforting of the Angell, doe ſhew a continuance of the agonie and aſtoniſhment: and the text ſaith, he was γενόμενος, *conſtitutus*, ſet or ſetled in an agonie, Luk.22.44. you muſt then either graunt no agonie or aſtoniſhment at all, or elſe continue it all the while of his prayer, as the Euangeliſts doe.

Thirdly, there is no neede, notwithſtanding Chriſt were amazed and perplexed with the feare of Gods iudgements, and ſo caſt into a moſt vehement agonie, that hee ſhould be depriued of *ſenſe, vnderſtanding*, or *memorie:* 1. If his memorie in one point were not extinguiſhed, but ouerruled or ouercaſt with the vehement ſenſe of his preſent agonie, muſt he therefore be wrapped in a totall confuſion or obliuion? 2. In the middeſt of theſe ſtormes hee had ſome comfortable blaſts; and though death and hell were before his ſenſe, yet he was quickened and reuiued in his ſpirit. 3. *Moſes* and *Paul* rauiſhed with zeale, wiſhed they might be caſtawaies; yet at other times their ſaluation was manifeſtly reuealed vnto them: ſhall we conclude therefore that they wanted ſenſe, vnderſtanding, memorie? Thus (I truſt) are thoſe obiections anſwered.

*Argum.*5. Laſtly, I will produce the teſtimonie of the Fathers, that Chriſt was not thus aſtoniſhed for feare of the death of the bodie: *Hilarie lib.*10.*de Trinitat. Anne timuit mori, qui armatis obuius prodit, &c. pungendæ carnis metu triſtis eſt, cuius attactu caro poſt cædem ſanatur:* Did hee feare to die, which came againſt the armed troupes? was he ſorrowfull for the pricking of his fleſh, who by his touch healed the eare that was ſmitten off? *Auguſtin.in Pſal.*93. *Non timebat mori Chriſtus tertio die reſurrecturus:* Christ did not feare to die, being to riſe againe the third day. And againe, *in Pſal.*100. *Non verè ille timebat mortem, qui poteſtatem habuit ponendi animam,&c.* Hee could not verily feare death,that had power to lay downe his ſoule,and to take it vp againe.

Againe, *Hilarie* ſaith, *Triſtis eſt anima mea vſque mortem, nunquid ait triſtis eſt anima propter mortem? aliud eſt vſque, aliud propter id metuere:* My ſoule is heauie vnto death; doth hee ſay my ſoule is heauie for or becauſe of death? it is one thing to feare till death, another becauſe of death: *c.*31.*in Matth.*

Ambroſe: Non propter mortem, ſed vſque ad mortem: quia eum conditio corporalis affectus, non formido mortis offendit: Not becauſe of death,but vnto death, for the condition of his corporall or natural affection,not the feare of deadly affliction doth offend him,*in Luc.*12. And our countrie man *Beda* vſeth the very ſame words,*in* 14.*Mark.*

Some other of the Fathers affirme, that Chriſt *non timuit infernum chaos, & torrentes flammas,* that Chriſt feared not the infernall gulfe, or the ſcorching flames, *Hilarie lib.*10.*de Trinitat. Bellarm.reſp.ad argum.*7.

We willingly graunt that Chriſt feared not hell fire,nor euerlaſting deſtruction: thoſe authorities preſſe not vs, but rather helpe our cauſe: for if Chriſt neither feared temporall, nor euerlaſting death,as theſe Fathers witneſſe,and the Apoſtle ſaith he feared,Hebr.5.7.what then remaineth,but that he feared the cup of Gods wrath mixed with death? And as *Cyprian* ſaith before cited, *Difficultatem extremi exitus:* The difficultie or hardnes of his laſt paſſage, that is, in reſpect of Gods wrath tempered with it.

This then is the ſumme: firſt,that ſeeing Chriſt was ſaued frō that he feared,yet was he not ſaued from death; ſecondly,ſo he ſhould haue been weaker than many Martyrs,that were not afraid of the death of the bodie; thirdly, ſeeing he was ſo aſtoniſhed being in his agonie, that hee prayed for the paſſing of the cuppe,which was neither paſſible,nor graunted; fourthly,and was ſo aſtoniſhed with feare,that his ſoule fainted within, his bodie did ſweate blood without; fiftly, ſeeing the Fathers confeſſe,that this agonie proceeded not from any feare of bodily ſuffrings: it followeth that the feare and feeling of his fathers wrath thus troubled his ſoule. And thus much of this ſecond part or argument,of the cauſe of Chriſts agonie and aſtoniſhment in the garden.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER CHRIST SVFfered properly and immediatly in ſoule.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

The Papiſts.

THeir opinion is,that Chriſt did not ſuffer in ſoule properly,but either, *ex corporis coniunctione & condolentia:* his griefe proceeded from the coniunction and fellow-feeling with the bodie, *Feuardent.p.*454. or elſe from the commiſeration and compaſſion that he had for the ſinnes of his myſticall bodie: for the which, *tanta totius cordis pœnitudine dolet, vt par ei nemo vnquam fuerit:* He did ſo grieue throughout in his heart, that no man was euer like vnto him, *p.*455. So hee concludeth, *pœnas peccatis debitas in corpore portaſſe,&c. igitur non in anima,* that he bare the puniſhment due to our ſins in his bodie,and not in his ſoule,*p.*448. To the like purpoſe *Bellarm. Defixit mentem in omnia tormenta impendentia:* Hee fixed his ſoule to beholde all the torments readie at hand, *lib.*4.*de Chriſti anima.cap.*8.*reſp.ad argum.*3. otherwiſe hee confeſſeth no ſuffring in Chriſts ſoule. Let vs ſee their arguments. 16.Error.

Argum. Feuard. thus reaſoneth: Firſt, 1.Pet.2.24. *He bare our ſinnes in his bodie on the tree.* Secondly, Saint *Paul* ſaith, *God forbid that I ſhould reioyce but in the croſſe of the Lord Ieſus,* Galat.6.14. And 1.Cor.2.2. *I eſteemed not to know any thing among you, ſauing Ieſus Chriſt and him crucified:* but his ſoule was not *crucified.* Thirdly, our Sauiour ſaid, *It is finiſhed,* Ioh.19.30. *Ergo,* if all his ſuffrings were finiſhed vpon the croſſe, there remained nothing to be ſuffered afterward, *Feuard.p.*448.8. 450.12. 1 2 3

Anſw. First,this place maketh rather againſt them: for the Apoſtle ſaith directly, *he bare our ſinnes:* the fleſh properly is not ſaid to beare ſinne, but the ſoule. Secondly,neither can ſinne be here taken for the puniſhment of ſinne onely, but for ſinne it ſelfe: for Saint *Peter* expoundeth the Hebrue (נשא *naſah*) vſed by the Prophet Iſay.53.4.as the Septuagint do,by the Greeke, φέρω, ἀνήνεγκω, which ſignifieth to beare: ſo *Matthew* ſaith ἔλαβε, *he tooke our ſinnes and infirmities,* Matth 8.17. as the Hebrue word is vſed, 1.Sam.17.34. and Saint *Iohn*, 1.Ioh.3.5. *vt tolleret,* ἄρῃ, *that he might take away ſinnes*: in which ſenſe alſo the Hebrue is taken Amos 6.10. Wherefore if Chriſt ſo bare our ſins, as *Peter* ſaith,that he tooke them vpon him,as *Matthew* expoundeth,and tooke them alſo away, as Saint *Iohn* inferreth; then he did not onely beare the puniſhment,but the ſinne alſo: for hee did not take away,nor take vpon him the puniſhment onely,but the ſinne alſo. Thirdly, neither can the word ἁμαρτία, ſinne, vſed by Saint *Peter,* ſignifie properly the puniſhment of ſinne: for S. *Iohn* 1 ſaith, that ἁμαρτία, is ἀνομία: *that ſin is tranſgreſſion,&c.* 1.Ioh.3.4. and the Septuagint vſe both theſe words,expounding the one by the other: Iſay.53.5. *He was wounded for our ſinnes,and broken for our iniquities:* ſinne therefore doth no more betoken the paine of ſinne, than tranſgreſſion, ἀνομία. Fourthly,the Prophet ſaith, *He hath taken our infirmities or ſinnes,and carried our ſorrowes,* Iſay.53.4. the puniſhment or effect of ſinne, the ſecond clauſe of the ſentence expoundeth by ſorrowes or diſeaſes: ſo that vnleſſe we will make a ſuperfluous repetition of the ſame thing,in the firſt clauſe, ſinne it ſelfe,the cauſe of theſe ſorrowes,muſt be contained: and the phraſe alſo giueth this ſenſe: for our ſinnes ἔλαβε, *he tooke,* our ſorrowes and diſeaſes, ἐβάστασεν, *baiulauit,* hee did carrie or beare, as Saint *Matthew* expoundeth. Fiftly,Saint *Peter* himſelfe ioyneth together, *the obedience,and ſprinkling of the blood of Ieſus,* 1.Pet.1.2. the one in his ſoule, the other in his bodie: and therefore it is farre from the Apoſtle to exclude the merit of Chriſts ſoule by his obedience and ſuffring. Sixtly, it will be obiected,that the Apoſtle ſaith, *he bare our ſinnes in his bodie vpon the tree,and with his ſtripes* μώλωπι, *we are healed:* which ſignifie the ſtripes of his bodie.

1 *Anſw.* Firſt,we graunt he bare our ſinnes vpon the tree of the croſſe, for that was the very altar where this ſacrifice was offered, the field where this battell was fought, and the very theater where Chriſt was to play the redeemers part. 2. *and in his bodie,* for his ſoule was not out of 1. his bodie,when he ſuffered: 2. and the bodie was the inſtrument of the ſoule: 3. and the viſible part of his ſuffrings,and therefore namely expreſſed: 4. or elſe by a Synecdoche in the bodie the other part is ſignified: as where the Scripture ſaith, *a bodie thou haſt giuen me,* Hebr.10.5. he receiued not a bodie without a ſoule: 5. otherwiſe, when the Apoſtle ſpeaketh diſtinctly hee expreſſeth both parts: Hebr.10.10. *By the which will wee are ſanctified by the offring of the bodie of Ieſus:* we are ſanctified both by the obedient will of Chriſt in his ſoule,and by the offring of his bodie.

2. The worde ſignifieth properly, *liuorem,* the blewnes or ſcarres remaining after ſtripes and wounds,Prou.20.30. wherein a figure muſt be admitted; by one part the whole being expreſſed: otherwiſe if Chriſts ſcarres and ſtripes of his fleſh only healed vs,then his blood and death ſhould be excluded: And it is no vnuſual thing in Scripture,to attribute wounds and ſtripes to the ſoule; as Luk.2.35. *A ſword ſhall pierce thy ſoule:* And 1.Cor.8.12. τύπτοντες, *beating or wounding their conſcience:* there is no reaſon to the contrarie, but that ſtripes may be taken in the ſame ſenſe here. Thus Saint *Ambroſe: Sicut mors eius mortem abſtulit; liuor eius vulnera noſtra ſanauit: ita mœror eius, mœrorem noſtrum aboleuit:* As his death tooke away ours, his ſtripes healed our wounds: ſo his griefe aboliſhed ours, *lib.2.de fid.c.*3.

2 Secondly, 1. By the croſſe of Chriſt all Chriſts ſuffrings whatſoeuer are ſignified: 1.Cor.1.17. *leſt the croſſe of Chriſt ſhould be of none effect:* all the effectuall ſuffrings of Chriſt are contained in the croſſe. Saint *Peter* ſo vnderſtandeth Chriſts ſuffrings, 1.Pet.2.21. *Chriſt ſuffered for vs.&c.*23. *when he was reuiled, reuiled not againe,&c.* but all his reuilings were not incident to his croſſe properly. 2. Yea in Chriſt crucified wee vnderſtand not onely his bodie launced and whipped,but his ſoule alſo with ſorrow pierced: and S. *Paul* muſt be ſo vnderſtood: *whereby* (ſaith he) *the world is crucified vnto me,and I vnto the world:* Saint *Paul* was not crucified and mortified in bodie onely to the world,but in ſoule and affection: ſo was alſo Chriſt crucified. 3. Saint *Ambroſe* affirmeth the ſame, *lib.5.in Luc. Mens mea in Chriſto crucifixa eſt:* My minde and ſoule was crucified in Chriſt: He ſaith not by Chriſt onely, that is, by the power of his croſſe our ſoule is crucified, but in Chriſts perſon our humane ſoule,which he tooke together with our bodie,was crucified: as the ſame *Ambroſe* ſaith *in Luc.*22. *Suſcepit animam meam, ſuſcepit corpus meum:* He tooke my ſoule, he tooke my bodie.

3 Thirdly, 1. This place vrgeth not vs: for we affirme not, that Chriſt ſuffered any thing in ſoule after his death, all his ſuffrings in ſoule and bodie were performed vpon the croſſe. 2. It rather maketh againſt them: for ſeeing it was needfull that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer for vs both in bodie and ſoule; as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Hee tooke away the handwriting of ordinances that was againſt vs, which was contrarie to vs,and faſtened to the croſſe,* Coloſſ.2.14. If hee faſtened to the croſſe whatſoeuer decree was againſt vs and contrarie to vs, then the decree againſt our ſoules,as well as againſt our bodies: then it will followe,that if Chriſt faſtened not to his croſſe this decree againſt our ſoules, which muſt be by ſuffring in his ſoule, then hee was to ſuffer ſomewhat afterward. Let the Frier take heede of his owne net,our foote is not entangled in it.

1 *Argum.*2. Firſt,Geneſ.3.15. *The ſeede of the woman ſhall breake thy head,but thou ſhalt bruſe his heele: Feuardentius* expoundeth this,by that place Ioh.1.14. *The word was made fleſh:* So his meaning ſeemeth to be this, that that part onely, which was of the ſeede of the woman, namely the fleſh of Chriſt,was onely bruſed of the Serpent, *Feuardent.p.*276.*conf.*8.*lin.*17.21.

2 Secondly,none of the Prophets did write ſo of Chriſt,that he ſhould ſuffer the anger of God in his ſoule, *Feuard.p.*440.*lin.*3.469.*conf.*1.*lin.*8. So he thinketh, that the Prophets and Patriarkes beleeued the bodily ſuffrings of Chriſt onely,and by that faith were ſaued.

3 Thirdly,Hebr.10.12. *With one offring hath he conſecrated for euer them that are ſanctified:* with

one offring,that is,of his bodie and blood,not with two offrings,of bodie and ſoule, ***Fenardent.* *p.*449.*conf.*10.*lin.*6.**

1 *Anſw.* Firſt, 1. Similitudes and allegories doe not conclude certainly in euery point, but wherein the compariſon ſtandeth: as here the ſimilitude is taken from the nature of Serpents, that being trode vpon,doe bite and ſting the foote againe of him that preſſeth them: this ſimilitude holdeth ſtrongly for the victorie of Sathan, to the which end this promiſe is made to our parents: but if we applie it to other purpoſes,we ſhall ſtraine it too farre.

2. Some by Chriſts heele doe vnderſtand his members; as *Origen hom.*4. *in Pſal.*36. *Ille noſtrum obſeruat calcaneum,cui vtique nunquam oportet nos nudam præbere plantam, ſed ſemper eſſe debemus calceati pedes in præparatione Euangelij:* He doth obſerue our heele, to whom wee muſt not offer our ſelues barefoote,but ſhod with the preparation of the Goſpell of peace, &c. This I take to be the proper meaning of Chriſts heele.

3. Saint *Hierome* alſo giueth a good expoſition of this place: *Tradition.in Geneſ.tom.*4. *Quia noſtri greſſus præpediuntur à colubro, dominus conteret Satanam ſub pedibus:* Becauſe our goings are hindred by the Serpent,the Lord ſhall tread downe Sathan vnder our feete,&c. By our footſteps may be vnderſtood our ſinnes and infirmities which giue aduantage to the tentation of Sathan: and this expoſition is agreeable alſo to the Scripture, Pſalm.49.5. Why ſhould I feare, when, *iniquitas calcaneorum circundabit me*, the iniquitie of my heeles dooth compaſſe mee? And Iob.13.26.27. he calleth *peccata adoleſcentiæ veſtigia pedum*, the ſinnes of his youth the print of his heeles.In the firſt place the ſame Hebrue word in vſed,is the next the ſame ſenſe of the word is retained.

4. This place alſo may be expounded by the like, Pſal.89.51. *Probro afficiunt veſtigia:* They ſlaunder the footſteps of thine annoynted. Whereby is ſignified the continuall practiſe of Sathan and his miniſters, to ſlaunder the profeſſion of the Goſpell of Chriſt, whereby Chriſt is knowne and diſcerned in the world,as by the prints of his feete: All theſe expoſitions are ſound, and conſonant to the Scripture,and not much varying the one from the other: whether of theſe we take,this place maketh nothing for the collection enforced.

5. Or if we doe applie it to Chriſts perſon,why may not his whole humanitie be here comprehended,which is the inferiour part to his Godhead: and ſo this place may be expounded by that Exod.33.23. where *Moſes* ſaw *poſteriora dei*, the backe parts of God: *Origen* ſaith, *Nouiſſima pars hominis pes:* A mans foote is his laſt or hinder part, *in* 17.*Matth.* and ſo expoundeth this of Chriſts being in the fleſh, when *Moſes* ſaw him in the Mount. And *Auguſtine* likewiſe: *Anteriora facies maieſtatis, qua deo æqualis, poſteriora vocantur, quia apparuit in poſtremo ſeculo:* His foreparts are his face of maieſtie,wherein hee is equall to God: his backe parts,becauſe hee appeared in the end of the world, *lib.*2.*de Trinitat.c.*17. So then by Chriſts heele or back parts, his whole humanitie may be implied,which is but as his backe and meaner parts,in reſpect of his diuine Maieſtie.

6. And this ſenſe the text it ſelfe giueth,and the force of the ſimilitude: for like as that part is bitten of the Serpent,wherewith he is troden vpon; ſo Sathan aſſailed that part in Chriſt, wherewith he was ouercome: but he ouercame him not onely with his fleſh,but with the iuſtice and innocencie of his ſoule: as Chriſt ſaith, Ioh.14.30. *The prince of this world commeth, and hath nought in me.* And as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Chriſtus iuſtitia vicit diabolum non potentia:* Chriſt ouercame the diuell with his iuſtice,not by his power, *lib.*13.*de Trinitat.cap.*17. And againe, *Nec Chriſtus ei aliquid extorſit violento dominatu, ſed ſuperauit lege iuſtitiæ:* Neither did Chriſt wreſt any thing from him by violent ſubduing,but ouercame him by the law of iuſtice, *de liber.arbit.lib.*3.*cap.*10. Wherefore as Chriſt by the innocencie of his ſoule,together with his holie and obedient fleſh ſubdued Sathan: ſo he ſeeketh to bite and vexe him in the ſame. Whether this text then,be vnderſtood of Chriſt or his members,or both,the argument propounded concludeth not.

2 Secondly,the Fathers of the law and the Prophets beleeued not onely the bodily death,but the ſpirituall and ſoule ſuffrings of Chriſt: as *David* prophecying of Chriſt, ſaith, Pſal.18.5. *The ſorrowes of hell compaſſed me:* but the Prophet *Iſay* of all other ſaith moſt plainly, Iſay.53.10. *He ſhall make his ſoule an offring for ſinne:* verſ.11. *He ſhall ſee of the trauell of his ſoule,and ſhall be ſatisfied:* and therefore as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Eadem fides & in illis,qui nondum nomine, ſed reipſa fuerunt Chriſtiani,& in iſtis,qui non ſolum ſunt, ſed vocantur: Moſes veteris teſtamenti miniſter, hæres noui:* The ſame faith was in them,which not yet in name,but indeede were Chriſtians, and in theſe,which not only be, but are ſo called: *Moſes* was a miniſter of the old teſtament, but an heire of the new,&c. *contr.*2. *epiſtol.Pelag.*3.1.

3 Thirdly, 1. Chriſts ſacrifice conſiſting both of bodie and ſoule is but one entire ſacrifice: as in the holocauſt and burnt offring of the lawe there were diuers parts of the ſacrifice,yet but one whole ſacrifice. 2. Where the Apoſtle exhorteth that wee ſhould offer vp our bodies, θυσίαν ζῶσαν, a liuing ſacrifice,Rom.12.1. doth he meane our bodie without a ſoule? yet hee calleth it a ſacrifice, one,not many. 3. Whereas it is obiected, that the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe, what one ſacri-

fice he meaneth, namely of his bodie, Hebr.10.10. verſ.19. *By the blood of Ieſus wee may be bold to enter:* verſ.20. *He hath prepared a way by his fleſh.* I anſwere: firſt, Chriſts bodie, fleſh and blood, are not all one, his fleſh and blood are diuers parts of his bodie: then as by theſe ſeuerall parts named by themſelues we vnderſtand the reſt; by blood, his bodie and fleſh; by fleſh, his blood and bodie: ſo what letteth, but that in theſe ſpeeches all other neceſſarie parts of his ſuffring may be comprehended? Secondly, the Apoſtle doth chiefly ſtand vpon the externall part of Chriſts ſuffring, as the offring of his bodie, ſhedding of his blood, becauſe it did more fitly anſwere to the blood of buls and goates, and the ſacrifice of beaſts, whereof the Apoſtle entreateth, chap.9.10. Thirdly, the Apoſtle alſo ſpeaketh in more general termes: *Chriſt offered himſelfe,* Heb.9.24. *Chriſt was offered,* verſ.28. If Chriſt, if himſelfe, how Chriſt without a ſoule, how himſelfe without a ſoule? If Chriſt then being both God and man, is but one, as *Leo* ſaith, *Vnus atque idem in vtraque forma Chriſtus:* One and the ſame Chriſt in both formes and natures, *epiſtol.*81. ſo likewiſe his bodie and ſoule being parts of the ſame nature, doe make but one ſacrifice.

*Argum.*3. 1. Chriſt neither taſted nor ſuffered the death of the ſoule, as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Quod anima fuit mortificatus Ieſus, quis audeat dicere cum mors animæ non ſit niſi peccatum?* Who dare ſay that Chriſt was mortified in his ſoule, ſeeing the death of the ſoule is nothing but ſinne? therefore hee was mortified in the fleſh, *quia ſecundum ſolam carnem mortuus,* becauſe hee dyed onely in the fleſh, *epiſt.*99.

2. The Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ.1.7. *Wee haue redemption through his blood, euen forgiuenes of ſinnes: Feuard.p.*442.*conf.*15.*lin.*11. 1.Ioh.1.7. *The blood of Ieſus Chriſt cleanſeth vs from all ſinne, Feuard. p.*441.*conf.*13.*lin.*5. If the ſhedding of the blood of Chriſt be the iuſt and full redemption of all ſinnes, what neede the ſuffrings of his ſoule?

3. Chriſt ſuffered wrongfully, 1.Pet.3.18. *He ſuffered the iuſt for the vniuſt, Feuard.*448. But hee could not ſuffer the death of the ſoule wrongfully, becauſe it is Gods immediate action: *Ergo,* he dyed not in ſoule.

4. All Chriſts ſuffrings were voluntarie: Ioh.10.18. *No man taketh away my life, I lay it downe of my ſelfe, Feuard.p.*448.*conf.*10.*lin.*8. but the death of the ſoule hee did not willingly ſuffer, becauſe it is an alienation from God, which cannot be without ſinne.

5. Chriſt is the *Lambe that was ſlaine,* Apocal.5.9. *Feuard.p.*441.*conf.*13.*lin.*15. but his ſoule was not killed of the Iewes: *Ergo,* he was not crucified in ſoule, neither dyed any other death, beſide the death of the bodie, *Feuard.p.*440.*lin.*4.

6. The Prophet ſaith, *The ſame ſoule, that ſinneth, ſhall dye,* Ezech.18.20. God in ſpirituall puniſhments, doth not puniſh one for another, *Bellarm.lib.2.de amiſſ.grat.c.*8.*arg.*5. therefore Chriſt was not ſpiritually puniſhed in his ſoule for vs.

1 *Anſw.* 1. We moſt willingly confeſſe, that Chriſt in *Auguſtines* ſenſe dyed not the death of the ſoule: we approue that ſentence of his: *Mors domini noſtri non fuit animæ, ſed in carne ſola: mors noſtra non in carne ſola, ſed in anima; in anima propter peccatum, in carne propter pœnam peccati: ille vero, quia peccatum non fecit, nec habuit in anima, non eſt mortuus niſi in carne tantum: igitur ſimpla eius mors profuit duplæ noſtræ, &c.* The death of our Lord was not in his ſoule, but in his fleſh only; our death is not in our fleſh onely, but in our ſoule alſo; in our ſoule becauſe of ſinne, in our fleſh for the puniſhment of ſinne: but he becauſe he did no ſinne, neither had any in his ſoule, died but in his fleſh onely, therefore his ſimple death was profitable to our double death, &c. *ſerm.*181.*c.*5. 2. But it followeth not, Chriſt dyed not in ſoule, *Ergo,* he ſuffered not in ſoule: or he dyed not this death of the ſoule by ſinne, or damnation; *Ergo,* hee cannot be ſaid any waies to haue dyed in ſoule. But I will forbeare to vſe this phraſe of Chriſts dying in ſoule, though it may haue a tolerable ſenſe, as I haue ſhewed before, *reſp.ad* 10.*calumniam.* Yet *Auguſtine* ſeemeth to me not to denie a ſenſe of death in Chriſts ſoule, his wordes are theſe: firſt, hauing affirmed *Chriſtum non meruiſſe vt ignem gehennæ pateretur, quia hæc mors non conditionis eſt, ſed criminis:* That Chriſt deſerued not the fire of hell, for this death is criminall, not conditionall. He then propoundeth this obiection: *Sed inquies, mortem dei filius & in anima non pertulit, nec in maieſtate ſenſit:* You will ſay, the ſonne of God, did he not ſuffer and feele death in the maieſtie of his ſoule? *& ſenſit & pertulit, ſed participatione morbi alieni non proprietate vulneris ſui:* He did both feele and beare it, but by the partaking of anothers diſeaſe, not by the propertie of any wound or infirmitie in himſelfe, *act.cum Felician.cap.*18. But whatſoeuer *Auguſtines* iudgement was herein, we ſimply denie the argument: for it followeth not, Chriſt dyed not in ſoule: *Ergo,* he ſuffered not in ſoule.

2 Secondly, 1. I haue ſhewed before how the Apoſtle is to bee vnderſtoode, when hee maketh mention of the blood of Chriſt: *part.*1.*reſp.ad argum.*1. that by one part the reſt are ſignified: for if blood be taken ſtrictly, then Chriſts fleſh is excluded, and beſide his blood, there iſſued out alſo water: all theſe were neceſſarie parts of Chriſts paſſion: the Apoſtle then ſo ſpeaketh of one part, as he doth not except or ſeclude the reſt. 2. It is vſuall in Scripture, by the fleſh, to comprehend the whole man not vnregenerate only, but regenerate: as *Ambroſe* interpreteth theſe words

of Chriſt, *The ſpirit is readie, the fleſh is weake*, Matth.26.41. *Vt in ſpiritu deum, in homine carnem ſignificaret:* That he might ſignifie God in the ſpirit, man in the fleſh. But for more full anſwere I referre the reader to their place before remembred.

3 Thirdly, 1. concerning the death of the ſoule, which could not without iniurie be inflicted vpon Chriſt, I anſwere, that this queſtion is altogether impertinent, and the argument ſuperfluous: for we affirme not any ſuch death in the ſoule of Chriſt. 2. Yet we are bold to auouch, that God was the author of the afflictions of Chriſts ſoule: So the Prophet ſaith, Iſay.53.4. *He was plagued and ſmitten of God:* Act.2.23. *He was deliuered vp by the determinate counſell of God.* Yea euen the terrors and inward afflictions of Gods children proceede from God: Iob.6.4. *The arrowes of God are in me, and the terrors of God fight againſt me.* 3. Yet God is not vniuſt, neither iniurious, in giuing vnto his ſonne this cup to drinke: 1. Becauſe Chriſt willingly offered himſelfe to vndertake this puniſhment for vs: Pſal.40.7. *Then ſaid I, Loe I come, I deſire to doe thy will O God.* 2. *Becauſe God layd vpon him the iniquitie of vs all*, Iſay.53.6. he being the ſuretie for our ſinnes, was in iuſtice to ſatisfie the debt. 3. Becauſe God herein intended the redemption of mankinde, not hauing a pleaſure in the death of his ſonne; as *Origen* well ſaith of the tentation of *Iob: Non delectabatur, vt Iob torqueretur, ſed vt diabolus vinceretur:* God was not delighted, that *Iob* ſhould be tormented, but that Sathan ſhould be conquered, *in 2.cap.Iob.* 4. The ſame obiection may be made as well concerning Chriſts ſuffrings in bodie, for God alſo was the author of them: as where the Prophet ſaith, *Smite the ſhepheard* Zach.13.7. yet the Euangeliſt ſaith in Gods perſon, *I will ſmite the ſhepheard*, Matth.26.31. *Euangeliſta auſus eſt Prophetæ verba ad dei transferre perſonam:* The Euangeliſt is bold to referre the Prophets words to the perſon of God, *Hieron.ad Pammach.* Whether God were the author mediatly or immediatly in reſpect of iuſtice, there is no difference: the Iudge that decreeth vniuſt thinges, and the writer or executor thereof are alike guiltie of iniuſtice. Iſay.10.1. *Woe vnto them that decree wicked things, and write grieuous things:* wherefore if the ſuffrings of Chriſt in ſoule were vniuſt in reſpect of Gods decree, his ſuffrings in bodie ſhould be ſo likewiſe; which we confeſſe notwithſtanding in reſpect of the malice of Sathan, and the Iewes which procured them, and the innocencie of Chriſts perſon to haue bin moſt wrongfull and iniurious.

4 Fourthly, 1. ſuch a death of the ſoule, as bringeth with it a ſeparation from God, Chriſt neither ſuffered willingly, nor vnwillingly: we denie any ſuch death of ſoule to haue beene in Chriſt; and therefore all the obiections, which preſſe this abſurditie, are altogether impertinent. 2. Concerning ſuch paſſions in ſoule as we affirme Chriſt to haue endured, we anſwere as of the ſuffrings in his bodie; that he did beare them both willingly: for though in his humane and naturall deſire without ſinne, he wiſhed the paſſing of the cuppe, yet conforming his will vnto Gods, he was obedient and willing: this the Scripture teſtifieth, that Chriſt prayed, that the cuppe might paſſe, which ſheweth a will in him to haue eſcaped it: but yet he ſubmitteth himſelfe to his Fathers pleaſure: *not as I will, but as thou wilt*, Mat.26.39. Thus the fathers do note 2. wils to haue bin in Chriſt when he made this requeſt. *Athanaſ. Humana voluntas propter infirmitatem carnis refugiebat paſſionem, diuina prompta erat:* The humane wil for the infirmity of the fleſh, refuſed the paſſion; the diuine wil was ready: *ex epiſt. Agathon.ad Conſt. Origen: Cæpit trepidare, & mæſtus eſſe non quia trepidauit deitas ſed quia carnis infirmitatem oſtendit:* He began to feare and to be ſad, not that his deity trembled, but becauſe he ſhewed *the infirmity of his fleſh: lib.3.in Iob.* The Latine fathers ſpeake more diſtinctly: *Hieron. in 14. Marc. Hic oſtendit humanã voluntatẽ quæ propter infirmitatẽ carnis recuſat paſſionem, & diuinã, quæ prompta eſt perficere diſpenſationẽ:* Here he ſheweth an humane will, which becauſe of the infirmitie of the fleſh refuſeth the paſſion; and a diuine, which was ready to fulfil the diſpenſation. *Ambroſ. Scias vitã in voluntate eſſe hominis, quia mortem timemus; paſſionem autem Chriſti in voluntate diuina, vt pateretur pro nobis:* Know, that life is in the deſire and wil of man, becauſe we feare death; but the paſſiō of Chriſt in the diuine wil, that he might ſuffer for vs, *lib.2.de fid.c.3.* Thus we ſee, that although Chriſt would not die in his humane infirmity, yet he was moſt willing in his obedient conformity. *Peter Lombard.lib.3.diſt.17.b.* vſeth to this purpoſe a good diſtinction, which ſafely may be receiued: that as there is in man *duplex affectus, rationis & ſenſus;* a double affection, or deſire of ſenſe and reaſon; ſo likewiſe was there in Chriſt, *vt mentis affectu vellet mori:* He was willing to die in the affection of his mind, *ſenſualitatis affectu nollet;* but in his ſenſual affection vnwilling, as he ſheweth out of *Auguſtine* in the example of *Peter*, to whom Chriſt ſaid, Ioh 21.18. *When thou art old, thou ſhalt ſtretch forth thy hands, & another ſhal gird thee & lead thee whither thou woldeſt not:* whereupon *Auguſtine* thus writeth, *Ad illam moleſtiam nolens venit, ſed volens eam vicit: Peter* came vnwillingly to this trouble, but he willingly ouercame it: and this affection not to be willing to die, is ſo naturall, *vt eum Petro nec ſenectus abſtulerit:* that it left not *Peter* in his old age: the like affection and deſire he ſheweth to haue beene in Chriſt, when he ſaid, *Let this cup paſſe, &c.*

Fiftly, 1. the argument followeth not, the Iewes crucified not Chriſts ſoule: *Ergo*, he was not crucified, or did not ſuffer in ſoule: for the Iewes onely crucified the externall fleſh of Chriſt: but God gaue him the cup of inward ſorrow to drinke: and therefore he prayeth his Father, *that the* *cup might paſſe*, hee prayeth to him to remoue it, that had prepared it; Rom.8.32. God is ſaid to haue giuen his owne ſonne to death. *Auguſtine: Ille quanti te æſtimat vide, qui proprio filio non pepercit:* See how much he eſteemed thee, who ſpared not his owne Sonne: *in Pſal.*143. 2. This argument may be retorted: for if Chriſt ſuffered no more, then the Iewes inflicted vpon him; then he ſuffered nothing at all in ſoule, neyther by *compaſſion* nor *commiſeration*, which is on the contrary part aſſirmed.

6. Sixtly, 1. the Prophet ſpeaketh not only of ſpirituall, but of corporal puniſhments, that this is the perpetuall rule of Gods iuſtice, that one ſhall not be puniſhed any way for anothers ſinnes: for ſo was the Prouerbe among the Iewes; *Our fathers haue eaten ſowre grapes, and our teeth are ſet on edge*, Ezech.18.2. They complaine not of ſpirituall and eternall puniſhment, but of thoſe outward calamities, which they ſuffered: ſo then, neyther are children puniſhed temporally for their parents ſinnes, vnleſſe they continue in the ſame; for then God will viſite the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children, to the third and fourth generation of them, *that hate him*, as it is in the ſecond commaundement; if both the fathers and children be alike hateres of God: So *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Malorum imitatio facit, vt non ſolum ſua, ſed eorum quos imitantur, merita ſortiantur:* The imitating of the euill, cauſeth that they onely are not partakers of their owne, but of their deſerts, whom they imitate, *in Pſal.*108. Good children of wicked parents, if they be chaſticed, it is not a iudgement for their fathers ſins, to puniſh them, but Gods louing correction to admoniſh them. In this ſenſe then, Chriſt who needed not by any correction to be admoniſhed, ſhould not for vs, no not corporally haue beene puniſhed.

2. *The ſame ſoule, that ſinneth, ſhall die:* this rule alſo holdeth in Chriſt, for his ſoule died not: the ſuffrings of ſoule we admit, but not euerlaſting death, whereof the Prophet ſpeaketh: for that death of the ſoule which followeth the ſinne of the ſoule, is euerlaſting death; but Chriſts ſoule as it was free from ſinne, ſo was it from euerlaſting death, or the feare thereof. Thus *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Mortibus corporum legimus quoſdam mortuos propter non ſua, ſed aliena peccata, vbi magis eſt in dolore cordis plaga viuentium, quàm in reſolutione carnis pœna morientium: animarum verò morte alius pro alio non plectitur:* By the death of the body we reade that ſome haue died, not for their owne but others ſinnes, where it was rather a plague of the liuing in the griefe of their heart, then a puniſhment of the dead in the reſolution of their fleſh, but in the death of the ſoule none dieth for another: *cont. aduerſ. leg. lib.*1.*c.*16. This death of the ſoule then Chriſt died not.

3. The Prophet alſo ſaith, *The ſonne ſhall not beare the iniquitie of his father, &c.* but euery man ſhall beare his owne iniquitie: who ſeeth not, that the Prophet maketh exception of the perſon of the Mediator: for the Scripture teſtifieth of him, *that he bare our iniquities*, Iſay.53.11. therefore as he bare our ſinnes in himſelfe, ſo alſo in Gods iuſtice, he was to beare the puniſhment for the ſame: then according to this rule, *the ſame ſoule, that ſinneth, ſhall dye:* ſo becauſe man had ſinned, the man Chriſt taking vpon him the ſinnes of mankind, was puniſhed: thus *Origen* writeth according to the Scriptures; *Chriſtus ſine dubio, pro peccato, quod ex nobis ſuſceperat, quia peccata noſtra portauit, carnem incontaminatam obtulit hoſtiam:* Chriſt without doubt, for ſinne, which he tooke of vs, becauſe he bare our ſins, *did offer vp* in ſacrifice his vndefiled fleſh, *hom.*3.*in Leuitic.* As Chriſt then tooke vpon him our ſinnes; ſo he alſo anſwered the puniſhment.

*Argum.*4. The Scripture ſheweth euidently, that our ſoules are redeemed by Chriſtes blood, 1.Iohn 1.7. *The blood of Chriſt cleanſeth vs from all ſinne: Feuard.p.*441.*conf.*13.*lin.*5. the ſoule is cleanſed as well as the bodie, Heb.9.14. *The blood of Chriſt doth purge our conſcience from dead works. Feuard.pag.*442.*conf.*16.*lin.*8. the conſcience is a member of the ſoule, Reuel.5.9. *Thou haſt redeemed vs by thy blood*, ſay the bleſſed Saints in heauen, whoſe bodies remaine in the earth: *Feuard. p.*441.*conf.*13.*lin.*13.

Anſw. 1. All this being admitted, that our ſoules are redeemed by the blood of Chriſt, we feare not the conſequent, as preſently followeth to be ſhewed; the places of Scripture alleaged directly proue the ſame; ſauing that the collection out of the laſt place may be excepted againſt: for thoſe 24. Elders do not deſcribe the ſtate of the Saints in heauen, but repreſent the Church militant on earth, whoſe conuerſation notwithſtanding is in heauen: this firſt the text giueth, 1. verſ. 10. *We ſhall raigne on the earth*, that is, by their faith and vertue, it is not ſaid in heauen. 2. They are ſaid to be Kings and Prieſts; which chap.1. verſ.16. is expounded of the liuing. 3. And indeed the office of our ſpirituall Prieſthood in preſenting our prayers vnto God, is more fit and proper for this life, then for the next; in the which, though wee denie not, but the Saints doe ſing continually to the prayſe of God, as the Angels do, Apocal.4.8. and do make their requeſts vnto God, for the accompliſhing of his Kingdome, Apocal.6:10. yet *the prayer of fayth*, which is the ſpeciall obiect of our ſpirituall Prieſthood, Iam.5.15. is onely incident to this life, for the which faith onely ſerueth. 3. And indeed verſ.9. they ſeeme to ſpeake of the whole number of the elect, redeemed out of euery kinred and people.

The fathers alſo thus expound this place, of the faithfull in earth: *Beda* vpon the 10.verſ. *Here* *is more plainely declared, that the beaſtes and Elders are the Church, which is redeemed by the blood of Chriſt, and gathered of the nations.* Alſo hee ſheweth in what heauen they are, ſaying: *They ſhall raigne vpon the earth. Haymo* ſaith, *all the Elect are Kings, becauſe they ſuffer not the tyrannie of vices to riſe vp in themſelues,&c. while they do this by the law of vertue, they raigne as it were vpon the earth.*

2. We graunt, that our ſoules are redeemed by Chriſts blood, but it doth not follow, that they are not redeemed by his ſoule alſo, and therefore that his ſuffring in ſoule ſhould be ſuperfluous: for by the ſame reaſon you might conclude againſt Chriſts fleſh: our ſoules and bodies are redeemed by Chriſts blood: *Ergo*, not by his fleſh: and ye may as well inferre out of theſe and ſuch like places, that Chriſt had no ſoule, as that hee ſuffered not in ſoule, becauſe the Apoſtles ſtill make mention of blood.

3. *Cyrill* ſaith, *Carnem ſuam in redemptionis pretium pro omnium carne dependit; & animam ſuam ſimiliter pro omnium anima in redemptionis pretium conſtituit:* Chriſt yeelded his fleſh the price of redemption for our fleſh, and his ſoule the price of redemption for our ſoule, *de rect. fid. ad Theodoſ. Cyrill* ſpeaketh not of the ſympathie of the ſoule of Chriſt, with his ſuffring fleſh, for all this is but *caro pro carne*, his fleſh giuen for our fleſh: but he inſinuateth ſuch proper paſſions of the ſoule, as are the price of redemption for our ſoules: he ſpeaketh of the price of redemption in the ſoule, and in the fleſh, not of one and the ſame price, and therefore not of one kind of paſſions: though in effect and in the whole all is but one price and one redemption, yet there are diuers partes and members of it.

4. We ſay then, that though in the vſe and application of Chriſts ſacrifice we ſpeake diſtinctly, that Chriſts ſoule was giuen for our ſoule, his fleſh for our fleſh, as *Cyrill* ſaith; thereby to ſet forth the proportion of Gods iuſtice, which muſt be ſatisfied with the price both of body & ſoule, for the redemption of our body and ſoule: yet we do not ſeuer nor deuide the power and vertue of Chriſts ſacrifice, but aſcribe the redemption of our bodie and ſoule ioyntly and equally to the ſacrifice of his body and ſoule. After the like maner in the Euchariſt, by way of application we ſeuerally and diſtinctly receiue the ſignes and pledges of Chriſts body and blood, namely the conſecrated bread and wine, the vertue notwithſtanding whereof is one and the ſame.

THE CONTRARIE PART CONFIRMED, THAT Chriſt ſuffered properly and immediatly in his ſoule, and not by way of compaſſion or fellow-feeling onely with his body.

Argum. 1. That which Chriſt aſſumed or tooke of our nature, he aſſumed to this end, to ſuffer in it, and by ſuffering to ſaue and redeeme it.

But he tooke the whole nature of man, both bodie and ſoule: *Ergo*, he ſuffered in both: it will be here anſwered, that his ſoule ſuffered but by way of compaſſion and ſympathie onely with his bodie, *Bellarm. Feuard. vbi ſupra.*

Contra. This naturall or compaſſionate ſuffering of Chriſts ſoule, did not properly make to that part of our redemption, which was to be performed by his ſoule, neither was abſolutely neceſſarie to make Chriſts fleſh to haue life and ſenſe: ſeeing the deitie of Chriſt could haue giuen life, ſenſe and feeling to the fleſh, in ſtead of a ſoule: as *Felicianus* the *Arrian* obiected to *Auguſtine, Cur filij Dei habitus inſtar animæ communis animam eius non animaret:* Why might not the habite or forme of the ſonne of God, inſteed of a common ſoule animate or quicken his fleſh? *Cont. Felician. c.* 13.

1. It is not here affirmed, that the compaſſion of the ſoule with the bodie, did not properly belong to our redemption ſimplie, but to that redemption which was to be wrought by the ſoule.

2. And by way of ſuppoſition, becauſe it was not abſolutely neceſſarie, that the ſoule ſhould be giuen to the bodie onely, to giue life and ſenſe vnto it: becauſe as the Arrians obiected Chriſts deitie, might haue been inſteede of the ſoule: and we ſee that there may be ſenſe and feeling in the bodie, without a reaſonable ſoule: the motion and feeling belongeth to the ſenſitiue facultie, not to the intellectuall part: And to this purpoſe *Iodocus Clitouæus*, a writer of their own vſeth this diſtinction, that, *Anima non fuit medium neceſſitatis, ſed congruitatis vniens deitatem cum carne:* That Chriſts ſoule was not a meane of neceſſitie, but only of congruitie, to vnite the Godhead with the fleſh: *Enarrat. in lib.* 3. *de fid. Damaſc. c.* 27.

I will further confirme and ratifie our argument thus. Firſt, the aſſumption is euident, and need no proofe, that Chriſt tooke vpon him both our ſoule and bodie: the Apoſtle ſaith, *In all things it became him to be like vnto vs*, Hebr. 2. 17. Therefore hee had both bodie and ſoule, as we haue. Secondly, concerning the propoſition, *That what Chriſt tooke of our nature, he tooke it, by ſuffering in it properly, and immediatly to redeeme vs:* firſt, it is confirmed by Scripture, Hebr. 2. 14. *Chriſt tooke part with them, that he might deſtroy through death, him that had power of death,&c.* verſ. 15. That he might *deliuer all them, which for feare of death, were all their life time ſubiect to bondage:* hence I reaſon thus, that, wherein Chriſt deliuered vs, he tooke part with vs in, he deliuered vs from feare of death: *Ergo*, he did therein communicate with vs: but this feare was the proper and immediate paſſion of the ſoule, namely the feare of death, and Gods anger. And the text giueth this ſenſe: *becauſe the feare of this death kept them in bondage:* but the feare onely of the bodily death doth not bring vs into ſuch bondage: ſo is it expounded in the ſong of *Zacharie*, Luk. 1.74. *That we being deliuered from the hand of our enemies ſhould ſerue him without feare:* this then is a ſpirituall feare, from the which Chriſt did deliuer vs: *Ergo*, he did communicate with vs in this feare: for the Apoſtle ſaith: *In that, wherein he ſuffered and was tempted, he is able to ſuccour vs*, verſ. 18.

Obiect. If Chriſt could deliuer vs from nothing, which he ſuffered not, then he doth not deliuer vs from eternall death, which he ſuffered not.

Anſw. Firſt, the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of Chriſts diuine power, and abſolute abilitie, but of the poſſibilitie of his condition: that wherein he ſuffered, he is able to ſuccour vs by the feeling of our infirmities, wherewith he was touched, and by the experience which he had in his owne fleſh: ſo the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe, Hebr. 4.5. *We haue not a prieſt that could not be touched with the feeling of our infirmities.* Secondly, though Chriſt neither felt nor feared euerlaſting death, yet he both felt and feared his Fathers wrath and diſpleaſure that cauſeth it: and ſo he was not altogether without experience and feeling of our infirmities in that behalfe.

Obiect. If the feare that Chriſt deliuered vs from, be the feare of euerlaſting damnation: this Chriſt neuer feared: and therefore he did not therein partake with vs.

Anſw. It is not neceſſarie, that Chriſt ſhould partake with vs in euery part and ſpeciall kinde of our infirmities, and in the ſame manner: but it was ſufficient that he taſted of them in ſuch meaſure and degree, as became the dignitie of his perſon, and condition, being without ſinne: and ſo we affirme, that though he feared not euerlaſting death actually in himſelfe, yet he feared and felt the wrath of God, which ſtriketh into vs a feare of damnation.

4. The Fathers alſo doe thus ſtrengthen our argument. *Auguſt. Si totus homo periit, totus ſaluatore indiguit, totum ergo hominem ſuſcepit Chriſtus, &c. Si animam non ſuſcepiſſet, anima pœnæ addicta ſine ſpe veniæ maneret:* If whole man periſhed, whole man needed a Sauiour, Chriſt therefore tooke whole man, bodie and ſoule: if he had not taken our ſoule, the ſoule ſhould remaine addict to puniſhment without hope of pardon, *cont. Felician. c.* 13. By the ſame reaſon Chriſt muſt alſo ſuffer properlie in ſoule, becauſe not by taking our ſoule, but by ſatisfying in his ſoule, our ſoule is deliuered.

Damaſcene: πάντα τοίνυν πάθη ἀνέλαβε, ἵνα πάντα ἁγιάσῃ: He tooke all our paſſions or affections, to ſanctifie them all in himſelfe: but Chriſt was ſanctified and conſecrate by his death, Hebr. 5.9. and ſo doth hee conſecrate vs, Hebr. 10. 14. *With one offering hath hee conſecrated for euer them that are ſanctified: Ergo*, by his offering of our ſoule, and ſuffering in our ſoule, hath he conſecrated our ſoule and affections.

Ambroſe: Suſcepit affectum meum, vt emendaret: He tooke my affection to amend it, &c. Now he hath amended it, in that he conſecrated it by his offring, Heb. 10.14. *Illud pro nobis ſuſcepit, quod in nobis amplius periclitabatur:* He hath taken that for vs, which was moſt in danger in vs, &c. that is, our ſoule, as he expoundeth it, *de incarnat. c.* 7. But Chriſt hath not otherwiſe deliuered vs from the danger, but by entring into the danger for vs: this danger of the ſoule is the feare and feeling of Gods wrath.

Argum. 2. Whereby *Adam*, and wee euer ſince do moſt properly commit ſinne, by the ſame hath Chriſt the ſecond *Adam* made ſatisfaction properly for our ſinne: but *Adam* and wee all do properly commit ſinne in our ſoules, our bodies being but the inſtruments: *Ergo*, Chriſt by and in his ſoule hath properly made ſatisfaction.

Firſt, 1. the propoſition is confirmed by the Apoſtle, Rom. 5.19. *As by one mans diſobedience we are made ſinners; ſo by the obedience of one, many ſhall be made righteous:* Chriſt then ſatisfied for vs by the ſame wherein *Adam* diſobeyed, and Chriſt obeyed, that is in his ſoule: for obedience belongeth to the ſoule, as *Agatho epiſt. ad Conſtantin.* vpon theſe wordes, Philip. 2.8. *He became obedient vnto death: Quis non intelligat obedientiam humanæ competere voluntati:* Who doth not vnderſtand, that obedience doth belong to the humane will?

2r It will be obiected, that Chriſt ſatisfied onely by his bodily death, *Feuard. p.* 400. *lin.* 4. and therfore not by his ſoule, becauſe it dieth not: I anſwere, al Chriſts painful labors in his life, his hunger, faſting, tentations, whippings, mockings, were meritorious and ſatisfactory for our ſins: without death indeed the ſatisfactory ſacrifice was not accompliſhed, but not only by the very paſſion of death; for then the reſt ſhould haue beene ſuperfluous: and this to be the Apoſtles meaning, appeareth by the verſe following, verſ. 16. *Where a teſtament is, there muſt be the death, &c.* He ſheweth onely a neceſſitie of death, that without death the Sacrifice was not perfected.

3. That there is a kind of dying in the ſoule, whē it is pierced with griefe, beſide the death of the ſoule either by ſin or damnation, is not diſagreeing to the ſcriptures: *Simeon* ſaith to *Mary*, Luk. 2.

verſ.35. *A ſword ſhall pierce through thy ſoule:* As then the bodie dieth, being pierced with a ſword; ſo the ſoule may be ſaid to die or languiſh, when it is pierced with griefe: what elſe is crucifying, but dying? but the ſoule is ſaid to be crucified, as S. *Paul* ſaith, Galath.6.14. *I am crucified to the world,* when as yet his bodie was aliue: So *Ambroſe* doubteth not to ſay, *Mens mea in Chriſto crucifixa eſt:* My ſoule was crucified in Chriſt, *lib.5.in Luc.* that is, Chriſt in his ſoule was crucified: which he calleth our ſoule, becauſe he did aſſume our ſoule and bodie: as elſewhere he ſaith, *Mea eſt voluntas, quam ſuam dixit, mea eſt triſtitia quam meo ſuſcepit affectu:* it is my will, which he calleth his, it is my heauineſſe, which he tooke with my affections, *lib.2.de fid.c.*3. Yet was it properly and perſonally Chriſts ſoule and will, but ours by communitie of nature.

Secondly, for the aſſumption, 1. howſoeuer it be admitted, that the bodie is the inſtrument of 2 the ſoule, both in ſinning and ſuffring, yet the concluſion is this; that becauſe ſinne is committed in the ſoule principally and properly, therefore the ſatisfaction muſt be made in the ſoule principally and properly: if this concluſion be graunted, we haue that we would: for the bodily paines affecting the ſoule, are not the proper paſſions of the ſoule; neither is the ſoule ſaid to ſuffer properly, when the bodie ſuffreth, but by way of compaſſion and conſent. 2. Wee graunt, that in the proper and immediate ſuffrings of the ſoule, the bodie alſo is affected: as when Chriſt was in his agonie in the garden, his whole bodie was therewith ſtirred and moued, that it did ſweat drops of blood: but it is one thing, when the griefe beginneth immediatly in the ſoule, and ſo affecteth the bodie, and when the paine is firſt inflicted vpon the bodie, and ſo worketh vpon the ſoule: there the ſoule ſuffreth properly and principally, of which ſuffrings wee ſpeake; here neither properly nor principally, which is not the thing in queſtion. 3. It is not the reaſonable ſoule, that is affected with the bodie; for it is a ground in Philoſophie, (that the ſoule ſuffreth not) but onely the ſenſitiue part: but the griefe that we ſpeake of, which is ſatisfactorie for ſinne, muſt be in the very reaſonable ſoule, where ſinne taketh beginning: and ſo *Ambroſe* ſaith, vpon theſe wordes of Chriſt, *My ſoule is heauie to death: Ad rationabilis aſſumptionem animæ, & naturæ humanæ refertur affectum:* It is referred to the aſſumption of the reaſonable ſoule, and humane affection, *de incarnat.cap.7.*

2. We confeſſe, that in the tranſgreſſion, both *Adams* ſoule and bodie did properly ſinne: yet not in euery act of the tranſgreſſion: for *Adam* committed ſome ſins, wherein the bodie was no inſtrument; as namely pride and infidelitie: as *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Non Euam cibus flexerat, non mandatorum deſtituerat obliuio, ſed promiſſi honoris ambitio illecebroſa decepit:* The meat did not turne *Eue*, nor the obliuion of the commandements did not ouertake her, but the ambitious deſire of the honor, which was promiſed, deceiued her, *lib.4.in Luc.* Againe, *Peccatum Adæ non longè eſt ab idololatria, præuaricatus eſt, ſe hominem putans Deum:* The ſin of *Adam* was not far from Idolatrie, he ſinned, thinking that he being man, might be God: *in* 13.*Luc.* Theſe ſins of pride and infidelitie began in the ſoule, and had their determination there: in the committing of thoſe ſinnes, the bodie had no part: indeed with the eare they heard the ſuggeſtion of Sathan, but it was no ſinne, till in their mind they had conſented vnto it: wherefore ſeeing the firſt ſinne committed was properly and wholly in the ſoule, for the ſame the ſoule muſt properly and wholy ſatisfie.

3. Then, becauſe ſinne tooke beginning from *Adams* ſoule, the ſatisfaction alſo muſt begin in Chriſts ſoule: as *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Incipio in Chriſto vincere, vnde in Adam victus ſum:* I beginne there to win in Chriſt, where in *Adam* I was ouercome, *lib.4.in Luc.* then it followeth, that the ſuffrings of Chriſts ſoule tooke beginning there, and were not deriued by ſympathie from the ſtripes and payne of the bodie. We infer then that therefore Chriſts ſoule had proper and immediate ſufferings, beſide thoſe which proceeded from the ſympathie with the bodie, and all Chriſts ſuffrings were ſatisfactorie: *Ergo* Chriſt, did ſatisfie for our ſinnes properly and immediatly in his ſoule.

*Argum.*3. The Prophet *Iſay* ſaith, 53.10. *Hee ſhall make his ſoule an offring for ſinne: Ergo,* Chriſt offered his ſoule, as well as his bodie. Againe, our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith, Matth.26.38. *My ſoule is very heauie vnto death.* It was not the bodily death, which Chriſt feared; for then he ſhould haue beene weaker then many Martyrs: therefore his ſoule was verily and properly ſtricken with heauineſſe, not with the beholding of the bodily torments onely.

Anſw. 1. It will be here anſwered, that *ſoule* in the Prophet is taken for life; as Iohn 10.17. *I lay downe my ſoule,* that is life, *Feuard. p.*440.*conf.*10.*lin.*8.

2. Chriſt, though he feare death, is not weaker then the Martyrs: for they are ridde from feare, becauſe God doth miniſter greater comfort vnto them: *Sed Chriſtus timuit, quia voluit,* Chriſt did not feare of neceſſitie, but willingly, for it was in his power not to haue feared: And ſo *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Eum non infirmitate, ſed poteſtate turbatum:* That Chriſt was troubled not through infirmities but by his omnipotencie and power, *Bellarm.reſp.ad argum.*3.*lib.*4.*c.*8.

Contra. 1. That, *anima,* ſoule is taken for life we graunt; as Pſal.16.10. *Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule, or life in graue, &c.* And Iob.33.22. *His ſoule draweth to the graue, and his life to the buriers,* yet by this place of the Prophet it muſt be vnderſtood properly for ſoule: 1. as it may appeare by the next verſ.11. *He ſhall ſee of the trauaile of his ſoule, and be ſatisfied.* Here the ſoule muſt bee vnderſtood properly, and the trauaile of Chriſts ſoule is not the inſtruction of his life, but his ſuffring vpon the croſſe, as it followeth, *he ſhall beare their iniquities*: this was the trauaile of his ſoule vpon the croſſe in bearing our iniquities. Againe, *he ſhall be ſatisfied*, which was fulfilled, when hee ſaid, *conſummatum eſt*, it is finiſhed; before his death he was not ſatisfied, but longed continually for the finiſhing of our redemption vpon the croſſe: Luk.12.50. *I muſt be baptized with a baptiſme, and how am I grieued, till it be ended?* 2. The Prophet alſo maketh immediate mention of Chriſts *knowledge*: verſ.11. *By his knowledge he ſhall iuſtifie many*: but knowledge is an adiunct properly of the ſoule, not of the life. 3. Verſ.11. *He ſhall beare their iniquities*: verſ.12. *He bare the ſinnes of many*: this was not onely in his bodie, but in his ſoule; as Saint *Peter* expoundeth, *He himſelfe bare our ſinnes in his bodie*, 1.Pet.2.24. that is, his ſoule bare our ſinnes in his bodie.

2 1. Whereas *Auguſtine* ſaith, *He was not troubled through infirmitie*: hee expoundeth that place 11.33. Chriſt ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν, troubled or ſtirred himſelfe when hee came to *Lazarus* graue, that is, was moued in compaſſion toward him: there is great difference betweene that trouble of Chriſts ſoule, and this heauines; there he ſtirred himſelfe to compaſſion, here hee is ſtirred of God; that paſſion proceeded of his pitie and loue vnto man, this is cauſed by the feare and expectation of Gods wrath. There are paſſions ordinarie and naturall, as of loue, pitie, which the heart raiſeth, and againe alayeth; there are paſſions extraordinarie and beyond nature, as when God caſteth darts and terrors into the ſoule, Iob.6.4. and theſe the heart hath no power of: wherefore *Auguſtines* ſentence cannot be applied to this agonie of Chriſt.

2. Or it is true which *Auguſtine* ſaith, euen of theſe extraordinarie paſſions of Chriſt, which ſhewed not his humane infirmitie onely, but his diuine power, in that he ſubdued theſe paſſions of his humane nature, and ſubiected them to the will of his father: ſo that as *Damaſcene* well ſaith, *lib.3. de fid.c.*20. Our affections were in Chriſt two wayes, κατὰ φύσιν, ὑπὲρ φύσιν, according to nature, and aboue nature: naturally he deſired the cup might paſſe; ſupernaturally hee was contented with his fathers will.

3. That Chriſt procured this ſorrow to himſelfe, is to make him acceſſarie to his owne death: his humane will was to haue the cup paſſe; how then is it true, *timuit, quia voluit*, he feared, becauſe he was willing to feare? he feared, becauſe it was proper to our humane nature to feare, which he tooke, as *Auguſtine* himſelfe ſaith: *Ex quo homo, ex hoc & infirmus; ex quo infirmus, ex hoc & orans*: As he was man, he was weake; as he was weake, he prayed, *Pſal.29. enarrat.2.* And if he had not feared and been perplexed indeeede, what neede the Angell to haue been ſent to comfort him? Luk.22.43. Wherefore as *Ambroſe* well ſaith: *Scias vitam eſſe in voluntate hominis, quia timebat pati, paſſionem in voluntate diuina, &c.* Know that life was in his humane deſire, becauſe hee feared to ſuffer, but death in the heauenly will to ſuffer for vs, *lib.2. de fid.c.*3. Wherefore notwithſtanding any thing alleaged by *Bellarmine*, there yet appeareth no difference betweene the feare of Chriſt and his members, nor any prerogatiue in the head aboue the members, if Chriſt had feared onelie the death of the bodie. See before for a more full anſwere, *part.2. argum.2. replicat. ad Bellar.*

*Argum.*4. The Apoſtle ſaith, Philip.2.7. *Chriſtus* ἐκένωσε, *exinaniuit*, Chriſt did emptie or euacuate himſelfe: And as *Tertullian* expoundeth *contra Marcion. lib.5. exhauſit*, he drew out himſelfe, or was exhauſt: which is agreeable to the propheſie of *Daniel.9.26. Meſſias ſhall haue nothing.* Hence wee conclude, that if Chriſt were exhauſt vpon the croſſe, if nothing was left him, that hee ſuffred in body and ſoule, that there was no part within or without free from the croſſe, but all was emptied and powred out for our redemption.

Againe, Heb.9.14. *Chriſt through the eternall ſpirit offered himſelfe to God*: whatſoeuer was in Chriſt, did either offer, or was offered, his eternall ſpirit onely did offer: *Ergo*, his whole humane nature both bodie and ſoule was offered. Thus *Origen* witneſſeth in theſe wordes, *Vide quomodo verus pontifex Ieſus Chriſtus adſumpto batillo carnis humanæ, & ſuppoſito igni altaris, anima ſine dubio illa magnifica, cum qua natus eſt in carne, adiecto etiam incenſo, qui eſt ſpiritus immaculatus, medius inter viuos & mortuos ſtetit, &c.* See how our true prieſt Ieſus Chriſt taking the cenſor of his humane fleſh, putting to the fire of the altar, that is, his magnificent ſoule, wherewith he was borne in the fleſh, and adding incenſe, that is, an immaculate ſpirit, ſtoode in the middeſt betweene the liuing and the dead, *Hom.9. in Leuitic.* He maketh Chriſts ſoule a part of the ſacrifice.

*Argum.*5. Chriſts loue vnto man in ſuffring for him, was in higheſt degree and greateſt meaſure, that could be: as the Lord ſaith, Iſay.5.4. *What could I haue done any more for my vineyard, that I haue not done vnto it?* But if Chriſt had giuen his bodie onely, and not his ſoule for vs, hee had not done for vs all hee could, and ſo his loue ſhould greatly be empayred, and diminiſhed: *Ergo*, hee gaue his ſoule alſo together with his bodie to be the full price of our redemption.

1. It will be anſwered, that Chriſt ſaith, Iohn.15.13. *Greater loue hath no man than this, when one layeth downe his life for his friends*, *Bellarm. lib.1. de baptiſ. cap.6.* And the Apoſtle ſaith, *God commended his loue toward vs, that when we were ſinners, Chriſt dyed for vs*, Rom.5.7. *Bellarm. lib.4. de Chriſt. anima,*

*ma,cap.*8.*argum.*1. Chriſts loue is ſet forth in his death : A greater loue there cannot be than this : *Ergo,*his ſoule ſuffered not,for that ſhould haue been a greater loue.

2. Chriſt was the more beloued of God,for giuing his life for vs : Ioh.10. *Therefore doth my father loue me, Feuard.p.*470.*conf.*3. Then conſequently hee did not loſe his fathers loue,in giuing his ſoule for vs,and bearing his fathers wrath.

1 *Contra.* 1. If that ſentence of Chriſt be applied ſtrictly to himſelfe,this ſenſe cannot hold : for firſt Chriſt dyed for his enemies,Rom.5.10.therefore this is not ſimply the greateſt loue for a man to dye for his friends : it is a greater loue for one to dye for his enemies. Againe, *Moſes* wiſhed to be raſed out of the booke of life, Exod.34. *Paul* to be accurſed for the Iewes ſake, Rom.9.3. As *Hierome* ſaith, *Pro charitate Chriſti nolit habere Chriſtum :* For the loue of Chriſt hee will not haue Chriſt, *Algaſ.qu.*9. This was a greater loue,than to lay downe the bodily life onely : but a greater loue could not be in the members than in Chriſt.

2. The text then muſt firſt be vnderſtood of that kinde of loue, which was knowne and practiſed among men : ſome man might giue his life for his friend ; but it was not to be found among men,for one to dye for his enemies ; nay the Apoſtle ſaith,*doubtleſſe one will ſcarce dye for a righteous man,*Rom.5.7.much leſſe for a wicked man : but this loue Chriſt hath farre exceeded, in that hee dyed for vs being ſinners,and his enemies,as the Apoſtle there ſheweth. Secondly,by *anima,*ψυχὴ, life or ſoule in this place, if it be applied to Chriſt, it is not neceſſarie to vnderſtand the bodily life onely,but the whole ſtate of man : as where *Matthew* ſaith,chap.16.26. *What would it profit a man to winne the whole world,and loſe (animam) his ſoule or life ?* Saint *Luke* hath , *If hee loſe himſelfe,* Luk.9.25.ſo that a mans ſoule or life,is taken for himſelfe, that is the whole man. So, where Saint *Iohn* ſaith,that *Chriſt layd downe his life for vs,*1.Ioh.3.16. Saint *Paul* writeth thus,*he hath loued vs, and giuen himſelfe for vs,*Epheſ.5.2. Thirdly, what reaſon is there,that *anima,* properly ſignifying the ſoule, ſhould be taken for the bodie? which interpretation of the word, *Bellarmine* refuſeth and condemneth as coacted : Act.2.27. *Thou ſhalt not leaue my ſoule in graue,Bellarm.lib.*4.*de Chriſt. anim.c.*12.*loc.*4.

3. 1. S.*Paul* ſaith, that Gods loue is commended herein,that hee dyed for vs, that is,as Saint *Iohn* ſaith, *Herein wee haue perceiued loue, that Chriſt dyed for vs,* 1.Ioh.3.16. And chap.4.9. *In this* ἐφανερώθη,*appeared, or was made manifeſt Gods loue toward vs :* So that indeede by Chriſts bodily death, being conſpicuous and viſible (his other ſuffrings being inuiſible and not apparant) the loue of Chriſt was made manifeſt. 2. By the death of Chriſt all other concurrents and adiuncts of his croſſe are ſignified,his ſtripes,rebukes,blood,ſorrow,griefe,and whatſoeuer concurred either in his bodie or ſoule appertaining to,or accompanying his death : for by all theſe the loue of Chriſt was expreſſed.

2 Secondly, 1. neither doe we affirme,that Chriſt loſt his fathers loue or fauour, by entring into that agonie : *Iob,* when hee complained in the anguiſh of his ſoule, that God was his enemie, Iob.30.21. and *Dauid* when he ſayd, *I am caſt out of thy ſight,*Pſal.31.22. had they then loſt Gods fauour? 2. Nay,this trauaile and labour of Chriſts ſoule was moſt acceptable vnto God, Iſay.53. verſ.12. *Therefore I will giue him a portion with the great, becauſe hee hath powred out his ſoule vnto death,&c. and bare the ſinnes of many.*

Thirdly,we ſee then notwithſtanding theſe doubts and obiections, that the force of this argument remaineth inuiolable ; that the ſuffring of Chriſt in ſoule together with his body,doth more fully and amply commend and ſet forth vnto vs the loue of God,ſeeing now,as the Prophet ſaith, *he could not doe any thing more for vs, which he had not done :* So I conclude with that ſaying of *Ambroſe, in Luc.c.*22. *Minus contulerat,ſi meum non ſuſcepiſſet affectum, debuit dolorem ſuſcipere,vt triſtitiam vinceret,non excluderet :* He had beſtowed but little,if he had not taken mine affection : hee ought to take my ſorrow,to ouercome my heauines,and not to exclude it:

Beſide the teſtimonies of the Fathers,diſperſedly alleaged before in our ſeuerall arguments and anſweres,theſe alſo doe witneſſe with vs for the ſuffring of Chriſt both in ſoule and bodie.

Ambroſe : Chriſtus ex nobis ſuſcepit,quod proprium offerret pro nobis,vt nos redimeret: Chriſt hath taken of vs,which he ſhould offer as proper for vs, to redeeme vs,*de incarnat.cap.*6. Againe, *Quicquid induit,obtulit :* Whatſoeuer Chriſt tooke of vs,he offered,*de incarnat.c.*6. *Ergo,*he offered bodie and ſoule,for he tooke both.

*Concil.Hiſpalenſ.*2.*c.*13.vpon theſe words, *My ſoule is heauie : Anima paſſionibus obnoxia, diuinitas libera :* His ſoule was ſubiect to paſſions,his diuinitie was free,&c. If nothing were free but his diuine nature,then his ſoule was ſubiect to the proper and immediate paſſions thereof.

Hierome : Perſpicuum eſt, ſicut corpus flagellatum,ita animã verè doluiſſe,ne ex parte veritas ex parte mendacium credatur in Chriſto : It is euident, that as his bodie was whipped,ſo his ſoule was verily and truly grieued,leſt ſome part of Chriſts ſuffering ſhould be true,ſome part falſe, *in* 53.*cap.Iſaiæ: Ergo,*Chriſts ſoule as properly and truly ſuffered as his bodie:the ſoule had her proper griefe,as the bodie had whipping : the whipping then of the bodie was not the proper griefe of the ſoule.

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*Anſw.*1. In this queſtion of Chriſts ſuffering hell ſorrowes, that wee may walke ſafely and without offence, this firſt muſt be premiſed, that theſe ſufferings and ſorrowes be no otherwiſe attributed to Chriſt, then as they may ſtand with the dignitie and worthines of his perſon, the holines of his nature, and the performance of the office and worke of our redemption: firſt then for the ſoule of Chriſt to ſuffer in the locall place of hell, to remaine in the darkenes thereof, and to be tormented with ẏ materiall flames there, & eternally to be damned, was not for the dignitie of his perſon, to whom for his excellencie and worthines, both the place, manner and time of thoſe torments were diſpenſed with. Secondly, finall reiection, and deſperation, with the worme of conſcience for his own ſinne, agreeth not with the holines of his nature, who was the immaculate lambe, and therefore we doe not aſcribe them to him. Thirdly, deſtruction of bodie and ſoule, ſecond death; could not fall vpon Chriſt; for this were to haue deſtroyed the worke of our redemption, if he had been ſubiect to deſtruction.

2. For the worme of conſcience, though Chriſt in himſelfe being moſt holy and harmeleſſe, was free from it, yet as bearing our perſon, and taking vpon him our iniquities, he was not exempted, no not from our griefe and ſorrow for ſinne: ſo the Prophet ſaith, he was a man full of ſorrowes, Iſay 53.3. ***And he was ſmitten and plagued of God,*** verſ.4. ***Hierome*** alſo doubteth not to applie theſe words, Pſalm. 59.5. ***My faultes are not hid from thee,*** vnto Chriſt: ***Hoc ex perſona Chriſti dicitur, ſi ille, qui peccatum non fecit, pro nobis doluit, & peccata noſtra portauit, quanto magis nos debemus vitia noſtra confiteri:*** This is ſpoken in the perſon of Chriſt, if he that did no ſinne, ſorrowed for vs, and bare our ſinnes, how much more ought we to confeſſe our ſinnes, &c. he affirmeth Chriſt to haue ſorrowed for our ſinnes, as confeſſing them to be his owne.

3. Firſt, reiection with deſperation, and finall malediction could not be faſtened vpon Chriſts ſoule: yet the Scripture teſtifieth, that he was forſaken of God for the preſent in his ſenſe and feeling, ſo complaining vpon the croſſe, and that he was made a curſe for vs, Galath. 3.13. Chriſt then was, as the Scripture ſaith, forſaken, that is, reiected of God and accurſed. Secondly, but here diuers neceſſarie conſiderations muſt be had: firſt, that Chriſt in the holines of his owne nature was neuer accurſed, or reiected, but alwaies beloued of God: but as now our perſon was appropriated to him, and as he ſtood a pledge and ſuretie for vs to pay our debt, ſo he was for the time reiected and accurſed. And to this purpoſe ***Damaſcene*** hath a good diſtinction, which I haue before remembred: that there are δύο οἰκειώσεις, two kindes of appropriations in Chriſt, φυσικὴ ϗ οὐσιώδης, one naturall and ſubſtantiall, the other προσωπικὴ ϗ σχετικὴ, perſonall or habituall: to the firſt belong all the properties of the humane nature, which Chriſt verilie tooke with his fleſh: of the ſecond ſort are thoſe, which are attributed to Chriſt, as bearing our perſon, in which reſpect he aſſumed to himſelfe our dereliction and malediction. ***Damaſcen.lib.*3.*de fid.c.*25.** Secondly, as ***Ambroſe*** hath a diſtinction of election: that ſome are elected, ***Non de præſcientia, ſed de præſenti iuſtitia,*** Not of Gods preſcience, but of their preſent iuſtice, ***Ambr.in* 8. *ad Rom.*** So likewiſe we may ſay of Chriſts reiection, that he was neuer reiected in Gods preſcience, but according to the preſent ſenſe and feeling which was in his ſoule. Thirdly, thus then the contrarie arguments may be anſwered: firſt that this reiection of Chriſt, neither enforceth ***deſperation,*** ſeeing Chriſt was ſupported by the innocencie of his owne ſoule, nor yet a ***ſeparation*** from the vnitie of the Godhead, ſeeing this reiection was not finall: ſo that as Chriſts bodie was without life in the graue, yet not hypoſtatically ſeparated from the Godhead, ſo his ſoule was a while without feeling of Gods fauour; yet ſtill vnited in perſon to the Godhead. Secondly, Chriſt thus being made a curſe for vs, was not therefore

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ſufficient, in reſpect of Gods power and the dignitie of Chriſts perſon, to haue redeemed vs: as it is in your owne law confeſſed: *extrau. commun. lib.* 5. *tit.*9.*c.*2. *Clemens.*6. *Gutta ſanguinis modica propter vnionem ad verbum pro redemptione totius humani generis ſuffeciſſet:* The leaſt drop of Chriſts blood for the vnion of Chriſt to the word, had ſufficed for the redemption of whole mankind, &c. As then the leaſt drop of blood had been ſufficient, if God had ſo purpoſed, yet was not therefore the great ſtreame of blood, that came from him ſuperfluous: ſo neither doth the ſhedding of his blood with other paines in his fleſh, being in themſelues of great ſufficiencie, exclude the neceſſitie of his ſorrowes in ſoule: for it pleaſed God by the death of his Sonne, not to ſhew ſo much his abſolute power whereby he could haue ſaued vs without his death, but his vnſpeakeable loue in giuing his Sonne for vs, Rom. 8. 32. and the fulnes of our redemption, in that Chriſt left nothing vndone, that could be done for vs, Iſay. 5. 4. So that Chriſt now hauing paied the full price of our redemption, both in his bodie and ſoule, we may boldly ſay with the Prophet: *Apud eum copioſa redemptio:* With him is plentie of redemption, or a plentifull redemption, Pſalm. 130. 7.

Obiect. 2. In hell theſe things are to be conſidered: firſt, inward and outward darkenes: ſecondly, lake of fire and brimſtone: thirdly, fire vnquenchable. *Feuard*. 444. *conf*. 2. Fourthly, the worme and pricke of conſcience: fiftly, malediction: ſixtly, deſperation: *Feuard*. 446. *conf*. 5. Seuenthly, ſecond death and deſtruction of bodie and ſoule for euer: *Feuard. p*. 453. *lin*. 3. But Chriſt felt none of theſe puniſhments: *Ergo* he ſuffered not the torments of hell.

Anſw. 1. In this queſtion of Chriſts ſuffering hell ſorrowes, that wee may walke ſafely and without offence, this firſt muſt be premiſed, that theſe ſufferings and ſorrowes be no otherwiſe attributed to Chriſt, then as they may ſtand with the dignitie and worthines of his perſon, the holines of his nature, and the performance of the office and worke of our redemption: firſt then for the ſoule of Chriſt to ſuffer in the locall place of hell, to remaine in the darkenes thereof, and to be tormented with ẏ materiall flames there, & eternally to be damned, was not for the dignitie of his perſon, to whom for his excellencie and worthines, both the place, manner and time of thoſe torments were diſpenſed with. Secondly, finall reiection, and deſperation, with the worme of conſcience for his own ſinne, agreeth not with the holines of his nature, who was the immaculate lambe, and therefore we doe not aſcribe them to him. Thirdly, deſtruction of bodie and ſoule, ſecond death, could not fall vpon Chriſt; for this were to haue deſtroyed the worke of our redemption, if he had been ſubiect to deſtruction.

2. For the worme of conſcience, though Chriſt in himſelfe being moſt holy and harmeleſſe, was free from it, yet as bearing our perſon, and taking vpon him our iniquities, he was not exempted, no not from our griefe and ſorrow for ſinne: ſo the Prophet ſaith, he was a man full of ſorrowes, Iſay 53. 3. *And he was ſmitten and plagued of God*, verſ. 4. *Hierome* alſo doubteth not to applie theſe words, Pſalm. 59. 5. *My faultes are not hid from thee*, vnto Chriſt: *Hoc ex perſona Chriſti dicitur, ſi ille, qui peccatum non fecit, pro nobis doluit, & peccata noſtra portauit, quanto magis nos debemus vitia noſtra confiteri:* This is ſpoken in the perſon of Chriſt, if he that did no ſinne, ſorrowed for vs, and bare our ſinnes, how much more ought we to confeſſe our ſinnes, &c. he affirmeth Chriſt to haue ſorrowed for our ſinnes, as confeſſing them to be his owne.

3. Firſt, reiection with deſperation, and finall malediction could not be faſtened vpon Chriſts ſoule: yet the Scripture teſtifieth, that he was forſaken of God for the preſent in his ſenſe and feeling, ſo complaining vpon the croſſe, and that he was made a curſe for vs, Galath. 3. 13. Chriſt then was, as the Scripture ſaith, forſaken, that is, reiected of God and accurſed. Secondly, but here diuers neceſſarie conſiderations muſt be had: firſt, that Chriſt in the holines of his owne nature was neuer accurſed, or reiected, but alwaies beloued of God: but as now our perſon was appropriated to him, and as he ſtood a pledge and ſuretie for vs to pay our debt, ſo he was for the time reiected and accurſed. And to this purpoſe *Damaſcene* hath a good diſtinction, which I haue before remembred: that there are δύο οἰκειώσεις, two kindes of appropriations in Chriſt, φυσικὴ ϗ οὐσιώδης, one naturall and ſubſtantiall, the other προσωπικὴ ϗ σχετικὴ, perſonall or habituall: to the firſt belong all the properties of the humane nature, which Chriſt verilie tooke with his fleſh: of the ſecond ſort are thoſe, which are attributed to Chriſt, as bearing our perſon, in which reſpect he aſſumed to himſelfe our dereliction and malediction. *Damaſcen. lib*. 3. *de fid. c*. 25. Secondly, as *Ambroſe* hath a diſtinction of election: that ſome are elected, *Non de præſcientia*, *ſed de præſenti iuſtitia*, Not of Gods preſcience, but of their preſent iuſtice, *Ambr. in* 8. *ad Rom*. So likewiſe we may ſay of Chriſts reiection, that he was neuer reiected in Gods preſcience, but according to the preſent ſenſe and feeling which was in his ſoule. Thirdly, thus then the contrarie arguments may be anſwered: firſt that this reiection of Chriſt, neither enforceth *deſperation*, ſeeing Chriſt was ſupported by the innocencie of his owne ſoule, nor yet a *ſeparation* from the vnitie of the Godhead, ſeeing this reiection was not finall: ſo that as Chriſts bodie was without life in the graue, yet not hypoſtatically ſeparated from the Godhead, ſo his ſoule was a while without feeling of Gods fauour; yet ſtill vnited in perſon to the Godhead. Secondly, Chriſt thus being made a curſe for vs, was not therefore

made vnable to bleſſe vs; but the Apoſtle inferreth a contrarie concluſion, that *Chriſt hath redeemed vs from the curſe of the law, being made a curſe for vs:* becauſe he was accurſed for vs, we are bleſſed thorough him.

4. Concerning hell flames: firſt, in that they are not eternall in Chriſt, the worthines of his perſon obtained: for his temporall enduring of hell ſorrowes was as effectuall and meritorious, as if they had been perpetuall.

Obiect. And why I pray you may not the dignitie of his perſon diſpenſe with the ſufferings of the ſoule altogether, and that his bodily torments onely might be accepted? *Feuard. p.* 450. *con.* 13. *lin.* 7.

Anſw. Firſt, the dignitie of his perſon did beare him out in that, which was not meete for him to ſuffer, nor fit in reſpect of our redemption: for if he ſhould haue ſuffered eternally, our redemption could not haue been accompliſhed: but for him to ſuffer in ſoule as he did in bodie, was neither derogatory to his perſon, nor preiudiciall to his worke. Secondly, by the ſame reaſon by the dignitie of his perſon he ſhould be exempted alſo from his bodily ſufferings, and ſo ſuffer nothing at all: ſo then the dignitie of his perſon was ſo farre forth diſpenſed with, as yet Gods iuſtice and equitie in the full redemption of man muſt be ſatisfied.

Secondly, 1. For hell flames, though we deny not, but they ſhall be materiall, though after a ſpirituall manner to worke vpon the immortall and neuer dying bodies of the damned; yet it muſt needs be confeſſed, that all the flames and fire of hell are not corporall and materiall: As that fire was not wherein the rich man was tormented, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, to this effect, *Talis flamma fuit, qualis aqua guttula, &c.* It was ſuch a flame, as the drop of water, as the finger, &c. *lib.* 21. *de ciuitat. c.* 10. 2. That Chriſt felt in his ſoule the fierie flames of Gods wrath, which may be called the flames of hell, it need not ſeeme ſtrange, ſeeing the Scripture reſembleth the wrath of God vnto fire, Pſalm. 89. verſ. 46. *Shall thy wrath burne like fire?* and as Chriſt baptized with the ſpirite and fire, Matth. 3. 12. ſo it was fit he himſelfe ſhould be ſo baptized firſt, Luke 12. 50. S. *Ambroſe* to this purpoſe applieth that place, Iſay 6. 7. where the prophets lippes were purged with a coale from the altar: *Chriſtus velut carbo ſecundum carnem exuſſit peccata noſtra:* Chriſt as a coale in his fleſh burned vp our ſinnes. And againe, *Sicut habes in Zacharia, nonne hic titio eiectus ab igni, & ille erat Ieſus indutus veſtimento ſordido:* As you haue in *Zacharie,* is not this a firebrand taken out of the fire? and this was Ieſus clothed with filthie rayment, *Lib.* 1. *de ſpirit. c.* 9. Thus Chriſt was firſt as a brand himſelfe, touched or ſcorched with the fire of his Fathers wrath, and then as the coale from the altar he alſo purgeth vs.

Thus then we feare not to confeſſe with the Scriptures and fathers, that Chriſt bearing our ſins in himſelfe vpon the croſſe, did feele himſelfe during that combate, as reiected and forſaken of God, and accurſed for vs, and the flames of his Fathers wrath burning within him: ſo that to the honor of Chriſts paſſion wee confeſſe, that our bleſſed redeemer refuſed no part of our puniſhment, but endured the very paines of hell ſo farre, as they tended not neither to the *derogation* of his perſon, *deprauation* of his nature, *deſtruction* of dis office.

Thus alſo is *Feuardentius* further anſwered, who maketh theſe foure the puniſhments of the reprobate. 1. They ſhall for euer want the viſion or ſight of God. 2. They ſhall euer bee perplexed with the horror of a guiltie conſcience. 3. They are depriued of all the gifts of the ſpirite. 4. In ſtead of vertues, they are defiled with wickedneſſe, pag. 446. Of theſe foure, the firſt is a diſhonor to Chriſts glorious perſon, wherein he is perpetually vnited to God, and ſo cannot euer want the viſion of God: the ſecond ſhould be an hinderance to the worke of our redemption: for he could not ſaue vs from our ſinnes, if he were guiltie of his owne: the two laſt cannot be committed nor had without ſinne, and therefore are a diſgrace to the holineſſe of his nature: wherefore none of theſe puniſhments, without blaſphemie, can bee layd vpon Chriſt.

Obiect. 3. Firſt, none in this life are in the true paines of hell: *Ergo,* neither Chriſt, *Bellarm. lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. *argum.* 3.

2. Hell paines are not meritorious, but Chriſts paſſions and ſuffrings are meritorious: *Ergo,* he ſuffered not the paines of hell; *Feuard. pag.* 421. *conf.* 12. *lin.* 3. 4.

3. Hell paynes are euerlaſting, there is fire that neuer goeth out or is extinguiſhed, *Feuardent. pag.* 444. *conf.* 2. *lin.* 9. *Ergo,* Chriſt was not in thoſe flames.

4. Chriſt was mightier then hell, he looſed the ſorrowes of hell: *Ergo,* he was not tormented in hell, *Feuard. pag.* 475. *lin.* 3. *ex Fulgent.*

5. The Apoſtle ſaith, Rom. 8. 17. *If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall be glorified with him:* we by partaking with Chriſt in the like paſſions, ſhall attaine to be fellowes with him in his kingdome, *Rhemiſt. annot. in hunc locum:* Muſt wee ſuffer then the paines of hell, before we can attaine heauen?

6. S. *Peter* ſaith, *Chriſt ſuffered for vs, leauing vs an example to follow his ſteppes:* this place is vrged by *Feuard. pag.* 361. 5. If Chriſt then muſt be imitated of vs in all things, then in his hell ſufferings.

7. *Chriſtus eſt purior cunctis angelicis choris:* Chriſt is purer then all the companie of Angels, *Feuard.pag.*454.*lin.*12. if Chriſt were not free from hell, how can they be; ſeeing he was *perſonaliter vnitus*, perſonally vnited to the Godhead, *pag.*474.*lin.*20. as the Angels are not: and if the elect members of Chriſt are ſure they ſhall not fall from their election, and ſo conſequently not come into hell, much more Chriſt, &c. *Feuard. p.*483.*conf.*3.

8. There is no goodneſſe, charitie, vertue in hell, therefore Chriſt full of all grace and vertue, could not be there, *Feuard. p.*447.*conf.6.*

1 *Anſw.* 1. The argument followeth not, men in this life cannot feele the true paynes of hell, *Ergo*, not Chriſt: for who but Chriſt did beare the iniquities of men? as the Prophet ſaith, Iſay 53.6. *Fecit in eum concurrere peccata omnium:* God made all our ſinnes to runne together as in an heape vpon him: who then but Chriſt could feele and ſuffer the true puniſhment of ſinne in this life? 2. The true paines, though not the full paynes of hell may be felt in this life; as likewiſe the true, though not the full ioyes of heauen: firſt, for the ioyes of heauen, the Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ.2.6. *Hee hath made vs ſit together in the heauenly places in Chriſt Ieſus:* What is this els, but euen while we liue, by faith to poſſeſſe the very ioyes of heauen? So *Paul*, not yet out of his body, was taken vp into Paradiſe, 2.Corin.12.4. whereof *Hierome* thus writeth: *Paulo in tertium cœlum patuit aſcenſus, quem neq; ignea illa romphæa ab aditu Paradiſi potuit excludere:* A way was open for *Paul* to aſcend into Paradiſe, whom the fierie blade could not ſhut out, *ad Marcellam. Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Tu ſi vis, cœlum eris; ſi vis eſſe cœlum, purga de corde tuo terram:* Thou mayeſt be heauen, if thou wilt purge earth out of thy heart, and thou ſhalt be heauen, *in pſal.96.* Wherefore euen a man while he liueth, may feele the true ioyes of heauen.

If the ſoule may in this life haue a taſte of the true ioyes of heauen, then conſequently it may be perplexed with the true ſorrowes of hell, though not in that manner nor meaſure: for if horrible deſperation, and a comfortleſſe conſcience of ſinne belong to the true paynes of hell, what did *Cain* want of the feeling of hell torments, when he ſaid, His ſinne was greater then could be forgiuen, Gen.4.13? *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Iudicis tribunal in mente tua, ſedet ibi Deus, adeſt accuſator conſcientia, tortor timor:* The Iudges tribunall ſeat is in thy ſoule, God ſitteth there as Iudge, thy conſcience is the accuſer, feare is the tormentor: *in pſal.*57. If then in the ſoule there be a Iudge; an Accuſer; a Tormentor; there is alſo a true taſte of the torments of hell.

2 2. 1. The leaſt paines, which Chriſt ſuffered for vs, and the leaſt labour and trauaile, which he endured, were meritorious; his hunger, thirſt, faſting, wearines, whippings, buffetings, were in reſpect of the worthines of his perſon meritorious, much more the ſuffrings of his ſoule. 2. Hell torments in themſelues are not meritorious, nor yet the ſhedding of mans blood; yet in Chriſt, becauſe of the holines of his perſon, both the one and the other were full of merit: As *Bernard* well anſwered to the like obiection: *Nunquid mors innocentis filij tantū placuit deo?* Did the death of his innocent ſonne ſo much pleaſe God? *Non mors, ſed voluntas placuit ſponte morientis: non requiſiuit deus ſanguinem innocentis filij, ſed acceptauit oblatum, non ſanguinem ſitiens, ſed ſalutem, quia ſalus erat in ſanguine:* Not the death, but the will of him, that dyed of his owne accord, was acceptable: God required not the blood of his innocent ſonne, but accepted it being offered; not thirſting for blood, but for mans ſaluation, which was in his blood, *epiſt.*191. As then theſe three things, the perſon of Chriſt being the ſonne of God, his obedience in being willing, his end and intention to ſaue mankinde, made his blood acceptable and meritorious: ſo alſo in the foreſaid reſpects his ſoule merited by the ſuffrings and paſſions thereof. 3. Neither by theſe ſuffrings was the vnion to the Godhead ſeparated, but the fruition only a while ſuſpended. 4. And it is not thankworthie, ſimply to wiſh to be ſeparated from God, but with a charitable affection to wiſh ſuch a ſeparation, was no doubt acceptable in *Paul:* who, as *Hierome* ſaith, *Pro charitate Chriſti nolui habere Chriſtum:* For the loue of Chriſt would not haue Chriſt: but in Chriſt it was truly meritorious.

3 3. 1. The paines of hell, which Chriſt ſuffered, though they were not infinite in time, yet were they of an infinite price and value, for the dignitie of the perſon that ſuffered them, his abundant *charitie* whereby he ſuffered them, the great *vtilitie* for the which he ſuffered them, namely the ſaluation of man. 2. Otherwiſe infinitely in time Chriſt was not to ſuffer: as *Ambroſe* well ſaith vpon theſe words, Rom.5.6. Chriſt dyed, *ſecundum tempus*, in time, or according to time: *Tempora in mundo ſunt, vbi oritur & occidit ſol huic ergo tempori; mortuus eſt; vbi autem tempus non eſt, ibi non ſolum viuus, ſed victor repertus eſt:* Times are in the world, where the Sunne riſeth, and ſetteth, vnto this time he dyed: but where there is no time, there hee was found not onely liuing, but conquering: *in 5.ad Roman.*

4 4. 1. Chriſt was not bound of Sathan, though hee encountred with Sathan; neither was hee weaker than hell, becauſe he entred into hell, but mightier, becauſe hee ouercame hell: and as hee deſtroyed death by his death, Heb.2.14. ſo hee vanquiſhed hell by his hell, which hee ſuffered in ſoule. 2. Chriſt did by his death enter into the *ſtrong mans houſe to ſpoyle his goods*, Matth 10.29. And as *Ruffinus* ſaith in the ſymbole, which goeth vnder his name: *Chriſtus non damno aliquo patitur,*

made vnable to bleſſe vs; but the Apoſtle inferreth a contrarie concluſion, that *Chriſt hath redeemed vs from the curſe of the law, being made a curſe for vs:* becauſe he was accurſed for vs, we are bleſſed thorough him.

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Thus alſo is *Feuardentius* further anſwered, who maketh theſe foure the puniſhments of the reprobate. 1. They ſhall for euer want the viſion or ſight of God. 2. They ſhall euer bee perplexed with the horror of a guiltie conſcience. 3. They are depriued of all the gifts of the ſpirite. 4. In ſtead of vertues, they are defiled with wickedneſſe, pag. 446. Of theſe foure, the firſt is a diſhonor to Chriſts glorious perſon, wherein he is perpetually vnited to God, and ſo cannot euer want the viſion of God: the ſecond ſhould be an hinderance to the worke of our redemption: for he could not ſaue vs from our ſinnes, if he were guiltie of his owne: the two laſt cannot be committed nor had without ſinne, and therefore are a diſgrace to the holineſſe of his nature: wherefore none of theſe puniſhments, without blaſphemie, can bee layd vpon Chriſt.

Obiect. 3. Firſt, none in this life are in the true paines of hell: *Ergo*, neither Chriſt, *Bellarm. lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. *argum.* 3.

2. Hell paines are not meritorious, but Chriſts paſſions and ſuffrings are meritorious: *Ergo*, he ſuffered not the paines of hell; *Feuard. pag.* 421. *conf.* 12. *lin.* 3. 4.

3. Hell paynes are euerlaſting, there is fire that neuer goeth out or is extinguiſhed, *Feuardent. pag.* 444. *conf.* 2. *lin.* 9. *Ergo*, Chriſt was not in thoſe flames.

4. Chriſt was mightier then hell, he looſed the ſorrowes of hell: *Ergo*, he was not tormented in hell, *Feuard. pag.* 475. *lin.* 3. *ex Fulgent.*

5. The Apoſtle ſaith, Rom. 8. 17. *If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall be glorified with him:* we by partaking with Chriſt in the like paſſions, ſhall attaine to be fellowes with him in his kingdome, *Rhemiſt. annot. in hunc locum:* Muſt wee ſuffer then the paines of hell, before we can attaine heauen?

6. S. *Peter* ſaith, *Chriſt ſuffered for vs, leauing vs an example to follow his ſteppes:* this place is vrged by *Feuard. pag.* 361. 5. If Chriſt then muſt be imitated of vs in all things, then in his hell ſufferings.

7. *Chriſtus eſt purior cunctis angelicis choris:* Chriſt is purer then all the companie of Angels, *Feuard. pag.*454.*lin.*12. if Chriſt were not free from hell, how can they be; ſeeing he was *perſonaliter vnitus,* perſonally vnited to the Godhead, *pag.*474.*lin.*20. as the Angels are not: and if the elect members of Chriſt are ſure they ſhall not fall from their election, and ſo conſequently not come into hell, much more Chriſt, &c. *Feuard. p.*483.*conf.*3.

8. There is no goodneſſe, charitie, vertue in hell, therefore Chriſt full of all grace and vertue, could not be there, *Feuard. p.*447.*conf.*6.

Anſw. 1. The argument followeth not, men in this life cannot feele the true paynes of hell, *Ergo,* not Chriſt: for who but Chriſt did beare the iniquities of men? as the Prophet ſaith, Iſay 53.6. *Fecit in eum concurrere peccata omnium:* God made all our ſinnes to runne together as in an heape vpon him: who then but Chriſt could feele and ſuffer the true puniſhment of ſinne in this life? 1
2. The true paines, though not the full paynes of hell may be felt in this life; as likewiſe the true, though not the full ioyes of heauen: firſt, for the ioyes of heauen, the Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ.2.6. *Hee hath made vs ſit together in the heauenly places in Chriſt Ieſus:* What is this els, but euen while we liue, by faith to poſſeſſe the very ioyes of heauen? So *Paul,* not yet out of his body, was taken vp into Paradiſe, 2.Corin.12.4. whereof *Hierome* thus writeth: *Paulo in tertium cœlum patuit aſcenſus, quem neq; ignea illa romphæa ab aditu Paradiſi potuit excludere:* A way was open for *Paul* to aſcend into Paradiſe, whom the fierie blade could not ſhut out, *ad Marcellam. Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *Tu ſi vis, cœlum eris; ſi vis eſſe cœlum, purga de corde tuo terram:* Thou mayeſt be heauen, if thou wilt purge earth out of thy heart, and thou ſhalt be heauen, *in pſal.*96. Wherefore euen a man while he liueth, may feele the true ioyes of heauen.

If the ſoule may in this life haue a taſte of the true ioyes of heauen, then conſequently it may be perplexed with the true ſorrowes of hell, though not in that manner nor meaſure: for if horrible deſperation, and a comfortleſſe conſcience of ſinne belong to the true paynes of hell, what did *Cain* want of the feeling of hell torments, when he ſaid, His ſinne was greater then could be forgiuen, Gen.4.13? *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Iudicis tribunal in mente tua, ſedet ibi Deus, adeſt accuſator conſcientia, tortor timor:* The Iudges tribunall ſeat is in thy ſoule, God ſitteth there as Iudge, thy conſcience is the accuſer, feare is the tormentor: *in pſal.*57. If then in the ſoule there be a Iudge; an Accuſer; a Tormentor; there is alſo a true taſte of the torments of hell.

2. 1. The leaſt paines, which Chriſt ſuffered for vs, and the leaſt labour and trauaile, which 2
he endured, were meritorious; his hunger, thirſt, faſting, wearines, whippings, buffetings, were in reſpect of the worthines of his perſon meritorious, much more the ſuffrings of his ſoule. 2. Hell torments in themſelues are not meritorious, nor yet the ſhedding of mans blood; yet in Chriſt, becauſe of the holines of his perſon, both the one and the other were full of merit: As *Bernard* well anſwered to the like obiection: *Nunquid mors innocentis filij tantũ placuit deo?* Did the death of his innocent ſonne ſo much pleaſe God? *Non mors, ſed voluntas placuit ſponte morientis: non requiſiuit deus ſanguinem innocentis filij, ſed acceptauit oblatum, non ſanguinem ſitiens, ſed ſalutem, quia ſalus erat in ſanguine:* Not the death, but the will of him, that dyed of his owne accord, was acceptable: God required not the blood of his innocent ſonne, but accepted it being offered; not thirſting for blood, but for mans ſaluation, which was in his blood, *epiſt.*191. As then theſe three things, the perſon of Chriſt being the ſonne of God, his obedience in being willing, his end and intention to ſaue mankinde, made his blood acceptable and meritorious: ſo alſo in the foreſaid reſpects his ſoule merited by the ſuffrings and paſſions thereof. 3. Neither by theſe ſuffrings was the vnion to the Godhead ſeparated, but the fruition only a while ſuſpended. 4. And it is not thankworthie, ſimply to wiſh to be ſeparated from God, but with a charitable affection to wiſh ſuch a ſeparation, was no doubt acceptable in *Paul:* who, as *Hierome* ſaith, *Pro charitate Chriſti nolui habere Chriſtum:* For the loue of Chriſt would not haue Chriſt: but in Chriſt it was truly meritorious.

3. 1. The paines of hell, which Chriſt ſuffered, though they were not infinite in time, yet were 3
they of an infinite price and value, for the dignitie of the perſon that ſuffered them, his abundant *charitie* whereby he ſuffered them, the great *vtilitie* for the which he ſuffered them, namely the ſaluation of man. 2. Otherwiſe infinitely in time Chriſt was not to ſuffer: as *Ambroſe* well ſaith vpon theſe words, Rom.5.6. Chriſt dyed, *ſecundum tempus,* in time, or according to time: *Tempora in mundo ſunt, vbi oritur & occidit ſol huic ergo tempori; mortuus eſt; vbi autem tempus non eſt, ibi non ſolum viuus, ſed victor repertus eſt:* Times are in the world, where the Sunne riſeth, and ſetteth, vnto this time he dyed: but where there is no time, there hee was found not onely liuing, but conquering: *in* 5.*ad Roman.*

4. 1. Chriſt was not bound of Sathan, though hee encountred with Sathan; neither was hee 4
weaker than hell, becauſe he entred into hell, but mightier, becauſe hee ouercame hell: and as hee deſtroyed death by his death, Heb.2.14. ſo hee vanquiſhed hell by his hell, which hee ſuffered in ſoule. 2. Chriſt did by his death enter into the *ſtrong mans houſe to ſpoyle his goods,* Matth 10.29. And as *Ruffinus* ſaith in the ſymbole, which goeth vnder his name: *Chriſtus non damno aliquo patitur,*

tur, ſed vt rex carcerem ingreſſus, vt ſoluat catenas in carcere fuiſſe dicitur, ſed non ea conditione, qua cateri; illi vt pœnas ſoluerent, hic vt pœnas abſolueret: Chriſt ſuffereth not to any loſſe, but as a King entring into priſon to looſe the chaines, is ſaid to haue been in priſon, but not with that condition, that others are; they are there to pay debt, hee to releaſe them of paine and debt, &c. So Chriſt by entring into death and hell for vs, hath releaſed vs of our paine, and payed our debt, though not as they, which are condemned to hell.

5 5. *Bernard* well noteth three things in Chriſts death: *In Chriſti paſſione tria ſpecialiter conuenit intueri, opus, modum, cauſam:* It behoueth vs ſpecially to conſider in Chriſts paſſion the worke, the manner, the cauſe, *ſerm. de paſſion.* In the cauſe he was *innocent*, in the manner *patient*, in the worke *excellent:* in his innocencie and humilitie wee muſt ſuffer as hee did, that is, not to ſuffer as euill doers, but for righteouſnes ſake, Matth. 5. 10. We muſt ſuffer patiently, as he did, *who being reuiled, reuiled not againe*, 1. Pet. 2. 23. but in the worke of redemption, for the which hee ſuffered in bodie and ſoule, wee cannot ſuffer as he did; vnleſſe you will make men redeemers of ſoules: nay, who can endure the like bodily ſuffrings as hee did in euery reſpect? wherefore in this behalfe wee are not required by the Apoſtle to ſuffer with Chriſt, neither is it poſſible.

6 6. 1. The ſame anſwere may ſerue for the next obiection: for the Apoſtle in the ſame place ſheweth wherein Chriſt is an example to vs, in his innocencie, *there was no guile in his mouth*, 1. Pet. chap. 2. 23. in his patience, *he reuiled not againe*, verſ. 23. 2. To the ſame effect the ſame Apoſtle exhorteth vs to bee partakers of Chriſts ſuffrings, that is, not to ſuffer as euill doers, 1. Pet. 4. 15. 3. Saint *Auguſtine* ſheweth well wherein Chriſt is to be imitated: *Non dixit Chriſtus, diſcite à me mundum fabricare, aut mortuos ſuſcitare, ſed diſcite, quia mitis ſum:* Chriſt ſaid not, learne of me to make the world, or to raiſe the dead; but learne of me, becauſe I am meeke, *de bon. coniugal. cap. 37.* To redeeme the world, is no leſſe a worke than to make the world: and therefore vnleſſe Chriſt had bid vs to learne of him to redeeme the world, how doth it belong to vs to imitate his meritorious and ſatisfactorie ſuffrings both in bodie and ſoule? 4. Yet wee haue ſomewhat alſo euen in Chriſts ſoule-ſuffrings to imitate: that as hee being plunged as it were in the depth of hell, and in the floods of ſorrowes, yet was not ſwallowed vp of the gulfe of deſpayre, but ſtill truſted vnto God, ſaying, *My God, my God:* ſo wee likewiſe ſhould be confident in our trouble of minde. And to this poynt alſo *Auguſtine* ſaith well: *Chriſtus exemplum ſanis ad permanendum, infirmis ad conualeſcendum, morituris ad non timendum, mortuis ad reſurgendum:* Chriſt is an example to the whole to continue, to the weake to grow in ſtrength, to the dying not to feare, to the dead to riſe againe, *de Trinitat. 7. 2.*

7 7. 1. It followeth not, Chriſt is vnited into one perſon with God, therefore hee did not ſuffer the paines of hell: for by the ſame reaſon he ſhould not haue ſuffered in bodie: the vnion of his perſon could haue preſerued him from the one ſuffring and the other, and no man compelled him to vndertake this difficult worke, but his owne vnſpeakeable loue vnto mankinde: ſo hee ſayth, Ioh. 10. 17. *Therefore doth my father loue me, becauſe I lay downe my life:* verſ. 18. *No man taketh it from me, but I lay it downe of my ſelfe:* If the ſonne of God had been conſtrained to ſuffer, and for himſelfe, then both men and Angels might feare; but as *Bernard* (before alleaged) ſaith: *Voluntas ſponte morientis, placuit deo:* The willingnes of him that dyed, pleaſed God: who offered himſelfe to bee the redeemer of the world: Pſal. 40. 7. *Then ſaid I, loe I come.*

2. We neede not maruaile, that the ſonne of God doth beare for vs the brunt of hell, who was able to ſubdue it; we might rather haue muſed and maruailed, if either men or Angels had entred into the combat, who muſt needes haue yeelded vnto it. *Auguſtine* here well ſaith: *Mirum eſſe non debet à deo factum miraculum, mirum eſſet ſi homo feciſſet, magis gaudere quam mirari debemus, quia dominus noſter homo factus eſt, quam quod diuina inter homines fecit; plus eſt enim ad ſalutem noſtram, quod factus eſt propter homines, quam quod fecit inter homines:* It neede not ſeeme ſtraunge to vs, that God did a miracle, it were ſtraunge if man had done it, we ſhould rather reioyce and not marueile, becauſe our Lord was made man, than that amongſt men he did diuine things; it is more to our ſaluation, that he was made for men, than that he did make ſuch things among men, *Tract. in Ioh. 17.* Wee neede not then aske the queſtion, how Chriſt ſuffered the paines of hell, and did other great works for vs, but rather reioyce, that God became man for our ſakes to doe ſuch things for vs.

3. The Saints of God neede not feare hell, becauſe Chriſt felt it, but they by his hell ſorrowes are deliuered from hell: let them rather looke to this daunger, that would make vs beleeue, that the hell ſorrowes of the ſoule haue not yet by ſuffring them, been ſatisfied for: for ſeeing they muſt be endured, and you ſay Chriſt hath not endured them for vs, this will rather ſtrike into the mind a feare of hell, that theſe ſorrowes remaine yet to be ſuffered, than the meditation of Chriſts hell in his ſoule, whereby our ſoules are deliuered. Wherefore the Saints neede not feare hell flames, becauſe they were kindled in Chriſts ſoule, but to be bold againſt them, becauſe Chriſt in his ſoule hath quenched them: ſo that now, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *there is no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſus*, Rom. 8. 1. And as Saint *Ambroſe* well ſaith: *Ille fleuit, ne tu homo diu fleres; lachryma illa*

nos lauant,fletus illi nos abluunt,dubitatio illa nos firmat,ne ſi tu caperis dubitare,deſperes: He wept, that thou O man ſhouldeſt not long weepe: thoſe teares waſh vs,thoſe weepings cleanſe vs,his doubting doth ſtrengthen vs, leſt thou, when thou beginneſt to doubt,ſhouldeſt deſpayre,*lib.2.de fid. cap.4.* By Chriſts ſuffrings then both in bodie and ſoule we are deliuered from the like.

4. And in that Angels are freed from hell flames, it is the fauour of the Creator,and in ſome ſort alſo the benefit of the redeemer of the world : ſome Angels fell by their ſinne, for whom the lake of fire is prepared,the reſt doe ſtand by grace : for as we vtterly reiect the erronious conceit of *Origen* vpon theſe words,Coloſſ.1.20.*To ſet at peace,through the blood of his croſſe,the things that are in earth,and the things in heauen:* who thinketh that Chriſt, *pro cœleſtibus hoſtia oblatus eſt,* was offered a ſacrifice for the celeſtiall ſpirits in heauen, *Hom.1. in Leuitic.* neither doth *Auguſtine* fully touch the poynt,applying the redemption of man to the Angels in theſe three reſpects: firſt, becauſe we,which were like to the Angels are reconciled to God : ſecondly, *Quia eorum ruinæ reſarciuntur,&c.* becauſe their ruines and decayes are made vp, with the reſtitution of the godly: thirdly, *Quia illi nobis redeunt in gratiam:* becauſe the Angels are become our friends by the redemption, *Enchirid.cap.64.* So wee doubt not to ſay, though the Angels are not redeemed as we are by Chriſts death , for hee tooke not the nature of Angels,Hebr.2.17.yet the benefit thereof for the ſuretie and preſeruation of their ſtate extendeth vnto them. As *Ambroſe* well ſaith : *Aliter eget miſericordia angelus,aliter homo; angelica natura eget miſericordia, ne poſſet errare, & auerſa à ſe dei gratia labatur in vitium; homo propter contractorum ſeriem peccatorum miſericordiam dei quærit:* The Angel needeth mercie one way,man another ; the angelicall nature needeth mercie,leaſt it may erre,and,if Gods grace turne from them,fall into ſinne;man ſeeketh for mercie for ſinnes alreadie contracted, *ſerm.8.in Pſal.119.* Likewiſe *Bernard: Qui hominibus ſubuenit in tali neceſſitate ſeruauit angelos à tali neceſſitate,&c.* He that helped man in ſuch neceſſitie, ſaued the Angels from the like neceſſitie; hee that in his loue to men made them ſuch, that they ſhould not continue ſuch,by the like loue hath giuen to the Angels not to be ſuch,*lib.de diligend.deo.* In that the elect Angels then are ſure to be preſerued from hell, they are therein beholding to the bountifull redeemer,who as he hath deliuered vs from thence;ſo he preſerueth and keepeth them from comming thither.

8. 1. In the local place of the damned,which is properly called hell,there is neither holines, 8
vertue,goodneſſe ; but thither we ſend not the ſoule of Chriſt : who notwithſtanding he felt the ſorrowes of hell in his ſoule, euen the very ſenſe of his fathers wrath againſt ſinne, yet his faith failed not,neither did he loſe his confidence,but in that inſtant,when he complained he was forſaken,he with full truſt and aſſurance ſaid, *My God,my God.* 2. Then as the ioyes of heauen may be truly,though not fully felt in this life,ſo may the paines of hell : and thus Chriſt in his ſoule while he liued felt them,without any decay or empayring of his holie vertues. Wherfore to vrge vs with the inconueniences,that accompanie the locall place of hell, and the very ſtate and condition of the damned,is too iniurious,ſeeing none doth,or hath ſo affirmed.

And further to explaine our meaning,as touching the ioyes of heauen and torments of hell in this life : firſt,a feare of hell which is euerlaſting deſtruction, or any griefe proceeding from that feare,we are farre off from imagining to haue been in Chriſt : yet this preſent hell which hee had in his ſoule,in labouring vnder the heauie burthen of our ſinnes and Gods wrath due to the ſame, we affirme that he felt it and feared it,as the Apoſtle ſaith, *he was heard in that he feared,* Hebr.5.7. Secondly,we denie alſo this diſiunction, that in this life all that is perceiued of heauen, is either the hope thereof,or the ioy ariſing vpon that hope : for then it would follow,that there is no ioy of heauen preſently had but in hope. An equalitie betweene the ioyes here felt,and eternall bliſſe to be afterward poſſeſſed,no man is ſo voide of ſenſe to affirme : and yet according to the Scripture we ſay,that we haue more ioy than in hope onely : our Sauiour ſaith,Ioh.14.23. *If any man loue me,&c. my father will loue him, and wee will come vnto him, and dwell with him:* where there is a dwelling,there is a preſent poſſeſſion : as *Auguſtine* then ſaith, *Cœlum (inquit deus) mihi ſedes eſt, anima ergo iuſti cœlum eſt:* Heauen (ſaith the Lorde) is my ſeate, the ſoule then of the righteous (where God dwelleth) is heauen, *in Pſal.121.* The Wiſeman ſaith, *A good conſcience is a continuall feaſt,* Prou.15.15.where a feaſt is,there is good cheare preſent, and not hope or expectation only. Thirdly,wherefore as the ioy of heauen may in ſome meaſure, not in hope onely, but in preſent feeling be perceiued in this life:ſo alſo there may be a liuely ſenſe of hell,as I haue ſhewed before, *reſp.ad artic.1.* of this third generall argument or obiection. And ſo *Origen* ſaith, anſwering to a queſtion,how God doth now ſhew vengeance vpon diuels: *Super omnia tormentorum genera eſt, cum videant aliquem verbo dei operam dare, in hoc eorum flamma eſt, in iſto vruntur incendio:* It is beyond all torments when they ſee any man occupied in Gods word, this is their flame, and in this fire they are burned, *Hom.27.in Leuitic.*

Obiect. Chriſt neuer did forget,that he was the *Emmanuel,* that God ſaid vnto him,thou art my beloued ſonne,that all which his father had,was his ; hee could not then be out of Gods fauour, *Feuard.p.*486.*conf.*7. and ſo conſequently not in hell, vnleſſe you will ſay the ioyes of heauen are in hell: and ſo Chriſt ſhould be both in heauen and hell at once.

Anſw. 1. In the locall place of heauen and hell it is not poſſible for any neither to be at once, nor yet at ſundrie times ſucceſſiuely: for there is no paſſing from heauen to hell, or from hell to heauen: Luk.16.26. *They which would goe from hence to you cannot, &c.* 2. Concerning the ſpirituall ſenſe of heauen and hell, though in one and the ſame inſtant they are not in the ſoule, yet many times in a very ſhort ſpace the one doth ſucceede the other: as Pſalm.31.22. the Prophet ſaith in his griefe of heart, *I am caſt out of thy ſight*; and yet he reuiueth againe immediatly, and ſaith, *Yet thou heardeſt the voyce of my prayer when I cryed.* 3. Chriſt was neuer deſtitute of faith and hope of this ioy propoſed; but the ſenſe and feeling thereof was for a while ſuſpended in his ſoule, while he wreſtled with hell: for like as S. *Paul* by faith alwayes had his *conuerſation in heauen*, Philip.3.20. yet ſometime minded the neceſſarie things of this life; as *Hierome* ſaith, *Putaſne Apoſtolum Paulum eo tempore, quo ſcribebat, penulam affer tecum, &c. de cœleſtibus cogitaſſe myſterijs, & non de his, quæ vſu communis vitæ neceſſaria ſunt*; Doe you thinke the Apoſtle *Paul* at that time, when he wrote, Bring my cloake with thee, &c. did thinke of heauenly myſteries, and not of thoſe things, which were neceſſary for the vſe of the common life, *lib.*3.*aduerſ.Pelagian.* though by faith *Pauls* ſoule was in heauen, yet in his preſent ſenſe he intended worldly neceſſaries: ſo the ſoule of Chriſt being in the preſent ſenſe and feeling of hell ſorrowes, though his faith and hope languiſhed not, might haue ſome intermiſſion of the ioy conceiued; like as the ſoule liueth, when the body is aſleepe, yet worketh not, as when the body is awaked, to attend vpon the operation of the ſoule: So *Auguſtine* fitly compareth Chriſts ſuffring vpon the Croſſe to ſleepe, *Dormienti Chriſto in cruce, facta eſt coniux Eccleſia de latere*: While Chriſt ſlept on the croſſe, the Church his ſpouſe was made out of his ſide, Pſal.56. So though the preſent hope and feeling of this ioy ſlept as it were in Chriſt, yet was it not extinct: it was *intermitted*, not *ſubuerted*; *ſuſpended*, not *excluded*, ceaſing for a while in *feeling*, but not dying in *being*. And thus farre for the anſwere of theſe obiections.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED, THAT CHRIST in Soule ſuffered the paynes of hell.

BEfore I produce our arguments, I will firſt declare our opinion: Firſt, this holy trueth of Chriſts ſuffringes, is either ignorantly miſtaken, or elſe wittingly charged with ſome things that no man holdeth. 1. That we ſhould affirme, that Chriſt ſuffered *in his ſoule the whole* paynes of the damned in hell: and all the puniſhments due to the reprobate, *Feuard.p.*443. This we ſimply denie, and it is a great wrong to lay it vnto our charge: I haue anſwered this cauill before, in the beginning, *Err.*7. 2. It is ſuppoſed, as though wee ſhould ſend Chriſtes ſoule to the locall place of torment, and vpon this ſuppoſition we are vrged with the helliſh darkeneſſe, and fierie flames, and endleſſe torments, which are adiuncts to the locall place of the damned, not conſequents of the hell, which Chriſt ſuffered in ſoule, *Feuard.p.*444.*conf.*2. 3. It is conceiued, as though we ſhould enwrap Chriſts ſoule within thoſe paines of the damned, which are not endured without ſinne, as deſperation, indignation, finall reiection, *Feuard.pag.*446.*conf.*5. Farre be it from vs to haue any ſuch meaning.

Secondly, for the further declaration of our mind, we affirme hell paynes in Chriſts ſoule, with theſe three conditions: that there be neyther *indignitie* offered to his heauenly perſon; *iniurie* to his holy nature; nor *impoſſibilitie* to his glorious worke: all ſuch paynes of hell then, as Chriſt might haue ſuffered, his perſon not *diſhonoured*, his nature with ſinne not *defiled*, his worke of our redemption not *hindered*; we do conſtantly beleeue accordingly by our bleſſed Sauiour to haue been ſuſtained.

Thirdly, becauſe it is expected that leauing generall and ambiguous termes, we ſhould expreſſe in particular, what ſorrowes of hell our meaning is to aſcribe vnto Chriſts ſuffrings; I will alſo, for full ſatisfaction in that behalfe, deſcend to ſome ſpeciall points.

In hell then wee conſider: 1. the neceſſarie adiunctes: 2. the effects: 3. the puniſhment it ſelfe: The inſeparable adiuncts and neceſſary members of hell are theſe, 1. The place, which is infernall. 2. The time, perpetuall. 3. Darkeneſſe vnſpeakeable. 4. The miniſters and torments, the ſpirits and diuels irreconciliable. 2. The effects are chiefly theſe two: Firſt, the depriuation of all vertue, grace, godlineſſe: Secondly, the reall poſſeſſion of all vice, impietie, blaſphemie. All theſe we do remoue as farre off from the holy ſoule of Chriſt, as heauen is from hell; the Eaſt from the Weſt; darkenes from light. 3. The puniſhment of hell it ſelfe conſiſteth in theſe foure: firſt, there is an horrible ſight and guiltie conſcience of ſinne: as *Origen* ſaith, *Quandam veluti ſcelerum hiſtoriam vident ante oculos ſuos expoſitam*: They ſee as a certaine ſtorie of their ſinnes ſet before their eyes: this is the *worme that dyeth not*, Mark.9.44. Secondly, they feele the moſt iuſt wrath of God lying vpon them for their ſinne; hereof is their weeping, Matth.8.12. Thirdly, there is cruell indignation in them, horrible outcries, blaſphemie, fretting, for the horrible torments, which they ſuffer: hence proceedeth the *gnaſhing of their teeth*, Matth.8.12. Fourthly, they lie tormented in endleſſe payne, without all hope or comfort: and this is the fire, *that neuer goeth out*, Mark.9.44. So then theſe foure; a fearefull *impreſſion* of ſinnes, comfortleſſe *dereliction*, horrible *indignation*, endleſſe *deſperation*; that is, the worme not *dying*, *weeping*, *gnaſhing of teeth*, the fire neuer going out; do make vp the iuſt meaſure of the torments of hell: The two laſt of theſe, impatient *indignation*, violent *deſperation* Chriſt muſt needes be freed from, who both patiently endured his Fathers correction, and confidently expected his deliuerance, and reſtitution: the other two were in Chriſt, though not as in the reprobate; impreſſion of ſinnes, not his owne, but ours laid vpon him, and griefe for the ſame; and dereliction or reiection for the time of his feeling. Firſt, the adiuncts of hell Chriſt is freed from for the *dignitie* of his perſon: it was not fit, that the Sonne of God, the heire of heauen, ſhould be ſhut vp in hell, or that he ſhould euer be *tormented*, who is neuer from Gods preſence *ſequeſtred*, or that the light of the world ſhould be cloſed vp in darkeneſſe: or he that bindeth the ſpirits, to be bound of them. Secondly, the effects or rather defects of hell, the neceſſitie of the worke of Chriſt doth exempt him from: for if hee had beene eyther voyd of grace, or poſſeſſed with vice, he could not haue beene the redeemer of the world: for the want of vertue, he could not haue redeemed others; for the preſence of ſinne, he ſhould haue beene redeemed himſelfe. Thirdly, from fretting indignation, and fearefull deſperation, the *pietie* and *ſanctitie* of his nature doth preſerue him: who being without ſinne, could neyther by indignation diſpleaſe his father, nor by deſperation deſtroy himſelfe.

Fourthly, thus then we doubt not to deliuer our opinion, that our bleſſed Sauiour, as in himſelfe he bare all the ſinnes of the elect; ſo he alſo ſuffered the whole puniſhment of body and ſoule due vnto vs for the ſame, which we ſhould haue endured if hee had not ſatisfied for it: and ſo conſequently we affirme, that he felt the anguiſh of ſoule, and horror of Gods wrath, and ſo in ſoule entred into the torments of hell for vs, ſuſtained them and vanquiſhed them.

Thus that reuerend Paſtor and Miniſter of Chriſt, in honor of Chriſts paſſion hath written, *Cum iram Dei ſibi propoſitam videret, quatenus ad eius tribunal totius mundi peccatis oneratus ſe ſiſtebat, neceſſe illi fuit, profundam mortis abyſſum exhorreſcere:* When he ſaw the wrath of God ſet before him, preſenting himſelfe before Gods tribunall, loaden with the ſinnes of the whole world; it was neceſſarie for him to feare the deepe bottomleſſe pitte of death: *Caluin. in Matth.26.v.39.* And againe: *Cum ſpecies Chriſto obiecta eſt, quaſi Deo aduerſo iam eſſet exitio deuotus, horrore correptus eſt, quo centies cuncti mortales fuiſſent abſorpti, ipſe autem mirifica ſpiritus virtute victor euaſit:* Such an obiect being offered to Chriſts view, as though, God being ſet againſt him, he were appoynted to deſtruction, he was with horror affrighted, which was able an hundred times to haue ſwallowed vp all mortall creatures, but he by the wonderfull power of his ſpirite eſcaped with victory, *Caluin. in Matth.27.v.46.*

To the like effect, that excellent learned man, hath maintayned the trueth in the name of the whole Church of England, in his anſwere to the Rhemiſts: *What diſhonour was it to our Sauiour Chriſt, to ſuffer that, which was neceſſarie for our redemption, namely, that torment of hell, which we had deſerued, and which the iuſtice of God required, that he ſhould endure for our redemption: or rather, what is more to the honour of Chriſt, then that he vouchſafed to deſcend into hell for vs, and to abide that bitter paine, which we had deſerued to ſuffer eternally: and what may rather be called hell, then the anguiſh of ſoule, which he ſuffered, when he being yet God, complained, that hee was forſaken of God? Fulk. in 2. Act. ſect.11.* This is deliuered by this worthie diuine, as the opinion of the Catholike Church of God, and the true teachers thereof: as may appeare in the title to the booke. Therefore accordingly we confidently affirme, that Chriſt in ſoule deſcended into hell for vs, and endured the bitter paines and torments thereof, which we had deſerued and ſhould otherwiſe haue payed, if he in his owne perſon had not ſatisfied for them.

Fiftly, to remoue certaine doubts which may here ariſe, becauſe it is obiected, that the ſoule ſufferings of Chriſt ſhould haue diſſolued the vnion of his perſon, *Feuar. p.474. lin.21.*

1. As the ſenſe of damnation and ſeparation in *Dauid*, when he complained he was forſaken of God, Pſalm.22.1. *And caſt out of his ſight*, Pſalm.31.22. did not extinguiſh grace or faith in *Dauid*; much leſſe did they in Chriſt. 2. And we doe diſtinguiſh in Chriſt, *Inter ſenſum naturæ & fidei notitiam*, Betweene the preſent ſenſe of his nature, and the knowledge of faith: as that learned interpreter ſaith, *Caluin. in 27. Matth. v.46.* That Chriſts faith and hope fayled not, though in his naturall ſenſe and feeling he was perplexed. 3. His ſoule tormented with ſorrow, was no more ſeparated from the Godhead, then his bodie yeelding to death.

2. Deeper in deſpaire and ſinfull aſſaultes wee confeſſe others to haue been then Chriſt: but ſuch a ſpectacle of all fearefull and vnſpeakable torments in bodie and ſoule endured without ſinne neuer was, as Chriſt: we muſt not ſo extenuate Chriſts ſufferings, which were a ſatisfaction for all mens ſinnes, as to make other mens temptations equall to them. This

were a great iniurie to his paſſion, and notable vnthankfulnes in vs to make ſo light account of them.

1. Chriſt ſuffered that hell,which we ſhould,which was more than the paines of hell metaphorically taken. 2. And hell paines were due vnto vs otherwiſe, then by contemplation of them; we ſhould not haue knowne or pittied them in others, but felt them in our ſelues: and Chriſt by way of pittie and pietie prayed for them that crucified him: *Father forgiue them, they know not what they doe*, Luke 23.34. But when he complaineth, *My God,my God,why haſt thou forſaken me*, here is more then *contemplation*,or *commiſeration* of others;for he ſpeaketh of himſelfe, and from his own feeling. Thirdly,if 1. Chriſt ſuſtained Gods wrath, as you ſay, then he felt the aſſaults of ſorrow in his ſoule,there was more then an offer or attempt onely: 2. When Sathan tempted Chriſt in the deſert, he did not conquer him by repelling him at the firſt, but by fighting with him, and entring into the liſtes as it were with him,he ſubdued him. 3. And the Apoſtle ſaith, *He ſuffered when he was tempted*,Hebr.2.18. He was not onely aſſaulted with temptation in his ſoule, but encountred with; not *tempted* onely but ſuffered: yet we graunt, that ſome temptations Chriſt wreſtled with, and repelled at the firſt, not faſtening at all vpon him, ſuch as were accompanied with ſinne: *Cum deſperatione luctatus eſt*: As he wreſtled with deſperation, but was not ouercome: *Caluin.in Matth.*27.*v.*46. But ſuch ſorrowes of ſoule which he ſuſtained without ſinne,he was not onely aſſaulted,but for the time poſſeſſed with, as the Prophet ſaith: he was, *Vir dolorum*, a man of ſorrowes, and had experience of our infirmities: and as the Septuagint doe well tranſlate it: ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν, καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν: A man ſet in the plague, and knowing how to beare,&c. Chriſt then had in his ſoule actuall experience of our ſorrowes. 5. Neither doe we ſay that Chriſt ſuffered *the ſame paines*,which the *damned doe*, for they ſuffer them not without ſinne and deſperation, nor in the *ſame manner*, for they ſuffer them eternally: but with theſe two exceptions of *iniquitie* and *eternitie*, we ſay that Chriſt endured more in his ſoule, then euer any ſoule in the world did or could doe.

Sixtly, though we miſlike not *Caluines* ſenſe, where he ſaith, *Chriſtus diros in anima cruciatus damnati & perditi hominis pertulit*: Chriſt ſuffered in his ſoule the horrible torments of a damned and forlorne man: *Inſtitut.lib.*2.*c.*16.*ſect.*10. yet we will forbeare to vſe this phraſe, becauſe the Scripture ſo ſpeaketh not, and leaſt the weake might take offence at it: yet the Scripture vſeth words equiualent vnto them,for what elſe, is *derelictus*, *deſertus*, forſaken,then *damnatus*,*perditus*, for the time to be forlorne and as damned? But this we confidently deliuer as agreeable to the Scriptures,that ſinne and perpetuitie ſet apart, Chriſt more ſharpely and vehemently felt Gods wrath then any man euer did or ſhall, yea,we except not the very reprobate and damned. Firſt, becauſe the Scripture ſaith,that *God laid vpon him the ſinnes of vs all*, Iſay 53.6. then all the ſinnes of the world concurring together, muſt needs bring with them a greater horror, than the ſinnes of one man. Secondly, Chriſt was more able to beare this burthen, then all men in the worlde, though their ſtrength were ioyned together: ſo that he alone was able to treade the winepreſſe of Gods wrath,Iſay 63.3. Thirdly, Chriſts hell ſorrowes were meritorious,and fully ſatisfactory for our euerlaſting puniſhment,and therefore in greatnes were to exceede all other, as being anſwerable to Gods iuſtice: but no mans ſufferings beſide haue merite or ſatisfaction.

Seuenthly,that it may appeare,how Chriſt ſuſtained the wrath of God,felt the ſorrowes of hell, and was as forſaken of God, yet without ſinne; there are foure conſiderations neceſſarie to be remembred,as the Fathers haue obſerued them.

1. Chriſt is now ſet before vs as a meere man,his diuine power repreſſing and withdrawing it ſelfe: as *Ambroſe* ſaith, when Chriſt had cried out, that he was forſaken, *Euidens manifeſtatio conteſtantis Dei ſeceſſionem diuinitatis & corporis*: An euident manifeſtation of God conteſting the departure of the diuinitie and his bodie: *In Luk.*22. he meaneth not a ſeparation of the vnion of the Godhead,but an intermiſſion onely of the operation.

2. Chriſt muſt be conſidered, as now hauing taken our perſon vpon him, who in himſelfe was holy,harmeleſſe,innocent,yet now for vs preſented vnto God as a pledge for our ſinnes: as *Ambroſe* ſaith,*Pro me & in me doluit,qui pro ſe nihil habuit,quod doleret*: For me and in me he ſorrowed, that had nothing to ſorrow for in himſelfe, *lib.*2.*de fid.c.*3.

3. We muſt make a difference betweene the aſſurance of faith in Chriſt, and the ſenſe of his humane nature: who at the ſame time when he complayned in his humane ſenſe, yet was firme and ſtable in faith:as may appeare in that he ſaid, *My God,my God*;which ſheweth his confidence: So *Ambroſe* againe ſaith,*Senſu hominis dixi animam meam eſſe turbatam;ſenſu hominis eſuriui;ſenſu hominis rogaui*: In the humane ſenſe and feeling I ſaid, My ſoule is troubled, in humane ſenſe I was hungrie, I prayed,&c.*de incarnat.c.*7.

4. We muſt not meaſure Chriſts actions according to our owne affections: to imagine, that becauſe we in temptation are diſtempered,that Chriſt therefore in this agonie could not be ſetled: as *Auguſtine* fitly vſeth this reſemblance: *Quemadmodum ſolet accidere, vt quando tranſeuntes nubes*

bes per obſcura noctis intuemur, earum caligine ſic acies noſtra turbetur, vt in contrarium nobis ſydera currere videantur, &c. Like as it falleth out, when wee ſee the clowdes gliding in the ayre in a darke night, they doe obſcure our ſight, that we thinke the ſtarres goe a contrarie way, *de diuerſ. ſerm.* 15. So the darknes of our mindes, and corruption of our nature is the cauſe, that wee iudge amiſſe of Chriſts holie actions, meaſuring them by our ſelues. Theſe foreſaid reſpects then being obſerued, and Chriſt in this maner conſidered, there can follow no inconuenience, in attributing to Chriſts ſoule the ſorrowes of hell. But I haue haue ſtayed too long in the explanation of our opinion: the arguments now follow.

Argum. 1. Pſal. 18.5. *The ſorrowes of hell, circumdederunt me, did compaſſe me round about.* Pſal. 88.3. *My ſoule is filled with euils, and my life draweth neere to hell.* Pſal. 86.3. *Thou haſt deliuered my ſoule from the neathermoſt hell.* In theſe places the Prophet ſpeaketh in the perſon of Chriſt: and the Papiſts doe admit, that the Hebrue *ſheol,* is here taken for hell properly and not for the graue: therefore againſt them and in their ſenſe theſe places do ſtrongly conclude for the hel-ſorrowes or ſuffrings of Chriſt.

1. For the further ſtrengthening of this argument, firſt wee doe not ſay, that Chriſts ſoule was oppreſſed or vanquiſhed of hell, but yet it was more than attempted or aſſaulted onely: for hee ſaith, *thou haſt deliuered my ſoule from hell,* Pſal. 86.13. therefore before hee was in the ſorrowes of hell, out of the which he was deliuered, as the Prophet ſaith, Pſal. 124.7. *Our ſoule is eſcaped as a bird out of the ſnare of the fouler, the ſnare is broken and wee are deliuered.* If the bird had not been in the ſnare, what neede the ſnare to be broken to deliuer the bird?

2. Firſt, in theſe Pſalmes there are euident propheſies of Chriſt: as Pſal. 18.43. *Thou haſt made me head of the heathen, a people whom I haue not knowne ſhall ſerue me:* verſ. 50. *Great deliuerances hee giueth to the King, and ſheweth mercie to Dauid and his ſeede for euer:* this euerlaſting ſeed of *Dauid* is to be referred to Chriſt. Secondly, but becauſe it may be obiected, that although ſome places are vnderſtood of Chriſt, yet it followeth not that theſe ſhould: I anſwere, that the very place alleaged, Pſal. 88.3. is by the Fathers applied to Chriſt: as that in the next verſe, *Liber inter mortuos,* free among the dead, *Auguſtine* applieth to Chriſt, *epiſt.* 99. And S. *Ambr. Liber inter mortuos, qui mortis vincula neſciuit, non captus ab inferis, ſed qui operatus ſit in inferno:* Free among the dead, which knew not the bands of death, he was not captiued of hell, but wrought in hell, *lib.* 3. *de fid. c.* 3. Hee knew not the bands of death, to be held of them, or ſo to be bound as his vertue be hindered. I alleage this teſtimonie onely to ſhew, that the Fathers vnderſtoode this text of Chriſt, not medling here with their opinion of Chriſts locall deſcent to deliuer the Patriarkes.

3. Firſt, neither can this place be vnderſtood of the locall place of hell: for he ſaith, Pſal. 88.3. *My ſoule is filled with euils:* verſ. 15. *Thy terrors haue I ſuffered from my youth:* but the Fathers, that hold a locall deſcent of Chriſts ſoule into hell, doe cleere him of all ſuffring there: as *Auguſtine* writeth to this effect, *In dolore ibi conſtitutos liberaſſe non dubito, dolores ipſe non perpeſſus, &c.* I doubt not but hee deliuered others which were in griefe, but hee himſelfe ſuffered no griefe, *epiſt.* 99. Wherefore if neither the locall place of hell be here vnderſtood, nor yet the material graue, which is no place for the ſoule; it remaineth, that this pit, graue, darknes, depth, hell (for all theſe names it hath) be referred to the ſorrowes of Chriſts ſoule: as *Ambroſe* againe expoundeth the third verſe: *Anima mea repleta malis, anima mea vtique, non diuinitas:* My ſoule is filled with euils, my ſoule, not my diuinitie, *lib.* 3. *de fid. c.* 3.

Argum. 2. Another place, which I vrge againſt the Papiſts, is Act. 2.24. where wee reade thus, as their vulgar Latine text tranſlateth: *Solutis doloribus inferni:* The ſorrowes of hell being looſed, for it was impoſſible he ſhould be holden of it: the Greeke hath the ſorrowes of death, but I preſſe them with their owne and onely authentike tranſlation, *the ſorrowes of hell being looſed:* but Chriſt felt not the ſorrowes of hell after death: *Ergo,* he felt them in his ſoule, while he liued.

1 *Anſw.* Firſt, Chriſt looſed the ſorrowes of hell, not becauſe he was held or caught of them, but leſt hee might be caught: like as the ſnare of the hunter may be ſayd to be broke, leſt it might catch or entangle, not becauſe it hath alreadie taken.

2 2. Chriſt is ſayd to haue looſed the ſorrowes or bands of hell, wherewith others were held, and not himſelfe, *Bellarm. lib.* 4. *de Chriſti anima, c.* 8. *reſp. ad argum.* 5.

Contra. 1. The firſt expoſition is contrary to the text that followeth, verſ. 27. *Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hell:* If Chriſts ſoule be not left or forſaken in hell, yet it followeth it was in hell. 2. The word, κρατεῖσθαι, *to be holden,* betokeneth properly, a faſt or ſure holding, as Matth. 7.8. *Ye hold faſt the tradition of the elders:* ſo that the meaning is not, it was impoſſible hee ſhould be caught, but not held, bound or detained. 3. The phraſe of the Scripture is otherwiſe, Pſal. 124.7. *Our ſoule is eſcaped as a bird out of the ſnare of the fouler, the ſnare is broken and wee are deliuered;* the eſcaping is out of the ſnare, as the bird is firſt taken, and then deliuered. 4. *Origen* alſo ſo expoundeth vpon theſe words, Cantic. 2.10. *Ariſe my loue: Surrexi à mortuis fractis mortis ianuis & inferni vinculis diſſolutis:* I roſe from the dead the gates of death being broken, and the bands of hell looſed, &c. The bands of hell were looſed, as the gates or barres of death broken: but the gates of death were broken, not before Chriſt entred into death, but after he had yeelded to death: ſo then were the bands of hell looſed after they had faſtened vpon Chriſt.

2. 1. The ſecond expoſition is contrarie to the very words: it was impoſſible for *him* (he ſaith not for other) but for himſelfe to bee held of them. 2. In the next verſe, 25. the Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe ſaying, *Dauid ſaith concerning him, &c.* he ſpeaketh of Chriſts perſon, and not of any other. 3. The Apoſtle giueth this as a reaſon, why God raiſed vp Chriſt, *looſing the ſorrowes or bands of death:* for him then the bands were broken, who was raiſed vp againe: but Chriſt was only raiſed vp againe.

Argum. 3. That the whole puniſhment of bodie and ſoule which was due vnto vs, Chriſt our redeemer was to ſuffer and ſatisfie for in his owne perſon. But the torments and terrors of hell, and the vehement ſenſe of Gods wrath, are that puniſhment which did belong to the ſoule: *Ergo*, Chriſt did ſuffer the terrors of hell.

Anſ. If Chriſt ſuffered the whole puniſhment of hell due vnto vs: then *darknes, Feuard p.*444. *conf.*2. *lin.*10. *damnation, malediction, deſperation.* 446. *conf.*5. ſecond death and deſtruction for euer. *p.*453. *lin.*3.

Contra. 1. The whole puniſhment implieth the whole kinde or ſubſtance of the puniſhment, not all the circumſtances, and the very ſame manner: the whole puniſhment then is the whole kinde of puniſhment that is in bodie and ſoule which Chriſt ought to haue ſuffered, though not in the ſame manner and circumſtance: neither for the place of hell, *locally*, nor for the time *eternally*, nor for the manner, *ſinfully*. The firſt of theſe excludeth vtter darknes, which is an inſeparable adiunct of the place of hell; the ſecond freeth Chriſt from *eternall* damnation; the third doth cleere him from deſperation, which cannot be committed without ſin. 2. And in making theſe exceptions doe we otherwiſe ſpeake, than the Scripture doth, which ſaith, Heb. 2. 17. *It became him in all things to be made like his brethren:* will you here take the Apoſtle ſhort, and inferre, he was therefore like vs in ſinne? therefore giue vs leaue to expound our meaning, as the Apoſtle doth, Heb. 4. 15. *He was in all things tempted in like ſort, yet without ſinne.* So then like as, when wee ſay, Chriſt tooke *our whole nature*, which is a true Catholike ſaying, and vſed of the Fathers: *Totum hominem deus ille ſuſcepit:* God tooke whole man, *Fulgent. ad Thraſimund. lib.* 3. we meane not, that he tooke our ſinfull nature: ſo in this ſaying, Chriſt was to ſuffer our whole puniſhment, all ſuch puniſhments as cannot be ſuffered without ſinne, as *deſperation*, finall *reprobation*, are manifeſtly excepted.

3. If you will allow vs this exception of ſinne in Chriſts ſatisfactorie ſacrifice, I truſt you will diſpenſe alſo with the perpetuitie, which includeth an impoſſibilitie: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *it was impoſſible, that Chriſt ſhould be held of the ſorrowes of death*, Act. 2. 24. and the reaſon is, becauſe Chriſt was without ſinne, and therefore could not for euer be held in deaths bondage: If then where there is no *iniquitie*, there can be of puniſhment no *perpetuitie*, you muſt alſo yeeld vs this ſecond exception of *perpetuitie*, becauſe of Chriſts holines and *pietie*.

4. For the third exception of the place of hell: firſt, the holines of Chriſts perſon doth exempt him, becauſe it is prepared onely for the diuell and his angels, and the euerlaſtingly accurſed, Matth. 25. 41. Secondly, if Chriſt by his *innocencie* is freed from the *perpetuitie*, ſo is hee alſo from the very place and *obſcuritie*, becauſe they that are there neuer come from thence, Luk. 16. 26. Thirdly, it is alſo a queſtion worth the asking, where the ſite of hell ſhould bee; whether the place make hell, or rather the wrath and abſence of God doth not cauſe it; and whether the diuels be not in hell? S. *Peter* ſaith, *they are caſt downe to hell, and kept in chaynes of darknes*, 2. Pet. 2. 4. and Saint *Paul* calleth the diuell, *the prince that ruleth in the ayre*, Epheſ. 2. 2. the ayre then is the diuels hell. So *Bernard* ſaith, *In pœnam ſuam diabolus locum in aëre iſto medium inter cœlum & terram ſortitus eſt, &c.* The diuell for his puniſhment is allotted to haue his place in the ayre in the midſt betweene heauen and earth, *in Cantic. ſerm.* 54. And *Auguſtine* before him thus expoundeth S. *Peter: Mali angeli carceribus caliginis in diem iudicij, vt Petrus ayt, ſeruantur, & iam pœnaliter hunc infernum .i. caliginoſum aerem tanquam carcerem acceperunt:* The euill angels are reſerued in chaynes of darknes for the day of iudgement, as S. *Peter* ſaith, and euen now haue their priſon, penally, this infernall and darke ayre, *de natur. bon. cap.* 32. Yet neither *Auguſtine*, nor wee doe thinke, but that the diuels are appointed to a further puniſhment at the day of iudgement: ſo the Apoſtle expreſſeth 2. Pet. 2. 4. So the diuell himſelfe feareth and expecteth: Luk. 8. 31. The ſpirits deſire, not to be ſent into the deepe. Thus much *Auguſtine* confeſſeth: *Diabolo alia mors præparatur in æterno igne tartari:* Another death is prepared for the diuell in euerlaſting fire, *lib.* 4. *de Trinitat. c.* 13. Yet thus much wee haue gained, that, ſeeing this ayre is the diuels preſent hell, hell may bee in this world: and therefore it is neither impoſſible, nor improbable, that the croſſe was Chriſts hell.

5. Like as Chriſt then is ſaid to beare all our iniquities, Iſay. 53. 11. (*all* is not there expreſſed: but who doubteth, that he bare all and not onely ſome) ſo is hee truly ſaid to beare all our

puniſhment: but he bare our ſinnes without ſinne, neither was hee to beare them for euer, nor to carrie them downe to hell with him; in all which manner we ſhould haue borne them, but to faſten them onely to his croſſe, Coloſſ.2.11. ſo giue vs leaue to ſay, he did beare all our puniſhment, though not as we ſhould haue borne it, that is, *ſinfully, eternally* and *helliſhly*; but to finiſh all vpon the croſſe, and in ſuch ſort, as Gods iuſtice was *ſatisfied*, his perſon not *diſgraced*, nor his holines *defiled*, and yet mans ſaluation fully *perfited*.

6. And leſt this phraſe of ſpeech, that Chriſt ſuffered whatſoeuer wee ſhould haue ſuffered, might be thought onely now to be taken vp; Saint *Hierome* long before hath ſo ſpoken and written: *Factus eſt pro nobis maledictum, vt nos liberaret à maledicto, quod enim nos pro noſtris debebamus ſceleribus ſuſtinere, ille pro nobis paſſus eſt, &c.* He was made a curſe for vs, to deliuer vs from the curſe: for that, which we ought to haue ſuſtained for our ſinnes, he ſuffered for vs, *in Iſai.cap.53.* And it followeth: *Ex quo perſpicuum eſt ſicut corpus flagellatum, &c. ita animam verè doluiſſe*: By the which it is manifeſt, as his bodie was whipped, ſo his ſoule was truly grieued, &c. But it will be here ſaid vnto vs, that *Hierome* ſaith not, Chriſt ſuffered all, that was due to our ſinnes.

Anſw. 1. As though an indefinite propoſition is not for the moſt part equiualent to an vniuerſall, though it haue not the note of vniuerſalitie: as when we ſay, *men are mortall*, it is euident, that we meane all: but it is not ſo properly ſaid, men are *good*, wiſe, &c. becauſe theſe ſpeeches are particular, all are not ſo. Yea the Scripture ſo vſeth to ſpeake, Iohn.1.29. Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the *ſinne* of the world; I hope *all ſinne* be vnderſtood: for there is no ſinne for the which Chriſt dyed not: Mark.16.16. *He that beleeueth, &c.* I hope the meaning be, *omnis qui credit*, euery one that beleeueth, though the note be not expreſſed.

2. Saint *Hieromes* meaning is plaine, that Chriſt ſuffered *all*: for he was made that by ſuffring, which we are deliuered from, as his firſt wordes doe import; but wee are deliuered from the curſe both of bodie and ſoule: *Ergo.* 2. He ſheweth in the latter part of the ſentence, that hee meaneth all both the whipping of the bodie, and true griefe of the ſoule: and ſo I hope this teſtimonie is cleered.

*Argum.*4. The Prophet *Iſay* ſaith, *he carried our ſorrowes*, Iſay.53.4. that is, all: *Ergo*, he did beare the ſorrowes of hell.

For the further explication of our meaning, and ſtrengthening of this argument: firſt, though the Prophet doe not put to the ſigne *all*, yet *Matthew* doth, that beſt knew the Prophets meaning, Matth.18.16. He healed *all* that were ſicke, *that it might be fulfilled, &c. hee tooke our infirmities and bare our ſickneſſes*: If Chriſt fulfilled the Prophet in healing all ſickneſſes, then the Prophet ſpake of all. And againe, Matth.4.23. *He healed euery diſeaſe, and euery ſickneſſe*: not ſome, but all.

2. Chriſt indeede bare theſe ſorrowes for vs, but they were his ſorrowes, not ours; as the words following doe well declare, he was *wounded, &c.* were not the wounds of his bodie his? ſo were the ſorrowes. 2. If they were our ſorrowes, not his, then our owne ſorrowes redeeme vs, which I thinke is no good doctrine. 3. *Ambroſe* in deede ſaith, *Doles domine Ieſu non tua ſed mea vulnera; quid mirum quod pro omnibus doluit, qui pro vno fleuit, &c.* Thou lamenteſt Lord Ieſus not thy wounds, but mine (that is ſinnes) no maruaile if he grieued for all, that wept for one, *lib. 2. de fid. c.3.* The occaſion of Chriſts griefe was the wound of our ſinnes: but the griefe was his owne: as the griefe was his owne when he ſorrowed for *Iudas*, ſo was it, when he grieued for all. And againe in the ſame place he ſaith, *Mœror eius mœrorem noſtrum aboleuit*: His griefe did aboliſh ours: He maketh a manifeſt difference betweene Chriſts griefe and ours: therefore Chriſts griefe in propertie was not ours, &c.

3. Whereas *Feuardentius* by theſe ſorrowes vnderſtandeth onely the infirmities of the bodie, as hunger, thirſt, wearines, &c. *p.415.lin.1.* I anſwere, 1. The Septuagint tranſlate, τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει, He bare our ſinnes. 2. If he refuſe the Septuagint, let him take *Hieromes* expoſition, *Si ille qui peccatum non fecit pro nobis doluit & peccata noſtra portauit, &c.* If he, which did no ſinne, grieued for vs, and *bare our ſinnes*, how much more we, *lib.2.aduer.Pelag.* 3. If *Hierome* content him not, *Peters* interpretation cannot bee refuſed, who following the Septuagint in the ſame words and ſenſe ſaith, *He bare our ſinnes in his bodie, &c.* 1.Pet.2.24. But he will ſay, what is this to the purpoſe? Yes very much, for if the Apoſtle interpreteth ſinnes, where the Prophet ſaith ſorrowes, what are they elſe but the ſorrowes of Chriſts ſoule for our ſinnes? 4. If by ſorrowes we vnderſtand infirmities, I hope the infirmities of the ſoule ſhall haue place here, as well as the infirmities of our bodies, ſeeing Chriſt tooke all our infirmities, as *Matthew* expoundeth: and ſo ſaith *Fulgentius*, *Animam rationalem habens, quicquid fuit infirmitatis animæ ſine peccato ſuſcepit & pertulit*: Chriſt hauing a reaſonable ſoule, did take alſo and beare without ſinne, whatſoeuer infirmitie of the ſoule: *lib.3.ad Thraſimund.* If then he bare all the infirmities of the ſoule, then the internall ſorrow and ſoule ſufferings for ſinne.

*Argum.*5. I will adde ſome teſtimonies of the fathers: *Origene* maketh Chriſts hell vpon the croſſe: *Vnumquodque peccatorum, ob quæ Chriſtus iturus ad inferos, portæ ſunt inferorum*: Euery ſinne, for the which Chriſt was to goe into hell, are the gates of hell, *Tract.1. in Matth.* But I truſt no man will ſay that Chriſt after his death went into hell, to ſuffer for our ſinnes. Againe, *Ille dominabatur in nobis donec daretur ei pro nobis redemptio anima Ieſu, decepto videlicet, & exiſtimanti, quaſi poſſet dominari eius, & non videnti, quod non poterit ſuſtinere in tenendo eam tormentis: data autem anima eius in redemptionem pro multis non manſit apud eum, cui fuerat data; propter hoc dicit propheta, quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno:* The diuell had rule ouer vs, till the ſoule of Chriſt was giuen him for our redemption; he being deceiued, and thinking that he might alſo beare rule ouer it, and not perceiuing, that he could not endure to holde it long in torment: but Chriſts ſoule being giuen to be a redemption for many, did not ſtay with him, to whom it was giuen; and for this the Prophet ſaith, *Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hell, Tract.12. in Matth.* Here *Origene* affirmeth, that Chriſts ſoule was tormented in hell, which was not after his death: *Ergo*, it was while he liued: the reſt that *Origene* ſaith, that Chriſts ſoule was giuen as a price of our redemption to the diuell, and by him tormented, ſeemeth ſomewhat hard, and to that end I alleage him not, but onely to proue the hell torments of Chriſts ſoule, which is here affirmed.

S. *Ambroſe* thus witneſſeth: *Quæ erat cauſa incarnationis, niſi vt caro, quæ peccauerat, per ſe redimeretur: quod peccauerat igitur, hoc redemptum eſt: non eſt ergo immolata diuinitas Chriſti, quia non peccauerat diuinitas Chriſti: hoc obtulit Chriſtus quod induit; induit autem, quod non habuit:* What other cauſe was there of Chriſts incarnation, but that the fleſh, which had ſinned, might be redeemed by it ſelfe; therefore Chriſts deitie was not ſacrificed, becauſe it had not ſinned: Chriſt offered that which he tooke, he tooke that which he had not: *de incarnat. c. 6.* Though he giue an inſtance onely of the fleſh, yet his reaſons doe alſo holde for the ſoule. Firſt, that which was to be redeemed, was redeemed by it ſelfe, the fleſh by the fleſh: *Ergo*, the ſoule by the ſoule. Secondly, whatſoeuer had ſinned, was to be ſacrificed: *Ergo*, the ſoule alſo which properly ſinneth, the diuine nature onely is excepted. Thirdly, whatſoeuer Chriſt tooke that hee had not before, was offered: but he tooke a ſoule as well as fleſh. *Ergo.*

Bernard: Non derelinques animam meam in inferno: infernus quidem & carcer animæ, rea conſcientia eſt: Thou ſhalt not leaue my ſoule in hell: the hell and priſon of the ſoule is a guiltie conſcience, *in aſſumpt. ſerm.4.* He maketh the griefe of Chriſts ſoule his hell. Againe, *Sunt gradus in aſcendendo & deſcendendo; in deſcendendo primus gradus à cœlo vſque ad carnem, ſecundus ad crucem, tertius ad mortem: ecce quouſque deſcendit, nunquid amplius potuit? poterat iam certè dicere rex noſter, quid vltrà debui facere & non feci?* There are degrees in aſcending, and deſcending: the firſt degree in Chriſts deſcending was from heauen to the fleſh; the ſecond to the croſſe, the third to death: behold how farre hee deſcended, could hee deſcend any more? ſurely our King might haue ſayd, what could I haue done more, and I did it not? *ſerm. paru.* 18. He maketh the whole deſcenſion of Chriſt to be finiſhed before and in his death: therfore in his ſentence Chriſts ſoule deſcended into hell vpon the croſſe, or not at all.

But it will be obiected againe out of *Bernard*, where he ſaith: *Semel ille deſcendit (i. ad inferos) non ſanguis, ſed anima, cum corpus penderet exanime ſuper terram:* Hee once deſcended to hell, not his blood, but his ſoule, while his bodie did hang without life vpon the earth, Cantic. 75. I anſwere: firſt, this word *(exanime)* doth not alwaies ſignifie dead, but aſtonied, or halfe dead, as we ſay, *exanimatus metu*, aſtonied or halfe dead for feare: ſo Chriſts bodie might be ſaid to be as dead, in that long ſilence vpon the croſſe, his body being as exanimated with the grieuous tortures of his ſoule: I had rather ſo take *Bernard*, than to make him ſpeake contraries. Secondly, he ſaith again, *Qui traduxit aëreas poteſtates & affixit cruci ſuæ, claret quia ſuper infernales officinas poteſtatem accepit:* Which did traduce the ayrie powers and faſtened them to his croſſe, it is cleere that he receiued power ouer the infernall regions, &c. *in die aſcenſ. ſerm.2.* If Chriſt then did triumph and conquer the infernall powers and regions vpon the croſſe, what other cauſe can be aſſigned of his deſcenſion, vnleſſe we will ſay, he went thither to deliuer the Patriarkes? but *Auguſtine* thinketh, that *Abraham* and the Prophets were *in ſinu Abrahæ*, in the boſome of *Abraham*, and not in hell, *epiſt.99.* Thirdly, and if it be graunted that *Bernard* being carried away with the error of that time, to think that Chriſt went downe locally to hell to deliuer the Patriarkes, yet hee may very well hold the ſpirituall deſcending of Chriſt to hell by the ſuffrings of his ſoule, as I haue ſhewed: ſeeing the locall deſcenſion was not to ſuffer, but to conquer.

To theſe teſtimonies may be adioyned thoſe which are diſperſedly alleaged before: as firſt, of *Ambroſe, argum.1. artic.4.* ſecondly, *Origen argum.2. artic.1.* thirdly, *Fulgentius argum.3. artic.1.* fourthly, *Auguſt. argum.3. artic.4.* fiftly, *Hierome argum.3. artic.6.* ſixtly, *Ambroſ. argum.4. artic.2.* *Athanaſius* alſo is an euident witneſſe for vs: who hauing made mention of *Adams* double puniſhment, and the ſentence giuen againſt his bodie, that it ſhould returne to duſt, and againſt his ſoule, *thou ſhalt dye the death*; proceedeth further thus: *Ac proinde opus fuit illo ipſo iudice, qui hoc decretum tulerat, vt ipſe per ſe ſententiam ſolueret ſub ſpecie condemnati, incondemnatum ſe, ſyncerumque à peccatis oſtendens, vt hominem deo reconciliaret, hominemque totum in libertatem vindicaret:* And therfore

fore it was needfull that the ſame Iudge, which made the decree, ſhould by himſelfe diſſolue the ſentence vnder the ſhew of a man condemned, ſhewing himſelfe vncondemned and ſincere from ſinne, to reconcile man vnto God, and reſtore whole man to libertie, *de incarnat.Chriſti.* If Chriſt, *ſub ſpecie condemnati*, vnder the ſhew of a man condemned, muſt reſtore whole man to libertie, and diſſolue the whole ſentence giuen both againſt mans bodie and ſoule: but hee could not preſent himſelfe as a man condemned in ſoule, in the locall place of hell, (for there hee ſuffered not) it followeth then that he ſhewed himſelfe as a man condemned in ſoule vpon the croſſe.

Obiect. It will be anſwered, that *Athanaſius* ſaith not he was condemned in ſoule, and that wee doe wreſt him againſt his minde, ſeeing he manifeſtly affirmeth Chriſts locall deſcenſion.

Cont. 1. That muſt be *Athanaſius* meaning, that he was as a man condemned in ſoule: for there he was as a man for vs condemned, where in himſelfe he was vncondemned and free from ſinne: but Chriſts innocencie was in his ſoule, therefore there was the condemnation chiefly.

2. He by himſelfe looſed the ſentence to reſtore whole man: as by himſelfe he looſed the ſentence for the bodie by being condemned and ſuffring in the bodie; ſo by himſelfe to looſe the ſentence againſt the ſoule, he muſt ſuffer alſo and be as condemned in ſoule.

3. We graunt *Athanaſius* doth hold the locall deſcenſion otherwhere; that nothing hindreth the ſenſe here: for that deſcenſion was not to ſuffer, but to conquer: but this deſcenſion and ſuffering is of a man in ſhew condemned: for like as the bodie of Chriſt ſuffered vpon the croſſe, yet afterward triumphed ouer death in the reſurrection; ſo he might think, that Chriſts ſoule though ſuffering vpon the croſſe, might notwithſtanding afterwarde make a more full conqueſt of hell.

The concluſion of all is this, that ſeeing the Prophet *Dauid* before ſpake of Chriſt, that the ſorrowes of hell did compaſſe him about, *argum*.1. and that Chriſt looſed the ſorrowes of hell, wherewith hee could not be held, *argum*.2. and it was neceſſarie that Chriſt ſhould ſuſtaine the whole puniſhment of bodie and ſoule due vnto vs, *argum*.3. ſeeing alſo Chriſt bare all our ſorrowes, *argum*.4. and the Fathers herein together witneſſe with the Scriptures: it remaineth that Chriſt entred in ſoule into hell, and ſuſtained the very ſorrowes thereof for vs vpon his croſſe.

AN APPENDIX CONCERNING THE FIRE of hell, whether it be materiall and corporall.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

Artic.18.

B*Ellarmine* vſeth this as a ſpeciall argument, againſt Chriſts ſuffering in ſoule the ſorrowes of hell, becauſe that hell is not in this life, neither can the flames thereof be kindled here, *Bellar. lib*.4.*c*.8.*argum*.5. And againe, he taketh vpon him to prooue that hell fire is corporall; and ſo hee imagineth his Purgatorie fire to be, which only worketh vpon ſoules, *lib*.2.*de Purgat.c*.11. So that he ſeemeth thus to thinke, that hell fire, which ſhall torment mens ſoules and bodies, is corporall onely and materiall: and that the ſenſe of Gods wrath is no part of the ſorrowes of hell, *lib*.4.*de Chriſt.anim.c*.8.*argum*.5.

Obiect.1. He reaſoneth thus from the Scripture: In euery place the puniſhment of the wicked is ſaid to be fire, and that the Lord ſhall iudge them, and puniſh them with fire, which muſt be taken properly, where no abſurditie followeth: and therefore the fire of hell is corporall, *lib*.2.*de Purgat.c*.11.

Anſw. 1. Some places of Scripture doe deſcribe the manner of Gods comming to iudgement, which ſhall be with fire conſuming the heauens, the earth and the mountaines: which we denie not, but that the world at the day of iudgement being a materiall ſubſtance, ſhall be conſumed with materiall and corporall fire: as *Hierome* ſaith, *Igneus dominus totus adueniet:* The Lorde ſhall come all fierie, *de ſanct.diuin.legis*. And *Ambroſe: Teneamus hic poſiti humilitatem, vt cum vnuſquiſq; noſtrum venerit ad iudicium dei, ad illos ignes, quos tranſituri ſumus, dicat, vide humilitatem meam:* Let vs hold faſt humilitie, that when euery one commeth to iudgement, to thoſe fires, which we muſt paſſe thorow, hee may ſay, behold my humilitie, *ſerm*.20.*in Pſal*.119. All this wee graunt: but it followeth not, becauſe the fire of that day ſhall be materiall, burning but for a time, and conſuming things corporall, that therefore hell fire tormenting ſpirits as well as bodies, ſhall onely be corporall.

2. Other places make mention of hell fire, but whether it is corporall or ſpirituall they ſhew not: the mentioning of brimſtone together with fire, Reuel.21.8. doth no more prooue it to bee corporall, than, where the Prophet deſcribing hell ſaith, *the burning thereof is fire and much wood*, Iſay.30.33. we may imagine that hell fire is kindled with wood. 2. The Prophet ſheweth in the ſame place what this brimſtone is, *The breath of the Lord like a riuer of brimſtone doth kindle it.*

3. Wee graunt a corporall and materiall fire in hell, but not onely, neither are all hell flames

corporall, but as *Bernard* ſaith: *In carne cruciabuntur per ignem, in ſpiritu per conſcientiæ vermem:* They ſhall in their fleſh be tormented with fire, in the ſpirit by the worme of conſcience, *Meditat.c.4.*

*Obiect.*2. Here diuers Fathers alſo are alleaged to prooue the fire of hell to be corporall and materiall; as *Gregorie, Auguſtine: Bellarm.lib.*2.*de purg.cap.*11.

Anſw. Firſt, *Gregorie* in flat termes calleth it *ignem incorporeum*, incorporall fire: but it is anſwered that *Gregorie* is falſified: *incorporeum*, incorporall, being put for *corporeum*, corporall: for he ſaith afterward, that this fire doth *corporaliter vrere*, burne corporally. And *Bellarmine* doth further anſwere, that it is, *mendum ſcriptorum*, the fault of the writer, *lib.*2.*de purgat.c.*11.

Contra. 1. If *Bellarmines* copie, and our copies, and conſequently all bookes of *Gregorie*, haue *incorporall*, how is it like to be the writer or Printers fault? it is ſtraunge that there ſhould bee no true corrected copie of *Gregorie*. 2. We may rather ſay, that *corporaliter* comming after, is crept in for *incorporaliter*, incorporally. 3. If *Bellarmine* alleage *Gregorie* for purgatorie fire, how can it ſerue for hell fire, ſeeing the one they imagine to be temporall, the other is eternall? 4. Admitting *Gregorie* to be corrupted, yet he is farre from affirming all hell fire and flames to bee corporall.

3. 1. *Auguſtine*, as he is alleaged by *Bellarmine*, *lib.*21.*de ciuitat.dei cap.*10. doth ſhew indeede how *incorporall* ſpirits after a maruellous manner may be afflicted with the paine of corporall fire: but hee is farre from thinking, that there is no paine or fire in hell but materiall and corporall; nay he concludeth the contrarie, and thinketh it bee more *likely, that the bodie ſhould bee afflicted with fire, the ſoule with a kinde of ſorrow as it were a worme,&c. ſo that by no meane any man thinke the bodies in hell to be ſuch, that they ſhall not be touched with the paine of fire.* 2. *Auguſtine* himſelfe thinketh elſewhere, that the ſoules of *Lazarus* and the rich man, were not *in loco corporeo*, in any corporall place, *de Geneſ.lib.*8.*c.*5. and that the fire wherein the rich man was tormented, was no more corporall, than his tongue or finger, *lib.*21. *de ciuit.dei c.*10. and he reſolutely concludeth, *Subſtantiam inferorum non eſſe corporalem, ſed ſpiritualem:* That the ſubſtance of hell is not corporall, but ſpirituall, *lib.*12.*de Geneſ.c.*32. And he prooueth, that there is an hell by this experiment, becauſe many being terrified in their dreames, *metuunt ne rurſus dormiant*, are afraid to ſleepe againe, *ibid.* But this ſheweth hell to be rather a ſpirituall paine, than a corporall. Wherefore *Auguſtine* is farre from limiting hell to a corporall fire or paine, making the chiefe part and ſubſtance thereof ſpirituall.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THAT THE FLAMES OF HELL FIRE ARE not onely materiall and corporall.

THat as the bodies of the damned and reprobate ſhall be tormented in hell; ſo it is not vnlike but they ſhall burne euen with a materiall fire vnquenchable, it is very probable: though it be not fit that we ſhould too curiouſly ſearch into theſe ſecrets, which the faithfull ſhall neuer haue experience of. *Auguſtine* ſaith well: *Melius eſt dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis:* It is better to doubt of vnknowne things, than to ſtriue for vncertaine. It is ſufficient for vs to know that hell fire is prepared for the diuell and his angels, and the damned companie. And I doubt not to ſay with *Ruffinus: Siquis negat diabolum æternis ignibus mancipandum, partem cum ipſo æterni ignis accipiet, vt ſentiat, quod negauit:* If any man denie that the diuell ſhall be ſubiected to euerlaſting fire, he ſhall receiue part of euerlaſting fire with him, that he may feele that, which hee denied,&c. But what manner of fire this ſhall be, it is not ſo euident: yet we are moſt ſure, that as hell paine ſhall worke vpon the ſoule, ſo there is a ſpirituall fire and torment, wherewith the ſame ſhall be afflicted: which if it be proued, then one of the chiefeſt arguments faileth them, which is vrged againſt the hell ſorrowes, which Chriſt felt in his ſoule vpon the croſſe.

*Argum.*1. Saint *Iames* ſaith, that *the tongue is a fire, which ſetteth on fire the courſe of nature, and is inflamed or ſet on fire of hell*, Iam.3.6. Such as is the fire, ſuch is the flame, the euilnes of the tongue is a fire-brand, or flame of hell fire; it is not a corporall or materiall flame; no more is that fire of hell, wherewith it is inflamed.

Againe, our Sauiour thus deſcribeth hell: *Where the worme dyeth not, and the fire goeth not out,* Mark.9.44. Beſide fire, there is the perpetuall gnawing worme of the conſcience. So *Bernard* well expoundeth: *Duo mala ſunt vermis & ignis, altero roditur conſcientia, altero concremantur corpora:* There are two euils, the worme and fire; with the one the conſcience is bitten; with the other, bodies are burned, *par.ſerm.*16.

*Argum.*2. The rich man is ſayd to bee in hell torments, and to bee tormented in the flame, Luk.16.23.24. but this was no materiall fire, no more than his finger was materiall, or the drop of water,which he craued : ſo much *Auguſtine* confeſſeth,*lib.*21.*de ciuitat.dei.c.*10. And that this was a ſtorie done,and not a ſimilitude borrowed,S.*Chryſoſtome* teſtifieth : *Parabolæ ſunt, vbi exemplum ponitur,tacentur nomina:* Thoſe be parables, when the example is ſet downe, and the names concealed,&c. But in this place, *ſi verus eſt Abraham,verus eſt Lazarus*, as there is a true *Abraham*; ſo there is a true *Lazarus*,&c.Hence then I conclude,that there is a fire of hell,not materiall.

*Argum.*3. The euerlaſting fire of hell is prepared for the diuell and his angels,Matth.25.41. The diuels are ſpirits,and cannot properly be tormented with corporall fire: *Ergo*,their proper puniſhment is ſpirituall.

Though it be graunted,as *Auguſtine* ſeemeth to inſinuate,*lib.*21.*de ciuitat.cap.*10.that incorporall ſpirits may be afflicted with corporall fire, after a miraculous and extraordinarie manner, as the ſoule is afflicted with the torments of the bodie, yet the force of this argument holdeth : for we ſpeake of the proper puniſhment of diuels : 1. The ſoule though it ſuffer by way of ſympathie with the bodie,yet it hath a proper griefe beſide of it owne. 2. Diuels can haue no ſuch affliction by way of ſympathie,ſeeing they haue no bodies to ſuffer by. 3. That God is able by his omnipotent power to make ſpirits feele the paine of fire,we graunt ; but becauſe hee can doe it, therefore he doth and will,is but a ſillie kind of reaſoning. 4. It is as vſuall for the body to ſuffer with and from the ſoule, as for the ſoule to be affected and afflicted with the bodie : the care and griefe of the ſoule doth ſooner weaken the bodie, than the ſickneſſe of the bodie doth diſtreſſe the ſoule : may not we as well reaſon from Gods power;that he is able to make a corporall ſubſtance,to feele an incorporall paine, and therefore euen the bodies of the damned ſhall be tormented with an incorporall fire in hell? 5. But that the diuels haue a ſpirituall puniſhment beſide the corporall fire of hell (to yeeld ſo much for this time) it is thus euident ; becauſe the diuels are now in torment. S.*Peter* ſaith,*they are in hell,and kept in chaines of darknes*,2.Pet.2.4.but in hell they cannot be without paine : but in fire they are not ; for they are princes of the ayre,as S.*Paul* ſayth,Epheſ.2.2. there is their place; as *Bernard* ſaith, *Elige tibi locũ in aëre non ad ſedendũ, ſed ad volandũ,vt qui tentaſti concutere ſtatum æternitatis pœnam ſentias propriæ fluctuationis :* Chuſe thy place in the ayre,not to ſit,but to flit,that as thou diddeſt trie to ſhake *eternitie*,ſo thou maiſt be now puniſhed with *mutabilitie: de* 12.*gradib.* The diuell then is in the ayre, and now in torment : but in the ayre is no fire, *Ergo*,hee is in torment without materiall fire. *Origen* ſpeaketh to the ſame purpoſe,cited vpon an other occaſion before : that when the diuell ſeeth a man giuen to ſtudie the word of God, *in hoc eorum flamma eſt, in iſto vruntur incendio*, here is their flame, and in this fire are they ſcorched, &c. The fire of enuie then and malice,without any materiall flame, doth ſcorch the euill ſpirits.

I omit here *Origens* reaſons againſt the corporall fire of hell: firſt,becauſe hell is full of darknes, and the propertie of corporall fire is to lighten or illuminate : but ſo ſhall not that fire in hell: *Neſcio, ſi ille ignis,qui in futuro ſeculo incendit,habeat & aliquid,quod illuminet :* I cannot tell(ſaith he) whether that fire,which ſhall burne in the next world,haue any thing to giue light with,*Hom.*13. *Exod.* Secondly,he vſeth a better reaſon than this,grounded vpon Saint *Pauls* words, *The things which are ſeene are temporall*, 2.Cor.4.18. *Neceſſe eſt ergo ſi viſibilis ſit ignis vt ſit temporalis :* It is neceſſarie therefore, if fire be viſible,that it be but temporall,*Tract.*34.*in Matth.* So hee concludeth hell fire to be inuiſible ; if it be inuiſible,then alſo incorporall : for it is the propertie of corporall fire to be viſible. But I vrge not *Origens* reaſons,I onely produce them : neither doe I relie vpon his iudgement in this point, ſeeing *Hierome* noteth this to be one of *Origens* errors : *Gehennæ tormenta non ponit in ſupplicijs, ſed in conſcientia peccatorum :* He doth not place hell torments in puniſhment, but in the conſcience of ſinne, *Hieron.ad Auitum.* But neither of them is to bee excluded.

I conclude then with S.*Ambroſe: Ibi erit ſtridor dentium,ſtridor dentium prodit indignantis affectum, eò quòd ſerò vnumquenque pœniteat,&c.* There ſhall bee gnaſhing of teeth, gnaſhing of teeth bewrayeth an angrie affection,becauſe they repent too late,&c.*in* 12.*Luc.* Likewiſe *Auguſtine*,who reckoneth theſe among the puniſhments of hell : *Vermis conſcientiæ, ignitæ lachrymæ, dolor ſine remedio,abſentia Chriſti,quæ ſola omnibus pœnis intolerabilior:* The worme of conſcience, fierie teares, remedileſſe griefe, the abſence of Chriſt more intolerable, than all griefe beſide, *de triplic. habitac.*2.2. *Ergo*,in hell,beſide corporall fire,there is ſpirituall torment.

THE FIFT PART, WHETHER CHRIST APpeared before Gods tribunall, as guiltie of our ſinnes.

F*Euardentius*,that cauilling Frier,hauing nothing to obiect againſt this poſition of *Caluin*; *Oportuit Chriſtum ſiſti ad dei tribunal,vt cunctorum noſtrorum maleficiorum reum :* It was behoouefull that Chriſt ſhould ſtand before Gods tribunall as guiltie of all our ſins, *Inſtitut.lib.*2.*c.*16.*ſer.*12. He inuerteth,or rather peruerteth the queſtion,and propoundeth to himſelfe to proue,that Chriſt was not *reipſa peccator*, was not indeede a ſinner : confuting that,which no man affirmeth. Artic.19.

Argum. Iohn.1.29.*Chriſt is the lambe of God that taketh away the ſinne of the world: Ergo*, he is no ſinner; for then he could not take away ſinne. Hebr.4.15. *he was in all things tempted in like ſort, yet without ſinne*. Hebru.7.26. *ſuch an high prieſt it became vs to haue, which is holy, harmeleſſe, vndefiled. Feuarden.*p.463.

To this ende *Bernard* is alleadged: *electe puer,&c.* holy child, what haſt thou committed worthie of ſo great confuſion? truely nothing: *Ego homo perditus, totius perditionis tuæ cauſa extiti*: I O man of perdition, was the cauſe of thy perdition. &c. *ſerm. de paſſion.*p.465.

Anſw. Firſt, I anſwere the Frier, as *Auguſtine* did *Petilian* the Donatiſt, who impudently charged him with a cleane contrarie matter: *Quemadmodum ſi mihi diceres, quod ego Petilianus ſum, non inuenirem, quomodo te refellerem, niſi aut iocantem riderem, aut vt inſanientem dolerem: hoc mihi nunc faciendum eſſe video, ſed quia te iocari non credo, vides quid reſtat*: Like as if you ſhould ſay to me, that I am *Petilian*, I could not finde how to refute you, but eyther to laugh at your folly, or to grieue for your phrenſie; ſo I muſt do at this time, but becauſe the Frier ieſteth not, but is in good earneſt, you know what remaineth: *cont. Petelian.*2.38. Thus dealeth the Frier with *Caluine*, charging him with that he neuer held, as if he ſhould ſay to him, that he was *Feuardentius* not *Caluine*, *Auguſtine* would haue iudged this eyther to be fooliſhnes or madnes in him.

2 I ſay with *Hierom, Poſſum omnes propoſitionum riuulos vno veritatis ſole ſiccare*, I can drie vp all thoſe allegations with the ſunne of truth: for we confeſſe Chriſt to be the vnſpotted lambe, to haue beene tempted without ſinne, to be an holy and vndefiled prieſt: far be it from vs to think or ſpeake otherwiſe of Chriſt; he himſelfe ſaith: *The prince of this world commeth and hath nought in me*: Iohn.14.30. and we confeſſe with *Auguſtine, Iſte eſt agnus qui in altari crucis hoſtia viua deo patri pro nobis in odorem ſuauitatis oblatus eſt*: This is the lambe, which was offered on the altar of the croſſe a liuing ſacrifice vnto God his father for vs to be a ſauour of ſweetnes. *ſerm. de tempor.*150. But all this being confeſſed and granted, that Chriſt in himſelfe was the vnſpotted and vndefiled lambe, it followeth not, but that for vs and in our perſon he taking vpon him our ſinnes, ſtoode as guiltie thereof before God.

THE QVESTION RESOLVED.

CHriſt was in himſelfe moſt holy, moſt pure, moſt innocent, hereunto we moſt willingly ſubſcribe: yet notwithſtanding, he tooke vpon him the burthen of our ſins, and made our debt his owne, and ſo as our ſuretie preſented himſelfe as indebted for vs, and in our perſon guiltie of our ſinnes: this the Frier denieth, p.467.10. But we proue it thus:

Argum. 1. The Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, *He ſhall beare their iniquities*, Eſay.53.11. How otherwiſe could he beare them, but by laying them vpon himſelfe?

Anſw. By ſinne the prophet vnderſtandeth the puniſhment for ſin, which Chriſt vndertooke. p.467.10. *Feuarden*.

Contra. 1. Saint *Peter* otherwiſe expoundeth the prophet, 1.Pet.2.24. who in his *bodie bare our ſinnes, that we being deliuered from ſinne ſhould liue in righteouſnes*: as he ſaith we are deliuered from ſinne, ſo Chriſt bare our ſinne but we are deliuered not onely from the puniſhment of ſinne, but from ſinne it ſelfe to liue in righteouſnes, *Ergo*.

2. The prophet alſo expoundeth himſelfe: *God hath laid vpon him the iniquitie of vs all*: verſ.6. here iniquitie is taken for ſinne it ſelfe, as the forepart of the verſe ſheweth, *we like ſheepe are gone aſtray, &c.* and then it followeth, *he hath laid vpon him, &c.* He ſpeaketh not of our ſmart, but of our fault, not of the *terrors* of our life, but the *errors*.

3. Thus *Hierom* alſo expoundeth the prophet: vpon theſe words, Pſal.69.5. *My faults are not hid from thee: Hoc ex perſona Chriſti dicitur, ſi ille qui peccatum non fecit, pro nobis doluit & peccata noſtra portauit, &c.* This is ſpoken in the perſon of Chriſt, if he, which did no ſinne, grieued for vs, and did beare our ſinnes, how much more we: *lib. 2. aduerſ. Pelagian.* Heere *Hierome* ſaith that Chriſt ſo bare our ſinnes, as he did no ſinne himſelfe, and in ſuch ſort, that he counteth our ſinnes his.

Argum. 2. 2.Cor.5.21. *He made him to be ſinne for vs, that knew no ſinne, that we might bee the righteouſnes of God in him*: the Apoſtle ſaith directly, that Chriſt was made ſinne for vs, that is, our ſinne was imputed vnto him.

Anſw. By ſinne here is vnderſtood the ſacrifice for ſinne, or the puniſhment for ſinne, *Feuard.* p.467. ſo *Auguſtine* and *Ambroſe* expound it.

Contra. 1. *Ambroſe* indeed ſo expoundeth, but he excludeth not the other ſenſe, but ſaith hee was offered both a ſacrifice for ſinne, and as a ſinner himſelfe: *Chriſtus quoniam oblatus eſt pro peccatis, non immerito peccatum factus dicitur*: Chriſt becauſe he was offered for ſinne, is ſaid not amiſſe to be made ſinne, &c. And againe, *Chriſtus quaſi peccator occiſus eſt, vt peccatores iuſtificarentur apud deum*: Chriſt was ſlaine as a ſinner, that ſinners might be iuſtified before God: in 2.Cor.c.5.

2. The text it ſelfe giueth this ſenſe, that ſinne is to be taken properly, *he is made ſinne, as hee knew no ſinne:* but he knew not ſinne properly, not the puniſhment of ſinne: *Ergo,* he was made ſin, not the puniſhment onely. Againe, as we are made righteouſnes before God, ſo is he made ſinne; but his righteouſnes is verely imputed to vs: *Ergo,* our ſinnes are imputed to him: ſo then as we are ſinners in our ſelues, yet righteous by the imputatiō of his righteouſnes; ſo he being moſt righteous in himſelfe is made ſinne by the imputation of our ſinnes.

3. *Hierom* alſo thus expoundeth: *Deus qui eum dicitur feciſſe maledictū, ipſe pro nobis eum fecit peccatum:* God which is ſaid to haue made him a curſe for vs, hath made him alſo ſinne for vs: *in* 3. *ad Galat.* As the Apoſtle then ſaith, *he was made a curſe for vs;* Galat. 3.13. ſo was he made ſinne: but he was not onely made a ſacrifice or a puniſhment for our curſe, but the curſe it ſelfe. *Ergo,* ſo was he made ſinne.

Wee doe not then ſay, that Chriſt was polluted, or defiled with our ſinnes, but onely reputed and taken for vs and in our perſon as a ſinner: and thus in charitie we are to vnderſtand them, that haue ſomewhat here exceeded in termes, and not ſo to wreſt and turne their words, as though they did meane to blemiſh Chriſt with the leaſt touch of ſinne: for as *Hierome* well ſaith: *Quid prodeſt vulneribus tuis, ſi ego fuero vulneratus, &c.* What ſhal it help your wounds to ſee others wounded? *apolog.* 3. *aduerſ. Ruffin.* ſo it is no defenſe or excuſe of ones error, to ſee an other to erre. I find that in the councell of *Baſil. ſeſſ.* 22. this aſſertion of one *Auguſtine* Archbiſhop of Nazareth was condemned, who ſhould ſay, *Chriſtus quotidie peccat, & ex quo fuit Chriſtus quotidie peccauit:* That Chriſt daily ſinneth, and euer ſince Chriſt was he ſinned daily: *quam aſſertionem piæ fidelium aures ſine horrore audire nequeunt:* Which aſſertion godly eares cannot heare without trembling, &c. although this Archbiſhop might haue ſome tolerable ſenſe in this ſentence, yet becauſe the ſpeech was vnuſuall and offenſiue, it was miſliked: ſo, though Chriſt were in our perſon preſented vnto God as guiltie of our ſinnes by imputation, yet we wiſh that all hard and vnwonted phraſes of ſpeech be carefully auoided, as to ſay Chriſt was the greateſt *adulterer, blaſphemer, &c.* becauſe all the ſinne of the elect were laid vpon his backe: it is ſufficient for vs to ſay with the Apoſtle in generall, that Chriſt was made ſinne for vs, and not to deſcend to particulars.

So then I conclude this place with that ſaying of Saint *Hierome*: *Ieſus filius Ioſedech quod interpretatur iuſtus domini, ſacerdos magnus deſcribitur veſtibus ſordidis, qui peccata noſtra non fecit, & tamen peccata noſtra portauit, &c. diciturq; ei poſt pugnam & victoriam, auferte veſtem ſordidam ab eo; ecce abſtuli à te iniquitatem, &c.* Ieſus the ſonne of *Ioſedech*, which is interpreted the Lords iuſt one the high prieſt is deſcribed with filthie garments, which did no ſinne, and yet bare our ſinne: and it is ſaid vnto him after the fight and victory, take away the filthy garments from him; behold I haue taken away thy ſinne, &c. thus *Hierome* expoundeth that place, Zach. 3.4. where we ſee that our ſinnes which were as the filthy garments put vpon Chriſt, are called his ſinnes.

Likewiſe where the prophet *Iſay* ſaith, *vidimus eum & non habuit ſpeciem & decorem:* We ſawe him, and he had neither forme nor beautie. Eſay. 53.2. thoſe words *Auguſtine* expoundeth thus: *Ecce pulcher ille & ſpecioſus præ filijs hominum veniebat ad fœdam, vt faceret pulchram; dicā & hoc, quia in ſcripturis inuenio, ipſe fœdus factus eſt, &c.* Behold he that was the fayreſt among the ſons of men came to her that was filthy to make her faire: yea I will ſay further, becauſe I finde it in ſcripture, hee himſelfe was made filthie, &c. *in Pſal.* 103. *part.* 1. What elſe was this filthines which Chriſt tooke, but the imputation of our ſins? for otherwiſe the iniuries which were offered to his bodie made him more beautifull, in that they commended his patience, inſomuch that the Centurion confeſſed he was a iuſt and a good man, Luke. 23.50. And though the ſouldiers mocked him, when they cloathed him with purple, and ſet a crowne of thornes vpon his head, and bowed vnto him, yet they did ignorantly honour, whom they in their heart deſpiſed: and ſo *Cyprian* expoundeth that place, Cantic. 3.11. *Come forth ye daughters of Ieruſalem, and ſee the crowne whereweth his mother crowned him*, of the crowne of thornes, which Ieruſalem Chriſts mother after the fleſh ſet vpon him. *Cyprian in ſymbol.* So likewiſe Saint *Ambroſe: Illis licet defuit boni operis affectus, deo tamen ſuus non defuit honor, quia ſalutatur vt rex, coronatur vt victor, vt deus & dominus adoratur:* Though they in ſo doing had no deuotion, yet God wanteth not his honour, for he is ſaluted as a King, crowned as a conqueror, worſhipped as God, *in* 22. *Luc.*

Laſtly, where the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom. 8.3. *De peccato damnauit peccatum in carne:* Through ſinne he condemned ſinne in the fleſh; *Origene* thus interpreteth: *Chriſtus ſine dubio pro peccato, quod ex nobis ſuſceperat quia peccata noſtra portauit, carnem incontaminatam obtulit hoſtiam:* Chriſt out of doubt for ſinne, which he tooke of vs, becauſe he bare our ſinnes, did offer his fleſh an vndefiled ſacrifice. *Hom.* 3. *in Leuit.* And againe, *Per peccatum ſuum. i. carnem in crucem actam in qua noſtra peccata ſuſceperat, nos credentes liberauit à peccato:* By his ſinne, that is his fleſh put to the croſſe, wherein he had taken our ſinnes, he deliuereth vs beleeuers from ſinne: *Ibid.* From this ſentence of *Origene* I gather, 1. that Chriſts fleſh is called ſinne, not becauſe it was a ſacrifice for ſinne, or was puniſhed for ſinne, but becauſe it tooke ſinne. 2. that we are deliuered from that ſinne, which Chriſt tooke, which was not the puniſhment of ſinne, but ſinne indeed. 3. that notwithſtanding the bearing of our ſinnes in his fleſh, yet it was an vndefiled ſacrifice vnto God.

The ſumme of all this: that ſeeing all our iniquities were laid vpon Chriſt, *Argum.*1. ſeeing he was made ſinne for vs, *Argum.*2. he was clothed with our filthie rayments, *Argum.*3. he became deformed and without beautie for vs, *Agum.*4. he by his ſinne, that is his fleſh, wherein he bare our ſinne condemned our ſinne, *Argum.*5. we doubt not to affirme and verely beleeue to our endleſſe comfort, that Chriſt was reputed before God, as guiltie of all our ſinnes, which he willingly vndertooke, and ſo ſatisfied for them for euer.

THE SIXT PART, WHETHER CHRIST WERE GRIEued and perplexed in his conſcience and ſoule for the ſinnes of the elect, which were laide vpon him.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED:

F*euardentius* cannot in any caſe endure this, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer or feele any thing in his conſcience: *Non in conſcientia ſua patiendo, p.*449.10. but onely admitteth an exceſſiue griefe in Chriſt, by way of contemplation in beholding the ſorrowes of the world: as hauing reckoned vp in particular a great number of ſinnes, he concludeth thus: *Hac & alia totius mundi ſcelera illico expianda ſibi animo amplectens, &c. tanta totius cordis animique pœnitudine dolet vt par ei nemo vnquam fuerit:* theſe and other ſinnes of the whole world Chriſt beholding in his mind to be by him expiated, is grieued with ſuch penſiueneſſe of minde, as no man was euer like to him, p.455. So then by way of compaſſion and contemplation he doth acknowledge Chriſt to haue beene grieued and not otherwiſe.

Argum. Speciall reaſons and arguments for this their opinion they haue none, but ſuch as haue beene before obiected in generall againſt the ſuffring of Chriſt in ſoule: as Heb.10.13. *With one offring hath he conſecrated for euer, them that are ſanctified:* Coloſſ.2.20. *Pacifying by the blood of his croſſe, &c.* Perfite reconciliation was wrought by the blood of his croſſe, and by one oblation, not many: *Ergo*, no ſuch griefe or perplexitie was neceſſarie, *Feuarden.p.449.conſ.*10.

*Anſw.*1. Though Chriſt ſuffered both in bodie and ſoule, yet was it but one ſacrifice, which the Apoſtle calleth the *ſacrifice of himſelfe*, Hebr.9.26. for the ſoule and bodie made but one Chriſt, yet this ſacrifice had diuers partes: as Hebr.10.10. it is called the offering of his bodie, verſ.19. his blood is mentioned, verſ.20. he ſpeaketh of his fleſh; will ye make as many ſacrifices, as were parts of Chriſts ſufferings?

2. If ye vrge blood ſtrictly, and aſcribe all vnto the blood and nothing elſe, how will ye reconcile the Apoſtle in the ſame place, Coloſſ.1.22. *In the bodie of his fleſh thorough death:* the blood is not his bodie, nor his fleſh. 2. The Apoſtle aſcribeth our reconciliation to his death: but his blood was ſhed after his death, as may appeare, Iohn 19. Chriſt giueth vp the ghoſt, verſ.30. and afterward his ſide is pierced, verſ.34. This is well noted by S. *Ambroſe*, *Poſt mortem percuſſus eſt non ante, vt exitus eius voluntarius non neceſſarius videretur:* He was pierced after death, not before, that his death might ſeeme voluntarie, *In Luc.c.*22. Wherefore ye are forced againſt your wils, by one part of the croſſe to vnderſtand the reſt, vnleſſe you will exclude Chriſts blood. 3. If any man ſay, though Chriſts ſide were pierced after his death, yet he ſhedde much blood before, when he was whipped, and pricked with thornes, and nayled to the croſſe.

Anſw. Though we extenuate not the leaſt drops of Chriſts blood: yet the blood which iſſued with water out of his ſide, is eſpecially obſerued by the Apoſtle, 1.Iohn 5.6. And *Bernard* ſaith, *Perfoſſo latere in cruce veluti conſciſſo ſacco pecuniam quæ latebat in pretium noſtræ redemptionis effudit:* His ſide being launced vpon the croſſe, as if the treaſure bagge had beene opened, the money was powred out, that payed our price, *in natal. Dom. ſerm.*2. 4. And where the Apoſtle ſaith, *Ieſus came by water and blood*, 1.Iohn 5.6. if blood be ſtrictly vrged, then the water is excluded, which was alſo a neceſſary part of the ſacrifice: *Chriſtus venit non in aqua ſolum, ſed in aqua & ſanguine: Moſes in aqua ſolum venit, vnde & nomen habet, ſed non redemit:* Chriſt came not in water onely, but in water and blood; *Moſes* came in water onely, whereof he hath his name, but he redeemed vs not, *Bernard.ibid.*

3. Some will ſay, we yeeld you that all Chriſts bodily ſufferings may figuratiuely be expreſſed by ſome one part or other, as by blood, fleſh, &c. but it were improper thereby to ſignifie the ſoule ſuffrings. *Anſw.* Yet it is not vnuſuall, by fleſh to vnderſtand the ſoule alſo, and ſo conſequently by the ſuffrings of the one to inſinuate the paſſions of the other: as *Auguſtine* ſheweth againſt the Apollinariſts, *Videbit omnis caro, &c.* All fleſh ſhall ſee the ſaluation of God: where fleſh is taken for the whole man, yea for the man regenerate, for carnall men cannot ſee the ſaluation of God:

*lib.qu.*83.*qu.*80. And again,ſeeing it is euident in Scripture,that Chriſt had anguiſh in ſoule,when he ſaith,*My ſoule is heauie vnto death:*they muſt comprehend this alſo vnder the blood of the croſſe, or els it is excluded : But *Bernard* for that excellently ſaith, *Totum propter nos agebatur, vt non modo paſſio corporis, ſed cordis affectio pro nobis faceret :* all was done for vs,that not only the paſſion of his body, but the affection of his heart ſhould make to our ſaluation,*in die S. Andreæ ſerm.*1.

4. By the croſſe alſo of Chriſt, not the materiall tree onely, whereon he ſuffered, or the viſible torments which hee endured, but the whole myſterie of our redemption, which by his chaſtiſements was puniſhed, is expreſſed : as S.*Paul* ſaith, he will not reioyce but in the croſſe of Chriſt, *whereby he was crucified* to the world, Galath.6.14. It was not the materiall croſſe, whereby *Paul* was crucified,but the ſpiritual force and efficacie of Chriſts ſacrifice: So in the ſame place verſ.12. he ſpeaketh of ſuffering perſecution for the croſſe of Chriſt,that is,the Goſpel and faith of Chriſt: So alſo *Auguſtine* taketh the croſſe : *Nemo poteſt tranſire mare huius ſeculi,niſi cruce Chriſti portatus*; No man can paſſe through the ſea of this world,vnleſſe he be borne vp by the croſſe of Chriſt,&c. and afterward he expoundeth himſelfe,*Crede in crucifixum, & poteris peruenire:* Beleeue in him,that was crucified,and thou maiſt go through,*in Pſa.*143. Thus then I truſt it is euident,that neither the *blood*,nor the *wood* of Chriſts croſſe do aboliſh or diminiſh the bleſſed ſuffrings of Chriſt in his ſoule.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

CHriſt in himſelfe being holy, innocent, vndefiled, was touched with no conſcience of ſinne; as *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Inter iudicem iuſtum, & conſcientiam tuam, noli timere niſi cauſam tuam:* Betweene the Iuſt iudge and thy conſcience, feare nothing but thy cauſe, *in Pſal.*37. yet we do beleeue to our great comfort, that as Chriſt in great compaſſion toward vs, did aſſume and appropriate our ſinnes to himſelfe, making them as it were his owne ; ſo he alſo in his ſoule and conſcience did trauaile with exceeding griefe and ſorrow for our ſinnes, as for his owne.

*Argum.*1. The Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr.2.17. *It became him in all thinges to be made like vnto his brethren:* and Hebr.4.15. *He was tempted in like ſort, yet without ſinne :* if Chriſt then had experience of all our tentations and ſorrowes, but without ſinne ; then of the trouble alſo and perplexitie of conſcience, which is in vs,but in him without ſinne:ſo *Fulgentius* ſaith; *Rationalem animam habens, quicquid fuit infirmitatis animæ ſine peccato ſuſcepit & pertulit, vt dum humanæ animæ paſſiones in anima, quam accepit, vinceret, noſtras quoq; animas ab infirmitatibus liberaret :* Hauing a reaſonable ſoule, whatſoeuer infirmitie of the ſoule without ſinne hee tooke and bare,that while hee ouercame the paſſions of mans ſoule in his ſoule which he tooke, he might alſo deliuer our ſoules from infirmities, *ad Thraſimund.lib.*3. *Damaſcene* to the like effect : τὰ πάθη ὑπομείνας τὴν κατὰ αὐτῶν νίκην βραβεύων: hee endured our grieues, preparing for vs the victorie ouer them, *de fid. orthodox. lib.*3. *c.*24. What aſſurance then ſhould we haue, not to be ſwallowed vp of griefe,when we are touched with conſcience of ſin, but that Chriſt in himſelfe ouercame theſe our tentations ? And ſeeing S. *Peter* ſaith, that *he bare our ſinnes*, 1.Pet.2.24. and the Prophet ſaith, that God layd vpon him *the iniquities of vs all*, Iſay.53.6. how could our ſinnes be diuorced and ſeparated from their ſorrowes? if Chriſt then truely bare our ſinnes, he ſuſtayned alſo the griefe of conſcience for them,which is the inſeparable companion of our ſinnes. Therefore as *Origen* ſaith, *Quoniam ſemel aſſumpſerat hominem, vtitur omnibus quæ ſunt in homine:* Becauſe he once tooke vpon him man, he vſeth all, that is in man: *homil.*13.*in Matth.* and S. *Ambroſe : Minus mihi contulerat, niſi meum ſuſcepiſſet affectum: ergo pro me doluit, qui nihil habuit, quod pro ſe doleret : ſuſcepit triſtitiam meam , vt mihi ſuam lætitiam largiretur, debuit dolorem ſuſcipere, vt vinceret triſtitiam, non excluderet :* Hee had done little for me, if he had not taken mine affection; therefore he was grieued for me, who had nothing to be grieued for in himſelfe: he tooke my ſorrow,to giue me his ioy: he was to take my ſorrow to extenuate my griefe, not to exclude it : *in* 22.*Luc.* S. *Ambroſe* giueth three notable reaſons of our griefe in Chriſt : 1. becauſe if he had not taken all our affections, he had not done for vs what he could. 2. He tooke griefe to giue vs ioy,but ioy of conſcience he giueth vs: *Ergo*,he had griefe of conſcience. 3. No ſorrow in vs is ouercome, which was excluded from Chriſt,therefore if he had not the contrition and trouble of ſpirite, we haue no hope to ſubdue it.

*Argum.*2. That heauines and griefe of ſoule, which Chriſt had vpon the croſſe, and before in his agonie;at other times he had not : for the ſame griefe would haue wrought the ſame effects, as to cauſe him to ſweate drops of blood,and to complaine of his *forſaking* : but Chriſt before did ſorrow in compaſſion and commiſeration,as when he wept ouer Ieruſalem : yea and *Origen* ſaith, that euen now our ſinnes are a griefe to Chriſt ; *Saluator meus luget etiam nunc peccata mea, ſaluator meus lætari non poteſt, dum ego in iniquitate permaneo : eſt tam diu in mœrore, donec ego perſiſto in errore :* My Sauiour doth euen now mourne for my ſinne : my Sauiour cannot reioyce, while I of ſinne make choyce : he is in ſorrow,as long as I am in ſinne, *Hom.*7.*in Leuitic.* Which is agreeable to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, *Grieue not the ſpirit*, Epheſ.4.30. But Chriſts ſorrow vpon the croſſe, was not that wherewith he was touched before,and in ſome ſort ſince : *Ergo,* it was not a ſorrowe onely in compaſſion or commiſeration.

*Argum.*3. The Fathers are here very plentifull, beſide theſe teſtimonies alleaged : Firſt, *Hierome,*Pſal.69.5. *Tu noſti inſipientiam, dominus & ſaluator noſter ſub perſona aſſumpti hominis loquitur :* Lord thou knoweſt my fooliſhnes; our Lorde and Sauiour ſpeaketh in the perſon of man,whom he tooke. If Chriſt doe confeſſe our ſinnes as his owne, then his heart could not be without the griefe of them : as *Auguſtine* ſaith,*Quot habes in corde compunctiones facinorum,tot habe illic punctiones confeſſionum :* As many compunctions of ſinne as are in the heart,ſo many confeſſions there ſhould be.*in Pſal.*74.

2. *Ambroſe* ſeemeth to make this the cauſe of Chriſts long ſilence vpon the croſſe : *Illo ſilentio paſſionis ſuæ clamorem omnem in poſterum impiæ vocis aboleuit :* By the ſilence of his croſſe he aboliſhed all clamors and complaints of the voyce of ſinners, *ſerm.*14.*in Pſal.*119. As hee in ſilence mourned for our ſinnes,and felt the burthen,ſo hath he ſtayed for euer the deſperate outcryes and complaints of his members for their ſinnes.

3. *Origen: Chriſtus ſacerdos eſt, qui comedit peccata populi : audi ſcripturam, deus noſter ignis conſumens: quid conſumit deus ignis, nunquid ligna aut ſtipulam? conſumit deus ignis humana peccata, ipſe peccata noſtra ſuſcepit,& in ſeipſo tanquam ignis ea comedit & abſumit :* Chriſt is the prieſt,which doth eate the ſinnes of the people : heare the Scripture, our God is a conſuming fire : what doth God the fire conſume,wood,or ſtubble? God the fire doth conſume mens ſinnes; he tooke our ſinnes, and in himſelfe as a fire did deuoure and conſume them,*Hom.*5.*in Leuitic.*6. So *Ambroſe* againe ſaith,*Chriſtus velut carbo ſecundum carnem exuſſit noſtra peccata :* Chriſt was as that coale (taken from the altar, Iſai.6.) which in his fleſh,burned, or conſumed our ſinnes,*lib.*1.*de ſpirit.c.*9. And what this inward fire is, the Prophet *Dauid* ſheweth, Pſal.39.3. *My heart was hot within me, and while I muſed,the fire kindled.* The inward griefe and trouble of ſoule in Chriſt was this fire,wherewith our ſinnes are conſumed.

If then our Sauiour Chriſt was tempted like vnto vs in all ſorts,ſinne onely excepted,*arg.*1. if together with our ſinne he bare the ſorrowes of ſinne,*argum.*2. if at other times hee ſorrowed in *compaſſion,* and *commiſeration,* but vpon the croſſe more, *arg.*3. if the Fathers affirme,that Chriſt hath taken our ſorrowe to giue vs ioy,that he hath in himſelfe as a fire conſumed our ſins, *arg.*4. there remaineth no doubt, but that Chriſt verily in his ſoule was troubled and perplexed with ſorrow for our ſinnes.

THE SEVENTH PART, THAT CHRIST BY HIS death did fully ſatisfie the iuſtice of God,and appeaſed his wrath in paying the raunſome for our ſinnes,which he tooke vpon him,together with the puniſhment thereof,in which reſpect he is truly ſaid to haue dyed iuſtly,and as a debtor to the law of Gods iuſtice for vs.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

Art.21. OBiect.1. Ezech.18.20. *The ſame ſoule that ſinneth,ſhall dye :* from this place *Bellarmine* inferreth, *Iniquum eſſe,&c.* That it is vniuſt that one man ſhould be puniſhed for another, *tom.*3.*p.*152.*d. Ergo,*it was not iuſt that Chriſt,though our ſuretie,ſhould be put to death for vs.

2. Chriſt dyed for vs of loue, and moſt willingly without conſtraint hee layd downe his life for vs : *No man taketh it away from me,*Iohn.10.*Feuard.p.*427.*lin.*6. That which Chriſt then did of loue,he was not forced vnto by law.

3. Chriſt muſt not be conſidered onely as a faithfull ſeruant, but as coequall vnto God,&c. ſuch an one was our Mediatour,*Feuard.p.*378.*conf.*3.*lin.*13.24. If Chriſt then as a ſeruant or ſuretie were bound by the law to dye,how could he be our Mediatour?

4. Chriſts ſatisfaction, was *pluſquam ſufficiens,* more than ſufficient, *Feuard.p.*382.*conf.*3.*lin.*7. therefore he was not bound vnto it by law.

Anſw. 1. Where the debt is but of money,the ſuretie indeede, neither by Gods law nor mans, is compelled to giue life or ſoule : but where the debt is of bodie and ſoule, it cannot otherwiſe be payed in the law of iuſtice,but by giuing bodie and ſoule. 2. In ſome caſes by the lawe of God the ſuretie gaue life for life; as the Prophet ſheweth to *Ahab* by this parable : A man was taken in battell,and committed to another to keepe,vnder this condition, *If he be loſt,thy life ſhall goe for his life,or elſe thou ſhalt pay a talent of ſiluer :* a price of equall value to his life, that went away : but in the application of this parable, the Prophet leaueth out the *talent,*becauſe God can not be waged with money, and ſaith vnto *Ahab* preciſely, *thy life ſhall goe for his life*, 1.King.20. verſ.39.42.

3. Firſt, as the Prophet ſaith, *The ſoule that ſinneth, ſhall dye*: ſo he ſaith, *euery man ſhall beare his iniquitie*: hee may as well conclude, that Chriſt did not beare our ſinnes, as that hee was not puniſhed for vs in iuſtice. Secondly, *as the wickedneſſe of the wicked ſhall be vpon him, ſo the righteouſnes of the righteous ſhall be vpon him*: If he will conclude from hence, that our wickedneſſe did not lye vpon Chriſt, hee muſt exclude the righteous alſo from the righteouſnes of Chriſt. I may ſay here with *Hierome*: *De præſenti compede vtcunque erue pedem*: You muſt eftſoones deliuer your ſelfe of theſe doubts, and your feete from theſe fetters. Fourthly, yea, you will ſay, this is ſoone done; for it is not inferred from hence, that Chriſt did not beare our ſinnes and dye for the ſame, but not in iuſtice, as indebted, or bound vnto it. I anſwere, as it was iuſt with God to *iuſtifie vs that are of the faith of Ieſus*, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.3.26. ſo is it iuſt that Chriſt ſhould be condemned for our ſinnes: it is as much of iuſtice, that our ſinnes imputed to him, ſhould cauſe his death, as for his righteouſnes imputed to vs to bring vs to life. So *Origen* ſaith, *Chriſtus ſine dubio pro peccato, quod ex nobis ſuſceperat, quia peccata noſtra portauit, carnem incontaminatam obtulit hoſtiã*: Chriſt out of doubt for ſinne, which he tooke of vs, becauſe he bare our ſinnes, offered his fleſh an vndefiled ſacrifice, *Hom.3.in Leuitic.* If then the bearing of our ſinnes cauſed the ſacrifice of Chriſts fleſh, how was it not iuſt? if it were not iuſt, it was no cauſe.

2. Firſt, who doubteth but that both Gods loue and Chriſts loue vnſpeakeable appeareth in his death: as *Auguſtine* well ſaith; *Angelus virga tetigit Petram & exijt ignis, ſic crux tetigit Chriſtum, & de Petra, quæ erat Chriſtus ignis exijt charitatis*: The Angel touched the rocke with a rod, and fire came forth: *Iud.*13.19. ſo the croſſe touched Chriſt, and out of the rocke, which was Chriſt, the flame of charity iſſued forth, *Ser.de temp.*108. but the argument followeth not, Chriſt died of loue, *Ergo*, not in iuſtice, for loue firſt cauſed him to ſubmit himſelfe to the lawe: and iuſtice to pay our debt. 2. Like as the ſuretie firſt of loue and good will to his neighbour ſtriketh hands for him, and giueth his word: but then his word being once paſt, he is bound by law to pay the debt, and he cannot ſhift it, *Then he is taken with the words of his owne mouth*, Prou.6.1.2. So Chriſt firſt of loue vndertooke for vs, but this office of loue being once vndertaken, it is now performed and executed of debt. 3. This may be further manifeſted by this inſtance: ſinne in our firſt parents was voluntarie, but now in their poſteritie it is neceſſarie: he might haue not ſinned if he would, but hauing once ſinned, he could not abſtaine though he would: he brought himſelfe & his poſteritie *voluntarilie* into *neceſſarie* bondage: as S. *Peter* ſaith, *Of whatſoeuer a man is ouercome, to the ſame he is in bondage*, 2.Pet.2.19. So *Auguſtine*: *Illi ſine peccato data eſt libera voluntas, quam fecit ſeruire peccato, horum cum fuerat voluntas ſerua peccati liberata eſt per Chriſtum*: To *Adam* was giuen free will, which he made the ſeruant of ſinne, but in vs our will being the ſeruant of ſinne is freed by Chriſt: *de corrept. grat. c.* 12. We ſee then how that which in the election is *voluntarie*, is in the execution *neceſſarie*.

3. But a fitter example we cannot take, then from Chriſt himſelfe: for the firſt aſſuming of the humane nature to the Godhead was of grace; as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Quod Chriſtus eſt vnigenitus, æqualis patri, non eſt gratia, ſed natura; quod autem in vnitatem perſonæ vnigenti aſſumptus eſt homo, gratia eſt, non natura, confitente euangelio, & gratia Dei erat cum illo*: That Chriſt is the onely begotten ſonne, equall to his father, it is not grace but nature; but that man is taken into the vnitie of perſon of the onely begotten, it is grace, not nature, the Goſpell confeſſing, *the grace of God was with him*: *Tract. in Ioan.*73. But though the aſſuming of the humane nature was of grace, yet the vnion of the diuine and humane nature is not by grace, as it was concluded, *Concil. Conſtantin.* 5.c.4. *Si quis dicit ſecundum gratiam factam vnitionem verbi ad hominem, anathema*: If any man ſay that the vnion of the word with man, is of grace, let him be accurſed: the firſt aſſumption of mans nature was of grace, but the coniunction is not of grace, but by vnitie of perſon: the worſhip now giuen vnto the humanitie of Chriſt, is not giuen him of fauour and grace, but due vnto him becauſe of his perſon, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Heb.1.6. when he bringeth in his *firſt begotten ſon into the world he ſaith, let al the Angels of God worſhip him*. In like manner, Chriſts aſſuming vpon him to pay our debt was of grace and voluntarie, but now the performing thereof is of debt, and neceſſarie. So then as the exalting of the humane nature in Chriſt, was in the firſt ſuſception of *benignitie*, but now in the perſonall vnion and coniunction, is of *dignitie*: ſo in the humbling of himſelfe to dye for vs, he firſt ſhewed his free *beneuolence*, and then ſubmitted himſelfe to iuſtice and *patience*.

3. 1. That one may be both a ſurety and a mediator, the example of *Iudah* ſheweth: who firſt was a mediator to his father, to intreat him to let *Beniamin* goe with them, ſaying, *ſend the boy with me, that we may riſe and go, that we may liue and not die*: Gen.43.8. then he ſaith, verſ.9. *I will be ſuretie for him, of mine hand ſhalt thou require him.*

2. Who can be a more effectuall mediator, then he that hath payed the debt, of whoſe faithfulneſſe the creditor hath alreadie experience: as *Paul* to *Philemon* is a moſt efficient media-

tor for *Oneſimus*, becauſe he was a ſufficient ſuretie: If he hath *hurt thee, or oweth thee ought, put it vpon mine accounts, I Paule haue written with mine owne hand, I will recompence thee:* Philem. verſ. 18. Then the Apoſtle boldly maketh his requeſt, verſ. 20. *yea brother let me obtaine this pleaſure of thee in the Lord.* So the mediation of Chriſt is not empayred by his ſuretiſhip, but grounded vpon it, his propitiation for our ſinnes is the ſtrength of his aduocation: 1 Iohn. 2. 2. *We haue an aduocate with the father, and he is the reconciliation for our ſinnes.*

3. Though other ſureties could not be mediators, it is otherwiſe with Chriſt, who is both God and man: as man, he is a ſuretie and *ſuffered* for vs; as God and man he is our mediator, and *ſufficeth* for vs: his ſuffering and ſatisfaction doth onely concerne his manhood: the Godhead did not ſatisfie, but was ſatisfied: therefore as he is a ſufferer and *ſatisfactor* for vs, ſo he is not properly a *midiator:* to the which office both the nature of his humanitie, and power of his diuinitie is required: as *Bernard* well ſaith; *ſicut mediator &c.* as our mediator hath ioyned togither in one perſon his humanitie and diuinitie; ſo euery one of his workes muſt of neceſſitie appertaine to one or other nature, &c. *Ad hanc ſcilicet miſeria, ad illā pertinet potentia: quicquid ergo miſeria paſſus eſt, ex homine contraxit; quicquid potenter operatus eſt, à patre habuit:* To his humane nature belongeth his miſerie; to his diuine, his power and dignity: what he ſuffered in miſerie, he had of man; what he wrought powerfully, he receiued of his father: *ſerm. de verb. ſapient.*

4. 1. The argument followeth not, he paid more then we did owe, *Ergo*, he paid not that which we did owe: rather the contrarie followeth, he paid more, *Ergo*, he paide the leſſe: if a ſurety in his great abundance will pay twentie thouſand, where the debt is but of tenne thouſand, is not the debt anſwered? He that giueth more then meaſure, *preſſed downe, ſhaken together, running ouer*, Luke. 6. 38. doth he not giue meaſure? 2. Chriſt in reſpect of the efficacie 1. of his croſſe, and 2. dignitie of his perſon, and 3. innocencie of nature, paied more then the lawe required: For 1. he onely did not redeeme vs, but hath endued vs with righteouſnes, and ſo as the Apoſtle ſaith, *grace* ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν, hath ſuperabounded, Rom. 5. 20. 2. Neither could the law haue required the ſonne of God to haue ſuffered for vs: and therefore as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Herein appeared the loue of God toward vs, becauſe he ſent his onely begotten ſonne*, 1. Iohn. 4. 9. And he was not indebted any thing to the law in reſpect of his owne innocency: for as Saint *Peter* ſaith, *he did not ſinne, neyther was there any guile found in his mouth:* and ſo *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Venit ille ſine debito, quia ſine vllo peccato, & quæ non rapuerat exoluens nos à ſempiterno debito liberauit:* He came without debt, becauſe without ſinne, and paying that he neuer tooke, hath freed vs from our euerlaſting debt. *de diuerſ. ſer.* 8. Wherfore in reſpect of the manner and qualitie of Chriſts ſufferings he paid more then was owing, but for the ſubſtance of the debt, which was the whole puniſhment of bodie and ſoule, he paied the ſame which the law required. And if Chriſts ſatisfaction were more then ſufficient; if he ſuffered more then was requiſite: with what face can the Frier denie that he ſuffered not in ſoule, which was neceſſary to our redemption: There cannot be an exceeding where any thing is wanting.

And concerning the fathers which may be obiected, I anſwere, that they do obſerue diuers ends and vſes of Chriſts death, and alleage ſundrie cauſes thereof: as *Auguſtine* ſheweth theſe, 1. Gods loue appeareth. 2. the priuiledge of humane fleſh, ſeeing our nature is coupled with the diuinity. 3. the grace of God without our merits. 4. we learne humilitie and obedience by Chriſts death. 5. and the reward of obedience, *lib* 13. *de trinitat. c.* 17. And againe: *Potuit reuera angelum armare contra diabolum, &c.* God could haue armed an Angell againſt the diuell: *Verum decuit Chriſtum hoc munus obire:* But it was meete that Chriſt ſhould vndergoe this buſines, 1. leaſt iniurie might be offered to God, if man ſhould be redeemed by an other, then by whom he was created. 2. ſeeing Sathan did make himſelfe a God in earth: *Eum venire oportuit,* It behooued him to come, which ſhould worthily be worſhipped of euery creature. 3. The iniurie was offered to the ſecond perſon in the trinitie: *Nam Satanas proxime poſt deum patrem ſe adorari voluit:* For Sathan next to God the father would be worſhipped: *ex veter. teſtam. qu.* 113.

Cyprian alſo rendereth an other reaſon: *Sine hoc holocauſto poterat deus tantum condonaſſe peccatum, ſed veniæ facilitas laxaret habenas peccatis effrænibus, quæ etiam vix Chriſti cohibent paſſiones:* God without this holocauſt could haue pardoned ſo great ſinne, but the facilitie or eaſines of pardon would haue giuen libertie to the raynes of ſinne, which Chriſts paſſions doe ſcarcely reſtraine: *ſerm. de paſſion.* Theſe fathers thus ayming and geſſing at the cauſes of Chriſts death, denie not, but it was neceſſary for Chriſt to die to pay our debt, and conſequently that it was iuſt ſo to be: as *Auguſtine* before ſaith: *Decuit Chriſtum, & oportuit venire:* It became Chriſt, & it behooued him to come. And again he ſaith to this effect: though God might haue taken man otherwhere, then from *Adams* ſtocke to be the mediator: *Sed hominem per eum liberari oportuit, qui eſſet in genere, licet non in crimine:* Yet man ought to be deliuered by him, which was of the poſteritie, though not in the ſame iniquitie. *de trinit. lib.* 13. *c.* 17. whence commeth this *oportet*, it ought to be, or why muſt *Adam* be deliuered by *Adams* ſeed, but that iuſtice ſo required, that man ſhould ſuffer for mans offence?

Obiect. But it may be thus further obiected : If Chriſt dyed according to the iuſtice of the law, then the Iewes, together with *Pilate* and the high Prieſts, did but that which was iuſt; and ſo ſhould be freed from the guilt of Chriſts blood.

Anſw. 1. *Auguſtine* doth very well reſolue this queſtion: *Facta eſt traditio à patre, facta eſt à filio, facta eſt à Iuda; vna res facta eſt : quid ergo diſcernit inter eos? quia hoc fecit filius & pater in charitate, Iudas in perditione :* Chriſt was deliuered by his father, by himſelfe, by *Iudas :* there is one act : how are they diſcerned ? becauſe the father and ſonne did this in charitie, *Iudas* in enuie : *in Epiſtol. 1. Ioann.*

Likewiſe *Origen* to the ſame effect : *Deus tradidit Chriſtum propter miſericordiam in genus humanum, &c. Iudas propter auaritiam, ſacerdotes propter inuidiam, diabolus propter timorem :* God deliuered Chriſt in mercie to man, *Iudas* of couetouſnes, the prieſts for enuie, the diuell for feare, *Tract. 35. in Matth.* Wherefore though Chriſt were deliuered vp *by the determinate counſell of God*, and in reſpect thereof his death was iuſt and profitable : yet the inſtruments for the execution being malicious are not excuſable, but their act againſt Chriſt was moſt vniuſt and damnable.

2. The Iewes are ſo farre from excuſe, that euen *Pilate*, who ſeemed to haue ſome reuerence of Chriſts perſon, and openly waſhed his hands, was not innocent. There is greater queſtion made of *Pilats* wife, which *ſuffered many things in her dreame* of Chriſt, and acknowledged Chriſt to be a iuſt man, and ſent word to *Pilate* to haue nothing to doe with him, Matth. 27. 19. Some do thinke, that the diuell, being in a great doubt what to doe, as hee ſet the Iewes a worke on the one ſide to put Chriſt to death, ſo hee cauſed a dreame to fall vpon *Pilats* wife, thereby to hinder Chriſts death: thus thinketh *Rabanus in gloſſ. ordinar. Lyra*, with others. But I rather approue *Chryſoſtomes* iudgement and *Theophilacts* vpon that place, who think, that this dreame was Gods work: *Factum eſt ſomnium non vt Chriſtus abſolueretur, ſed vt ſeruaretur vxor :* This dreame was wrought, not that Chriſt ſhould be deliuered, but *Pilats* wife ſaued. Likewiſe *Auguſtine : In natiuitate mundi vxor ducit virum ad mortem : in paſſione Chriſti vxor prouocat ad ſalutem :* In the creation or natiuitie of the world, the woman bringeth her husband to death : in the paſſion of Chriſt the wife doth prouoke the man to ſaluation, *de tempor. ſer. 121.*

Howſoeuer it was with *Pilats* wife, who had a good perſwaſion of Chriſt, and was guiltleſſe of his death : yet *Pilate* could no way be innocent; he waſhed his hands in hypocriſie, but his heart was full of crueltie; as *Cyprian* well ſaith: *Non excuſas, ſed accuſas, cauſam tibi facis cum Iudæis communem; illi ſe proditione, tu parricido te condemnas; illi lingua, tu ferro occidis :* Thou doeſt not excuſe but accuſe, thou art in the ſame cauſe with the Iewes; they by treacherie condemne themſelues, thou by murther and crueltie; they kill him with their tongues, thou with the ſword, *ſer. de paſſion.* So *Ambroſe : Pilatus ipſe iniquitatis ſuæ teſtis, qui ore abſoluit, corde condemnat; lauerit licet manus, tamen facta non diluit : Pilate* is a witneſſe of his owne iniquitie, which doth commend Chriſt with his mouth, and condemne him in his heart; hee dooth waſh his hands, but cleanſeth not his deedes, *ſerm. 49.*

Wherefore if *Pilate*, who made ſome ſemblance of loue and reuerence toward Chriſt, was yet guiltie of his blood, how much more worthie of condemnation were the Iewes, that with will, word and workes did perſecute him to death, *and killed the Lord of life*, Act. 3. 15. And as *Origen* well ſaith : *Quantum putas erroris fuit, ipſam principalem omnem vitam ream mortis pronuntiare ?* How great an error was it, to pronounce the chiefe and principall life worthie of death? *Tract. 35. in Matth.*

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

1. THat Chriſt in himſelfe was moſt holie, innocent and iuſt, and in that behalfe moſt wrongfully and vndeſeruedly put to death of the Iewes, wee hold it blaſphemie not to acknowledge it : the Scriptures doe teſtifie, that the *Iewes denied the holie and iuſt one, and killed the Lorde of life*, Act. 3. 14. 15. And *Auguſtine* ſaith : *Dominus mortem pro nobis indebitam reddidit, vt debita nobis non noceret :* The Lorde did pay for vs an vndue death, that due death might not hurt vs, *lib. 4. de Trinitat. cap. 13.*

2. Again, we moſt thankfully acknowledge in the death of Chriſt the moſt vnſpeakeable loue of Chriſt, 1. Ioh. 3. 16. *Herein haue wee perceiued loue, that he layd downe his life for vs :* which loue of Chriſt *Auguſtine* thus deſcribeth : *Diuina charitas in Chriſto ad ignoſcendum, inter opprobria ſecura, inter odia benefica, inter iras placida, inter inſidias innocens, &c.* There was a diuine charitie of Chriſt in forgiuing, ſtedfaſt among taunts, bounteous againſt hatred, calme againſt rage, innocent though wronged, *ſerm. 39. de tempor.*

3. Our bleſſed Sauiour alſo moſt willingly offered himſelfe vpon the croſſe for vs, and was obedient to the will of his father: Heb. 5. 8. *Though he were the ſonne, yet learned he obedience.* So *Bernard*

ſaith, *Non mors filij, ſed voluntas placuit ſponte morientis:* Not the dying of his ſonne pleaſed God, but that he was willing, *epiſt.* 191.

4. All this being confeſſed, that Chriſt was in himſelfe *innocent*, toward vs louing and *beneficent*, in his death willing and *patient:* yet ſeeing he as our ſuretie payd our debts, it was iuſt before God, that as he in himſelfe bare our ſinnes, ſo he alſo ſhould pay the price and diſcharge the debt, and ſo anſwere his fathers iuſtice.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paul* ſaith, Rom. 3.25.26. *God hath ſet forth Chriſt to be a reconciliation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteouſnes by the forgiuenes of ſinnes which are paſſed, &c. to ſhew at this time his righteouſnes, that he might be iuſt, and a iuſtifier of him, which is in the faith of Ieſus:* From hence I reaſon thus; imputation of ſinne is vnto condemnation, as imputation of righteouſnes is vnto iuſtification: but it is iuſt with God to iuſtifie vs by the righteouſnes of Chriſt, therefore it was iuſt before God, that Chriſt for our ſins ſhould be condemned to death. *Bernard* thus giueth witneſſe hereto: *Iuſtum eſt, vt reddat deus quod debet; debet autem, quod pollicitus eſt:* It is iuſt, that God ſhould render that which he oweth; and he oweth what hee promiſed, *lib. de liber. arbitr.* So then as it is iuſt with God to performe ſaluation vnto vs in Chriſt which he hath promiſed: ſo it was iuſt with Chriſt to pay that debt which he vndertooke to be performed.

Argum. 2. God decreeth no vniuſt thing: but hee decreed the death of Chriſt; as Saint *Peter* ſaith, he was *deliuered vp by the determinate counſell and foreknowledge of God*, Act. 2.23. God did not onely foreknow it, but decree and determine it: by the *determinate counſell*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ὡρισμένῃ βουλῇ: and therefore God is ſayd to ſend his ſonne to dye for vs, 1. Ioh. 4.16. God then was the author of his ſonnes death, but he is not the author of euill things or vniuſt: therfore Chriſts death in reſpect of Gods decree was not vniuſt. *Auguſtine* ſaith well: *Deus aliud fecit & ordinauit; aliud non fecit, ſed ordinauit:* God did or decreed ſomewhat to bee done, and diſpoſed and ordered it; ſomething hee doth not, but yet diſpoſeth and ordreth, *in Pſal.* 7. As in this caſe, the malice of the Iewes God decreed not, but he diſpoſed of their malice to a good end: but the death of Chriſt he both decreed and diſpoſed. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith: *Peccatores in malis præſcitos tantum non prædeſtinatos, &c.* Sinners are only foreſeene in their euil actions, not predeſtinate, *contr. Pelag. Hypognoſtic. artic.* 6. But Chriſt was not onely foreſeene to dye, but was predeſtinate thereto: *Ergo*, it was not euill.

Argum. 3. If Gods iuſtice be fully ſatisfied, and his wrath deſeruedly appeaſed by the death of Chriſt, it followeth that Chriſt died iuſtly: But the firſt is euident, becauſe Chriſt hath by his croſſe *ſlaine the hatred betweene God and vs*, Epheſ. 2.16. and before he dyed for vs, we were the children of wrath, Epheſ. 2.3. *Ergo*, Chriſt dyed in reſpect of our ſinnes to anſwere Gods iuſtice iuſtly.

The propoſition, which is onely doubted, is thus proued: firſt, nothing can ſatisfie Gods iuſtice, but that which is iuſt: if Chriſts death then were not iuſt before God, Gods iuſtice could not bee ſatisfied by it. Secondly, neither can any thing pleaſe God, or appeaſe his wrath by way of ſatiſfaction, but that which is iuſt: Chriſt death pleaſed God, it was a ſacrifice of a ſweete ſmelling ſauour vnto God, Epheſ. 5.2. Thirdly, Saint *Paul* ſaith, Rom. 8.3. *God ſpared not his owne ſonne:* not to ſpare is of iuſtice, to ſpare is of loue and mercie: it was mercie to vs, but iuſtice in Chriſt, that he dyed for the redemption of our ſinnes. Fourthly, *Bernard* ſaith, *Non potuit expiari Adæ peccatum, niſi Chriſti morte: Adams* ſin could not be expiated, but by the death of Chriſt, *epiſt.* 191. It could not be otherwiſe done, becauſe Gods iuſtice could not otherwiſe be ſatisfied: expiation then by death and blood belongeth to Gods iuſtice.

Argum. 4. None are forſaken of God, or ſtand accurſed by the law iniuſtly: for God is iuſt, and the law is *iuſt, holie, good*, Rom. 7.12. But Chriſt was as forſaken of God in part in the inſtant of his paſſion: as he himſelfe complaineth, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* Mat. 27.46. he was alſo by the law made a curſe for vs, Galath. 3.13. *Ergo*, Chriſt in reſpect of our ſinnes, in the ſight of God ſuffered iuſtly. *Beda* witneſſeth with vs: *Quid mirum ſi maledictum eſt deo, quod deus odit, niſi enim deus odiſſet peccatum & mortem noſtram non ad eam ſuſcipiendam & delendam filium ſuum mitteret:* What marueile if that be accurſed of God, which God hateth? for vnleſſe God had hated ſinne and death, he would not haue ſent his ſonne to take it, and aboliſh it, *in 3. ad Galath.* Chriſt then ſtood as accurſed before God, becauſe he tooke vpon him that which God hateth, namely our ſinne, and death the fruit of ſinne.

Argum. 5. Theſe three, *vtilitie, neceſſitie, equitie*, are inſeparable companions: that onely is profitable, which *is good* and iuſt: *Theſe things are good and profitable*, 1. Timoth. 4.8. but Chriſts death was profitable; as *Caiphas* propheſied, συμφέρει. *It is expedient, profitable for vs that one man dye for the people, and the whole nation periſh not*, Iohn 11.50. Chriſts death then is both neceſſarie and profitable, and therefore both good and iuſt.

Obiect. The afflictions of the Saints are profitable to themſelues to correct them, to others for their example, yet are they not iuſt: as the Apoſtle ſaith, *It is iuſt with God to recompence tribulation,* *to them that trouble you,* 2.Theſſ.1.6.If they which afflict Gods children are puniſhed iuſtly, then they did trouble them vniuſtly.

Anſw. The afflictions of the Saints,in reſpect of their perſecutors, are vniuſt: as the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith,Pſal.119.161.*They haue perſecuted me without a cauſe*: yet hee confeſſeth in reſpect of himſelfe toward GOD, that his afflictions were iuſt and good: verſ.71.*It is good for me, that I haue been afflicted,that I may learne thy ſtatutes*: verſ.75.*I know that thy iudgements are right,and that thou haſt afflicted me iuſtly,or in truth*: So Chriſts death, in reſpect of the malice of his enemies and his owne innocencie,was vniuſt,as the theefe confeſſed,Luk.23.41.*We are righteouſly here,but this man hath done nothing amiſſe.* But as Chriſt was our ſuretie and bare our ſinnes,ſo it was iuſt that he ſhould ſuſtaine the puniſhment of them.

Againe,that which is neceſſarie is iuſt: for that which is neceſſarie is good: Luk.10.42. *One thing is neceſſarie,Mary hath choſen the beſt part.* So then,*neceſſarium* is *optimum*, the neceſſarie thing is the beſt thing: and that which is good is iuſt: as Rom.7.12.the law is ſaid to be δικαία,ἀγαθὴ, iuſt and good. Chriſts death is neceſſarie,Hebr.2.17.ὤφειλε, *debuit*, he ought to be like vs in all things, &c.that he might be a faithfull high Prieſt: and verſ.10.ἔπρεπε, it became him: that which is neceſſarie and comely is iuſt: Chriſts death was expedient,comely,neceſſarie: *Ergo*,iuſt.

For the neceſſitie and expediencie of Chriſts death the Fathers doe thus teſtifie: *Ambroſ.Triſtis eſt,quia mori neceſſe eſt*: He is ſad,becauſe it was neceſſarie he ſhould dye,*in* 22.*cap.Luc.* But in another place: *Intellige non ex neceſſitate, ſed voluntariam Chriſti paſſionem*: Vnderſtand that Chriſts paſſion was voluntarie, not of neceſſitie,*lib*.4.*in Luc.*So then Chriſts death was neceſſarie, and it was not: it was not neceſſarie,that is,violent or compulſorie in reſpect of Chriſts obedience and willingnes; it was neceſſarie in reſpect of Gods determination.

Againe,he ſaith,*Quæ alia erat cauſa incarnationis,niſi vt caro,quæ peccauerat per ſe redimeretur,quod peccauerat ergo,redemptum eſt*: What other cauſe was there of Chriſts incarnation,but that the fleſh which had ſinned,ſhould be redeemed by it ſelfe,that which ſinned therefore was redeemed,*de incarnat.cap*.6. But this is the iuſtice of God, that the ſame that ſinned,ſhould be by it ſelfe redeemed.

Auguſtine thus ſheweth the expediencie and neceſſitie of Chriſts death: *Sicut Elias inclinauit ſe vt ſuſcitaret puerum,ſic Chriſtus humiliauit ſe factus obediens vſque ad crucem,quia paruuli eramus, paruulum ſe fecit, & os quodammodo ſuper os poſuit*: As *Elias* bowed himſelfe to raiſe the childe, ſo Chriſt humbled himſelfe being obedient to the croſſe, and becauſe wee were little ones, hee made himſelfe a little one,and as it were layd his mouth vpon ours,*de tempor.*206.

Likewiſe vpon theſe wordes, Pſalm.51.4.*That thou maiſt ouercome, when thou art iudged*: *Non eſt iudicatus deus pater, non eſt iudicatus ſpiritus ſanctus, non inuenimus niſi ſolum filium in iſta carne iudicatum,vicit non ſolum de Pilato,ſed de Iudæis,de diabolo,&c.* The father was not iudged,nor the holy ſpirit, wee finde none iudged but the ſonne onely in the fleſh: hee ouercame not onely *Pilate*, but the Iewes and the diuell,&c.*ſerm.de temp.*49.It was neceſſarie then,that Chriſt ſhould be iudged by death,that he might, in being iudged, ouercome.

Bernard ſaith excellently: *Verbum dei,vt ad nos veniret, propria benignitas inuitauit,miſericordia traxit,veritas,quæ ſe venturum prædixerat,compulit*: The word of God to come vnto vs inuited his owne benignitie,hee was moued by his mercie, compelled by his veritie, whereby he foretold his comming,&c.*die Pentecoſt.ſerm*.2. and this is his equitie: So then in Chriſts death there is both neceſſitie and equitie.

Origen ſhall conclude, who thus writeth vpon theſe words of Chriſt,*Father if it be poſſible let this cup paſſe*,Matth.26.39. *Quod ad potentiam dei omnia poſſibilia, quod ad iuſtitiam poſſibilia ſolum, quæ iuſta ſunt*: In reſpect of Gods power all things are poſſible, in reſpect of his iuſtice, thoſe things that are iuſt are onely poſſible,*in Matth. tract*.35. Therfore it was not poſſible for the cup to paſſe from Chriſt,becauſe it was not iuſt.

The ſumme is this: that if it be iuſt with God to iuſtifie vs by the imputation of Chriſts iuſtice, *arg*.1. if God decree no vniuſt thing, but he decreed Chriſts death,*arg*.2. if by Chriſts death Gods iuſtice be ſatisfied,his wrath iuſtly appeaſed,*arg* 3.if Chriſt were as forſaken of God in his death in part for our ſins,and accurſed by the law,but the law accurſeth none iniuſtly,*arg*.4. if that which bringeth true vtilitie, and is ioyned with neceſſitie, cannot bee without equitie;but in Chriſts death were both vtilitie and neceſſitie,*arg*.5. Then we conclude that Chriſts death, as he was our ſuretie,and tooke vpon him our ſinnes,could not in the decree and counſell of God be vniuſt. If Chriſt then ſuffered according to Gods iuſtice, and dyed to ſatisfie Gods iuſtice, how could his death be vniuſt?

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, THAT CHRISTS blood was not giuen as a price of our redemption to the diuell.

THE QVESTION EXPLANED.

Art.22. WE graunt, that God by the price of Chriſts blood deliuered vs from the power of Sathan: but the price was not giuen to Sathan, but payed vnto God: Sathan was but the miniſter of Gods iuſtice, and as it were the Iaylor and tormentor that kept vs in feare: and therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, that *Chriſt through death deſtroyed him that had power of death, that is the diuell*, Hebr.2.14. hee had power of death no otherwiſe, than as Gods miniſter and executioner: by Chriſts death then we were deliuered from Sathans kingdome; and hee was vanquiſhed vpon the croſſe of Chriſt: as *Origen* ſaith, *Principatus traducti & triumphati in ligno:* The principalities were traduced and triumphed vpon the croſſe, *Tract.3.in Matth.* So he expoundeth Saint *Paul*, Coloſſ.2.15. and *Cyprian* witneſſeth: *Vbi ventum eſt ad ſanguinem, deiectum eſt Satanæ regnum:* When they came to blood, Sathans kingdome was deſtroyed, *de duplic.martyr.* So then Sathan was not as *compounded* with, but *confounded* by Chriſts blood; not *entreated*, but *defeated*; not *hired* with wages, but *required* againſt his will, to let his priſoners goe: Chriſt gaue nothing to him, but tooke from him, he *waged* him not, but *wreſtled* with him; he *rendred* nothing to him, but *rent* the captiues from him.

Ruffinus thus inferreth: *Non damno aliquo patitur Chriſtus, ſed vt rex carcerem ingreſſus, vt ſoluat catenas, &c.* Chriſt ſuffered not to any loſſe, but as a King entreth the iayle to looſe the chaynes: *ſymbol.Ruffin.* If Chriſt be the King, and death the priſon, and conſequently Sathan hauing power of death the iaylor, how can the King giue a raunſome to the iaylor?

Auguſtine thus witneſſeth: *Neſcit diabolus quanta bona de illo fiunt, etiam cum ſæuit, ſæuiens intrauit cor Iudæ, ſæuiens tradidit Chriſtum, ſæuiens crucifixit, &c.* The diuell knoweth not to what good his rage turneth, he raging entred into the heart of *Iudas*, raging hee deliuered vp Chriſt, and in his rage crucified him: and Chriſt being crucified the world was redeemed, *in Pſal.*130. If Sathan receiued a price to *content* him, how doth hee rage againſt Chriſt to *torment* him? if he deliuered him, then was he not deliuered as a price to him.

Saint *Ambroſe* alſo thus teſtifieth: *Serpens primus crucifigitur recte, vt quia primus apud deum peccauerat diabolus, primus crucis ſententia feriretur:* The Serpent is firſt crucified vpon the croſſe, and good reaſon, that becauſe the diuell was the firſt that had ſinned before God, hee ſhould firſt bee ſtriken with the ſentence of the croſſe, *Ambr.ſerm.*55. If Sathan were *crucified* by the croſſe, hee was not *ſatisfied*; if he were *ſurprized* by Chriſts blood, then was it not *prized* to him; if he were as ſold himſelfe thereby into captiuitie, how could we be bought from him and his captiuitie? it could not bee both a *compenſation* of our debt vnto him, and an *obligation* more ſurely to binde him: if Chriſts death were his *confuſion*, he did not then accept it as a condition.

If any of the Fathers haue ſomewhat written diuerſly from this, which is alleaged, as I denie not but ſome of them, as both *Auguſtine* and *Ambroſe* do ſpeake to ſuch effect, that Chriſts blood was accounted as a price to the diuel for our deliuerãce, they muſt not be ſo vnderſtood, as though either God *couenanted*, or Sathan was *contented* for that price to let vs goe: but that Chriſts blood, was in regard of the efficacie thereof as a price; that we thereby were as fully and effectually deliuered, as if wee had beene out of Sathans hand, by a great price giuen vnto him, redeemed. Otherwiſe if we take the Fathers in thus writing to ſpeake properly, we ſhall make them each to other, and to themſelues alſo contrarie.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THat Chriſt by his death and the price of his blood hath deliuered vs from the power of darknes and hell it is our holie faith, according to the Scriptures, Coloſſ.1.13. This price was paid vnto God to ſatisfie Gods iuſtice, it was not giuen vnto Sathan: for God is the iudge, Sathan is the iaylor, to whom the iudge did deliuer vs becauſe of our ſins, Luk.12.38. the debt, wherein we ſtood bound, was vnto our Lorde and maſter, and hee in iuſtice deliuered vs to the iaylor, *till wee ſhould pay all that was due*, Matth.18.34. Chriſt came and payd our debt vnto God, not to the diuell: the debt being payd, the iaylor hath no longer charge nor power to keepe vs in priſon.

*Argum.*1. The price of our redemption was payd to our creditor to whom we were indebted: the diuell is not our creditor; the Lord abſolutely denieth it, *Quis eſt creditor meus, cui vendidi vos?* Who is the creditor to whom I haue ſold you? Iſai.50.1. None is our creditor but God, and to him onely wee are indebted, who onely is able to releaſe vs of our debt, as we are taught to pray, Matth.6.

Matth. 6. 12. *Forgiue vs our debts,* ὀφειλήματα, therefore the price of our debts was onely payed to God.

2. The price which was tendred and offered for our redemption was giuen to him, to whom the ſacrifice of Chriſts blood was offered: for the Apoſtle maketh προσφορὰν, and θυσίαν, an offering tender or oblation and a ſacrifice to bee all one, Epheſ. 5. 2. But *Chriſt did giue himſelfe a ſacrifice, of ſweete ſauour to God, ibid.* God forbid, that any man ſhould thinke, that Chriſts blood was ſacrificed to the diuell: *Ergo,* it was not offered nor giuen as a gift or price to the diuell.

3. Our Sauiour Chriſt is compared to a victorious man, that bindeth the ſtrong man, which is the diuell, and entreth by force into his houſe, and ſpoyleth him of his goods, that is, deliuereth them, whom Sathan held as his owne proper goods as captiues in priſon, Matth. 12. 29. Chriſt entred by force, then not by a price; by *aſſaulting,* not by *aſſenting*; by *warre,* not by *wages*; by *fettering* the ſtrong man, not by *feeing* him; by looſing our *bands,* not by giuing any thing into Sathans *hands*: as *Auguſtine* to this purpoſe is alleaged fitly by the Maſter of Sentences, *lib. 3. diſt. 19. liter. a. Vnde nos diabolus tenebat, deletum eſt ſanguine redemptoris; non enim tenebat nos, niſi vinculis peccatorum noſtrorum; iſtæ erant catenæ captiuorum: venit ille, alligauit fortem vinculis paſſionis ſuæ, intrauit in domum eius, i. in corda eorum, vbi ipſe habitabat, & vaſa eius, i. nos eripuit:* That wherewith the diuell held vs, was taken away by the death of Chriſt, hee came and bound the ſtrong man with the bands of his death, and entred into his houſe, that is, our hearts, where hee dwelt, and tooke away his veſſels or goods, that is, our ſelues, &c. Here is no price *offered* to Sathan, but a force *inferred*; not any thing giuen to *him,* but all taken from *him*: Vpon this ground he concludeth thus: *Chriſtus ſe in ara crucis, non diabolo, ſed deo trinitati obtulit:* Chriſt in the altar of the croſſe *did offer himſelfe,* not to the diuell, but to God the Trinitie: *diſt. 20. liter. c.*

Origen ſaith: *Diabolus tradidit Chriſtum per timorem, ne auelleretur (genus humanum) de manu eius per doctrinam ipſius:* The diuell deliuered Chriſt for feare, leſt mankinde ſhould be pulled from his hand by his doctrine, *Tract. 35. Matth.* The diuell then expected no pay for mans libertie, but deuiſeth by Chriſts death to keepe him ſtill in captiuitie.

Auguſt. in this behalfe maketh *Sampſon* a figure of Chriſt: *Sampſon aduerſarios ſuos moriens oppreſſit, ſic Chriſti paſſio interfectio facta eſt perſequentium: Sampſon* dying killeth his enemies: ſo Chriſts paſſion was the deſtruction of his perſecutors, *ſerm. 107.* And as the Philiſtims made themſelues ſport in *Sampſons* miſerie, which turned to their captiuitie: ſo ſaith *Auguſtine, Diabolus trophæo ſuo victus eſt, exultauit, quando mortuus eſt Chriſtus, & ipſa morte Chriſti victus eſt:* The diuell was ouercome in his owne policie: hee *vaunted* himſelfe, when Chriſt dyed, but hee was *vanquiſhed* by his death, *ſerm. 174.* So then as *Sampſon* gaue no price to his enemies to be *excluded,* but vſed a practiſe whereby they were all *concluded*; he did not promiſe them any thing to *content* them, but *preuailed* by prayer in his death to *confound* them: ſo Chriſt gaue not his blood to Sathan to *taſte* for his *delight,* but to *waſte* his kingdome by our *deliuerie*; not to *pay* him *wages* for vs, but to *ſtay* his *raging* againſt vs.

Againe, the author of the Sermons *de ſanctis,* vnder *Auguſtines* name, *ſerm. 18.* compareth Chriſt to *Tobias* fiſh: *Cuius iecore per paſſionem aſſato, fugatus eſt diabolus:* By whoſe fleſh and liuer as broyled vpon the croſſe, the diuell was chaſed away. Chriſts blood then was giuen no more a price to the diuell, than that fiſhes liuer (if wee admit the ſtorie for veritie, though not for authoritie) to the vncleane ſpirit: but I will ground no argument vpon the Apocryphall ſtorie of *Tobias,* but onely ſhew the meaning of the Fathers.

Hierome doth more truly and fitly reſemble Chriſt to *Ionas,* death and the diuell to the whale: *Dum aſſumpti corporis ſollicitaris illecebra, & auidis faucibus prædam putas, interiora tua adunco dente confoſſa ſunt, &c.* O death, while thou art entiſed with the baite of his bodie, and thinkeſt to get a pray for thy greedie iawes, thy inward parts are pierced with the hooke, *Epitaph. Nepotian.* As *Ionas* was a pray, not a price to the fiſh to appeaſe the minde: ſo Chriſt, though Sathan prayed and raged vpon his bodie, was a price to God to aſſwage his wrath.

To conclude: if then wee are indebted onely to God, not to the diuell, *arg. 1.* if Chriſts bodie were only giuen in ſacrifice to God, *arg. 2.* if Chriſt by his death did forcibly bind the ſtrong man, *arg. 3.* then was not Sathan hired as with a price to let his priſoners goe, neither was Chriſts blood counted as a raunſome to him for our deliuerance.

THE EIGHT PART, THAT CHRIST IN HIS ſoule did truly feele his fathers wrath kindled againſt him for our ſinne.

Feuardentius denieth, that Chriſt had any ſenſe or feeling of Gods wrath in his ſoule, or that God did ſhew himſelfe as angrie towards him for our ſinne, *p. 469.* Artic. 23.

Argum. 1. Chriſt was alwaies the beloued ſonne of God, Matth.3.17. God did not chaunge in turning his loue to hatred.

2. God loued him the more dearely for his obedience to death; he was not therefore angrie with him: Iohn. 10.17. *Therefore doth my father loue mee, becauſe I laye downe my life. pag.*470.

3 If ye ſay God loued him as his ſonne, yet hated him as our ſuretie, or became a ſeruant for vs; ye fall into *Neſtorius* hereſie, and ſo make two perſons of Chriſt one beloued, an other hated: if ye ſay, that God was not angrie indeed, but Chriſt ſo perſwaded; you will coyne a new hereſie, that Chriſt had a falſe opinion of his father: *Feuard.*p.471.

1 *Anſw.* 1. Gods temporall wrath vpon Chriſt doth not eyther chaunge or diſcontinue his euerlaſting loue: for with Chriſts perſon being holy, innocent, righteous, God was neuer offended: our ſinnes laid vpon Chriſt were the obiect and matter of Gods wrath: a father that doth loue his child dearely, yet may be angrie with his childs faults, and in his anger correct them. 2. *Abraham* loued *Iſaac* moſt dearely, Gen.22.2. *God bid him take his onely ſonne Iſaac whom he loued:* yet at Gods commaundement he ſtretched out his hand to haue killed him, verſ.10. *Abraham* in this inſtant loued the perſon of his ſonne: yet in his holy anger and rage, he would kill him: I thinke to kill is no fruit or effect of loue. If *Abraham* then at the ſame inſtant retayned a fatherly loue toward *Iſaac*, and yet in an holy & iuſt zeale would haue killed him, why ſhould it ſeem ſtraunge that God not chaunging his euerlaſting loue toward his ſonne, yet was angrie with our ſinnes which he ſuſtained? 3. *Auguſtine* well ſaith: *Vſque adeo non omnis qui iraſcitur odit, vt aliquando magis odiſſe conuincatur qui non iraſcitur:* Many time he that is angry is ſo farre from hating, or not louing, that he is found rather to hate, which is not angrie: *in Matth.ſer*16. He giueth an inſtance of a child which through his fathers lenitie runneth into apparant danger of his life. I proue by this ſimilitude, that as there may be wrath in a father without a deſtruction of loue; ſo Gods eternall loue did ſtand inuiolable toward Chriſt without any chaunge, though his wrath appeared in the inſtant of Chriſts death, not ſhewing any alteration in God, but a diuerſitie of diſpenſation in Chriſt, who now ſuſtayned our perſon.

2. The next obiection hath the ſame anſwere, ſauing that it ſeemeth to affirme that Chriſt by his obedience to death purchaſed a greater meaſure of loue to himſelfe, which is a great errour: 1. Becauſe the loue of God toward his ſonne being from euerlaſting, was alwaies the ſame, neither increaſing nor decreaſing: for this were otherwiſe to make God mutable and chaungeable, which the Apoſtle denieth, Iam.1.17. if Gods loue ſhould ſometime abate, and ſometime abound. 2. Chriſt did not merite any thing to himſelfe but all for vs: as *Ambroſe* well ſaith: *Chriſtus non emerendæ gratiæ ſuæ cauſa, ſed noſtræ eruditionis gratia ieiunauit:* Chriſt did not faſt to merit fauour or grace to him ſelfe, but onely for our erudition ſake. *lib.*3.*de fid.c.*2. The like may be ſaid of all other actions of Chriſt: Chriſt obtained not an amplification of his loue by his obedience, but a manifeſtation of it onely: *Chriſtus hoc natus accepit, vt poſt crucem manifeſtaretur, quid à patre, dum generaretur, accepit; non enim tunc accepit; à patre, quando à creatura cœpit fieri:* Chriſt in his birth receiued this, that after his death it might be manifeſted, what he receiued of his father in his generation: for he did not then firſt receiue it, when the creature began to worke it: *Ambroſe.in* 2. *Philipp.* Chriſts glory then, and Gods loue toward him was due vnto his humanitie in his verie firſt incarnation, by right of his Godhead, as our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith. Iohn.17. *Glorifie me with that glorie, which I had with thee before the world was:* This glorie was manifeſted in time, which was *due* to Chriſts perſon before all time.

3. 1. Neither doth it follow, that we ſhould make two perſons in Chriſt, when we affirme that at the ſame inſtant God did both loue him with an eternall loue, and was angrie with him with a temporall wrath: *Auguſtine* will teach you how this may be: *Moſes famulus dei quomodo oderat peccatores cum pro eis orabat, quomodo non oderat cum eos occidebat; ea namque perfectione ſic oderat iniquitatem, quam puniebat, vt diligeret humanitatem pro qua orabat:* *Moſes* the ſeruant of God, how did he hate the ſinners, when he prayed for them; how did he not hate them, when he killed them: with ſuch perfection he hated iniquitie, which he puniſhed, that he loued their humanitie, for the which he prayed. *in Pſal.* 138. So God in Chriſt loued his holines and innocency, but was angrie with our ſinnes and iniquitie which were vpon him: Heere then are not two perſons, but one and the ſame perſon diuerſly conſidered. 2. This then is no Neſtorianiſme: take you heed of Manichiſme, that you make not Chriſt to haue done all things fantaſtically & in ſhew, while he ſweateth drops of bloud, complaineth that he was forſaken, as though God were throughly angry with him, and yet no ſuch matter. 3. Neither do we ſay that Chriſt was onely ſo perſwaded of his father, that he was angrie, but indeed he was ſo for the time, and he verely in his ſoule felt it ſo to be. *Dauid* was a man greatly beloued of God, whereof he hath his name, yet he truely complaineth of Gods wrath, Pſal.38.3. *There is nothing ſound in my fleſh, becauſe of thine anger:* And how this

may be, that God may be temporally offended with the elect, that are eternally beloued, Saint *Paul* ſheweth, Rom.11,28. *Concerning the goſpell, they are enemies for your ſakes, but as touching the election they are beloued for the fathers ſake:* as the Iewes were temporally reiected; yet eternally in Gods counſell elected; ſo it is in this caſe, as Saint *Ambroſe* well ſheweth: *De præſenti Deus iuſtitia iudicat, non de præſcientia:* God doth iudge according to preſent iuſtice, not according to preſcience: *in 9. ad Roman.* And he further declareth how ſome may be ſaid to be elected in reſpect of their preſent iuſtice which are not in Gods preſcience: and ſo of the contrarie, ſome may be for a time in Gods temporall wrath *ſuſpended,* to whom euerlaſtingly ſaluation is *intended:* ſo Chriſt was eternally *elected* and *dilected* or beloued of God, but in reſpect of our ſinnes hanging vpon him, he was for a time as forlorne and reiected.

4 Laſtly we muſt diſtinguiſh in Chriſt betweene the faith of his ſoule, and ſenſe of his fleſh: his faith alwaies apprehended Gods fauour euen in the midſt of his deepeſt torments, as he ſaith, *I ſet God alwaies before me,* Pſal.16.8. but in his preſent ſenſe he felt and perceiued the wrath of God: Our Sauiour himſelfe doth warrant this diſtinction: ſaying of himſelfe, *The ſpirit is readie, the fleſh is weake.* Matth.26.41. Vpon the which words S. *Ambroſe* thus writeth. *Audi vtramque vocem & carnis infirmæ, & ſpiritus prompti (pater ſi poſſibile eſt tranſeat calix) hæc eſt carnis vox (ſed non quod ego volo) habes deuotionem ſpiritus:* Heare each voice of a weake fleſh, and prompt ſpirit: father if it be poſſible let the cup paſſe, this is the voice of the fleſh, (but not as I will,) here is the deuotion of the ſpirit.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THat the wrath of God lay heauily vpon Chriſt as our ſuretie, and that as he bare all our ſins, ſo he truly felt in his ſoule the wrath of God kindled againſt the ſame: thus we doe make it manifeſt out of ſcripture.

Argum. 1. Iſay.53.4. *We iudged him, as plagued, ſmitten of God, and humbled:* but no man is plagued, or ſmitten but of God being angrie: *Ergo.*

Anſw. 1. This ſmiting is referred onely to the temporall death of Chriſt by *Hierome* and others. 2. This might be done without Gods anger: for as *Abraham* would haue ſacrificed his ſonne without hatred or anger, he loued him ſtill: ſo God did ſuffer his ſonne to be ſlaine without anger. *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Chriſti anima. c.* 8. *reſp. ad argum.* 1.

Contra. 1. It is euident, that the prophet ſpeaketh not of Chriſts bodily death: for he ſaid before in the beginning of the verſe, he *bare our infirmities,* that is as the Septuagint tranſlate ἁμαρτίας, ſins, whom Saint *Peter* followeth, 1.Pet.2.24. But whence proceedeth the *plague* due vnto ſinne, then from Gods wrath? Againe his bodily ſuffrings are more properly expreſſed in the next verſe: *He was wounded for our tranſgreſſions.*

2. *Hierome* doth ſo vnderſtand the prophet: *Factus eſt pro nobis maledictum, vt nos à maledicto liberaret; quod nos pro noſtris debebamus ſceleribus ſuſtinere, ille pro nobis paſſus eſt: ex quo perſpicuum eſt, ſicut corpus flagellatum, ita animam verè doluiſſe:* He was made a curſe for vs, to deliuer vs from the curſe: for what we ſhould haue ſuſtained for our ſinnes, he ſuffered for vs: whence it is manifeſt that as his bodie was whipped, ſo his ſoule was truly grieued, *in Iſay. c.* 53. It is therefore vntrue which *Bellarmine* heere affirmeth, that *Hierome* vnderſtandeth Chriſts bodily death onely.

3. Euen the death of the bodie alſo ſheweth the wrath of God againſt ſinne, as the Apoſtle ſaith: *That death entred by ſinne.* Rom.5.12. And the prophet teſtifieth thus: *When thou with rebukes doſt chaſtice man for iniquitie, thou makeſt his beautie to conſume as a moth.* Pſal.39.11. The mortalitie then of man doth proceed from the rebukes of God, and his rebukes declare his wrath: Chriſt then euen in his bodily death alſo had experience of his fathers wrath againſt ſinne: though we grant, that death in Chriſts death is vanquiſhed, and the *ſting thereof extinguiſhed,* 1.Cor.15.56.57. And as *Ambroſe* wel ſaith: *Chriſtus habet oleum lætitiæ, qui facit exultare morituros, mœſtæ fœtorē mortis aboleuit:* Chriſt hath the oyle of gladnes aboue his fellowes, which cauſeth men readie to die to reioyce, and hath aboliſhed the ſtinch, and extinguiſhed the ſting of death. *lib. 1. de ſpirit. c.* 8.

4. *Abraham* alwaies loued his ſonne *Iſaac*, yet (I thinke) he could not kill him in loue: the Apoſtle ſaith, *No man euer hated his owne fleſh, but nouriſheth and cheriſheth it*: Ephes.5.29. To loue then is *to nouriſh and cheriſh: Abraham* in ſacrificing his ſonne did not cheriſh him, in that very act then he loued him not: ſo a father notwithſtanding he loueth his child, may in his iuſt anger correct him: as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Quanto melius eſt, ſi iraſceris & corrigis, quam ſi non iraſcendo perire permittas:* How much better is it, if you be angrie and correct your ſonne, then by not being angrie to ſuffer him to periſh. *ſerm. 16. in Matth.* Like as then *Abrahams* holy rage againſt his ſonne, which was but *in part* and for a *moment* doth not aboliſh the perpetuall and totall loue to his childe: ſo by this example wee ſee howe

Chriſt was eternally and totally beloued of God, yet for a while and *in part* taſted of Gods wrath.

*Argum.*2. Iſay 53.5. *The chaſtiſement of our peace was vpon him:* or παιδεία, the diſcipline of our peace, as the Septuagint reade: Chriſt then was to beare that diſcipline and chaſtiſement, which appertained to vs, and whereby our peace is purchaſed: but Gods wrath was not otherwiſe appeaſed, but by ſatisfying it; he did not otherwiſe ſatisfie it, then by ſuffring it, Hebr.5.8. *He learned obedience by the things, which he ſuffered: Ergo,* he ſuffered and endured Gods wrath for vs.

Anſw. If the whole chaſtiſement due vnto vs, was layd vpon Chriſt: then he muſt haue beene puniſhed eternally in hell, for that was due vnto vs: if Chriſts temporall puniſhment did ſatisfie for our eternall in regard of the worthineſſe of his perſon; by the ſame reaſon his bodily ſuffrings may ſuffice and ſatisfie for the death of our ſoules, *Bellarm.reſp.ad argum.*2.

*Contra.*1. Chriſt was to ſuffer the whole puniſhment due vnto ſinne, ſo farre as it became the *dignitie* of his perſon, and the *neceſſitie of the worke:* but if he had ſuffered eternally, neither could the worke of our redemption haue been accompliſhed, and his perſon ſhould haue endured that, which him not beſeemed: and therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr.2.10. *It became him* to be conſecrated through afflictions: and *Auguſtine* to the like effect, *Decuit eum,* it became him to vndertake this worke, *qu.*113.*ex veter.Teſtament.* Chriſt then was onely to paſſe through thoſe afflictions, which became him.

2. It followeth not, becauſe Chriſt is exempted from that puniſhment which became not his perſon, that therefore he ſhould be freed from thoſe ſuffrings alſo, which are no derogation vnto him: we attribute ſo much to the *dignitie* of Chriſt, as that we aboliſh not the *equitie* of God: ſo farre with Chriſts perſon it muſt be *diſperſed,* as that yet Gods iuſtice be *ſatisfied:* to ſuffer in ſoule, Gods iuſtice required, neyther was Chriſts perſon thereby diſhonoured; therefore thoſe ſuffrings he was to endure for vs: as our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith, *Ought not Chriſt to haue ſuffred theſe things, and ſo to enter into his glory,* Luke 24.25? *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Potuerat Dominus noſter hoſtem humani generis ſola maieſtate proſternere, ſine incarnationis humilitate, ſine certamine paſſionis, ſed homo, &c. non violentia liberandus fuit, ſed miſericordia redimendus, iuſto igitur ordine, &c.* The Lord could haue ſubdued the enemie of mankind onely with his maieſtie, without either the humilitie of his incarnation, or difficultie of his paſſion: but man was not by violence to be deliuered, but by mercy and indulgence to be redeemed, therefore in iuſt order, &c. *ſerm.*156. It was meet then and iuſt, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer as he did for vs.

*Argum.*3. Hebr.4.15. *Chriſt was in all thinges tempted in like ſort, yet without ſinne:* as Chriſts members are tempted, ſo was he, but his members do feele in their ſoules the terrors of conſcience, and, haue experience of Gods wrath: as *Iob* complaineth, Iob 6.4. *The arrowes of God are in me, and the terrors of the almightie fight againſt me:* and Pſalme 89.46. *Shall thy wrath burne like fire?* much more then did Chriſt feele the burthen of his fathers wrath, bearing all the ſinnes of the elect in himſelfe.

Anſw. If Chriſt muſt be tempted in all things like to vs, then he muſt haue beene burned, beheaded, torne in pieces: he ſhould haue beene ſubiect to diſeaſes, as the gowte, the dropſie, the palſey, for all theſe are incident to his members, *Feuard.p.*445.

*Contra.*1. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh of temptations, which are for the moſt part ſpirituall, not of bodily paſſions, therefore this anſwere is impertinent. 2. Yet becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith elſewhere Heb.2.17. *It became him in all things to be made like his brethren:* that is, both as touching his bodie and his ſoule: I anſwere againe: 1. that this clauſe *in all things,* is not to be vnderſtood of euery particular paſſion, but of the generall kind: not that Chriſt ſuffered euery particular maladie of the bodie, for that had beene impoſſible, but euery kind of griefe, both of bodie and ſoule. 2. It is abſurd to obiect ſo many kindes of death, ſeeing it was impoſſible for Chriſt to haue dyed often, Hebr.9.25.28. 3. Neyther was it comely for Chriſt to ſuffer all, that we do, in that *manner* and *meaſure:* whereof the Apoſtle maketh manifeſt exception: *it became him, &c.* in ſuffringes not comely Chriſt was not to be like vs. 4. Againe, *ſinne* is excepted, and in ſinne alſo the *cauſe,* and *effectes* thereof are comprehended: ſo then Chriſt could not be like vnto vs in our *conception,* which is the beginning and cauſe of ſinne; nor yet in our ſickneſſes and diſeaſes, which are the proper and immediate fruites and effects of ſinne: as it is in the Pſalme, *There is no reſt in my bones, becauſe of my ſinne.* Pſal.38.3.

3. The Apoſtle alſo giueth a reaſon, why it became Chriſt to bee like vs in his ſuffrings and temptations: *He is able thereby to ſuccour them, that are tempted, in that he ſuffered and was tempted,* Hebr.2.18. Where the Apoſtle ſpeaketh not of Chriſts abſolute power, whereby he is able without experience had of our temptations, to ſuccour vs, but of his humane compaſſion, whereby he is able by his owne feeling to haue pitie of vs: and, though he ſuffered not in bodie euery particular griefe as we do, as our diſeaſes and ſickneſſes, yet by the experience which he had in other of our infirmities, he hath a feeling alſo of thoſe, and therein in his pitifull compaſſion is able to

helpe: wherefore, that Chriſt might be able alſo to ſuccour vs in his owne feeling, when wee are vexed in ſoule with terror of conſcience, and the ſenſe of Gods wrath, it became him in his owne ſoule to feele the like. And ſo I conclude with S. *Ambroſe*; *Qui corpus ſuſcepit, omnia debuit ſubire quæ corporis ſunt, vt eſuriret, ſitiret, angeretur, &c.* He that tooke a bodie, muſt vndergoe all thinges belonging to the bodie, as to be hungrie, thirſtie, to be grieued: *in 12.cap.Luc.* As he here ſaith of Chriſts bodie, ſo likewiſe of his ſoule: *Minus mihi contulerat, ſi non meum ſuſcepiſſet affectum, &c.* He had done little for me, if he had not taken mine affection: and againe, *Debuit dolorem ſuſcipere, vt vinceret triſtitiam non excluderet:* He was to take my ſorrow to ouercome it, not to exclude it: *in Luc.22.* By this ſentence then, thoſe ſorrowes of ours, which Chriſt excluded from himſelfe, are not yet vanquiſhed nor ouercome.

Bernard ſaith, *Vt quos viuificauit mors tua, tua nihilominus trepidatio robuſtos, mœſtitia lætos, turbatio quietos redderet:* That thoſe whom thy death quickened, thy trembling might ſtrengthen, thy heauineſſe might cheare, thy troubles might quiet: *in die.S.Andr.ſerm.1.* Our peace then and quietneſſe of ſoule is purchaſed by the like trouble and terror in Chriſts ſoule.

Auguſtine alſo in this behalfe maketh *Noah* a figure of Chriſts paſſion, who was drunken and vncouered in his tent: ſo Chriſt ſaith he, *Calice paſſionis adeo factus eſt ebrius, vt ipſo tegmine corporis nudaretur, &c.* So Chriſt was drunken as it were with the cuppe of his paſſion, that he was left naked of the couering of his bodie: *ſerm.153.* he expreſſeth but one effect of this ſpirituall drunkenneſſe; the Prophet ſheweth another, Ierem.23.9. *I am like a drunken man, for the preſence of the Lord:* It is then the wrathfull preſence of God, which is the cauſe as it were of the ſpirituall drunkenneſſe of the ſoule: when it taſteth ſo deepely of the cuppe of Gods wrath, that it is ſo rauiſhed and ouerwhelmed, like as the bodie, when it is intoxicate with ſtrong drinke.

Wherefore, if Chriſt were ſmitten and plagued of God for our ſinnes, *argum.1.* If the whole chaſtiſement of our peace was vpon him, *argum.2.* If hee was tempted in all things like vs, *argum.3.* then it remaineth that out of all doubt, he felt the terrors of ſoule, and had experience of the wrath of God againſt our ſinne: for ſuch temptations are the members of Chriſt ſubiect vnto.

THE NINTH PART, THAT CHRIST DID TRVLY complaine vpon the Croſſe, that he was forſaken of God, and that he verily felt himſelfe in his ſoule for our ſinne, for the time, as reiected of God in part, though not totally or finally.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

FEuardentius thus obiecteth and reaſoneth. 1. If Chriſt were truly forſaken of God, it would follow that the hypoſtaticall vnion was diſſolued, and that Chriſt was perſonally ſeparated from God, for otherwiſe he could not be forſaken. *Feuarden.p.473.confut.1.* Artic.24.

2. The Centurion notwithſtanding Chriſt ſo complained and cried out, yet confeſſeth thus of him; *this truly was the ſonne of God, he was a righteous man:* Matth.27. Farre off was he, from imagining Chriſt to be forſaken of God. *Feuarden.p.474.lin.17.*

3 Chriſt was alwaies moſt holy, innocent, iuſt, and therefore acceptable vnto God, he was not then reiected or forſaken. *Feuarden.p.475.confut.3.*

4. Out of *Fulgentius*, *Diuinitas Chriſti animam in inferno non deſeruit:* Chriſts diuinitie did not leaue his ſoule in hell: *Ergo*, his ſoule was not forſaken. *Feuarden.p.474.lin.32.*

5. If Chriſt had beene verily forſaken, then he ſo crying out ſhould haue deſpaired, which were horrible blaſphemie to affirme. *Bellarm.argum.6.Feuarden.p.485.conf.6.*

6. Chriſt prayeth for them which crucified him, ſaying: *Father forgiue them*, they know not what they doe. Luk.23.34. How could Chriſt pray vnto God, or aſſure himſelfe to be heard, if he were forſaken. *p.488.conf.12.*

7. How could Chriſt promiſe Paradiſe to the theefe vpon the Croſſe, if he were himſelfe forſaken, and not ſure of Paradiſe: *Feuard.p.448.lin.32.*

Anſw. 1. If Chriſt had beene *totally* and *eternally* forſaken, the perſonall vnion muſt haue been *diſſolued*: but vpon this *temporall* and partiall *reiection* there followeth not a *perſonall* diſſolution or generall dereliction. 2. As the bodie of Chriſt being without life, was ſtill hypoſtatically vnited to the Godhead, ſo was the ſoule of Chriſt, though for a time without feeling of his fauour: the dereliction of the one doth no more diſſolue the hypoſtaticall vnion, then the death of the other: if life went from the bodie, and yet the deitie was not ſeparated in the perſonall *conſociation*, but onely ſuſpended in *operation*: ſo the feeling of Gods fauour, which is the life of the ſoule, might be *intermitted* in Chriſt, and yet the diuine vnion not *interuerted*. 3. *Auguſtine* doth well ſhew, how this may be : when he ſaith, that *Paſſio Chriſti dulcis fuit diuinitatis ſomnus :* The paſſion of Chriſt was the ſweet ſleepe of his diuinitie. *lib de eſſent.diuin.* Like as then in ſleepe the ſoule is not departed, though the operation thereof be deferred : ſo in Chriſts ſleepe vpon the croſſe, the Godhead was not *ſeparated,* though the working power thereof were for a time ſequeſtred.

2 2. 1. The Centurion being a Romane vnderſtood not the language, wherein Chriſt complained crying out, *he was forſaken,* ſeeing the Iewes themſelues miſtooke his words, ſaying, *he called for Elias.* Matth.27.47. 2. And the Euangeliſt euidently ſheweth, that not the hearing of thoſe words, but the ſeeing of the earthquake and other things, which were done drew that confeſſion from the Centurion, that Chriſt was the ſonne of God. Matth.27.54. 3. Who denieth but that notwithſtanding Chriſt truely complained he was forſaken, yet he was the ſonne of God ſtill: for the hypoſtaticall vnion was not hereby diſſolued, as I haue anſwered to the firſt obiection : for like as the ſoule of Chriſt being parted from his bodie, was ſeparated only from it τοπικῶς not ὑποστατικῶς, locally, not hypoſtatically : *Damaſcene.lib.3. de Fid. c.27.* The ſoule ceaſed working in the bodie, yet was not diuorced in the perſonal being from the bodie : ſo the filiall vnion was not diſſolued, though the effectuall feeling were for a while diſcontinued.

3 3. 1. It followeth not becauſe Chriſt was alwaies the beloued ſonne of God in himſelfe, that therefore he could not be forſaken for a time in reſpect of our ſinnes, which he as our ſuretie anſwered for : If they can tell me, how theſe two can ſtand together, that firſt God ſhould promiſe as concerning *David, his ſeed ſhall endure for euer,* Pſal.89.36. and yet the Church complaineth, *thou haſt reiected and abhorred, and beene angrie with thine annointed, Ibid. v.*38. then will I anſwere them how both theſe may be at once in Chriſt, *dilection* and *dereliction :* like as then the elect members of Chriſt may be forſaken not totally, or finally, but *ex parte,* in part, and for a time, and yet their election remaine firme ſtill; the ſame may be the caſe of our head, that he was *ex parte derelictus,* onely in part forſaken, and for a time, alwaies beloued for his owne innocency, but for vs and in our perſon, as our pledge and ſuretie deſerted.

2 *Auguſtine* very wel ſheweth, how one man may at the ſame time both loue & hate another: *Hominem deus fecit, praeuaricatorem ſeipſe fecit; ama in illo, quod deus fecit, perſequere in illo, quod ipſe ſibi fecit* : God made man, & he made himſelf a ſinner, loue that which God made, perſecute that which he made himſelfe. *in Pſal.*100. So Chriſt in reſpect of his holines and innocency the fruits & graces of the ſpirit, was beloued of God, but in regard of our ſins which were our owne works, now laide vpon Chriſt, as his owne, he was as forſaken: ſee more for a fuller anſwer to this argument. *part.*8. *reſp, ad obiect.*1. *et.* 3.

4 4. 1. Chriſt indeed was not forſaken finally neither his ſoule in hell, nor his body in the graue, and ſo is S. *Peter* to be vnderſtood. Act.2.27. *Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in the graue or hel:* for like as Chriſts bodie was forſaken for a time in that it died, but not forſaken finally, becauſe it roſe from death: ſo his ſoule was forſaken in part while the terrors of God were in it, but not totally or generally, becauſe he ſubdued theſe ſorrowes of hell, wherewith he was compaſſed. 2. Saint *Paul* in the one ſenſe ſaith. 2. Cor.4.9. *We are perſecuted, but not forſaken* ; that is, vtterly or finally : *Dauid* in the other ſenſe complaineth, that he was forſaken, Pſal.22.1. that is in part, and for a time in his owne ſenſe and feeling: And ſo *Auguſtine* well ſaith : *Vnuſquiſque pro peccatis neceſſario flagellatur, ſed ab eo, ſi Chriſtianus eſt, miſericordia dei non diſpergitur:* Euery man is neceſſarily whipped for his ſinne, but he is not ſtripped of Gods mercy, if he be a Chriſtian, *in pſal.*88. *ſerm.*2. So there are two kinds of dereliction or forſaking, one is for a time and in part; ſo the elect may be, and Chriſt was vpon the croſſe forſaken: another which is totall, finall, and generall, and ſo neither Chriſt nor his members are forſaken.

5 5. 1. Neither doth it follow that Chriſt vttered words of deſperation, if he had felt himſelfe indeed in his ſoule forſaken: for we muſt diſtinguiſh between the faith of Chriſt, which was alwaies ſound and firme, and the ſenſe of his humane infirmity, which cauſed him to complaine; ſo that in the deepeſt bottome of the anguiſh of his ſoule he is vpheld and ſuſtained by his faith, ſaying, *my God, my God :* whereby he ſheweth his ſingular confidence and truſt in God, notwithſtanding the preſent ſenſe of his wrath.

2. *Bellarm.* 1. If Chriſt did ſuffer the puniſhment of the damned and of hell, as *Caluine* affirmeth, then he alſo deſpaired : for deſperation is an eſſentiall part of the paine of hell. 2. This ſpeech of Chriſt it was eyther deliberate and aduiſed, or indeliberate and vnaduiſed : if the firſt, then Chriſt verily deſpaired; if the ſecond, his paſſions were inordinate, which is not to be admitted.

3. Neither can it be imagined, that the firſt clauſe (my God, my God) ſhould be aduiſedly ſpoken, and the other (why haſt thou forſaken me) to be vnaduiſedly vttered; was Chriſt ſo weake and inconſtant, that he could not continue fower words in faith?

4. And if the firſt words, *my God, my God,* are a correction of the other, then the correction goeth before the error, which were abſurd. *Bellarm.lib.4.de anim.c.8.arg.6.*

Contra. 1. Such puniſhment of hell, as Chriſt might endure without ſinne, wee doubt not to aſcribe vnto him: but deſperation is a deteſtable ſinne, and therfore farre from Chriſt: the Apoſtle teacheth vs to make this exception, Heb.4.17. that Chriſt *was tempted in all things as we are, ſinne onely excepted:* wherefore this is a meere cauill to obiect that, which is by the Apoſtle directly excepted. And *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith: *Solus Chriſtus ſine peccato, peccati pœnam ſubire dignatus eſt:* Onely Chriſt without ſinne, vouchſafed to vndergoe the puniſhment of ſinne, *contr.2.epiſt.Pelag.*4.4. Therefore no puniſhment which is neceſſarily accompanied with ſinne, can bee faſtened vpon Chriſt.

2. The whole ſpeech of Chriſt was aduiſed and deliberate, and yet no deſpayre at all: in which deliberatiue ſpeech both he cryeth out in the feeling of his ſorrow, that it might appeare what he endured for vs, and hee alſo vttereth his faith and confidence, to teach vs by his example to be confident in our trouble. *Damaſcene* ſaith well for the firſt, μὴ ἐπιτιμήματι φύσεως,&c. ἀλλ᾽ ἀποδείξει ὑπάρξεως, that which was ſaid and done proceeded not from the fault or *deprauation of nature*, but for the *demonſtration of his true exiſtencie and humanitie: lib.3.de fid.c.22.* For the other Saint *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh: *Dubitatio illa nos firmat, ne tu ſi cœperis dubitare deſperes:* His doubtfulnes doth ſtrengthen vs, leſt thou, when thou beginneſt to doubt, ſhouldeſt deſpayre, *lib.2.de fid.c.*4.

3. 1. Neither doth the faith of Chriſt conclude it ſelfe within theſe wordes onely, *My God, my God*, but is continued throughout the whole ſenſe and ſentence: for at the ſame time Chriſt both ſheweth his humane *infirmitie*, and his *conſtant fidelitie*, his exceeding great *paſſion*, and his excellent *confeſſion:* As *Damaſcene* ſaith: φυσικῆς ἀσθενείας πειρασθεῖσα, his will was firſt tempted of his naturall *infirmitie*; and againe, νευρωθεῖσα, it was corroborate and ſtrengthened by his diuine will, *lib.3.de fid. cap.*18. 2. Neither is this ſo ſtraunge a thing, for nature and faith to appeare at once: as the Prophet *Dauid* ſheweth in himſelfe, Pſal.31.22. *I ſaid in my haſte, I am caſt out of thy ſight:* here is *Dauids* infirmitie: *yet thou heardeſt the voyce of my prayer:* here is his faith and ſtabilitie.

4. Neither doe we ſay, that one part of the ſentence is a correction of the other: but the whole ſheweth a ſingular moderation and direction by faith of Chriſts naturall affection in the middeſt of his deepeſt paſſion: So the Apoſtle ſaith, Heb.5.8. *that he learned obedience by the things which he ſuffered.* And *Auguſtine* witneſſeth: *Vnde patefacit, quod & humanam habuit voluntatem, per quam obediit patri, & immaculatam ab omni peccato eandem voluntatem:* Whereby he ſheweth, that he had both an humane will, by the which hee was obedient to his father, and the ſame will immaculate and free from all ſinne: *ex epiſt. Agathon. ad Conſtantin.*

6.7. Chriſt notwithſtanding this ſenſe of his dereliction, might and did both promiſe paradiſe to the theefe, whereof he doubted not, and pray in charitie for his perſecutors: for his faith, hope and charitie failed not in the deepeſt of his agonie: for though hee felt Gods wrath in his humane *ſenſe and infirmitie*, yet his faith was ſtedfaſt in all *godly conſtancie:* and ſo as *Ambroſe* ſaith of the like requeſt of Chriſt, when he prayed that the cup might paſſe, &c. that there was both *vox carnis, & deuotio ſpiritus*, the voyce of the fleſh, and the deuotion alſo of the ſpirit. In like manner in this place Chriſt ſheweth in the complaint his humane ſenſe, as alſo his godly confidence, *Ambr.lib.4.in Luc.*

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THat our bleſſed Sauiour bearing our ſinnes in himſelfe vpon the croſſe, did verily feele Gods wrath in his ſoule, and truly complained in reſpect thereof, that he was forſaken of God: he himſelfe thus euidently teſtifieth.

Argum. Our Sauiour cryeth out and complaineth vpon the croſſe: *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* Matth.27.46. Theſe words were vttered in truth, not in colour or ſhew: as *Athanaſius* ſaith: φύσει, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, οὐ δοκήσει τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, All things were done naturally and in truth, not in opinion, or ſhew: *ad Apollinar. Ergo*, Chriſt did feele himſelfe in his ſoule forſaken of God.

Anſ. 1. One anſwere is, that Chriſt ſpeaketh in our perſon, and not in his owne; to the which ſenſe ſome of the Fathers ſeeme to incline: as *Damaſcene lib.3.de fid.c.*24. he ſaith, he was forſaken, becauſe we were iuſtly forſaken for our ſinnes.

2. But the moſt common anſwere is this, that Chriſt was forſaken in reſpect of his bodie and fleſh, which was yeelded vp into the hands of the Iewes to kill and crucifie, and vſe at their pleaſure, and therefore Chriſt complaineth, that God would not deliuer him: *ſic Bellarm.reſp.ad arg* 4. as if Chriſt in effect had thus ſaid: My God, which diddeſt deliuer *Noe* from the flood, *Abraham* from Vr of the Chaldees, *Iſaac* from the ſword of his father, *Iacob* from the hand of his brother, Iſrael out of Ægypt, *Ioſeph* out of priſon, *Dauid* from *Goliah*, &c. why haſt thou left me without any helpe? *ſic Feuard.p.*477.

3. To this purpoſe the Frier alleageth diuers Fathers, as *Tertullian, Origen, Epiphanius, Cyrill, Hierome, Bernard, p.*479. whoſe teſtimonies ſhall be examined afterward.

Contra. 1. It is euident, that Chriſt ſpeaketh in his owne perſon, ſaying, *Why haſt thou forſaken me?* 2. As *Origen* ſaith, *Non fas eſt credere mentiri Chriſtum dicentem, quare, &c.* It is not ſafe to beleeue that Chriſt lyed when he ſaid, why haſt thou forſaken me? *Tract.* 35. *in Matth.* But if Chriſt had ſaid he was forſaken, and yet was not, it had been an vntruth. 3. As for *Damaſcens* ſentence, it is reiected by *Iodocus Clictoueus* in his enarrations vpon that place. 4. And yet *Damaſcene* may very well be interpreted otherwiſe: for he ſaith that Chriſt thus ſpake, ἡμέτερον οἰκειούμενος πρόσωπον, hauing put on, aſſumed, or inhabiting our perſon: which is as he expoundeth himſelfe, *cap.* 25. ἀναδεχόμενος, receiuing our perſon, that is, μεθ' ἡμῶν ταττόμενος, being ordained with vs, that is, made like vs: So then his meaning is, that Chriſt in our perſon, that is, in reſpect of his humanitie taken from vs, thus complained.

2 2. Neither can it be referred to the leauing of Chriſt in his bodily death and torments. 1. The ſenſe of theſe words muſt be deriued from the 22. Pſal. verſ. 1. where the Prophet complaineth not ſo much of any outward affliction, but that he was without ſpiritual comfort, *Why art thou ſo farre from my health, and the voyce of my roring?* And to the like effect he prayeth, Pſal. 51. 11. *Caſt me not away from thy preſence, and take not thy holie ſpirit from me:* verſ. 12. *Reſtore me to the ioy of thy ſaluation.* To be caſt away then, or forſaken, is to be left comfortleſſe of Gods ſpirit.

2. If Chriſt ſhould haue ſo cryed out, and, as the Prophet ſaith, rored, in reſpect of his bodily death, he ſhould haue ſhewed himſelfe weaker, than many of his members, who were chearefull in the middeſt of their torments, being inwardly comforted.

3. If this forſaking of Chriſt, were the leauing of him to the pleaſure of his perſecutors, it is likely that Chriſt would haue vttered this voyce in the beginning of his paſſion, being now alreadie nayled to the croſſe, for euen then had they wrought their will vpon him; but he ſo cryed not till three houres after: and at the ninth houre being readie to giue vp the ghoſt, and hauing wreſtled all this while in his ſoule with the terrors of hell, and hauing felt the abſence of Gods fauour within, as the world wanted the Sunne light without, then hee cryed out and complained, *My God my God, &c.*

4. Neither doth the Scripture vſe to call this a *dereliction*, or *deſertion*, when a man is left to his perſecutors: as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *we are perſecuted, but not forſaken*, 2. Cor. 4. 9.

5. In this complaint of Chriſt, the whole perſon of Chriſt conſiſting of both his natures is expreſſed, the one part or nature of Chriſt forſaketh, that is his deitie, the other is forſaken, namely his humanitie; then the ſoule of Chriſt is alſo in this inſtant forſaken, as well as his bodie: for it either forſaketh, or is forſaken: but not the firſt, for it was the Godhead onely that left him, not in *eſſence*, but in *ſenſe*; not in *being*, but in *feeling*: *Ergo*, his ſoule was forſaken.

6. Neither did the perſecutors force Chriſts ſoule out of his bodie, that in that behalfe hee ſhould complaine as *forſaken*: for hee layd downe his life of himſelfe, no man tooke it from him, Ioh. 10. 18. And as *Ambroſe* writeth vpon theſe words, *Emiſit ſpiritum*, He gaue vp the ghoſt; *Quod emittitur voluntarium; quod amittitur neceſſarium eſt*: That which is emitted or ſent forth is voluntarie; that which is amitted is neceſſarie, *in Luc.* 22.

7. Chriſt was forſaken, but in deeper degree and meaſure of feeling, as his members doe often finde themſelues forſaken: but his members doe feele the terrors of conſcience, and for the time are as forſaken in their feeling: as it appeareth in *Dauid*, Pſal. 31. 20. *I am caſt out of thy ſight*: In Iob. 30. 21. *Thou art an enemie vnto me, &c. Ergo*, ſo was Chriſt forſaken: for as *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Flagellatus eſt ipſe, ne nos flagellaremur*: He was ſcourged, that we ſhould not be ſcourged, *in Luc.* 22. So he was forſaken, that we ſhould not be forſaken.

3 1. *Tertullian* ſaith, *Reliquit dum non parcit*: God left his ſonne in not ſparing him, hee left him in deliuering him, *lib. ad Praxeam.* To this not ſparing belongeth the ſpirituall forſaking: this teſtimonie is not againſt vs.

2. *Origen* ſaith, *Derelictus fuit, comparatione gloriæ, &c. ad confuſionem*: He was forſaken, comparing his glorie which he had with his father to this preſent confuſion vpon the croſſe, *Hom* 35. *in Matth.* As though the dereliction of his ſoule doth not properly belong vnto this confuſion.

3. *Epiphanius* ſaith: *Non ſeparata deitate, &c.* Chriſt did not thus crye out, as though his deitie were ſeparated, *contr. hereſ.* 69. As though any man ſaith, that Chriſt was forſaken of his Godhead: this ſentence is improperly alleaged.

4. *Cyrill*: *Opus erat ad fidem noſtram, &c.* It was neceſſarie to our faith, that Chriſt ſhould ſhew himſelfe a true man in his paſſion: and therefore leſt any man ſhould doubt, as a man hee crieth out, *My God, my God*: *lib.* 10. *Theſaur. c.* 3. This teſtimonie rather maketh againſt the Frier: for if Chriſt by thus crying out would declare himſelfe to be a perfect man, who conſiſteth of bodie and ſoule, it muſt follow, that the whole man Chriſt complaineth, that he was in his whole humanitie forſaken.

5. *Hierome* ſaith: *Chriſtus derelictus pro parte carnis*: Chriſt was forſaken on the behalfe of his

fleſh,*in Pſal.*21. By fleſh he vnderſtandeth the whole humanitie of Chriſt: as in the ſame place, *Humanitas loquitur quomodo derelicta fuerit in Adam:* His whole humanitie ſpeaketh how it was forſaken in *Adam:* which was both in bodie and ſoule.

6. *Bernard* ſaith: *Quædam ibi derelictio fuit,vbi nulla fuit in tanta neceſſitate virtutis exhibitio,nulla oſtenſio maieſtatis:* It was a kind of dereliction,when in ſuch neceſſitie there was no vertue exhibited,no maieſtie declared,*ſer.5.de verb.Iſaiæ.* This may be referred as well to the fayling of inward comfort,as to the aſſayling of outward croſſes: for neither in the one nor the other, did the diuine maieſtie comfort and vertue declare it ſelfe.

4. Now on the contrarie ſide I will produce the Fathers teſtifying for the truth. 1. *Origen:Forſitan videns peccata hominum,pro quibus patiebatur,dixit,&c.* It may be that Chriſt ſeeing the ſinnes of men,for the which he ſuffered,cryed out,that he was forſaken. And againe, *Non exiſtimo humano more iſta dixiſſe propter calamitatem, quæ eum comprehenderat in cruce:* I doe not thinke that hee ſaid thus after the manner of men,becauſe of the calamitie,which faſtened vpon him on the croſſe; *Tract.*35.*in Matth. Origen* then maketh not the outward calamitie of the croſſe, but the inward ſuffring for our ſinnes,the ground and cauſe of Chriſts dereliction. 4

2. *Ambroſe: Quoniam delicta aliena ſuſcepi, etiam delictorum alienorum verba ſuſcepi,vt me derelictum à patre dicam:* Becauſe I haue taken other mens ſinnes,I haue alſo taken the words of their ſinnes to ſay,I am forſaken of my father,*de incarnat.c.*5. This dereliction then of Chriſt proceeded from the conſideration of our ſins,which lay vpon him. And againe,*Dubitatio illa nos firmat,ne & ſi tu deſperare cæperis,deſperes:* His dubitation is our confirmation,that in our doubting we fall not into deſperation,*lib.*2.*de fid.c.*4. He calleth the perplexitie and dereliction of Chriſt in his ſoule, *dubitation,*or doubtfulnes: though to ſpeake properly Chriſt doubted not at all.

3. *Hierome: Chriſtus ſic orauit in cruce,deus,deus,quid dereliquiſti me? longe à ſalute mea verba delictorum meorum,&c.* Chriſt thus prayed vpon the croſſe,My God,my God,why haſt thou forſaken me? far from my health are the words of my ſinnes, *lib.*3.*aduerſ.Pelag.* Chriſts dereliction then was grounded vpon our ſinnes,which he bare.

4. *Auguſtine: Non dedignatus eſt aſſumere nos in ſe, transfigurare nos in ſe, & loqui verbis noſtris, vt nos loqueremur verbis ipſius;hæc enim mira commutatio facta eſt,& diuina peracta ſunt commercia,&c.* He vouchſafed to aſſume our nature to himſelfe,to transfigure vs in himſelfe,to ſpeake our words, that we might ſpeake his words: for a wonderfull commutation is made,& a royall or diuine exchaunge effected,&c.*in Pſal.*30. As wee then ſpeake with Chriſts words of ſpirituall comfort, ſo he ſpake our words in his ſpirituall diſtreſſe: and as wee in our trouble of minde complaine of the abſence of Gods comfort,ſo did Chriſt.

5. *Hilarie: Chriſtus cruci vniuerſa ea,quibus infirmabamur,affixit; ideo peccata noſtra portat & pro nobis dolet,&c.* Chriſt did faſten to his croſſe all thoſe things vniuerſally, whereby wee are weakened and troubled: therefore hee bare our ſinnes, and was grieued for vs, &c.*c.*31.*in Matth.* If Chriſt faſtened all our infirmities in himſelfe to the croſſe, then alſo the ſenſe and feeling of deſertion and dereliction.

6. *Beda: Vt homo loquitur meos circumferens metus,quod in periculis poſiti à deo nos deſeri putamus:* He ſpeaketh as a man bearing our feares,becauſe when we are in daunger we thinke wee are forſaken of God,*in* 15.*Marc.* If Chriſt then complained of *deſertion* and forſaking, as his members in their extremitie vſe to doe: then was it the dereliction of his ſoule,which hee felt, as his members in ſome meaſure vſe to feele.

Wherefore ſetting apart all other deuiſes and coniectures of men, I reſolue with *Origen*: firſt, that neither Chriſt complained in humilitie,that he was forſaken of the deitie:for then he ſhould haue complained vntruly. Secondly,neither that in regard of the preſent darknes hee ſo ſayd, as ſome thinke. Thirdly,nor yet did he ſpeake in the perſon of the Iewes,which were *reiected,*that the Gentiles might be *elected.* Fourthly, nor yet did hee make this outcrye by reaſon of his outward calamitie vpon the croſſe: all theſe coniectures *Origen* refuſeth, and concludeth rather, that Chriſt becauſe of our ſinnes which he bare, for the which he felt Gods anger, and himſelfe forſaken,thus cryed out and complayned vpon the croſſe.

THE TENTH PART, THAT CHRIST WAS VErily made a curſe for vs,and did beare both in his bodie and ſoule, that curſe,which by reaſon of the tranſgreſſion of the law was due vnto vs.

THE OBIECTIONS ANSWERED.

AGainſt this poſition the Frier vſeth no ſpeciall arguments, but ſuch as were before produced againſt Chriſts feeling of the wrath of God. Artic.25.

1. If Chriſt ſtood accurſed for vs in his ſoule before God, then there would follow a diſſolution of his perſon from the vnitie of the Godhead: but Chriſt *ſemper ſine rapina ſe æqualem Deo, &c.* alwayes without any robberie, or iniurie to God, tooke himſelfe to be equall to him, *Feuardent. pag.*471.*lin.*6.

2. Chriſt was alwayes beloued of God and in his fauour: *Ergo*, not accurſed, *Feuard.pag.*470. *confut.*4.

3. If he were accurſed, then alſo he deſpayred, and was damned, *Feuardent.p.*446.*confut.*5. *lin.*5.11.

Anſw. Theſe obiections I haue anſwered before, *part.*8.*reſponſ.ad obiect.*1.2.3.*& part.*9.*reſponſ. ad argum,*5. The ſumme of our anſwere was this: 1. That there is no more feare of the diſſolution of Chriſts perſon, for the ſpirituall curſe lying vpon his ſoule, then for the externall ſhewed in the death of his bodie. 2. Neyther is the eternall loue of God hereby diſcontinued or interrupted: for as I ſhewed, this dereliction or curſe, was not totall but partiall; temporall, not eternall: and Chriſt for his owne innocencie and holineſſe was alwayes beloued of God, but ſtood accurſed for our ſinnes: See our anſwere more at large, *part.*8.*reſponſ.ad obiect.*1.2.3.*& part.*9.*reſponſ.ad obiect.*1. 3. Neyther vpon the admitting of this curſe, ſhall eyther damnation or deſperation follow in the ſoule of Chriſt: though it were ſpirituall, yet was it not eternall: though there were a dereliction, yet no deſperation: though deſolation for a time, yet no damnation: it was *painfull*, yet not *ſinfull*: Chriſts ſoule was *perplexed*, yet his faith not *peruerted*: hee was not onely vpon the *croſſe*, but vnder Gods curſe for vs: *damnation* and *deſperation* are the inſeparable companions of eternall and totall *malediction*: but ſo was not Chriſt accurſed; but in part and for a time. 1. The execration of his ſoule doth no more enforce *damnation* and *deſperation*, then the *malediction* of his bodie, which is graunted. 2. *Ieremie* felt himſelfe vnder Gods wrath and curſe, when he ſaid, *Woe is me*, Ierem.15.10. and verſ.17. *Thou haſt filled me with indignation*, verſ.18. *My plague is deſperate, why art thou to me as a lier?* Ierem.20.14. *Curſed be the day wherein I was borne*: yet *Ieremie* was neyther damned, nor deſpaired. 3. Wee doubt not to aſcribe all our tentations to Chriſt, but without ſinne; therefore he muſt be freed from *damnation* and *deſperation*. As *Bernard* well ſaith, *Suſcipiens pœnam, & neſciens culpam*: he taſted the ſmart, but tooke not the ſinne, *ad milit.templ.c.*10. But for more full anſwere, I referre the reader to the ninth part, *reſponſ.ad obiectionem* 5.

THE QVESTION CONFIRMED.

THe Apoſtle in moſt direct words proueth the queſtion, when he ſaith, Galath.3.13. *Chriſt hath redeemed vs from the curſe of the law, when he was made a curſe for vs*: as it is written, *Curſed is euery one, that hangeth on tree*: I ſay then with *Ambroſe*, *Cur erubeſcam fateri, quod Apoſtolus non erubuit alta voce profiteri?* Why ſhould I be aſhamed to confeſſe that, which the Apoſtle with a loud voyce hath profeſſed, that Chriſt was truely made a curſe for vs?

Anſw. 1. Chriſt may be ſaid to be a curſe, that is, *maledictionis remiſſio*, becauſe he remitted or releaſed the curſe, *Feuard.p.*377.*confut.*2.*lin.*18.

2. He was accurſed onely in reſpect of his ignominious death, as Pſal.22.6. *Opprobrium hominum, & abiectio plebis*: I am a ſhame of men, and the contempt of the people, *Feuard.pag.*470.*confut.*3.*lin.*11.

Contra. 1. The firſt anſwere the Apoſtle remoueth, when he ſaith, *Chriſt hath redeemed vs from the curſe of the law, when he was made a curſe for vs*: to be made a curſe and to redeeme vs from the curſe, are not all one: but the remitting of the curſe, is all one with the redeeming from the curſe: *Ergo*, the remitting of the curſe is not to be made a curſe. 2. Againe, the Apoſtle proueth Chriſt to be curſed, becauſe he hanged on a tree, as it is written, *Curſed is euery one that hangeth on a tree*, that is, he is indeed accurſed, not the curſe onely remitted. 3. The receiuing of the curſe is one thing, the remitting another: firſt, Chriſt tooke the curſe vpon himſelfe, and ſo tooke away the curſe: *malediction* then, and the *remiſſion* of the malediction are two diuers things.

2. That this curſe, wherewith Chriſt was accurſed for vs cannot be referred to the externall death vpon the croſſe, it appeareth by theſe reaſons.

1. S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Non quicunq; pependerit in ligno, maledictus coram Deo, ſed qui propter ſcelus ſuſpenſus*: not euery one that hangeth vpon a tree, is curſed before God, *but he that hangeth there for his ſinne: in* 3.*ad Galat*. Like as if *Haman* had preuailed againſt *Mardoche*, and hanged him vpon the gallowes which he had made for him; *Mardoche* in his innocencie, notwithſtanding that ignominious death, ſhould not haue ſtood accurſed: wherefore it was not the death of the croſſe, but our ſinnes hanging vpon the croſſe, that deriued this curſe vpon Chriſt: this alſo is euident out of *Moſes*, that not the kind of death, but the deſert of death made it ignominious, Deut.21.22. *If a man haue committed a treſpaſſe worthie of death, and be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree, &c.*

Wee ſee then, that our ſins hanging with Chriſt vpon the croſſe, made the ſame an accurſed death.

2. Chriſt was made that curſe, which he redeemed vs from, otherwiſe the Apoſtle had not reaſoned ſoundly, *we are redeemed from the curſe, becauſe Chriſt was made a curſe:* he remitteth that curſe to vs, which he receiued in himſelfe. *Beda* alſo ſaith, *Chriſtus ſupplicium noſtrum ſine reatu ſuſcepit, vt ſolueret reatum, & finiret ſupplicium:* Chriſt hath taken our puniſhment without guilt, to looſe the guilt, and ende the puniſhment, *in* 3.*ad Galat.* What other puniſhment ended he, but that we tooke? but to vs was due for the tranſgreſſion of the law, the curſe both of body and ſoule: *Ergo,* the ſame curſe Chriſt tooke.

3. The wordes in *Moſes* are *maledictus deo,* he is curſed to God, that hangeth on a tree, but no death in it ſelfe is more ignominious then another before God, the ſhame thereof is externall, and concerneth men: *Ergo,* the curſe was not in the ignominious death: the ordinarie gloſſe thus noteth vpon theſe wordes: *Non eſt hoc in contumeliam Domini, quid mirum ſi maledictus dicitur Deo, qui habet in ſe, quod Deus odit, i. peccatum:* This redoundeth not to the reproch of God; for what maruaile, if he be ſaid to be accurſed to God, that hath in himſelfe that which God hateth, namely ſinne, *in* 3.*Galat.* it is not the maner of the death onely, that made it ignominious, but our ſins, which Chriſt bare.

4. *Oecumenius* vpon this place thus writeth: we were ſubiect to the curſe becauſe we had tranſgreſſed the law; Chriſt was not ſubiect, becauſe he had fulfilled it: *Eam ergo execrationem ſuſcepit, cui obnoxius non erat, quum ſuſpenſus fuit in ligno, vt execrationem ſolueret, quæ aduerſus nos erat:* Hee therefore tooke that curſe, to the which hee was not ſubiect, when he hanged vpon the tree, to looſe the curſe which was againſt vs, *in* 3.*ad Gal.* From hence I reaſon thus: Chriſt tooke that curſe for vs, which otherwiſe was not due vnto him; but death & mortalitie were incident & appertaining vnto the humane nature of Chriſt, though he had not dyed for vs, which notwithſtanding was impoſſible: *Ergo,* the curſe was not in Chriſts death onely. That Chriſt was by his owne nature ſubiect to mortalitie, 1. the Scripture teſtifieth; *It became him in all things to be like vnto vs,* Heb.2.17. *Ergo,* he was mortall as we are by nature. 2. S. *Ambroſe* giueth this reaſon: *Quis exceptum ſe putet à conditione moriendi, qui non exceptus ſit à conditione naſcendi:* Who can thinke himſelfe exempt from the condition of dying, that is not freed from being borne? *in obit. Valentinian.* Chriſt therefore being borne, had an aptneſſe in his nature to die. 3. *Damaſcene,* ει ἄφθαρτον τὸ κυρίου σῶμα οὐχ ὁμοούσιον: If the Lordes body had beene immortall, it had not beene of the ſame ſubſtance with ours: then it would follow, ſaith he, that Chriſt was not truely made man, and ſo conſequently we not truely ſaued: *de fid. lib.*3.*c.*28. 4. And *Ambroſe* againe ſaith: Chriſt was not exempted from death, *Vt carnis quam ſuſceperat, legem non recuſaret:* That he ſhould not refuſe the lawe of the fleſh, which he tooke: *In Luc.* 22. *Mors Chriſti communis ſecundum naturam corporis, ſpecialis ſecundum virtutem:* Chriſts death was common in the nature of his bodie, but ſpeciall in reſpect of the vertue and power thereof: *Ambr. ibid.*

Yet leaſt I be here miſtaken, as though I did thinke, that Chriſt, if he had not died vpon the croſſe, (if it had been poſſible) ſhould otherwiſe haue died. I am farre from ſo thinking: for Chriſt had neuer taſted death but for vs, Hebr.2.9. I onely ſhew that the lawe of mortalitie was in his fleſh by the nature thereof, which lawe notwithſtanding by his diuine ſpirite, ſhould haue been diſpenſed with, and ouerruled. So that he was not, but in the caſe of our redemption to haue died. And here I willingly embrace *Damaſcenes* iudgement: The fleſh of Chriſt τῆς κατὰ φύσιν θνητότητος οὐκ ἀπεῖχε, was not by nature free from mortalitie, but yet ζωοποιὸς γέγονεν, it was a quickening and liuing fleſh, and exempted from mortalitie by the hypoſtaticall vnion of the Godhead: *de fid. orthod. lib.*3.*c.*21.

Thus then I conclude with *Auguſtine: Credo filium dei mortuum eſſe non ſecundum pœnam iniuſtitiæ quam ex toto non habuit, ſed ſecundum legem naturæ, quam pro humani generis redemptione ſuſcepit:* I beleeue that the ſonne of God died, not according to the puniſhment of vnrighteouſnes, which he had not at all, but according to the law of nature, which he tooke for the redemption of mankind. *Act. cum felician. c.*18. If death then and mortalitie were in Chriſts nature, and thereunto appertaining, but the curſe which he tooke, did not belong vnto him, but to vs onely for our ſinne; it followeth, that this curſe was not wholly in his death.

5. That curſe which Chriſt did beare, he hath redeemed vs from: but we are not freed nor redeemed from ſhamefull and ignominious kinds of death: the members of Chriſt *haue beene racked, ſtoned, hewen aſunder, &c.* Hebr.11.35.37. *Ergo,* the curſe which was laid vpon Chriſt, was not in his ignominious death.

Obiect. 1. The Apoſtle ſaith: Hebr.12.2. *That Ieſus endured the croſſe, and deſpiſed the ſhame,* he referreth the *ſhame* to the manner of death vpon the croſſe.

Anſw. 1. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the ſhame of the croſſe, but not of the curſe. 2. We confeſſe that it was a ſhameful and curſed death, but therein lay not the whole curſe. 3. To this ſhame belonged not onely the manner of death which Chriſt ſuffered, but in that he was counted among tranſgreſſors, Iſay. 53. 12. and was put to death by the Iewes as a tranſgreſſor of their law: and ſo herein conſiſted the chiefe part of the ſhame and curſe of the croſſe, that he bare our ſinnes, and ſo was counted a tranſgreſſor for vs.

Obiect. 2. But the Apoſtle proueth Chriſt to be made a curſe, onely becauſe he hanged vpon a tree: the ignominie then of his death made the curſe.

Anſw. 1. We grant it was a curſed death, but therein the Apoſtle wholly and onely placeth not the curſe. 2. I ſhewed before out of *Moſes* and *Hierome*, that not the hanging of euery one, but onely of malefactors was accurſed: ſo that not the *death*, but the *deſert*, not the *condition*, but the *cauſe*, not the *ſuſpenſion*, but the *tranſgreſſion* made the curſe: and ſo Chriſt in this ignominious death was made a curſe by reaſon of our ſinnes that were laid vpon him: and thus as he was made ſinne for vs, and reputed a ſinner in our ſteed; ſo verely he felt Gods wrath and curſe in his ſoule, which was due to our ſinnes.

I will conclude with *Auguſtine: Maledictus omnis, &c. ne Chriſtus excluderetur qui benedictus in ſua iuſticia, maledictus ob delicta noſtra:* Curſed is euery one, that Chriſt ſhould not be excluded, who was bleſſed in his own righteouſnes, but accurſed for our ſinnes: And before he thus writeth: rehearſing the Apoſtles words, that Chriſt was ſent in the ſimilitude of ſinfull fleſh, Rom. 8. 3. *Quia caro eius licet ſine peccato, mortalis fuit:* Becauſe Chriſts fleſh, though without ſinne, yet was mortall: And againe the Apoſtle ſaith, *God made him ſinne for vs.* 2. Cor. 5. 20. *Maledictum comes peccati:* But malediction is the companion of ſin or tranſgreſſion. *cont. Fauſt. Manich. lib. 14. c. 12.* If Chriſt then were accurſed for our ſinnes, if he by nature of his fleſh were ſubiect to mortalitie, if malediction were adherent to our ſinnes which he bare, then did not the curſe onely conſiſt in his outward death: We confeſſe, that it alſo was part of the curſe, as *Auguſtine* in the ſame place: *Mors maledicta, quia pœna peccati:* Death is accurſed, becauſe it is the puniſhment of ſinne, but it was not the whole nor the greateſt part of that curſe, which Chriſt was made for vs.

Againe vpon thoſe words of the Apoſtle. Galat. 3. 13. *Curſed is euery one, &c. Loquitur Paulus de Chriſto, qui in cruce pependit ex parte mortali; nam in eo maledicta mors & maledictum peccatum, quæ in cruce pependerunt; ſic Moſes exaltauit ſerpentem: nam ſerpente mors & peccatum intelliguntur, ſuper quæ Chriſtus in cruce triumphauit; ſic de maledicto vicit maledictum, de morte mortem, de peccato peccatum, de ſerpente ſerpentem:* *Paul* ſpeaketh of Chriſt, who did hang vpon the croſſe in his mortall part; for in him death was accurſed, and ſinne accurſed, which did hang on the croſſe, ouer the which Chriſt triumphed vpon the croſſe: ſo *Moſes* lift vp the ſerpent, for by the ſerpent death and ſinne are vnderſtood: for Chriſt ouercame curſe with curſe, death with death, ſinne by ſinne, the ſerpent by a ſerpent: *in 3. ad Galat.* From this ſentence of *Auguſtine* I inferre, 1. That he nameth the curſe of ſinne before the curſe of death, 2. That Chriſt did beare that curſe vpon the croſſe, ouer the which he triumphed, but he triumphed ouer the whole curſe both of bodie and ſoule. 3. That as he ſubdued our death by his death, ſo our ſinne by his ſinne, now imputed to him, and our curſe by his curſe: ſo that, ſuch curſe as he redeemed vs from, he bare himſelfe. 4. Neither doth he ſay, that Chriſt was accurſed onely in his mortall part, but did hang vpon the croſſe in his mortall part, which we denie not, but there hanged alſo the curſe of death and ſinne.

Thus I truſt it is euident that Chriſt did ſuſtaine in his ſoule, and not in his bodie onely, the wrath and curſe of God, which was due vnto our ſinnes: and ſo by bearing our ſinnes, hath acquited vs thereof, and by enduring the curſe hath alſo freed vs therefrom: and ſo I ende with that ſaying of *Hierome*: *Iniuria domini noſtra gloria:* The Lords iniurie is our glorie: *in 3. ad Galat.* The more we aſcribe to Chriſts ſufferings the leſſe remaineth of ours: the more *painfully* that he ſuffered, the more fully are we redeemed: the greater his ſorrow was, the greater our ſolace, his *deſolation* is our *conſolation*, his croſſe our comfort, his *annoy* our endleſſe *ioy*; his *diſtreſſe* in *ſoule*, our *releaſe*; his *calamitie* our *comfort*; his *miſery* our *mercie*, his *aduerſitie* our *felicitie*, and to conclude, his *hell* our *heauen*: and ſo our bleſſed Sauiour as *Chryſoſtome* ſaith; *Pluribus in morte doloribus vexatus, quam omnes tragœdi ſcribere poſſunt, expirauit:* Being vexed in his death, with more ſorrowes then all tragicall writers in the world can expreſſe, gaue vp his ſpirite. *hom. 31. in Matth.* For this ſo infinite and vnſpeakeable loue of our Sauiour, we can neuer be ſufficiently thankfull, who vouchſafed not onely to die, but to enter into hell for vs; not onely to offer his bodie to paine, but his ſoule to ſorrow for vs; wounds to receiue in his ſenſe, and terrors in conſcience; a *croſſe* in his bodie, and a *curſe* in his ſoule: the greater *debt* he paid, the greater our *dutie*: the more *painfull* his croſſe, the more *fruitfull* his death, the more *thankefull* his loue: the deeper his *wound*, the more infinitely are we *bound*: the more excellent his *patience*, the more willing ought to be our *obedience*: and as *Chryſoſtome* well ſaith: *Si per ſingulos dies pro eo moreremur, qui nos dilexit, non ſic meritum exolueremus:* If we ſhould die euery day for him, which hath ſo loued vs, we could not be anſwerable to his merite. *hom. 19. in Matth.*

1 The concluſion of all is this, that ſeeing the bodily ſufferings of Chriſt in reſpect of Gods iu-
2 ſtice were not ſufficient, *part.* 1. that Chriſts agony in the garden was not cauſed by the feare of

his bodily death, but proceeded from the feare and feeling of Gods wrath, *part*.2. and ſeeing our 2
Sauiour ſuffered properly and immediately in ſoule, and not by compaſſion only or conſent with 3
his bodie. *part*.3. if Chriſt did ſuſtaine the very torments of hel in his ſoule, as is proued, *part*.4. and 4
did appeare before God as guiltie of our ſinnes, *part*. 5. and was perplexed in his ſoule and con- 5
ſcience for the ſame, *part*.6. if our Sauiour by the iuſtice of God was to die for our ſinnes, and by 6
his death did ſatisfie his iuſtice, and appeaſe his wrath, *part*.7. if in his ſoule he verily felt the wrath 7
of God kindled againſt our ſinnes, *part*.8. and truely complained that he was in that inſtant for- 8
ſaken of God, *part*.9. and laſtly if he were made a curſe for vs in his bodie and ſoule, *part*. 10. It 9
remaineth that Chriſt did not onely ſuffer in bodie for our ſinnes, but ſuſtayned alſo in his 10
ſoule ſuch puniſhment, vexation and ſorrow, as was due vnto vs, and which we ſhould haue endured, if he had not as our ſuretie in his owne perſon vndertaken for vs: ſo I conclude with Saint *Ambroſe: Paſſionem in Chriſto plus veneror quam creationem, quia creati ad laborem ſumus, redempti ad quietem:* I doe more honour Chriſts paſſion, then the creation; for we were created to labour, we are redeemed to reſt. *ſerm*.14. *in pſal*. 19. And this queſtion haue I of purpoſe trauailed in, though not as I would, my leaſure not ſeruing thereunto, and being ſo ſtraited, the Printer haſtening this worke, that I ſcarcely had a moneth to diſpatch this treatiſe: yet I haue laboured to my power to ſet forth Chriſts holy ſufferings for vs, that nothing be detracted therefrom: and ſo I ende with that ſaying of *Origen: Non ſic mihi videtur inutilis, qui natiuitatem Chriſti, ſtellam &c. ſalutationem angelorum tacet, quam qui crucifixum eum abſcondit:* He ſeemeth not to me to be ſo vnprofitable, which doth conceale Chriſts natiuitie, the Starre and ſalutation of the Angels, as he that doth hide Chriſt crucified. *hom*.1. *in Matth.*

Laſtly for the confirmation of this truth, that Chriſt ſuffered the wath of God in his ſoule for vs, I will produce. 1. The teſtimonie of our aduerſaries themſelues. 2. The witneſſe of the holy martyrs that died in this faith. 3. The conſent of the famous writers and confeſſors of the Church of England.

Firſt for our aduerſaries: 1. *Nicholaus Cuſanus* a man of great account among them thus writeth: *Illam pœnam ſenſus conformem damnatis in inferno pati voluit in gloriam dei patris ſui:* That paine of ſenſe conformable or like vnto the damned in hell he would ſuffer to the glory of God his father: *Ex citation. lib*.10. *ex ſerm. qui per ſpiritum ſanctum ſeipſum obtulit.*

2. *Ferus: Illa Chriſti derelictio pauor eſt conſcientiæ noſtræ ob admiſſa peccata, quæ iudicium Dei & iram æternam experitur, & ſic afficitur, quaſi in perpetuum derelicta, & reiecta à facie Dei eſſet:* That dereliction of Chriſt is the trembling of our conſcience for ſinne committed, which feeleth by experience Gods iudgement and eternall wrath, and is ſo affected, as if it were for euer forſaken, and reiected from the preſence of God. *lib*.4. *in Matth. c*,27. *in illa verba: deus meus, &c.*

3. *Durand. Præcipua cauſa fuit anima, &c.* The chiefeſt cauſe of the effects of Chriſts croſſe was his ſoule. *in* 3. *diſt*.22. *qu*.3. *Bellarmine* ſaith, not ſo: *Sed præcipua cauſa fuit totum compoſitum. i. totus ille homo qui patiebatur: præterea eſto, fuiſſet anima præcipua cauſa, tamen etiam caro & ſanguis fuit cauſa; alioqui non vere diceretur, ſanguis eius emundat nos:* The chiefe cauſe is the whole compound, that is, the whole man which ſuffered: beſide, be it, that his ſoule was the chiefe cauſe, yet his fleſh and bloud was a cauſe, otherwiſe it ſhould not be truely ſaid, *his bloud doth cleanſe vs.* 1. Iohn.1.7. Here by *Bellarmines* owne teſtimonie the ſoule of Chriſt (which muſt be by the ſuffering thereof) is the chiefeſt cauſe of our redemption. *Bellarm. lib*.4. *de Chriſt. anim. ca*.15.

Secondly, the holy martyrs haue thus beleeued of Chriſts ſoule ſufferings: Maſter *Latimer* Biſhop and martyr: *I beleeue verely for my part, that Chriſt ſuffered the paines of hell proportionablie, as it correſpondeth and anſwereth to the whole ſinne of the world:* And againe, *I ſee no inconuenience to ſay that Chriſt ſuffered in ſoule in hell, I ſingularly commend the exceeding great charity of Chriſt, that for our ſakes would ſuffer in hell in his ſoule:* It ſetteth out the vnſpeakable hatred, that God hath to ſinne. &c. *ſerm*.7. *coram reg. Eduard.* Here though Maſter *Latimer* ſeeme to thinke that Chriſt might ſuffer in the place of hell in ſoule, for the which we alleage him not: yet he giueth three effectuall reaſons, that it was neceſſarie for Chriſt to ſuffer the paines of hell in his ſoule. 1. That his paines may be proportionable to the ſinne of the world. 2. To ſet forth Chriſts charitie. 3. And the great wrath of God againſt ſinne.

Iohn Warne holy martyr hath alſo ſealed this truth: *Chriſt ſuffering for our ſinnes did beare our deſerued condemnation, the paines of death, the taſt of abiection, the verie terrors of hell, yeelding his ſpirit to his father, his bodie to be buried in the earth. Fox. p*.1580. *col*.2.

Thirdly for the confeſſors, and the confeſſion of our Church, this euidence we haue.

1. The annotation in the great Bible called the Biſhops Bible, allowed publikely to be red in our Church: vpon the 22. chapter of Saint Luke. verſ.44. thus teſtifieth: *He felt the horror of Gods wrath and iudgement againſt ſinne.*

2. And in the booke of homilies allowed publikely to be recited to the people. *ſerm*.1. of the paſſion, it thus ſtandeth: *Chriſt did put himſelfe betweene Gods deſerued wrath and our ſinne, and rent*

the obligation,wherein we were in daunger to God,and payd our debt. Our debt was a great deale too great for vs to haue payd; and without payment God the father could neuer be at one with vs: it pleaſed him to be the payer thereof,and to diſcharge vs quite. And againe afterward, *He beſtowed himſelfe wholy for the raunſoming of vs.* If Chriſt then gaue himſelfe wholy for vs, and payed all our debt, whereof the chiefe part was the griefe and anguiſh of ſoule and ſenſe of Gods wrath,it was neceſſarie that Chriſt ſhould haue ſuffered all theſe things for vs.

3. In the Catechiſme authorized publikely to be taught,in the expoſition of the Creede vpon the article of Chriſts paſſion, it is thus confeſſed: *Chriſt ſuffered moſt painfull and ſhamefull death, ſuſtaining withall torments of minde more cruell than any bodily death.* And againe, *Chriſt became our ſuretie and pledge vnto his father, to anſwere, pay and ſuffer, whatſoeuer wee did owe, and had deſerued.*

4. Beſide this publike teſtimonie of our Church, the common defenders of the faith of the Goſpell,both by writing and preaching haue thus taught; as D.*Fulke*,that worthie learned man, thus witneſſeth: *It was the burthen of ſinne and the curſe of God due vnto ſinne,which Chriſt tooke vpon him,to deliuer vs from ſinne and the puniſhment thereof,and not onely the bodily paine of death, that enforced him,that was God, to complaine,that he was forſaken of God. Annot.in Matth.27.ſect.3.*

Againe,*What is more to the honor of Chriſt,than that he vouchſafed to deſcend into hell for vs,and to abide that paine,which we had deſerued to ſuffer eternally: and what may be rather called hell, than the anguiſh of ſoule, which hee ſuffered, when hee being God complained,that he was forſaken of God? Fulk.in 2.Act ſect.11.*

5. Maſter *Fox* that reuerend godly writer,and faithfull preacher of the Goſpell, conſenteth with the reſt,and thus deliuereth his iudgement: *The torments which Chriſt ſuffered in ſoule and ſpirit,were the greateſt of all,when as he not only in bodie decaying for weakenes and bleeding,but in ſoule fainting with anguiſh and diſcomfort,began to crye with a lowd voyce, My God,my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? ſerm de Chriſto Crucifixo.*

6. A zealous preacher of our Church,who had while he liued great experience of the caſes of conſcience,and an excellent grace from God to comfort ſuch as were afflicted, doubteth not to ſay,*that Chriſt muſt ſuffer the very pangs and paines of hell for the leaſt ſin that euery man committed,ſeeing that euen our leaſt ſinnes cauſed him to be accurſed,and in the extremitie of griefe to crye, My God,my God,why haſt thou forſaken me?* in his Meditations,pag.215.ſet forth ſince his death.

Thus (I truſt) this poynt is thoroughly cleared, that Chriſt ſuffered the very anguiſh and hell ſorrowes of ſoule for vs, and taſted of the bitter cup of Gods wrath due vnto our ſinnes, which otherwiſe wee ſhould haue moſt deeply drunke of. And here I will end this queſtion, in the handling whereof,if I haue either in manner failed,or in matter ſwarued from the doctrine of our Church,I heartily deſire pardon,moſt willingly ſubmitting my ſelfe to the iudgement of the learned: and this I ſimply and vnfainedly proteſt,that the loue of ſeeking and ſearching out the trueth hath drawne me into this queſtion, not the deſire of contention with any in our Church,much leſſe to oppoſe my ſelfe to the iudgement of any reuerend perſon,whom for their authoritie I honour, for their perſon I reuerence, for their learned trauailes in the Church we are much bound vnto: from whom I am as vnwilling to diſſent, ſo deſirous to learne. And ſo I conclude, moſt humbly crauing in the bowels of Chriſt, that where I haue ſaid the truth, I may be receiued; where I doubt,I may be reſolued; where I haue well ſayd, I be not condemned; where I haue ignorantly ſlipped, I may be pardoned. For I doe moſt willingly embrace that ſentence of *Auguſtine: Aliquid aliter ſapere, quam res habet,humana tentatio eſt; in nullo aliter ſapere,quam res habet,angelica perfectio eſt:* Otherwiſe ſometime to thinke,then the matter is,is an humane tentation; but in nothing to be deceiued,is angelicall perfection: *De baptiſ.2.5.* If in this queſtion of ſoule ſufferings,there be any difference of opinion in our Church, let not any man take offence thereat,for we all doe conſent,that Chriſts death is alone ſufficient,neither doe we varie in any fundamentall poynt: they which doe free Chriſt from his ſpirituall ſufferings, doe it vnto his honor, leaſt by this means any deſperation,or doubting might be faſtened vpon Chriſts ſoule; they which affirme the ſenſe of Gods wrath in Chriſts ſoule,do therein alſo ſeek Chriſts honor,leaſt any thing ſhould be diminiſhed of his holy ſufferings. Seeing therefore we all hold the ſame foundation,and tend to the ſame end, let vs not either by writing or ſpeaking nouriſh domeſticall contention, but be willing one to yeeld vnto another in the truth,and euery one readie to ſay with S.*Hierome, Non ſolum te viciſſe exiſtimes vicimus vterque,palmam refer tu mei,& ego tui erroris; vtinam mihi ſemper ſic diſputare contingat,vt ad meliora proficiens,deſeram, quod male tenebam:* Thinke not, that thou onely haſt ouercome,we are conquerors both, you beare the palme and praiſe of my error, I of yours: I wiſh that I may alwaies diſpute with ſuch ſucceſſe, that proceeding to the better, I may forſake that, which before I did not well holde: *aduerſ. Luciferian.* But I haue tarried too long in this queſtion: the next followeth.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHETHER CHRIST deſcended in ſoule into hell, to deliuer the Patriarches.

The Papiſts.

26.Error. THey doe beleeue that Chriſt according to his ſoule went downe to hell, to deliuer the Patriarches and all iuſt men there holden in bondage till his death, *Rhemiſt. Act.2 ſect.12.*

*Argum.*1. Hee that aſcended, is he that deſcended firſt into the loweſt parts of the earth, Epheſ.4.9. that is, into hell, the which is the loweſt place in the earth, *Bellarm.cap.12.*

Anſw. 1. The earth it ſelfe, in reſpect of the world, is the loweſt part, ſo that here one part of the earth is not to be compared with another: but the whole earth, in reſpect of the high heauens, hath the name of the lower parts: ſo is it taken, Pſal.139.15. Thou haſt faſhioned me beneath, or in the lower parts of the earth: but *Dauid* (I truſt) they will not ſay, was borne in hell, becauſe he ſpeaketh of the lower parts of the earth, *conſul. Bez. in hũc locum.* So that by the deſcending of Chriſt into the loweſt parts of the earth, is meant nothing elſe, but the loweſt and extreameſt degree of his abaſing and humiliation, *Fulk. annot. in hunc locum:* as Saint *Paul* ſaith, that *he made himſelfe of no reputation, and tooke vpon him the forme of a ſeruant,* Philip.2.7. 2. Againe. Pſal.63.9. the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, they that ſeeke his ſoule to deſtroy it, *ſhall goe downe into the loweſt parts of the earth:* which the Septuagint tranſlate, κατώτατα τῆς γῆς, *infima terræ,* the loweſt parts: and Saint *Paul* ſaith, in the comparatiue κατώτερα, the lower parts: As in the Pſalme therefore by the loweſt parts the Pſalmiſt vnderſtandeth the graue and deſtruction, as it may appeare, verſ.10. *They ſhall be a portion for Foxes;* ſo the Apoſtle by deſcending into the lower parts, doth ſet forth the loweſt degree of Chriſts humiliation, in death, and the graue.

1 *Contra. Bellarmine* thus obiecteth: 1. The inferiour part of the earth, ſignifieth not the whole earth, *ſed vnam partem,* but one part of the earth, and that lower than the reſt: it doth not then betoken the *ſuperficies,* or vpper part of the earth.

2 2. *He deſcended* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that he might fill all things,* Epheſ.4.10. and therefore it was neceſſarie that Chriſt ſhould truly deſcend to hell to deliuer the Patriarches, as he deſcended into the earth, to viſite all parts of his kingdome: that euen the things alſo vnder the earth, that is, the infernall ſpirits ſhould bow the knee vnto him, *Bellarm.c.12. Luc.6.*

1 *Anſw.* 1. The inferiour part of the earth being compared with it ſelfe, cannot ſignifie the whole earth: but being vnderſtood to be the inferiour part of the world, the whole earth may very well be comprehended. 2. Where the Apoſtle ſaith in the plurall, *inferiores partes,* the inferiour parts, it is too great ignorance to ſay, that hee meaneth, *vnam partem,* but one part. 3. *Origen* thus expoundeth Saint *Paul* to ſpeake of Chriſt: *Quaſi de ſuperioribus ad inferiora venientis:* Comming from the ſuperiour to the inferiour or lower parts, *Hom.2. in Geneſ.* And againe, *Deſcendere deus dicitur, quando curam humanæ fragilitatis habere dignatur, &c.* God is ſaid to deſcend, when hee vouchſafeth to haue care of humane frailtie, which more ſpecially is to be vnderſtood of Chriſt, *qui deſcendit non ſolum curare, ſed portare, quæ noſtra ſunt,* who deſcended not onely to cure, but to beare, that which is ours, *Hom.4. in Geneſ.* Thus alſo *Auguſtine* teſtifieth: *Cæleſtis illa habitatio angelorum illa pars rerũ ſuperna eſt; hæc terrena vita, ſi illi comparatur, inferna eſt: cum enim & hic ſunt mortui, ne mireris, ſi infernum dicitur:* That celeſtiall habitation of the Angels is the ſuperiour part, this terrene life in reſpect of that, the infernall: for ſeeing here are alſo vpon the earth, they which are dead, no marueile if it be infernall, *in Pſal.85.*

2 1. How Chriſt filleth all things *Auguſtine* well ſheweth: *Nec tamen localem dei fingimus præſentiam, non mundum dimittens ad cœlos aſcendit, nec cœlum deſerens ad terram venit, ſed vno eodemq; tempore totus totum impleuit:* Neither doe we imagine a locall preſence of God, for hee went not to heauen leauing the world, neither forſaking heauen came to the earth; but in one and the ſame time, he all and whole filled the whole, *Act. cum Felician.c.17.* Chriſt then not by his locall preſence, but by his diuine power filled all things.

2. Neither is that place Philip.2.10. to be vnderſtood of Chriſts deſcenſion: 1. The Apoſtle ſpeaketh directly of Chriſts exaltation: verſ.9. *Therefore God hath exalted him:* but the deſcenſion belongeth not to Chriſts exaltation, as *Origen* ſaith: *Si diligenter conſyderemus, inueniemus, quia nunquam quis in ſanctum fere locum deſcendiſſe dicitur, neqne ad vituperabilem conſcendiſſe:* If we well conſider, we ſhall finde, that one is not ſaid to deſcend to an honourable place, nor to aſcend to a diſhonourable, *Hom.15. in Geneſ.* He thinketh then, that to deſcend belongeth not to honor, or exaltation. 2. Saint *Paul* ſheweth, that this bowing of the knee vnto Chriſt of all creatures ſhall chiefly be accompliſhed in the day of iudgement, Rom.14.11.12. where hauing made mention of bowing of the knee, he inferreth, verſ.12. ſo then *euery one of vs ſhall giue accounts of himſelfe vnto God.* 3. It is too great curioſitie to applie this place to the infernall ſpirits properly: for they are not yet vnder the earth as tyed to a certaine place, being by the Apoſtle called the princes

of the ayre, Epheſ.2.2. the Apoſtle rather by this diſtribution, *of things in heauen, things in the earth, and things vnder the earth,* comprehendeth generally all creatures in the world whatſoeuer: as in the ſecond commaundement wee are forbidden to make the likenes of any thing to worſhip it, either in heauen aboue, in the earth beneath, or in the waters vnder the earth. 4. To cauſe the infernall ſpirits to *bow the knee* to Chriſt, that is, to acknowledge his power, ***Auguſtine*** aſcribeth not to the preſence of Chriſts humanitie, but to the power of his diuinitie: ***Neque aliter eum video ſuſcitare potuiſſe carnem ſuam, ſi apud inferos prædicem velut abſentis dei non fuiſſe potentiam:*** Neither doe I ſee how otherwiſe Chriſt could haue raiſed his fleſh, if we doe thinke the power of his Godhead was abſent in hell: *Act. cum Felician. c.* 17.

3 3. All this being yeelded, that Chriſt by his deſcent into hell ſhaked the infernall powers, and triumphed ouer them, which is by ſome of our reuerend fathers, and learned brethren, vpon great perſwaſion of many forcible reaſons and arguments affirmed, neither is by me impugned, yet hath not ***Bellarmine*** obtained that he would, that Chriſt by his locall deſcent did deliuer the ſoules of the Patriarches out of hell.

Argum. 2. Act.2.27. ***Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hell, nor ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption:*** this cannot be vnderſtood of the graue; for the graue is no place for the ſoule: and here the ſoule is oppoſed to the fleſh, that as his fleſh ſhould ſee no corruption, ſo his ſoule ſhould not remaine in hell: Chriſt therefore went downe in ſoule to hell, which was to no other end but to deliuer the fathers from thence, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. This place is alleaged by Saint *Peter*, out of the ſixteenth Pſalme; from thence then the ſenſe of this place muſt be deriued: firſt therefore we ſhall ſhew, that neither the word (נפש ***nepheſh***) here tranſlated ſoule, can properly ſignifie the ſoule of Chriſt; nor the other worde (שאול ***ſheol***) can be tranſlated hell.

Firſt, this word ***nephes***, is taken in Scripture for the life, Geneſ.37.21. ***Let vs not ſmite his ſoule,*** that is, take away his life: and conſequently it ſignifieth ſometime the very bodie of the dead, wherein there was life, Leuit.21. verſ.1.11. And that in this place, ***nephes*** ſignifieth the life, it ſhall appeare by the like place, Pſal.88.3. ***My life (*** חי ***chai) draweth neere to the graue or hell, (ſheol)*** this place may very well interpret the other.

Secondly, the other word (***ſheol***) is not here vnderſtood hell. There are foure words commonly vſed in the Pſalmes, expreſſing the ſame thing in effect which (***ſheol***) doth: yet none of them all are applied to ſignifie hell: the firſt is (שחת ***ſhacath***) ***fouea***, the pit, Pſal.30.9. ***What profit is there in my blood, when I goe downe to the pit?*** the ſecond (בור ***bhor***) the lake: the third (קבר ***cheber***) the graue: both theſe words are indifferently vſed for the ſame thing, Pſal.88.3. the word is (***ſheol***) ver.4.5. the other two words are alſo vſed, as expreſſing the former: And all theſe three doe containe a deſcription of death, and of the graue: the fourth is, (תהומות ***tehomoth***) ***abyſſus terræ***, thou wilt take me from the deepe of the earth, Pſal.71.20. In all theſe places there is no mention made at all of hell, but onely of the graue.

Now that this place can haue no ſuch meaning, as ***Bellarmine*** enforceth, thus wee ſhew it: firſt, this place is ſo applied to Chriſt, as it muſt firſt be true in *Dauid*: well then, firſt ***Dauids*** ſoule is in hell, then muſt it be in the loweſt hell, Pſal.86.13. ***Thou haſt deliuered my ſoule from the neathermoſt hell (ſheol)*** But ***Limbus patrum*** is not the neathermoſt hell, but (as they ſay) only in the brim of hell. Againe, Saint *Peter* onely applieth this text to the reſurrection of Chriſt, verſ.31. he knowing this before, ſpake of the reſurrection of Chriſt: But the reſurrection was onely of the bodie of Chriſt, not of his ſoule: wherefore this place cannot be vnderſtood of the deſcending of Chriſts ſoule into hell, to deliuer the Patriarches.

Contra. ***Bellarmine*** replieth: 1. That ***anima***, the ***ſoule***, cannot be here taken for the life of the bodie or ***fleſh:*** for that the Apoſtle expreſſeth afterward, ***that his fleſh did ſee no corruption***, verſ.31. Wherefore vnleſſe we admit a needleſſe repetition of the ſame thing, it was one thing for Chriſts ſoule ***not to be left in hell***, another for his fleſh not to ſee corruption.

2. The Greeke word ᾅδης, alwaies ſignifieth hell, the graue neuer: ***Bellar. c. 12 loc.4.***

1 1. ***Anſ.*** 1. Where the Prophet ſaith, ***Thou ſhalt not leaue my ſoule in hell, nor ſuffer thy holie one to ſee corruption:*** though the ſame thing be here expreſſed, it is no needleſſe repetition, when as, after the manner of the Scripture, the latter part expoundeth the former: for hee ſheweth how his ſoule, that is, his life or perſon, ***ſhall not be left in hell***, becauſe his fleſh ſhould be deliuered from corruption. 2. And that by ſoule Chriſts perſon is to be vnderſtood it may appeare, as in the like ſenſe it is ſaid, Geneſ.46.26. the ſoules that went with *Iacob* into Egypt: Chriſts ſoule, that is, perſon, may be as well ſaid to be in the graue, as their ſoules to goe downe to Egypt. And againe, S. ***Peter by the holy one***, expoundeth Chriſts fleſh: ***what is the holy one***, but Chriſts ſoule or perſon? for holines properly is not an adiunct of his fleſh onely, but of his perſon: as well then may ſoule be taken for the life, as the holy one for his fleſh. 3. Saint ***Peter*** ſaith, that the Prophet ſpake of Chriſts reſurrection which is of the bodie, not of the ſoule: as ***Auguſtine*** alſo ſaith; ***Primogenitus Chriſtus vo-***

catur ex mortuis, quod primum illum ex inferni tenebris, in lucem reſurrectionis partus ediderit : Chriſt is called the firſt borne of the dead, becauſe the birth of the reſurrection did firſt bring him into the light out of the darknes of hell, *de tempor. ſerm.* 161. But Chriſt is ſaid to be the firſt fruits of the dead onely in reſpect of his bodie, not of his ſoule : *Ergo*, his ſoule deſcended not to deliuer the Patriarches out of hell.

2 2. That ᾅδης, onely ſignifieth *hell*, the graue neuer, is an vntrue and vnlearned poſition : Geneſis 42.38. *You ſhall bring my gray head with ſorrow to hell*, ᾅδης. Did *Iacob* carrie his gray haires to hell? I thinke he left them in his graue.

2. The marginall note of your owne vulgar Latine text thus obſerueth, Geneſ. 37.35. vpon theſe words, *I ſhall goe mourning to my ſonne into hell*, ᾅδης, *Non hic ſignificat locum pœnarum, ſed foſſam, vel ſepulchrũ* : It ſignifieth not here the place of puniſhment, which is hell, but the pit or the graue, &c. Who ſeeth not now this fellowes boldnes, that denieth *hell* to be taken for the graue?

3 3. If hell be here taken properly, then it will follow that Chriſts ſoule was in the ſorrowes of hell : as the vulgar Latine readeth, Act. 2. verſ. 24. *Hauing looſed the ſorrowes of hell, becauſe it was impoſſible he ſhould be holden of it* : and ſo *Origen* ſeemeth to thinke, when he ſaith : *Data eſt diabolo anima Chriſti redemptio pro nobis, decepto & non videnti. quod non poterat ſuſtinere in tenendo eam tormentis, &c.* The ſoule of Chriſt was giuen *(to the diuell)* to be a redemption for vs, he being deceiued and not perceiuing, that he could not long hold it in torment, &c. and therefore it is ſaid, *Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hell, &c. Tract.* 12. *in Matth.* If Chriſts ſoule were tormented in hell, it muſt be referred to his hell ſufferings vpon the croſſe, for after death he ſuffered not.

Argum. 3. The Apoſtle ſaith: Rom. 10.7. *Say not who ſhall deſcend into the deepe, that is to fetch Chriſt againe from the dead* : Here the deepe muſt be taken for hell, as the moſt oppoſite place to heauen: *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. 1. The Apoſtle taketh this place from *Moſes*, Deuter. 30.14. *Say not who ſhall goe vp to heauen for vs, or goe ouer the ſea, &c.* That which the Apoſtle tranſlateth the *deepe*, *Moſes* calleth the ſea, as Exod. 15.5. *The depths of the ſea couered them* : the Apoſtle is not contrarie to *Moſes*, nor yet diuers from him in ſenſe, though they differ in words: if then you will finde hell here, you muſt ſeeke for it in the bottome alſo of the ſea.

2. We neede not ſound the center of the earth to make an oppoſition to heauen : for heauen ſo high, and the earth ſo lowe, are places oppoſite enough, as Pſalm. 103.13. *As high as the heauens are aboue the earth.*

3. The Apoſtle expoundeth himſelfe : *That is to bring Chriſt againe from the dead* : the deepe then, whereof he ſpeaketh, is the place of the dead: but bodies onely die, ſoules die not: and therefore this deepe is not *hell*, where ſoules liue in endleſſe torment.

4. *Origene* thus expoundeth this place : *Paulus quoniam deſcenſionis Chriſti myſterium prædicat profundum nominauit, quaſi de ſuperioribus ad inferiora venientis* : *Paul* becauſe he doth ſet forth the myſterie of Chriſts deſcenſion, he nameth the deepe, as of one deſcending from the ſuperior parts to the lower, *Hom. 2. in Geneſ.* this deepe which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, he referreth to the earth, which is the deepe and lower part of the world, in reſpect of heauen.

Argum. 4. *Bellarmine* vrgeth other places to proue Chriſts deſcent to deliuer the Patriarches : as that of *Ionas*, Matth. 12.40. to the which ſee our anſwere in the appendix to this queſtion, *error* 27. *argum. Papiſt.* 2.

Likewiſe he diſcourſeth at large of that place of S. *Peter*, 1. Pet. 3.19.20. *By the which he went and preached to the ſpirits in priſon, which were in times paſt diſobedient* : ſee alſo our anſwere at large to this place before, p. 350. in the *9. controuerſ. 1. queſt. argum. Papiſt.* 3. Vnto which our anſwere, I will here adde thus much further: that they can haue no ſhew at all from this place, for the deliuerance of the Patriarches out of *Limbus* : becauſe the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of ſuch as were diſobedient, and in their diſobedience died : for if they had repented of their diſobedience, they ſhould not be named after the ſinnes which they had committed, but *ſhould liue in their righteouſnes, which they had done*, Ezech. 18.22. to ſay then that Chriſt went downe to hell to deliuer the damned ſoules, doth contradict the Scripture, Luk. 16.26. *They cannot come from thence to vs* : and Saint *Auguſtine* doth number them among other heretikes : *Qui Chriſto deſcendente ad inferos crediдiſſe incredulos, &c.* Which did affirme that by Chriſts deſcending into hell, the incredulous and vnbeleeuers beleeued.

The Proteſtants.

THat Chriſt our Sauiour, by the vertue of his death, did ouercome hell and the diuell, we doe verilie beleeue, which may be called a deſcent into hell : that he alſo ſuffered the torments of hell vpon the croſſe, and ſo deſcended into hell for vs, to abide that bitter paine which we had deſerued to ſuffer eternally, we doe alſo hold and teach : for what rather may be called hell, then the anguiſh of ſoule which he ſuffered, when he being God, yet complained that he was forſaken of God? Furthermore, if deſcending into hell, be taken according to the Hebrue Phraſe, For entring into the ſtate of the dead : ſo we alſo graunt, that Chriſt deſcended into hell, *Fulk. Act.2. ſect.11.* But for the deſcending of Chriſt into hell, after your ſenſe, to deliuer the Patriarches from thence, when you can proue it out of Scripture, we will yeeld vnto you.

*Argum.*1. The ſoule of Chriſt which he committed into his fathers hands, was in Paradiſe, where he promiſed the theefe ſhould be with him, Luk.22.43. How then could his ſoule be three dayes in hell, as you affirme, from the time of his death to his reſurrection? *Fulk.Luk.11.ſect.4.* **Bellarmine** anſwereth, that it was not impoſſible, that the ſoule of Chriſt ſhould be in two places at once, *cap.15.* which is an anſwere not worthie to be anſwered: for who hath taught them ſo boldly to build their phantaſies vpon Gods power, hauing no warrant nor aſſurance of his will? May not the Vbiquitaries by the ſame reaſon proue the omnipreſence of Chriſts humanitie, becauſe he is able to make his ſoule and bodie to be in many places at once, as well as in two : and ſo conſequently by his power, which is infinite, as well in all places, as in many?

Againe, it may be anſwered, that Chriſt was with the theefe in paradiſe as he was God.

*Contra.*1. The anſwere made by our Sauiour to the theefe, muſt be agreeable to his demaund : now he made requeſt to Chriſt as man : *Remember me, when thou ſhalt come into thy kingdome* : the Godhead neither commeth nor goeth ; and as he was God, he was neuer out of his kingdome : ſo then as Chriſt was to enter into his kingdome, ſo was he with the theefe, and the theefe with him : but he entred into his kingdome in his humanitie: *Ergo*, in his humane ſoule he was that day with the theefe in paradiſe, and the theefe with him.

2. Chriſt ſaith not, *This day I will be with thee, but thou ſhalt be with me in paradiſe*: Chriſt is with vs as God euery where, as he ſaith, Matth.28.20. *I am with you to the end of the world:* when he ſpeaketh as God, he is ſaid to be with vs: but when we are ſaid to be with him, his whole perſon is deſcribed : as S. *Paul* ſaith, *I deſire to be diſſolued and to be with Chriſt*, Philip.1.23. But as Chriſt was God, euen then he was with *Paul:* this difference is well noted by *Bernard: Chriſtus nobiſcum eſt, &c.* Chriſt is with vs at all times to the end of the world ; but when ſhall we be with him? when we ſhall be taken vp and meete Chriſt in the ayre, *Serm.16. in Pſalm.91.*

3. And that Chriſts humane preſence in Paradiſe is to be vnderſtood, *Bernard* againe ſheweth thus writing : *Factum eſt vtique, quod promiſſum eſt, ipſo die quo compaſſus & corregnauit :* That, which was promiſed, was fulfilled; for the ſame day that he ſuffered together, he raigned alſo together with Chriſt: *In ſolemnitate ſanctior. ſerm.5.* but the theefe did not raigne together with him as God, for ſo the kingdome of God is not communicable to any.

*Argum.*2. I will preſſe them with *Durands* argument, one of their owne champions: the ſoules of the Saints were deliuered in the very inſtant of Chriſts death : *Ergo*, Chriſt needed not to deſcend in ſoule to hell to deliuer them.

Bellarmine anſwereth : firſt, though the price of redemption were paied in Chriſts death, yet the Patriarches were to expect Chriſts comming thither not of *neceſſitie*, but of *congruitie*. Secondly, Chriſt deſcended for other cauſes, and not onely to deliuer the ſoules of the Patriarches, *Bellar. c.15. reſp. ad obiect.2. Durand.*

*Contra.*1. As touching other cauſes of Chriſts deſcenſion, we are not now to deale : the queſtion is, whether he deſcended to ſet the ſoules of the Patriarches at large, which if you cannot iuſtifie, we haue that we would.

2. It is well yet that you hold the article of Chriſts locall deſcenſion to deliuer the Patriarches to be of congruitie, not of neceſſitie : but I pray you how can you make it an article of our faith, if it be not neceſſarie?

3. You ſay the Patriarches were yet to expect Chriſts comming : and ſo your opinion is, that Chriſts ſoule ſtaied in hell til the third day, & then riſing againe, he brought with him al the ſoules of the fathers. *Contr.*1. Had the theefe then greater priuiledge then any of the Patriarches and Prophets? for he went to Paradiſe the ſame day Chriſt died: was heauen open for a theefe & murtherer, though now a conuert, and was it not open for *Abraham* the father of the faithfull, for *Moſes*, for *Dauid*? 2. If the Patriarches ſoules were looſed at Chriſts death, were they not to accompanie Chriſts ſoule into heauen, and to aſcend with it? for Chriſt ſaith, *where I am, there ſhall be my miniſter alſo :* Iohn. 12.26. but Chriſts ſoule was in Paradiſe the ſame day he ſuffered, as he ſaid to the theefe, *this day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe*: and Saint *Ambroſe* witneſſeth the ſame: *Paradiſus non dixit, non eſt in me, quem regnare in ſe abſoluto latrone cognouerat :* Paradiſe did not ſay he is not in me, whom it did know to raigne there by the abſolution of the theefe : *Exhortat. ad virgin.* If then Chriſt as man and in his ſoule was in Paradiſe; ſurely all the Patriarches ſoules went vp with him; then Chriſt needed not to haue deſcended to hell to deliuer them : this I ſay, in their ſenſe, that hold the Patriarches then onely to be deliuered, whom we affirme alreadie to haue been in ioy by faith in Chriſt to come : as now followeth in this next argument to be ſhewed.

Argum. 3. We beleeue that the Patriarches and godly Fathers were in Heauen or Paradiſe, as well before the reſurrection of Chriſt as after : for in as much as they were iuſtified by faith in his bloud, they receiued the ſame crown and reward of righteouſnes that we do, being iuſtified by the ſame meanes. This we haue proued more at large, *controu.9.queſt.1.* Wherefore ſeeing there were none of the Fathers in hell, which they call *Limbus Patrum*, to be deliuered, there was no ſuch cauſe why Chriſt ſhould deſcend into hell. Therefore he deſcended not to deliuer the Patriarches that remayned in darknes. And here I would aske them a queſtion, from whence they thinke *Moſes* and *Elias* came, when they appeared talking with Chriſt in the mount, Math.17.3. will they ſay they came from hell a place of darknes, appearing in ſuch light and great glorie? But for *Elias* I know their anſwere alreadie, that he came from the terreſtriall Paradiſe, where they imagine him to be kept, which I haue ſhewed before to be a meere fable.*p.745.cont* 17.*qu*.3.*part.* What will they ſay for *Moſes*: if he were not in *Limbus*, no more were the reſt of the Prophets: and to ſay that *Moſes* was fetcht from hell, and out of darknes to talke with the ſonne of God in light, I thinke they are not ſo abſurd to affirme. *Chryſoſtome* vpon this place thus writeth: *Voluit Petrus tria tabernacula facere, &c. Peter* would haue made three tabernacles for *Moſes*, *Elias*, Chriſt; and ſo haue ſeparated the law, the Prophets, and the goſpell: *Ergo apparuit lucida nubes vnum tabernaculum, quod tres ſimul texit:* Therefore there appeared a bright cloude as one tabernacle, which couered all three. &c. If a cloud of brightnes were *Moſes* tabernacle, then your *Limbus* a dungeon of darknes was not at this time his tabernacle: and if he were not in *Limbus*, neither *Abraham* the father of the faithfull, nor the reſt of the Prophets.

*Argum.*4. They agree not among themſelues about this article of Chriſts deſcenſion, to deliuer the Patriarches: *Andradius* ſaith, it cannot be proued out of Scripture: but *Bellarm.* and our Rhemiſts doe bring their beſt arguments for it out of Scripture: they alleage alſo diuers cauſes of his deſcenſion: the Romane Catechiſme rendreth two reaſons; one, to ſet the Patriarches at libertie; the other to manifeſt the power and vertue of his death in hell: but that, Saint *Paul* ſaith, was ſufficiently manifeſted and made knowne vpon the croſſe, Coloſ.2.15. *Thomas Aquinas* beſide theſe, addeth a third, that as Chriſt died for vs to free vs from death, ſo it was conuenient that he ſhould deſcend into hell, to deliuer vs from the deſcenſion into hell: as though Chriſt by his death did not fully deliuer vs from eternall damnation. Some other holde, that Chriſt went thither to ſuffer the torments of hell, that he might fully pay our ranſome by ſuffering the whole puniſhment due vnto mankind. But this is a verie groſſe and erronious opinion: for Chriſt ſuffered fully in bodie and ſoule vpon the croſſe, when hee cryed, *Conſummatum eſt*, It is finiſhed: that is, he had fully appeaſed the wrath of God by his ſufferings.

Durand a popiſh writer of great account, thinketh that Chriſts ſoule did not deſcend into hell, *Secundum ſubſtantiam, ſed per effectus quoſdam*; in his ſubſtance, but by certaine effects: not ſubſtantially but effectually.

1. This opinion of *Durand*, is thus impugned by *Bellarm.* 1. It would follow that Chriſts bodie deſcended into hell, as well as his ſoule, for the effects of Chriſts death, which wrought in hell, were performed by Chriſts fleſh, as well as his ſoule. 1

2. If Chriſts ſoule deſcended but by the effectes, ſo it was in Paradiſe, and thus Chriſts ſoule ſhould be in many places at once. 2

3. Chriſts ſoule was three daies in the heart of the earth, but the effects of the ſoule might be ſhewed in hell in a moment, *Bellarm.c.*15. 3

Contra. 1. To them which hold the effectuall deſcent of Chriſt, it is no abſurditie to grant that the effects both of his bodie and ſoule wrought in hell. 2. yea, the graue being taken for hel, Chriſts fleſh properly deſcended thither: as the marginall note of the vulgar Latine expoundeth theſe words of *Iacob*: *I will deſcend to hell mourning to my ſonne*, Genel. 37.35. of his going to the graue. 1

1. What letteth but that the efficacie and vertue of Chriſts ſoule, and the fruites of his death may be in many places at once. 2. You moſt abſurdly hold, that the ſubſtance of Chriſts ſoule may be preſent in diuers places in one inſtant. 2.

1. That Chriſts ſoule remained three daies in hell, is contrarie to the Scriptures: for his ſoule was in paradiſe in the day of his paſſion. 2. The effects of Chriſts death doe remaine ſtill: and *Ambroſe* doubteth not to ſay, *Abyſſum opinione ſi penetres, illic quoq; videbis Ieſum operari:* If you pearce hell in thought, you ſhall ſee Ieſus working there ſtill. *lib.2.in* 1.*Luc.* 3.

Auguſtine ſaith plainely, that he knew not what good Chriſt wrought for the iuſt ſoules that were in the boſome of *Abraham*, when hee deſcended into hell: *à quibus eum ſecundum beatificam præſentiam diuinitatis, nunquam video receſſiſſe:* From whom I finde he was neuer abſent or withdrew himſelfe by the bleſſed preſence of his diuine power: *Ergo*, in his iudgement Chriſt deſcended not to deliuer the Patriarches. And concerning the ſoule of Chriſt, he writeth flatly: *Si mortuo corpore anima latronis ad Paradiſum mox vocatur, quempiam adhuc tam impium credimus, qui dicere audeat, quoniam anima Saluatoris noſtri triduo illo corporea mortis apud inferos cuſtodia mancipetur?* If the ſoule Epiſt.99.

of the theefe ſtraightway being gone from the bodie, was called vp to heauen: is there any man ſo wicked, to ſay that the ſoule of our ſauiour was kept three daies in the priſon of hel? By his ſentẽce then, the ſoule of Chriſt paſſed ſtraight to heauen, and deſcended not to hell. And *Auguſtines* reaſon ſeemeth to be this: Chriſts ſoule went the ſame way after death, which our ſoules muſt go, that are his members: but the ſoules of the faithfull goe preſently to heauen, as the ſoule of the theefe did, conuerted vpon the croſſe; and as Saint *Paule* ſaith of his ſoule, *I deſire to be diſſolued, and to be with Chriſt*, Philip. 1.23. for what aſſurance haue we that our ſoules ſhall paſſe immediately to heauen, if Chriſts ſoule, *who is the way*, Iohn.14.6. did not make a way for our ſoules? *Ergo*, Chriſts ſoule went ſtraight to heauen, and therefore was not, *triduo in corde terræ*, three daies in the heart of the earth, as *Bellarmine* ſaith, *c.*15. *argum.4.cont. Durand.*

Concerning the teſtimonies of the fathers alleaged by *Bellarmine* for Chriſts deſcenſion in ſoule to deliuer the Patriarches, I denie not, but that many of them do ſo affirme, yet it was no generall receiued opinion amongſt them, but diuers of them did otherwiſe both ſpeake and write.

Cyprian in the ſymbole or Creed, which goeth vnder his name, thus writeth: *Sciendum eſt, quod in eccleſiæ Romanæ ſymbolo non habetur additum, deſcendit ad inferna: ſed neque in Orientis eccleſijs habetur hic ſermo; vis tamen verbi eadem videtur eſſe in eo, quod ſepultus dicitur:* It muſt be knowen, that in the Creed of the Romane Church, it is not added, *he deſcended into hell*, neither yet is this ſpeech vſed in the Eaſt Churches: yet the ſame ſenſe and force ſeemeth to be in that he is ſaid to be buried.

We may finde tenne ſeuerall Creeds rehearſed in the Councels, and in them this article of Chriſts deſcenſion omitted.

1. *In epiſt.* 1. *Clement.* 2. In confeſſion of *Conſtantines* faith: *in Donation. Conſtantin.* 3. In the Nicene ſymbole. 4. In the *Sirmian* Councell. 5. In the confeſſion of *Liberius. Act. Liber. c.*1. 6. In the ſymbole of Conſtantinople. 7. In the ſymbole of Carthage. *Concil.*4.*can.*1. 8. Likewiſe, *concil. Toletan.*1.*can.*21. 9. In the ſymbole confirmed, *Epheſin.*1. 10. *Bracarenſ.*3.*in præfation.* In all theſe places it is omitted.

Likewiſe in diuers of *Auguſtines* ſermons: as *ſerm. de tempor.*123.125.129. In the expoſition of the Creed no mention is made of Chriſts locall deſcenſion to hell, to deliuer the Patriarches: and *ſerm.*119. he ſaith; *Cum confeſſi fuerimus eius paſſionem, confitemur & reſurrectionem:* When we haue confeſſed his paſſion, we confeſſe his reſurrection: If the Church had helde it ſo neceſſarie to beleeue the deſcent of Chriſts ſoule, for the releaſe of the Patriarches; eſpeciall remembrance ſhould haue beene made thereof in ſo many rehearſals and expoſitions of the Creed.

Yet was not the article of Chriſts deſcenſion euer denied in the Church, but not receiued in any ſuch ſenſe.

1. Some of them apply the deſcenſion to the ſuffring of Chriſts ſoule, as *Origen. tract.*12. *in Matth. data anima Chriſti in redemptionem pro multis, non manſit apud eum cui data eſt, propter hoc dicit Propheta, non derelinques, &c:* The ſoule of Chriſt being giuen in redemption for many, tarried not with him, to whome it was giuen; as the Prophet ſaith, thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hell.

2. Sometime the ſame *Origen* doth interprete the deſcenſion of Chriſt: *De ſuperioribus ad inferiora venientis:* Comming from the higher parts of heauen to the lower parts of the earth. *hom.*2. *in Geneſ.*

3. Some other, by the deſcent into hell: vnderſtand the lying of Chriſt in the graue, as *Hierom: Saluator in tantum ipſum corpus habuit poſt inferos in quo & crucifixus, vt manus perforatas oſtenderet:* Our Sauiour had ſo verely after hell, the bodie wherein he was crucified, that he ſhewed his pierced hands. *lib.*1.*aduerſ. Iouinian.* But Chriſts bodie went not downe to hell, but onely to the graue.

So *Origen*: *Chriſtus deſcendit ad inferos ad mortuos, tanquam inter mortuos liber:* Chriſt deſcended to hell to the dead, as free among the dead. *in Matth.*16. But the graue not hell is the place of the dead. Likewiſe *Auguſtine: Ab inferis primogenitus eſt ex defunctis:* He was the firſt borne of the dead from hell. *ſerm. de temp.*161.

4. Some referre Chriſts being in hell to his diuinitie: as *Ambroſe* vpon theſe words, Pſal. 139. 15. *Subſtantia mea in inferioribus terræ, &c.* My ſubſtance was beneath in the earth: *Quid obſtat quo minus illam diuinam intelligas ſubſtantiam cum deus vbique ſit.* What letteth but we may vnderſtand his diuine ſubſtance, ſeeing God is euerywhere, as it is ſaid before, *If I aſcend into heauen thou art there, if I lie downe in hell thou art there.* Pſal. 139.8. So alſo *Auguſtine* expoundeth Chriſts deſcenſion of the preſence of his maieſtie: *Act. cum Felician. c.*17. as I haue ſhewed before.

5. Some applie Chriſts deſcenſion to the fruits and effects of his croſſe: *Auguſtine. ſerm.* 107. *de tempor. Quid eſt portas inferni tollere niſi mortis imperium remouere?* What is it elſe to take away the gates of hell, but to remoue the power of death.

6. Some doe metaphorically referre the deſcent into hell, to a troubled conſcience: as *Bernard* vpon theſe words, *Thou ſhalt not leaue my ſoule in hell*, Pſalm. 16.10. *Infernus quidem, & carcer animæ*

rea conſcientia eſt: A guiltie conſcience is the hell and priſon of the ſoule, *in aſſumpt. ſer.4.* Againe he thus writeth: *Sunt gradus in aſcendendo & deſcendendo: in deſcendendo primus gradus à cælo vſque ad carnem, ſecundus ad crucem, tertius ad mortem: ecce quouſque deſcendit, nunquid amplius potuit? poterat iam recte rex noſter dicere, quid vltra debui facere, & non feci?* There are degrees in aſcending, and deſcending: in deſcending the firſt degree is to the fleſh, the ſecond to the croſſe, the third to death: behold how far he deſcended, could he deſcend any further? might not our King now trulie ſay, what ought I to haue done more, which I did not? *ſer. par.* 18.

Some of them I grant doe affirme Chriſts deſcenſion in ſoule to hell, to bring the Fathers ſoules from thence: but this was no generall opinion, nor expreſſe ſentence of the Church: as may appeare by this teſtimonie of *Origen*, vpon theſe words of *Iob: Naked I came forth, naked ſhall I returne,* Iob. 1. 21. *Nudus ibo illuc (inquit) quo illuc? illuc quo Adam abijt, quo ierunt priores mei: vbi tabernacula ſunt iuſtorum, &c. vbi eſt lux & vita, vbi eſt lætitia & exultatio, vbi Abraham ſinus, &c. angelorum chori, Chriſti regnum, æterni dei patris gloria & conſpectus:* I ſhall returne thither? whither? euen whither *Adam* went and all my forefathers: where are the tabernacles of the righteous, where is light and life, where is *Abrahams* boſome, the queere of Angels, the kingdome of Chriſt, the glorie and ſight of the eternall father: *in 1. cap. Iob.* Now then, if in your *Limbus* there be light and life, the companie of Angels, the preſence of God, the kingdome of Chriſt; then will I graunt, that the Fathers were there: but then they ſhould not haue needed to be fetched from thence. And thus much of Chriſts locall deſcenſion into hell to ſet free the ſoules of the Patriarches.

AN APPENDIX, CONCERNING the place of Hell.

The Papiſts.

THe place where damned ſpirits are tormented, they ſay, is about the center of the earth, the lowest of all places, and nothing lower than it, *Bellarm. de Chriſti anima. lib.4. cap.* 10. 27. Error.

Their *Limbus Patrum*, the place of darknes, where the Fathers were before Chriſt, is, ſay they, in the higheſt part, and as it were the brimme of hell, *Rhemiſt. Luk.* 16. 22. Betweene theſe two places there is a great gulfe or ſpace, and there is Purgatorie, *Rhemiſt. Luk.* 16. *ſect.* 8. Wherefore they conclude, *Veros inferos eſſe loca ſubterranea:* That the ſubterreſtriall and infernall places doe properly make hell, *Bellarm. cap.* 8. And ſo hell ſhould be properly a place of puniſhment: becauſe of the farre diſtance from heauen: whereas not ſo much the diſtance of place, as the abſence of Gods ſpirit, and loſſe of his fauour, maketh it a place of horror and miſerie.

Argum. 1. *Bellarmine* proueth by the Greeke word ᾅδης, and the Hebrue (*ſheol*) that hell is a ſubterreſtriall place, becauſe thoſe words are taken for hell in the earth, *Bellar. ibid.*

Contra. 1. This argument concludeth not, vnleſſe he could proue, that thoſe words are alwaies taken for hell: the contrarie whereof is euident, as Geneſ. 42. 38. *You ſhall bring my gray head with ſorrow to (ſheol, ᾅδης,) the graue:* for his gray haires went not downe to hell, but reſted in the graue. Likewiſe this annotation is giuen in the margent of the vulgar Latine, Geneſ. 37. 35. *In infernum, id eſt, foſſam, vel ſepulchrum, non hic ſignificat locum pœnarum, ſicut nec in alijs locis:* Into hell, that is, the pit or the graue, it ſignifieth not here the place of puniſhment, nor yet in other places.

2. We graunt that theſe words ſometimes are taken for hell, and then they onely ſhew that there is an hell, but they enforce not the place.

3. Thirdly, neither doe we denie, but that hell is an infernall place: but herein wee differ from them, 1. that neither doe we affirme, that the place cauſeth hell, but the abſence of Gods fauour and preſence. 2. neither dare we circumſcribe the place certainly, as they doe, making it to be about the center of the earth. 3. nor yet preſume we to make ſo many regions of hell, as they doe without warrant of the word.

Argum. 2. Matth. 12. 40. As *Ionas* was three dayes and three nights in the belly of the Whale; ſo the ſonne of man muſt be in the heart of the earth: but the graue is not in the heart, but the brimme of the earth: *Ergo*, we muſt needes vnderſtand that to be hell, which is in the middeſt of the earth, *Bellarm. cap.* 12.

Anſ. 1. This place cannot otherwiſe be applied, than to ſignifie the buriall of Chriſt, and his abode in the graue, and his riſing againe the third day: of his ſoule it cannot properly be meant: for Chriſt ſaith, he will giue them the ſigne of *Ionas* in himſelfe; but a ſigne is conſpicuous, viſible and apparant: how could then the deſcending of his ſoule be a ſigne vnto them, which they knew not, neither could ſee? But the laying of his bodie into the graue, and the remaining there to the third day, they were all eye witneſſes of. Alſo there is great affinitie betweene the two Greeke words, σημεῖον, a ſigne, which is there vſed, Matth. 12. 40. and σῆμα, which ſignifieth *ſepulchrum*, a graue, the one word being fitly deriued of the other, what better, σημεῖον, then could hee giue them, then, σῆμα, his owne graue or ſepulchre? Secondly, to be in the heart of the earth, is nothing

thing elſe but to be within the earth,according to the Hebrue phraſe,as Exod.15.8.The heart of the Sea,that is,within the Sea: ſo Chriſts bodie was in the earth, it lay hid as it were in the bowels of the earth. And thus Saint *Hierome* applieth this figure of *Ionas* to the death and buriall of Chriſt: ***Ionam cetus excepit immerſum, non contigit deuoratum,&c.ſic ſæua mors licet Chriſtum ſorbuerat crucifixum,tamen quem non inuenerat reum,non potuit tenere damnatum:*** The Whale receiued *Ionas* drowned, but it touched him not once deuoured: ſo cruell death, although it ſwallowed Chriſt crucified,yet, whom it found not guiltie, it could not hold as condemned: ***Epitaph. Nepotian.***

3. This expoſition is againſt themſelues: for if Chriſt went downe to the very hart and middeſt of the earth,which is the center,then hee deſcended to the place of the damned: for neither *Limbus Patrum*, nor Purgatorie, are in the center or loweſt part of the earth by their opinion: but they themſelues hold the contrarie: for they ſay, that Chriſt by deſcending deliuered ſoules out of the two vppermoſt hels,*Limbus*,and Purgatorie,but not out of the nethermoſt hell,which is the place of the damned, ***Rhemiſt.Luk.***16.*ſect*.8. Alſo it ſhould follow of this their interpretation,that the ſoule of Chriſt was as long in hell,as his bodie in the graue,which is againſt the opinion of many Papiſts, and of ſome of the Fathers. *Origen* ſaith, ***Prima dies nobis paſſio ſaluatoris,ſecunda,qua deſcendit ad infernum:*** The firſt day we haue the paſſion of our Sauiour,the ſecond day he deſcended to hell,***Hom.5.in Exod.***

Argum.2. Luk.8.31.The diuels deſired Chriſt that he would not ſend them into the deepe: what is that elſe but the loweſt region of the earth,where hell is,which S. *Paul* calleth the loweſt parts of the earth? *Bellarm.*

Anſw. 1. We denie not,but that God hath prepared, and that there is a place of vnſpeakable torments ordained for the diuell and his Angels, and all damned ſoules: but that this place ſhould be in the center of the earth,the places alleaged proue not. 2. The word ***abyſſus*** tranſlated, the deepe,is ſometime taken figuratiuely in a metaphore,as Rom.11.33. ***O the deepenes of the wiſedome of God!*** the word is,βάθος, not much varying in ſignification from ***abyſſus:*** ſo the place of their puniſhment is ſaid to be a great depth,that is, a place of vnſearchable and vnſpeakeable miſerie and horror. 3. Neither muſt this word ***abyſſus***, of neceſſitie be referred to the earth, for there are ***abyſſi maris***,the depths of the Sea,Exod.15.8.as well as of the earth.

The lower places which S.*Paul* ſpeaketh of,Epheſ.4.9.may be either vnderſtood generally of the whole earth,which is ***pars mundi infima***, the loweſt part of the world, or elſe of the great abaſing of Chriſt,from heauen to earth, being God,to become a ſeruant: as alſo the graue of Chriſt was that lower part of the earth: for the Apoſtle ſaith in the comparatiue, κατώτερα, not κατώτατα, the lower,not the loweſt: and ſo your vulgar Latine tranſlateth,***inferiora***, not ***infima terra:*** but hell is the loweſt part,the graue is ſaid to be the lower.

The Proteſtants.

THat there is a locall place of torment prepared for the diuell and his angels, we doubt not, being ſo taught in the Scripture, Matth.25.41. A place of darkneſſe, 2.Pet.2.4. Farre diſtant from the heauenly manſions of the bleſſed,Luk.16.26. Neither doe wee denie but that it may be in the earth, or whereſoeuer elſe it pleaſeth God: but whereſoeuer hell is, there is but one: that diuiſion of hell into three or foure regions,we vtterly condemne, as a meere deuice of man without Scripture: and this wee ſay, that the place of hell cauſeth not the torment,but the wrath and curſe of God: for euen out of hell God may make a man to feele the torments of hell,as we doubt not but our Sauiour Chriſt did for vs and our redemption vpon the croſſe.

Argum.1. It is poſſible to feele the paine of hell in the ſoule, although not in the proper and appointed place of hell:as *Iob* complaineth,***The arrowes of the almightie are in me,the venime thereof doth drinke vp my ſpirit,and the terrors of God fight againſt me.*** And therefore he ſaith,his griefe was heauier than the ſand of the Sea,Iob.6.4.14. *Iob* felt euen the hell of conſcience in himſelfe for the time: yea our Sauiour bare the burthen of his Fathers wrath vpon the croſſe,as wee haue ſhewed before: *Ergo*,it is not the place that maketh hell. So *Bernard* ſaith: ***Infernus animæ rea conſcientia:*** The hell of the ſoule is a guiltie conſcience,***in aſſumpt.ſer.***4.

Argum.2. Hell,as the Scripture defineth,is this,to be caſt into vtter darknes,***there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth***,Matth.25.30.22.13.The darknes cauſeth weeping and horrible gnaſhing of teeth, the vnſpeakable puniſhment both of bodie and ſoule: This darknes is not the abſence of the light of the Sunne: for neither ſhall the Saints in heauen haue that light, becauſe they neede it not,Apocal.22.5. and it ſhall be a place of darknes to the damned angels, which haue no vſe of the Sun light: they alſo are reſerued in chaynes of darknes,Iude 6. as they are no materiall chaines,ſo neither is it an outward darknes only,but the abſence of Gods fauour & the light of his countenance: as the people are ſaid to haue ſit in darknes before the light of the Goſpel, by the preaching of Ieſus Chriſt,did ſhine vnto them,Matth.4.16. But they much more ſhall be and are kept in darknes,that are condemned to hell,where they feele nothing but the horror of Gods wrath, his eternall and endleſſe curſe, with vnſpeakable torments now in ſoule, and afterward both in bodie and ſoule, without all comfort or hope of refreſhing, vtterly excluded from the preſence of God: Wherefore it is not the place, but the wrath of God, and abſence of his ſpirit, that cauſeth ſuch endleſſe and vnſpeakable puniſhment.

Argum. 3. As for your diſtinction of hell, the brimme whereof you ſay is *Limbus Patrum*, the middle part, Purgatorie, the loweſt and neathermoſt hell it ſelfe, the place of the damned, in *Auguſtines* time it was not knowne: for firſt, that the boſome of *Abraham* was part of hell, he vtterly denieth: *Apparet non eſſe membrum inferorum, tantæ illius fœlicitatis ſinum:* That boſome of ſo great bliſſe can be no member or part of hell, *Epiſt.99*. Againe, Purgatorie he vtterly refuſeth, acknowledging but two places: Heauen for the faithfull, Hell for the damned and vnbeleeuers. *Tertium locum penitus ignoramus, imo nec eſſe in ſcripturis ſanctis inuenimus:* A third place wee are vtterly ignorant of, yea we finde in holy Scripture, that it is not, *Auguſt. Hypognoſt.*

THE SECOND PART OF THIS CONTROVERſie, of matters which are in queſtion concerning the diuine nature of Chriſt.

THis part of the controuerſie containeth three queſtions. Firſt, whether Chriſt be αὐτόθεος, God of him. Secondly, whether hee be mediatour as God, or man, or as both. Thirdly, whether he haue by his deſerts purchaſed any thing for himſelfe.

THE FIRST PART, WHETHER CHRIST be αὐτόθεος, God of himſelfe.

The Papiſts.

THey denie that Chriſt is αὐτόθεος, God of himſelfe; and affirme, that he had not onely his perſon, but his ſubſtance of his father: whereupon they are bolde to charge *Caluine* with blaſphemie, for ſaying, that Chriſt is God of himſelfe as well as the Father, *Rhemiſt. Ioh.1. ſect.3*. 28. Error.

Argum. The word was with God, to wit, the ſonne is with and of the father, and not the father of the ſonne: *Ergo*, the ſonne is God, with and of his father, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſw. This place proueth, that the ſonne of God, as he is the ſonne, is of God: for to bee the ſonne of God, the word, the wiſedome of God, 1. Cor. 1. 30. his image, Heb. 1. 3. doe belong vnto his perſon. So then, as he is the ſonne, the wiſedome of God, or the word, ſo hee is of God, namely in reſpect of his perſon: but as the ſonne is God, he is of himſelfe, neither taketh he his eſſence but perſon onely of his Father.

The Proteſtants.

THat we may fully know the ſtate of this queſtion, wee muſt firſt ſet downe certaine propoſitions: 1. We doe worſhip one eternall, omnipotent, and onely wiſe God, one and the ſame in power, eſſence, eternitie: but three in perſon, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt: there is the ſame nature, eſſence, and deitie of them all, though they be diſtinguiſhed in perſon: As there is one nature of the light, the heate thereof and the ſhining brightnes, *Lucis, ſplendoris, caloris*, as *Auguſtine* putteth the example: which three differ among themſelues in propertie and qualitie, yet haue one and the ſelfeſame nature and ſubſtance: God the father is as the light, Iam. 1. 17. God the ſonne is as the brightnes of his glorie, Hebr. 1. 3. God the holy Ghoſt is as the heate or fire, Heb. 12. 29. Thus theſe three are one in nature and eſſence, but three in perſon.

2. There is ſomewhat communicable to them all, as the Godhead and diuine power and nature: Somewhat incommunicable, as the ſeuerall proprieties of the perſons: for it is proper onely to the Father to beget, proper to the Sonne onely to be begotten, proper onely to the holie Ghoſt to proceede from them both. There is no eſſentiall difference in the Trinitie: for there is one eſſence and diuine nature common to them all. But there is both a reall and rationall difference: The perſons differ one from another really, though not eſſentially. But the perſons differ only rationally or in reſpect from the eſſence of the Godhead: as the father and the ſonne amongſt men differ not eſſentially, for they are both men. But they are really, verily, and indeede diſtinguiſhed: for it is one thing to be the father, another to be the ſonne: yet from their owne eſſence their perſons only differ in reſpect and relation, not verily, *non re, ſed ratione*: for as amongſt vs the father is a man, the ſonne alſo is a man: but in one reſpect he is a father, and in another he is man; ſo likewiſe of the ſonne, yet one and the ſame, is both father and man; one and the ſame is both ſonne & man: ſo is it in the Trinitie. Now to the point of the queſtion, which we haue in hand. The Son therfore in the bleſſed Trinitie is begotten of his fathers eſſence, and hath the whole eſſence of his father, not by propagation, partition, profluence, but only by communication. The Son is not αὐτόυἱος, ſon of himſelfe, becauſe he is ſon of the father: but he is αὐτόθεος, that is, very God of himſelf:

The eſſence or Godhead of the Sonne is of himſelfe, not of the father : for it is one and the ſelfe-ſame eſſence, which the father hath. He is indeed, *Deus de Deo, Lumen de lumine*, God of God, light of light: but not as he is God, is he of God, but as he is the Sonne. It is one thing for the perſon of the Sonne to be begotten of the eſſence of the father, which we graunt : another thing, for the eſſence of the ſonne to be begotten, which we muſt not yeeld to. So we conclude, that Chriſt as hee is the ſonne, is of God the father, as he is God, he is of himſelfe.

*Argum.*1. The eſſence of the father is of himſelfe, not begotten of any : but the eſſence and deitie of the ſonne is the ſame and all one with his fathers : *Ergo*, it is not begotten of any other. Againe, he is not God whoſe eſſence is not of himſelfe : therefore if Chriſts eſſence be not of himſelfe, he ſhould not be God.

*Argum.*2. Our Sauiour Chriſt himſelfe ſaith, *As the father hath life in himſelfe, ſo he hath giuen to the ſonne alſo to haue life in himſelfe*, Ioh.5.26. The ſonne then hath life in himſelfe: *Ergo*, he is God of himſelfe. *Auguſtine* vpon theſe words writeth : *Non quaſi mutuatur vitam, nec quaſi particeps vitæ, ſed ipſe vitam in ſe habet, vt ipſa vita ſibi ſit ipſe :* Hee did not as it were borrow life of his father, neither is made partaker of life, but he hath life in himſelfe, hee is life vnto himſelfe. But leſt any man ſhould thus miſtake the words of the text, that becauſe the father gaue to the ſonne to haue life in himſelfe, therefore he gaue him to be God : (for to haue life in himſelfe is to be God) *Auguſtine* thus expoundeth them : *Dedit filio vitam habere in ſe, breuiter dixerim, genuit filium:* Hee gaue to his ſonne to haue life in himſelfe, in few words, He begat his ſonne. As if we ſhould ſay, the father which hath life in himſelfe, that is, is God, gaue to his ſonne to haue life in himſelfe, that is, begat God the ſonne : he begat him not as hee was God, or in reſpect of his diuine eſſence, but as he was his ſonne, in regard of his perſon : yet becauſe of the neere vniting and coniunction of the perſon with the Godhead and diuine power to haue life in himſelfe, which really cannot be diſtinguiſhed, but onely in reſpect, as we haue ſhewed : the father is ſaid alſo to giue vnto the ſonne to bee God, and to haue life in himſelfe, not directly or properly, but obliquely and by a conſequent, becauſe his ſonne, whom he begat from all eternitie, muſt alſo neceſſarily be God.

In Iohan. tract.19.

And that it cannot be the proper meaning, that God the Father gaue to the ſonne power to haue life in himſelfe, as he is God, or in reſpect of his diuine nature, &c. it appeareth by the words themſelues : for as the father hath life in himſelf, euen ſo hath he giuen to the ſonne: but the father hath life in himſelfe, without beginning from any other : *Ergo*, ſo hath the ſonne.

There ſhould elſe be a contrarietie and repugnancie in the ſpeech : for if Chriſt receiued life from his father, he could not haue it in himſelfe. It muſt therefore of neceſſitie be vnderſtood of the perſon in the Trinitie, not of the diuine eſſence. And ſo wee determine that it is true in the concrete, *in concreto*, if wee ſay, *Deus Pater genuit Deum Filium:* God the Father begat God the Sonne, but not in *abſtracto, Deitas Patris genuit Deitatem Filij*, that the Godhead of the Father begat the Godhead of the Sonne. But in reſpect of his perſon onely as hee is the Sonne the ſecond perſon in Trinitie, ſo is hee begotten and hath his beginning of God : but in reſpect of his diuine nature as he is God, he is begotten of none, but of himſelfe, as God the Father is.

Concil. Conſtantinop. 6. action. 6. ex epiſtol. Sophronij Hieroſolym. Perfectus deus eſt pater, perfectus deus filius, perfectus deus ſpiritus ſanctus, vnam eandemque ſingula quaque perſona inſeparabilem, indiminutam, & perfectam habet deitatem: The Father is perfect God, the Sonne perfect God, the holy Ghoſt perfect God : euery perſon hath one and the ſame vnſeparable, vndeuided and perfect deitie. If Chriſt then be perfect God, is hee God of himſelfe : for he is not perfect, that hath his being from another : and if he haue one and the ſame deitie with his father, then his deitie hath no beginning from any other, for ſuch is his fathers deitie.

Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle: *Qui ſolus habet immortalitatem*, 1.Tim.6. verſ.16. Which onely hath immortalitie : *Non ſepares patrem non ſepares filium, quia diuinitas patris, & filij vna eademque eſt:* Doe not ſeparate the father, nor the ſonne, becauſe there is one and the ſame diuinitie of them both, *de fid. lib.3.c.2.* If there be one and the ſame diuinitie of both, then the ſonne is God of himſelfe as the father is.

Origen. ex apolog. Pamphil. doth count them in the number of heretikes, which doe affirme, that *Chriſtus homo natus patris ſolum in ſe habuit deitatem:* That Chriſt being borne man had onely his fathers deitie, &c. How farre then are the Papiſts from this hereſie, that affirme, that Chriſt is not God of himſelfe, and ſo conſequently, that he hath onely his fathers deitie?

Decr. part.2. cauſ.24. qu.3. c.29. Among other heretikes are rehearſed *Aetiani*, the Aetians, *diſſimilem patri aſſerentes filium*, which affirmed, that the ſonne was vnlike the father : what doe they elſe affirme and teach, but that the ſonne is not God of himſelfe as the father is?

Peter Lombard is an euident witneſſe with vs, that God the father begat not the diuine eſſence, but the perſon onely of his ſonne. This poſition he hath, *Diuina eſſentia non genuit diuinam eſſentiam:* That the diuine eſſence begat not the diuine eſſence : which he prooueth by theſe three reaſons : Firſt, if the father begot the diuine eſſence, it would follow, that the Godhead or diuine eſſence

ſence ſhould be a relatiue, not a ſubſtance: for that which is begotten, is a relatiue to that which begetteth. And as *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Quod relatiuè dicitur, non indicat ſubſtantiam:* That which is relatiuely ſpoken, doth not ſhew the ſubſtance.

Secondly, then alſo the father ſhould beget himſelfe, if hee beget the diuine eſſence, which is himſelfe.

Thirdly, ſeeing the father is God and a diuine eſſence, if he ſhould beget the Godhead and diuine eſſence, then by begetting he ſhould be God, and ſo that which is begotten ſhould bee the cauſe of that which begetteth, whereas he that begetteth is the cauſe of that which is begotten.

Vpon theſe reaſons he concludeth, that *diuina eſſentia nec genuit, nec genita eſt:* that the diuine eſſence neither begetteth, nor is begotten, *lib. 1. diſtinct. 5. a. b. c.* And this ſentence is confirmed by *Innocent. 3. decret. Greg. lib. 1. tit. 1. c. 2. Diuina natura nec eſt generans, nec genita:* The diuine nature neither begetteth, nor is begotten.

And whereas wee ſay, *Deus de Deo, lumen de lumine*, God of God, light of light: the meaning is this, not that the Godhead is begotten, but that the ſonne, which is God and light, is begotten of the father God and light, not begotten as he is God, but as he is the ſonne, *Magiſt. ibid. liter. f.* So then not the ſubſtance or Godhead of the ſonne, but his perſon onely is begotten.

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER CHRIST be our Mediatour, as he is man onely, or as he is both God and man.

The Papiſts.

THey doe teach that Chriſt onely exerciſed his prieſthood and the office of the Mediatour, as he was man, not as hee was both God and man, *Rhem. Heb. 5. ſect. 4.* His obedience, ſacrifice, prayer, ſatisfaction, entring into the heauens, was all performed by and in his manhood onely, *ſecundum formam ſerui*, as he was in the forme of a ſeruant, not *ſecundum formam dei*, as hee was in the forme of God, *Bellarm. de Chriſto, lib. 5. cap. 1.* 29. Error.

Argum. 1. If he were prieſt as he is God, he ſhould be inferiour and not equall to God, and ſo be Gods prieſt, and not his ſonne: for he to whom ſacrifice is offered, is greater than he that offereth it, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

Anſw. It followeth not, that becauſe Chriſt is our Prieſt and Mediatour as God and man, that therefore he ſhould performe all the duties of the Prieſthood as he was God: all the parts of his prieſthood that required obedience, ſeruice, homage, ſubiection, as were his ſuffrings and ſacrifice, he exerciſed as man: but the authoritie of reconciling vs to God, he wrought both as God and man.

Argum. 2. There is one God, and one Mediatour of God and men, the man Ieſus Chriſt, 1. Timoth. 2. 5. Why ſaith the Apoſtle, The man Ieſus Chriſt, but to ſignifie, that according to his manhood onely he is our Mediatour? *Bellarm. cap. 3.*

Anſw. Firſt, you may as well conclude out of this place, that the Mediatour is onely man and not God, as that he is Mediatour onely as man and not as God: but if out of theſe words it may be proued, that the Mediatour is both God and man, as it neceſſarily followeth, (for how elſe can he be a Mediatour of God and men?) it doth as well follow that hee is Mediatour both as God and as man. Indeede the Apoſtle ſaith, The man Ieſus Chriſt, not God and man, for the one hee had ſaid before, *There is one God*; in that ſpeech including our Sauiour Chriſt, who is one God with his father. Secondly, what Saint *Pauls* meaning is, it appeareth in the next verſe, who gaue himſelfe a raunſome, verſ. 6. As Chriſt therefore gaue himſelfe a raunſome, ſo is hee Prieſt and Mediatour: but he gaue himſelfe as he was God; as he was man, he was giuen: *Ergo*, as God he is Mediatour. Thirdly, I will adioyne the anſwere of *Eſpencæus* a learned Papiſt: 1. That the Fathers by this very place doe prooue that Chriſt is God, not man onely, which could not be concluded from hence, if Chriſt were Mediatour as man onely, and not as God and man. 2. The Apoſtle addeth, *The man Chriſt Ieſus: Quorum illud nomen eſt hominis, non puri puti, ſed à deo uncti:* Whereof the firſt is a name not of a very pure man, but anoynted of God: *Poſterius nomen dei hominis eſt:* The latter is a name, of one that is God and man, ſuch an one as ſhould ſaue the people from their ſinnes: *Eſpenc. lib. de Chriſt. mediat. c. 5.*

The Proteſtants.

IN the office of the Prieſthood two things muſt be conſidered, a miniſterie, and an authoritie: In reſpect of the miniſteriall part Chriſt performed the office of his Prieſthood as man: but in reſpect of authoritie of entring into the holieſt place, and reconciling vs to God, which was the principall part of his Prieſthood, he did performe it as the ſonne of God, as the Lord and maker of the houſe, and not as a ſeruant. And ſo we hold that Chriſt neither according to his humanitie alone, nor his Godhead alone, but that whole Chriſt is a Prieſt, both as God and man.

Argum. 1. Saint *Paule* ſaith, *God was in Chriſt, reconciling the world to himſelfe*, 2. Corinth. 5. 19. *Ergo*, Chriſt, as God, is our reconciler and Mediator. Againe, Chriſt as he is without father and mother, hath no beginning of his daies, nor ende of his life; ſo is he a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*, Heb. 7. 3. but Chriſt as he is God & man hath neither father nor mother: as he is God hath no beginning of daies, and in his whole perſon no ende of his life: therefore as God and man he is a Prieſt of *Melchiſedechs* order.

Bellarmine anſwereth to the firſt, 1. Euery one that reconcileth is not a mediator, though euerie mediator be a reconciler. 2. It is one thing to be a mediator, an other to reconcile by a mediator; God by the man Chriſt the mediator did reconcile vs to himſelfe, but it followeth not, that therfore he is our mediator as God.

Secondly, the place alleaged out of the Hebrues, prooueth that the perſon of our high Prieſt and mediator is diuine, but not that hee is our Prieſt as hee is God: hee is both God and man, but he executeth his Prieſthoode and Mediatorſhip onely as man. *Bellarm. c. 6. ad 2. & 3. Loc.*

Contra. Firſt, 1. Though ſometime among men one may reconcile himſelfe without a mediator, yet there is no reconciliation with God without a mediator: wherefore it is not farre from blaſphemie to denie this argument, Chriſt reconcileth vs as God and man, *Ergo*, he is our mediator as God and man: Againe the Apoſtle ſheweth wherein this reconciliation conſiſteth, *in the not imputing of our ſinnes.* 1. Cor. 5. 19. But the not imputation of our ſinnes, is a worke of the mediator. 2. Chriſt is both the reconciler as God and man, and the partie to whom we are reconciled, as he is God: to be a mediator and to reconcile by a mediator, doe both agree vnto Chriſt: it followeth not then, we are reconciled to him as God, *Ergo*, not by him as God: for the Apoſtle ſheweth, that he reconcileth vs to himſelfe; and God doth beſeech you through vs, *And I pray you in Chriſtes ſteade:* Chriſt then as God is our mediator, and doth as it were entreate vs to be reconciled.

Secondly, *Melchiſedech* was a type of the eternall Prieſthood of Chriſt: *He is likened to the ſonne of God, and continueth a Prieſt for euer:* Hebr. 7. 3. Chriſt cannot be a Prieſt for euer, but as he is God: and verſ. 25. *He is able perfectly to ſaue them that come vnto God by him:* but he cannot perfectly ſaue, but as God: *Ergo*, he is mediator as God. verſ. 28. *The word of the oth, &c. maketh the ſonne prieſt that is conſecrated for euer:* Chriſt is a Prieſt after *Melchiſedechs* order as he is the ſonne, but as the ſonne he is God; *Ergo*, as God he is our Mediator.

Argum. 2. Saint *Paul* ſaith, The law was giuen by Angels in the hand of a Mediator, Galat. 3. 19. But then Chriſt was God onely: *Ergo*, hee is Mediator alſo as God. *Bellarmine* ſaith, that he is called Mediator, becauſe that perſon was appointed afterward to be Mediator. But the text is plaine, that he then actually performed the office of a Mediator, ſo much as pertained to his Godhead: for the Law was giuen in the hand of a Mediator, which kind of ſpeech ſheweth a preſent execution of the Mediatorſhip.

Bellarmine replieth: if Chriſt were the Mediator before he was man, being then onely God, it would follow, that as God he was inferiour to God; for as he is a Mediator he is inferiour. *c.* 8.

Anſw. 1. Chriſt in reſpect of euerie part of his Mediatorſhip is not inferior to God; but equall as he executeth his Mediatorſhip as God: He is inferiour onely as the man Mediator, not as God Mediator: as *Theophylact* expoundeth theſe words, Iohn. 1. 3. All things were made by it: ſaying: *Patrem mediatore filio ad rerum creationem vſum non minore, ſed æquali:* That the father vſed his ſonne as a Mediator for the creation, yet not leſſe then the father but equall.

Homil. de onibus cap. 12.

Auguſtine ſaith, *Non mediator homo præter diuinitatem, diuina humanitas, & humana diuinitas mediatrix:* The man Chriſt is not mediator beſide his diuine nature; the diuine humanitie, and the humane diuinitie, is the Mediatrix. *Ergo*, Chriſt Mediator both as God and man.

Cyrillus lib. Apologetic. anathatiſ. 10. *Quando dicis indignum eſſe deo, vt ſacrificet, aſtipulor & ego, ſcilicet, ſi ſolum ſit, & abſq; carne verbum: Itaque vidi ipſum ſacrificantem ſecundum humanitatem, conſidentem vt deum: ſic beatus Paulus*, Heb. 8. 1. Where thou ſayeſt, that it is no meete thing for God to ſacrifice, I grant it, if the word ſhould be by it ſelfe without fleſh: therefore I conſider Chriſt ſacrificing as man, but ſitting in the heauens as God, as bleſſed *Paule* ſaith: Hebr. 8. 1. We haue ſuch an high Prieſt, that ſitteth at the right hand of the throne of the Maieſtie in heauen: Chriſt is our Prieſt, as he ſitteth at the right hand, &c. but ſo is he God, as this father ſaith, the firſt is heere affirmed by Saint *Paul*: *Ergo*, as he is God, he is our Prieſt.

Bernard alſo writeth well of this point: *Sicut mediator noſter duas naturas, humanitatem & diuinitatem coniunxit in vna perſona: ita ſingula eius opera, ad hanc ſiue illam neceſſe eſt pertinere naturam; ad hanc ſcilicet miſeria, and illam pertinet potentia:* As our Mediator ioyned two natures, the diuine and humane in one perſon; ſo all his workes belong to one of theſe natures: whatſoeuer he ſuffered was of man, his powerfull works were of his diuine nature: *ſerm. de verbis ſapientiæ.* Chriſt therefore wrought ſome workes of his mediatorſhip as man, ſome as God: but the whole office he executed as both.

*Leo epiſt.*81.*Qua ratione veritatē mediatoris impleret, niſi qua in forma dei æqualis eſt patri, & in forma ſerui particeps eſſet & noſtri:* How ſhould he fulfill the veritie of a Mediator, vnleſſe he were in the forme of God equall to his father, and in the forme of a ſeruant partaker with vs: Both theſe natures then belong not onely to the being but to the fulfilling of the Mediators office, not to the conſtitution onely, but to the execution alſo.

Eſpencæus a learned diuine of Paris of their owne ſide hath written a whole treatiſe of this matter, wherein he maintaineth this poſition, that Chriſt is not Mediator onely : *Qua homo, ſed qua deus:* As he is man, but as he is God. *lib.de Chriſt.mediat.c.*5. And to this purpoſe he alleageth diuers fathers : as *Cyrill: Non propter carnis ſolum diſpenſationem mediator vocatur*, He is not called a Mediator onely becauſe of the diſpenſation of his fleſh: *Theſaur.lib.*4.*c.*2.

To the ſame end he alleageth, *Theophylact.c.*2. *Theophylactus adeo de ratione mediatoris ſentit eſſe diuinam naturam, vt hinc Chriſti diuinitatem colligat ita : quod deus ſit, inde liquet, quod mediator ſit, &c.* *Theophylact* doth thinke that the diuine nature belongeth to the manner of the mediation, in ſuch ſort that hee thereby proueth Chriſt to be God : *That he is God, it is euident, becauſe he is the Mediator.*

To this purpoſe alleaging many fathers both Greeke and Latine, *c.* 2.3.4. he concludeth with *Auguſtine* : *Mediatorem inter nos & deum & mortalitatem habere oportuit tranſeuntem, & beatitatem permanentem: &c.* It was neceſſarie that the mediator ſhould haue, both tranſitorie mortalitie, and permanent felicitie, &c. *lib.*9.*de ciuit.dei.c.*15. And whereas in the ſame place it followeth : *Non ob hoc mediator quia verbum ſed per quod homo* : He is not a mediator, becauſe he is the word, but whereby he is man : he anſwereth, that *Auguſtines* meaning is, that Chriſt was not our mediator as the word onely and ſimply, without our fleſh.*c.*5. Thus this graue writer one of their owne ſide is a plentifull witnes with vs againſt them.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER CHRIST merited for himſelfe.

The Papiſtes.

CHriſt, they ſay, by his paſſion and ſufferings, hath not onely merited eternall life for vs, but euen by his owne merite obtained his owne glorification, *Rhemiſt.annot.* Heb.2.1. 30.Error

*Argum.*1. Philip.2.9. He humbled himſelfe vnto the death of the croſſe, wherefore God hath alſo highly exalted him, and giuen him a name aboue all names : *Ergo*, Chriſt merited his exaltation, *Rhemiſt.in hunc locum.*

Anſw. Firſt, this place ſheweth a ſequele of the exaltation of Chriſt after his humiliation, it maketh not one the cauſe of another, as our Sauiour himſelfe ſaith, Luc.24.26. *Chriſt ought to haue ſuffered, and ſo enter into his glory.* Secondly, the exaltation which the Apoſtle heere ſpeaketh of, is the ſame, which God chalengeth to himſelfe, Iſai.45.22. *Euery knee ſhall bow vnto me, and euerie tongue ſhall ſweare by me.* But it were moſt groſſe to affirme, that the diuine power and glorie can be merited : Chriſt hath his diuinitie by nature, and not by merite. Thirdly, Saint *Ambroſe* expoundeth this place not of the purchaſe, but the manifeſtation onely of Chriſts glory : *Chriſtus hoc natus accepit, vt poſt crucem manifeſtaretur, quid à patre, dum generaretur, acceperit; non enim tunc accepit à patre, quando à creatura capit ſciri:* Chriſt receiued this in his birth, that it ſhould be manifeſt after his croſſe, what he receiued of his father in his generation; for he then did not receiue it of his father when it began to be knowen of the creature. *in* 2.*Philipp.*

The Proteſtants.

IT is not in any wiſe to be thought, that Chriſt merited his glorie, which is due to him in reſpect of his diuinitie : but that by the glorious worke of our redemption, he hath declared himſelfe, to be a perſon worthie of all honour and glory, Apoc.5.9. *Thou art worthie to take the booke, &c.* the place is ſo to be vnderſtood.

*Argum.*1. If Chriſt had reſpect vnto himſelfe in his ſufferings, to gaine or merite any thing for himſelfe, his loue ſhould greatly be obſcured and darkened, which Saint *Paule* ſo greatly commendeth, in that he died for his enemies, Rom.5.10. For now ſhould not his loue be whole and entyre towards vs, as though for our cauſe he onely had died: But it is now a deuided and halfe loue : for he died, as they ſay, partly to merit for himſelfe, partly to merite for vs. But the ſcripture ſpeaketh cleane contrarie, Iohn 17.9. *For their ſakes ſanctifie I my ſelfe:* he ſaith not, partly for their ſakes, partly for mine owne.

Saint *Ambroſe* ſheweth, how that whatſoeuer Chriſt did, he did wholly for vs, not thereby to gaine any thing to himſelfe : 1. Concerning his faſting he ſaith : *Chriſtus non emerendæ gratiæ ſuæ cauſa, ſed noſtræ eruditionis gratia ieiunauit :* Chriſt faſted not to merite fauour or grace to himſelfe, but for our erudition or inſtruction. *lib.*3.*de fid.c.*2.

2. *Nec ſibi ſua natiuitas profuit, ſed nobis :* Neither did his birth profit himſelfe but vs. *in* 1.*Coloſſ.*

3. *Chriſtus noſtri non ſui cauſa pauper factus:* Chriſt became poore for vs, not for himſelfe. *in* 2.*Cor*.8.

4. *Chriſtus eſt mortuus pro nobis, ſed ille, vt prodeſſet nobis; noſtra autem mors non illi proficit, ſed nobis:* Chriſt died for vs, he died to profit vs, but our death doth not profit him, but our ſelues. *in* 8. *ad Roman.*

Thus we ſee that the 1. birth, 2. faſting, 3. pouertie, 4. death of Chriſt did not any waies aduantage himſelfe: but all was done for vs.

Argum. 2. All glorie that Chriſt hath, was from euerlaſting due to his perſon, becauſe he is the eternall Sonne of God: as he himſelfe ſaith, Iohn. 17.5. *And now glorifie me with thine owne ſelfe, with the glorie which I had with thee, before the world was:* And this glory was due vnto Chriſt ſo ſoone as he was incarnate by the right of his Godhead. Heb.1.6. *When he bringeth in his firſt begotten Sonne into the world,* he ſaith, *Let all the Angels of God worſhip him.* And the Rhemiſts themſelues confeſſe, in their *Annotat.* vpon theſe words, that ſtraight vpon Chriſts deſcending from heauen, it was the duetie of Angels to worſhip him. *Ergo,* he merited not his glorification by his death, which was due vnto him euen at his firſt incarnation.

Argum. 3. If Chriſt merited his owne glorification, then he alſo merited the hypoſtaticall vnion, that his manhoode ſhould bee ioyned to his Godhead in vnitie of perſon; for his glory, maieſtie, and power giuen to his manhoode, doth iſſue and ariſe from the vniting of his Godhead therewith in one perſon: but his humanitie deſerued not to be vnited to the Godhead: De corrept.& grat.ca.11. *Nemo tam cæcus eſt,* ſaith *Auguſtine*, *No man is ſo blinde, that he dare ſay, that Chriſt by his well liuing merited to be called the ſonne of God.* And he prooueth it out of the firſt of Luke, verſ.35. *Therefore ſhall that holy thing bee called the Sonne of God:* not for any workes going before, but becauſe the holy Ghoſt came vpon her. Wherefore the diuine glory which Chriſt hath, was not merited, but his owne it was from the beginning, which glorie the humane nature in Chriſt is made partaker of, not for any merite, but becauſe it is vnited to the Godhead in the ſame perſon, through the abundant and vnſpeakable grace and loue of God vnto mankinde, which of his free grace rather tooke vnto himſelfe the nature of men, then of Angels. Wherefore Chriſt by his perfect obedience and bleſſed ſacrifice, hath merited abundantly for vs, remiſſion of ſinnes, and eternall life: but by his merites hee hath gayned nothing for himſelfe: neyther had he any reſpect to the bettering of his owne eſtate in his ſufferings, but onely to pay a ranſome for vs.

Saint *Ambroſe* further ſaith: *Videtur donum patris, hoc eſt, eſſe filium, & nomen ſuper omne nomen, hoc eſt, eſſe Deum, &c.* This ſeemeth to be the gift of the father, that is, to be his ſonne: and this is the name aboue all names, to be God. *in* 2. *ad Philipp.* but the Godhead cannot be merited.

Againe he ſaith: *Licet ſecundum carnem Chriſto ſedes ad dextram Dei à patre, generationis tamen ſuperna & æqualitatis potentia defertur:* Although Chriſt according to his fleſh ſitteth at the right hand of his father, yet it is due vnto him in reſpect of his ſupernall generation, and equall power. *lib.*5.*de fid.c.*7.

Further he thus teſtifieth: *Ad hoc natus eſt Chriſtus, vt faceret creaturam; nec enim ſibi natiuitas ſua proficit, ſed nobis, quia non eguit naſci; erat enim in Deo qui proceſſit de Deo: ſi ergo natiuitas prima ipſi non profuit, multo minus ſecunda:* Chriſt was borne or begotten of God to this ende, to make the creature: for his natiuitie or begetting, did not profite himſelfe, but vs; becauſe he needed not to be borne, for he was in God, that proceeded from God: and if the firſt and eternall birth did not profite him, much leſſe the ſecond. *in* 1. *ad Coloſſ.*

Thus Saint *Ambroſe* is verie conſtant and reſolute in this point, that Chriſt gained nothing properly to himſelfe by his life or death: but all was done for vs.

Yet Chriſt may be ſaid in two reſpects to haue obtained ſomewhat to himſelfe, 1. becauſe the preeminence of the members doth redound to the honour of the head: and in this ſenſe Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Nos redemit, ſed ſibi acquiſiuit, &c. in his omnibus detrimentum nullum video diuinitatis, profectum operationis agnoſco, &c.* Chriſt hath redeemed vs, but he hath alſo gotten to himſelfe: in all this I ſee no detriment of the diuinitie, but a profiting in the worke of our redemption. *ſerm.*20. *in Pſal.*119. His meaning is, that Chriſt gained, in that he finiſhed the redemption for vs: he purchaſed nothing properly to himſelfe, but by way of communication, becauſe his members by his merit were redeemed.

2. Chriſt by way of declaration or manifeſtation is ſaid to haue obtained his great name: not in that he merited his glory by his paſſion, which was due to his perſon: but by his obedience he declared himſelfe worthy of ſo great glory: thus *Peter Lombard* expoundeth that place of the Apoſtle, Philip.2.9. *God hath giuen him a name aboue euerie name, &c. Secundum tropum in ſcriptura creberrimum res dicitur fieri, quando innoteſcit, &c. manifeſtationem ergo illius nominis donauit illi Deus poſt reſurrectionem. ſed illam meruit per obedientiam paſſionis:* According to a certaine figure of ſpeech often vſed in the Scripture, a thing is ſaid to be done, when it appeareth onely; ſo God gaue vnto

Chriſt after his reſurrection, the manifeſtation of his name; but he merited it by the obedience of his paſſion: *lib.3.diſt.18.lit.c.* By his ſentence Chriſt merited not his glorie, but the manifeſtation onely thereof, that is, was declared by the obedience of his death worthy all honour, which is that we affirme: for otherwiſe to ſpeake properly, as *Peter Lombard* in the ſame place ſaith: *Habuit hoc nomen Dei filius, in quantum Deus ab æterno per naturam; in quantum homo factus eſt, habuit ex tempore per gratiam:* The Sonne of God had this name, as he was God eternally by nature; as he was made man, he had it temporally by grace, &c. If then he had it of grace, he properly did not merite it.

I will alleage another graue teſtimonie, of one of their owne ſide, *Clichthouæus: ad Damaſcen. numerum.83. Quæ in Chriſto eſt diuinitas omnium princeps & dominatrix ſua idem contulit humanitati, vt ratione vnionis ſit omnium etiam domina, &c.* The diuinitie, that is in Chriſt Prince and ruler of all things, gaue the ſame vnto his humanity, by reaſon of the vnion, to be Lord of all things, &c. which rule and domination is ſaid to be giuen, when for and after his humilitie vpon the croſſe it was manifeſted vnto men, &c. We cannot haue a clearer euidence for this matter, as we haue heard, then from themſelues.

Concil. Epheſin.1.can.9. Si quis dicit quod Chriſtus pro ſe ipſe obtulerit oblationem, & non magis pro ſolis nobis, anathema ſit: If any man ſay, that Chriſt offered vp himſelfe for himſelfe, and not rather onely for vs, let him be accurſed. But if Chriſt merited heauen by his ſufferings, not onely for vs, but for himſelfe alſo, then had he part himſelfe in his owne oblation.

Maſter *Tindal* holy Martyr hath ſealed this truth: Chriſt with all his workes did not deſerue heauen for himſelfe (for that was his alreadie) but did vs ſeruice therewith, and neither looked for, nor ſought his owne profite, but ours, and the honour of God his Father only: *Fox pag.1247. col.2. articul.7.* Againe, he explaineth himſelfe thus: Ieſus Chriſt poſſeſſeth the kingdome of heauen by double right: firſt, becauſe hee is the ſonne of God, and very inheritour of his kingdome: ſecondly, becauſe hee hath gotten it by his paſſions and death: of his ſecond right hee hath no neede, and therefore hee giueth it all to them, that beleeue and truſt in him, *pag.1256. col.2. articul.30.*

THE THIRD PART OF THIS CONTROVERSIE, concerning the comming of Chriſt to iudgement: which appertaineth to his whole perſon, as he is both God and man.

THis part of this controuerſie hath two parts: Firſt, concerning the ſignes which muſt come to paſſe before his appearing. Secondly, of the time and manner of his appearing. The firſt part containeth three queſtions: Firſt, whether the Goſpell bee alreadie preached to the whole world. Secondly, whether *Henoch* and *Elias* ſhall come in the fleſh, before the day of iudgement. Thirdly, of the great perſecutions toward the end of the world.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER THE Goſpell be alreadie preached thoroughout the world.

The Papiſts.

THey denie that the Goſpell hath been alreadie publiſhed to all nations of the world: for there are many great countries, which neuer heard of the Goſpell, as they affirme: but before the comming of Chriſt to iudgement, they ſay, it ſhall be preached to the whole world, *Bellarmin. de Roman. pontif. lib.3. cap.4.* 31. Error.

*Argum.*1. Matth.24.14. Chriſt ſaith, *This Goſpell of the kingdome ſhall be preached thorough the whole world, for a witnes vnto all nations, and then ſhall the end come.* The end of the world ſhall immediately follow the generall preaching of the Goſpell: which if it hath been performed, it is moſt like to haue been done in the Apoſtles time, then the world ſhould haue ended long agoe, *Bellarm. ibid.*

Anſw. This word, *Then*, doth not alwaies in the Scripture ſignifie a certaine and definite time preſently to follow, as Matth.9.1. *Then he entered into a ſhip, &c.* *Luke* alſo ſetteth forth the ſame ſtorie, chap.5. verſ.18. *Then brought they a man lying in a bed:* But in ſaying *Then*, they haue not relation to the ſame time; for they keepe not the ſame order, in rehearſing the ſtorie: *Matthew* ſetteth downe one thing, that was immediatly done by our Sauiour Chriſt before, and *Luke* another. And ſo is the word *Then*, vſed in other places, not to deſcribe a conſequence of time, with relation to that which went before, but abſolutely without any ſuch reſpect to name the time preſent only, wherein any thing is done. So, *tunc*, then, ſignifieth as much as *in illo tempore*, in that time, not which ſhall immediatly follow vpon the generall publiſhing of the Goſpell, but which God hath appoynted. We muſt alſo conſider who it is, that ſaith, *Then*, namely, God himſelfe, with whom *a thouſand*

Auguſt. de conſenſu Euangel.l.43.

thouſand yeares is as one day, and one day as a thouſand yeares, 2.Pet.3.8. Chriſt then may come many hundred yeares after, and yet it ſhall be true, that then ſhall the end be.

So *Origene* well ſaith: *Chriſtus in parabola totum hoc ſeculum præſens vnum diem vocat, licèt enim magnum quantum ad nos, modicum tamen quantum ad vitam patris, filij & ſpiritus ſancti:* Chriſt in the parable, doth call all this preſent world, but one day: for though it be great in reſpect of vs, yet it is but little in reſpect of the life of the Father, the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, &c. So *Iohn* ſaith, *It is the laſt houre,* 1.Iohn 2.18. *Orig. tract.* 10. *in Matth.* 20. This word *(then)* may as well be applied to any part of this laſt houre.

But we rather take the firſt ſenſe, that *(then)* is here taken indefinitely: as it is alſo, verſ.23. *Then if any man ſhall ſay vnto you, loe here is Chriſt, &c.* Here our Sauiour ſpeaketh of his latter comming: yet immediatly before he deſcribed the troubleſome times of the deſtruction of Ieruſalem: if *(then)* ſhould be taken ſtrictly, the ſecond comming of Chriſt ſhould haue fallen out at the ſame time, when Ieruſalem was deſtroyed. And as this word (τότε) *tunc. (then)* is taken, ſo is εὐθέως, verſ.29. *Immediately or preſently after the tribulation of thoſe dayes, the ſunne ſhall be darkened:* yet S. *Marke* ſaith, 13.24. *In thoſe daies after the tribulation, the ſunne ſhall waxe darke:* ſo that there ſhalbe dayes & times after thoſe tribulations, before the end come: then the end ſhal not be *immediatly*, taken ſtrictlie. In like manner our Sauiour ſaith, Matth.26.64. ἀπ᾽ ἄρτι, from this time, *amodo, from hence forth ye ſhall ſee the ſonne of man ſitting at the right hand of the power of God:* yet this, *from henceforth*, is not yet come: Hereof *Origene* thus writeth, *Deo à conſtitutione mundi ad conſummationem eius velut vna dies: nil mirum ergo, quod hic dicit ſaluator, amodo, ſpacium eſſe breuiſſimum:* Vnto God from the conſtitution of the world, to the end and conſummation thereof, it is but as one day: no maruaile then, if our Sauiour ſay, *from henceforth*, counting it a ſhort ſpace: *Tract.* 35. *in Matth.*

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Againe, ſeeing the Apoſtolicall calling and gifts is now ceaſed, neither are wee to looke that men ſhould be immediatly called from heauen, and the preaching of the Goſpell to all nations is an Apoſtolicall worke, for the which the Apoſtles alſo receiued the gifts of tongues: ſeeing now we haue neither Apoſtolike men, nor Apoſtolike gifts, we are not to doubt, but that this promiſe and propheſie of the vniuerſall preaching of the Goſpell, is performed alreadie.

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That the Goſpell hath been alreadie preached to the whole earth, a notable experiment hereof we haue in the firſt Nicen Councell: where were aſſembled 318. Biſhops out of the chiefe prouinces of the world: for Africa, there were preſent the Biſhops of Ægypt, Thebais, Lybia: for Aſia, there came ſome out of Perſia, Arabia, Armenia, Phrygia, Lydia: and ſome from all the prouinces of Aſia minor: likewiſe out of the Iles of Rhodes, Chius, Lemnos, Corcyra: for Europa, *Hoſius* of Spaine, others out of Fraunce, Gotland, Myſia, Dacia, Achaia, Pannonia, Calabria, and from the prouince of Boſphorus: And as *Socrates* ſaith, *Sed etiam Perſa venit ad concilium Epiſcopus, verum nec Scytha defuit ex eorum choro:* There came to the Councell a Perſian Biſhop, and there wanted not one out of Scythia. Thus then by the view of this ancient Councell it may appeare, that the whole world was in thoſe times lightened with the Goſpell.

Ex ſubſcriptione concil. Nicen. 1.

Hereof alſo *Gennadius* thus reporteth, *Catolog.ſcriptorum: Iacobus preſbyter Niſibenæ nobilis Perſarum ciuitatis Epiſcopus vnus eorum fuit, qui in Nicena ſynodo Arrianam peruerſitatem damnarunt: Iacob*, or *Iames* a presbyter Biſhop of Niſibene a noble citie of Perſia, was one of them which in the Nicen Synode condemned the Arrian hereſie.

Further, Saint *Hierome* thus teſtifieth: *Catolog.ſcriptor. Creſcens in Gallijs prædicauit, &c. Creſcens* preached in Fraunce, Queene *Candaces* Eunuch in Arabia Felix, and the Iſle Taprobane: *Pantenus* was ſent by *Demetrius* Biſhop of Alexandria into India, being entreated thereunto by the Ambaſſadors of that nation, where he found, that *Bartholomew* had preached the Goſpell after *Matthew*, the which written in Hebrue letters he brought to Alexandria.

Againe he thus writeth: *Iam & Ægyptius Serapis Chriſtianus factus eſt, &c.* Now the Ægyptian God *Serapis* is become a Chriſtian: from India, Perſia, Æthiopia we daily receiue great troupes of Monkes: the Armenians haue layd aſide their quiuers, the Hunnes doe learne the Pſalter: *Scytha*

frigora

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*Argum.*2. It appeareth in Eccleſiaſticall hiſtories, that the Apoſtles diſperſed themſelues into all parts of the world, euery where preaching the Goſpell. *Thomas* preached to the Parthians, Medes, Perſians, alſo to the Germanes: *Simon Zelotes*, in Mauritania, Africa, and in Britannia: *Iudas*, called *Thaddæus*, in Meſopotamia: *Marke*, in Ægypt: *Bartholomæus* to the Indians: *Andrew* preached to the Scythians, Sogdians, Æthiopians: *Hieron.catolog.ſcriptor.* So that there were few or no knowne countries in the world, which heard not of the fame of the Goſpell.

But here we muſt put in certaine cautions: Firſt, that the Goſpell was to be preached in the habitable or known world: the word is οἰκουμένη, which *Hierome* ſaith anſwereth to the Hebrue תבל *teebel, Quam nos habitatum transferre poſſumus*, Which wee may tranſlate the inhabited world, *tom.4. epiſtol.ad Cyprian.* Many countries are inhabited now that were not habitable then, or at the leaſt not inhabited: wherefore it was ſufficient, that the people of the world heard of the Goſpell, howſoeuer afterward they were propagated into other vnknowne places. Secondly, as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Omnes gentes promiſſæ ſunt, non omnes homines omnium gentium:* All nations were promiſed to heare of the Goſpell, not all the men and inhabitants of euery nation. And ſo we doubt not but the Apoſtles did lay the foundation of faith through the whole world, & were firſt planters of the churches in the moſt knowne nations. Thirdly, though it might be, that there were many barbarous nations in the Apoſtles time, to whom they themſelues preached not perſonally, yet the Goſpell might be brought vnto them by thoſe, whom the Apoſtles ſent: as there were many diſciples and Euangeliſts beſide the Apoſtles, which preached the Goſpell: at the leaſt the fame of the Goſpell might eaſily be brought to the more obſcure, barbarous, and vnknowne nations, from thoſe famous, large, and populous countries, where the Apoſtles had laboured. Thus S. *Ambroſe* ſaith *in* 10.*ad Roman. Vbique audita, & peruenit in omnem locum prædicatio nominis Chriſti, vbi enim præſentia hominis prædicantis defuit, ſonus tamen & fama peruenit, &c.* Euery where is heard, and to euerie place is come the preaching of the name of Chriſt: for where the preſence of the preacher ceaſed, yet the ſound of the reporter encreaſed: as the report of the wonders done in Ægypt came vnto all nations, by the witneſſe of *Rahab* the harlot, &c. Thus then not by a generall fame onely of the Apoſtles preaching, but a particular report and relation of their doctrine, the name of Chriſt was publiſhed to all nations. Fourthly, the Goſpell in many countries was planted by the Apoſtles, which in ſhort time notwithſtanding might decay, and begin to bee extinguiſhed: and afterward their plantings might be renewed, watered, and reuiued by others; and yet may the Apoſtles be the firſt planters. Wherefore according to our meaning wee nothing doubt, but that the Apoſtles ſowed the firſt ſeedes of faith throughout the worlde: and therefore it is not to be expected, that the Lord ſhould ſend another generall commiſſion to publiſh the Goſpell to the whole world.

That the Goſpell hath been alreadie preached to the whole earth, a notable experiment hereof we haue in the firſt Nicen Councell: where were aſſembled 318. Biſhops out of the chiefe prouinces of the world: for Africa, there were preſent the Biſhops of Ægypt, Thebais, Lybia: for Aſia, there came ſome out of Perſia, Arabia, Armenia, Phrygia, Lydia: and ſome from all the prouinces of Aſia minor: likewiſe out of the Iſles of Rhodes, Chius, Lemnos, Corcyra: for Europa, *Hoſius* of Spaine, others out of Fraunce, Gotland, Myſia, Dacia, Achaia, Pannonia, Calabria, and from the prouince of Boſphorus: And as *Socrates* ſaith, *Sed etiam Perſa venit ad concilium Epiſcopus, verum nec Scytha defuit ex eorum choro:* There came to the Councell a Perſian Biſhop, and there wanted not one out of Scythia. Thus then by the view of this ancient Councell it may appeare, that the whole world was in thoſe times lightened with the Goſpell.

Ex ſubſcriptione concil. Nicen. 1.

Hereof alſo *Gennadius* thus reporteth, *Catolog.ſcriptorum: Iacobus presbyter Niſibenæ nobilis Perſarum ciuitatis Epiſcopus vnus eorum fuit, qui in Nicena ſynodo Arrianam peruerſitatem damnarunt: Iacob*, or *Iames* a presbyter Biſhop of Niſibene a noble citie of Perſia, was one of them which in the Nicen Synode condemned the Arrian hereſie.

Further, Saint *Hierome* thus teſtifieth: *Catolog.ſcriptor. Creſcens in Gallijs prædicauit, &c.* Creſcens preached in Fraunce, Queene *Candaces* Eunuch in Arabia Felix, and the Iſle Taprobane: *Pantenus* was ſent by *Demetrius* Biſhop of Alexandria into India, being entreated thereunto by the Ambaſſadors of that nation, where he found, that *Bartholomew* had preached the Goſpell after *Matthew*, the which written in Hebrue letters he brought to Alexandria.

Againe he thus writeth: *Iam & Ægyptius Serapis Chriſtianus factus eſt, &c.* Now the Ægyptian God *Serapis* is become a Chriſtian: from India, Perſia, Æthiopia we daily receiue great troupes of Monkes: the Armenians haue layd aſide their quiuers, the Hunnes doe learne the Pſalter: *Scytha* *frigora feruent calore fidei:* The Scythian froſts doe glow with the heate of faith: the Getes bloody armies are become the tents of the Church.

Hieron.ad Latam. and in his epiſtle *ad Euſtochium,* he maketh mention of the Britaines, of the Armenians,Indians,Æthiopians, of Cappadocia, Pontus, Syria, Meſopotamia,conuerted to the faith,*cunctaque Orientis examina,*and all the ſwarmes of the Eaſt.

Origen ſaith,*ex apolog.Pamphil.Prædicatur ſermo iſte in omni orbe terrarum,&c.* This worde is preached in all the world, Greekes, Barbarians, the wiſe and vnwiſe doe receiue the religion of Chriſt.

Saint *Ambroſe: Nulla pars mundi ab Euangelio vacat Chriſti: & licet illa generalis vocatio non quieſcat,tamen iam iſta ſpecialis omnibus facta eſt communis:* No part of the worlde wanteth the Goſpell of Chriſt : and although that generall calling (of the creatures) ceaſeth not; yet this ſpeciall is made common to all,*lib.2.de vocat.Gent.c.*10. It is euident then by theſe teſtimonies, that the world hath alreadie generally been lightened with the preaching of the word, ſo that a generall ſecond preaching is not to be expected.

Wherefore,ſeeing the world hath once already been generally lightened with the truth,we are not to looke any more for a ſolemne legacie and ambaſſage to be ſent from the Lord vnto all nations : But thoſe countries rather,which ſometime had the truth,and now haue loſt it,ought now to ſeeke vnto thoſe places that haue it,as the Queene of Saba went a long iourney to heare *Salomons* wiſedome.They therefore that yet doe expect an vniuerſall preaching,may ſooner ſee Chriſt comming in the clowdes,than haue their expectation ſatisfied.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE COMMING of *Henoch* and *Elias* before the day of iudgement.

The Papiſts.

32.Error. THeir common and receiued opinion is,that *Henoch* and *Elias* doe yet liue in their bodies in Paradiſe, and ſhall come in perſon to oppoſe themſelues againſt Antichriſt, and by their preaching to conuert the Iewes,*Rhemiſt.Apocal.*11.*ſect.*4.

Argum. Malach.4.5. *I will ſend you Eliah the Prophet,before the great and fearefull day of the Lord.* Theſe are alſo the two witneſſes ſpoken of, Apocal.11.3. which ſhall be ſlaine and riſe vp againe the third day : *Ergo,Eliah* and *Henoch* ſhall come before the day of the Lord, *Bellarm. de Roman. pontif.*3.6.

Anſw. Firſt,the prophecie of *Malachie* was fulfilled in *Iohn Baptiſt,* who came in the ſpirit of *Eliah,*as it is thrice in the Goſpell applied : once by the Angell, Luk.1.16. twice by our Sauiour Chriſt,Matth.11.14.and 17.13.

1 *Bellarmine* ſaith,it is not properly vnderſtood of *Iohn Baptiſt,*but onely in an allegorie. Firſt,the
Prophet ſpeaketh of the great and fearefull day of the Lord : but the comming of Chriſt was the
2 acceptable time. Secondly,Matth.17.11.Chriſt ſaith, after *Iohn* had finiſhed his courſe, *Elias cer-*
3 *tainly ſhall come.* Thirdly, hee ſpeaketh there of the perſon of *Helias* that appeared with Chriſt in
4 the mountaine. Fourthly,*Iohn Baptiſt* did not reſtore all things, that is,by conuerting of all Iewes
and heretikes,but *Elias* ſhall : *Iohn* therefore was not that *Elias.*

1 *Anſ.* 1. Here *Bellarmine* bewrayeth great ignorance : As though the comming of Chriſt in the
fleſh,as it brought comfort to the elect,and to as many as were ordained to ſaluation,was not al-
ſo an haſtening of the iudgement of God againſt the wicked : and therefore *Iohn* ſaith,*The axe*
was layd to the roote of the tree, Matth.3.10. *and that Chriſt came with his fanne in his hand,* verſ.12.
The Apoſtle,Hebr.12.26. applieth that ſaying of the Prophet ; *Once againe will I ſhake not onely*
*the heauens,but the earth,*to the preaching of the Goſpell. Wee ſee then in what ſenſe the firſt com-
2 ming of Chriſt is called a fearefull and terrible day. 2. Our Sauiour maketh anſwere to the A-
poſtles queſtion : *Why ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come?* firſt deliuering their ſenſe,*Elias muſt*
*firſt come,*but then he ſheweth his owne iudgement, correcting the erronious ſenſe of the Scribes,
3 verſ.12.*But I ſay vnto you,that Elias is come alreadie.* 3. Neither is it neceſſarie, becauſe *Elias* ap-
peared a little before in perſon,that this ſhould be ſpoken of his perſon:and yet it was true alſo in
4 that ſenſe,that *Elias* was come alreadie,appearing vnto Chriſt in the mount. 4. And *Iohn* alſo re-
ſtored all,that is,many,as the Scripture vſeth to ſpeake, Luk.1.16. *Many of the children of Iſrael*
ſhall be turne to the Lord their God. So Saint *Paul* hauing ſaid, *Through the iuſtifying of one the benefit*
*abounded toward all men to iuſtification,*Rom.5.18.in the next verſe,in ſtead of *all,*he ſaith,*by the obe-*
dience of one many ſhall be made righteous.

Anſw. Secondly,by the two witneſſes,is vnderſtood the ſmall,yet ſufficient number of the true ſeruants of God,which ſhall witneſſe the truth euen in the hotteſt perſecution of Antichriſt:there is no mention made of *Henoch* or *Elias.* And if you will needes vnderſtand that literally, of their riſing againe,why not the reſt alſo, how fire ſhall proceede out of their mouthes to conſume the wicked,and they ſhall turne water into blood? The meaning is nothing elſe, but that God will alwaies haue faithfull witneſſes in his Church,which ſhall alwaies ſtand vp, in the ſtead of the Prophets and holy men gone before.

Saint *Hierome* writeth well of this matter: *De Henoch & Elia, quos venturos Apocalypſis refert & eſſe morituros,non eſt iſtius temporis diſputatio,cum omnis ille liber,aut ſpiritualiter intelligendus ſit,vt nos exiſtimamus, aut ſi carnalem interpretationem ſequimur, Iudaicis fabulis acquieſcendum ſit,vt rurſus ædificetur Ieruſalem,& hoſtia offerantur in templo:* Of *Henoch* and *Elias,* whom the Apocalypſe maketh mention ſhall come,and afterward dye,it belongeth not to this time to diſpute, ſeeing that whole booke muſt either ſpiritually be vnderſtood,as we thinke,or if we follow the carnall (or literall) interpretation,we muſt reſt in Iewiſh fables,that Ieruſalem muſt be built againe,and ſacrifices offered in the temple, *Marcel.tom.*4.

The Proteſtants.

LIke as the Phariſies deceiued the Iewes with vaine expectation of *Elias,* and ſo hindred their beleefe in Chriſt: ſo the Papiſts would not haue men to acknowledge the manifeſtation of Antichriſt,vnder this falſe pretence, that *Henoch* and *Elias* muſt firſt come before Antichriſt bee reuealed,which we doe hold as a Iewiſh fable and popiſh dreame.

*Argum.*1. The prophecie of *Elias* comming is properly fulfilled in *Iohn Baptiſt,* and therefore we are not to looke for any other accompliſhment thereof: neither now is there any Paradiſe remaining but heauen, 2.Corin.12.4. And to affirme that *Henoch* and *Elias* went vp to heauen in their bodies,before the aſcenſion of Chriſt,out of Scripture it cannot bee prooued: it is euident that they were taken vp aliue into heauen,but not that they continued aliue.

That there is no paradiſe now but heauen, *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh euidently: *Hîc non vera,non magna ſalus eſt; tum ſaluus ero,cum fuero in paradiſo, cum viuere cæpero inter electos angelos:* Here is no great nor true health;then I ſhall be ſafe,when I ſhall be in paradiſe, when I ſhall liue among the elect Angels, *ſerm.*15.*in Pſal.*119. Againe, *In paradiſum cæleſtem raptus eſt Apoſtolus, in quo latroni dixit dominus,&c. illic vbi & eſſe dicitur auita Ieruſalem mater noſtra:* The Apoſtle was taken vp into the celeſtiall paradiſe,where the Lord ſayd to the theefe,&c. where Ieruſalem is ſayd to bee the mother of vs all, *in* 2.*Cor.*12.

But in this celeſtiall paradiſe of heauen *Henoch* and *Elias* are not with their bodies: Chriſt was the firſt,that in his fleſh pierced the heauens. *Origen* herein is moſt reſolute: *Offendatur, qui vult ex ſermone noſtro,ego cum omni fiducia aſſeuero, quia ſicut ex mortuis primogenitus Chriſtus,ita primus carnem euexit in cœlum:* Let him bee offended that will with my ſpeech, I ſpeake it boldly, that as Chriſt was the firſt begotten of the dead,ſo he firſt caried his fleſh vp into heauen: *ex Pamphil.*

*Argum.*2. The varietie of opinions concerning the perſonall appearance of *Henoch* and *Elias,* declare that it is an vncertaine thing,and but deuiſed of men. *Hilarie* ſaith, they ſhall be *Moſes* and *Elias: Chryſoſtome* graunteth that *Elias* ſhall come, but not *Henoch. Iuſtine* thinketh that not onely *Henoch* and *Elias* are aliue,but all thoſe,whoſe bodies roſe at the reſurrection of Chriſt. *Hippolytus* is of opinion, that *Iohn* the Diuine ſhall come with them, and ſome ſay *Ieremie* alſo, whoſe death is not read of, *Fulk. Apocal.*11.*ſect.*4. And thus it is no marueile, if men runne mad as it were in their fooliſh conceits,hauing no warrant for their opinions out of ſcriptures.

The nation of the Iewes we graunt,according to the manifeſt prophecie of Saint *Paul,* ſhall in the end be conuerted: but not in ſuch ſort, by the perſonall preaching of *Moſes* and *Elias:* for the Apoſtle ſetting downe at large the myſterie of their calling,would not haue left out ſo neceſſarie a thing.

Rom.11.

Auguſtine by the two witneſſes,vnderſtandeth the two Teſtaments,the Old and the New. But he denieth vtterly, that any ſhall riſe before the comming of Chriſt: as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1.Corinth.15.23. *The firſt fruits is Chriſt.* Then they that are Chriſts at his comming,but not before. *Vnde* (ſaith he) *excluditur omnis ſuſpicio quorundam, qui putant hos duos teſtes duos viros eſſe,& ante aduentum Chriſti cœlum in nubibus aſcendiſſe:* Their ſuſpition therefore, or opinion is vtterly excluded, which thinke theſe two witneſſes to be two men, which ſhould aſcend into heauen before the comming of Chriſt. *Auguſtine* we ſee is flat againſt them.

In Apocal. homil.8.

Saint *Cyprian* alſo ſaith: *Nobis in ſpiritu & virtute Eliæ non alium quam Ioannem ſolum angelus & dominus Chriſtus inſinuat:* The Angell and our Lord Chriſt inſinuate,that wee ſhall haue no other in the ſpirit and power of *Elias,* but *Iohn: de ſingular.Clericor.* Therefore no other *Elias* was to come but *Iohn.*

Ianſenius a popiſh Biſhop thus expoundeth that place. Eccleſiaſtic.48.10.of *Helias, That he is appointed to reprooue in his time,&c.* That *Eccleſiaſticus* did write according to the opinion receiued in his time,that *Elias* ſhould come in his owne perſon before the Meſſiah,which was to be fulfilled,not in his proper perſon, but in him that ſhould come in the perſon and power of *Elias,*&c. This popiſh writer is a very good witneſſe againſt them.

THE THIRD PART, WHETHER THE MOST grieuous perſecutions that euer were, ſhall be toward the end of the world.

The Papiſts.

33. Error. THe moſt grieuous perſecution (ſay they) that euer was, ſhall be vnder Antichriſt, who is not yet come, but ſhall be reuealed toward the end of the world, and ſhall raigne vpon the earth three yeeres and an halfe, making great hauocke of the Church of God, *Bellarmine de Roman. pontific. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

Argum. Matth. 24. 21. *There ſhall bee then ſuch great tribulation in the world, as was not ſince the beginning of the world, neither ſhall be: Ergo,* the greateſt perſecution toward the ende of the world.

Anſw. Firſt, it is plaine by the text, that this great tribulation is prophecied to come vpon the Iewes: for in the next verſe before he ſaith, *pray that your flight be not in the winter:* And then it followeth, there ſhall be then, or as *Marke* ſaith, *In thoſe daies, there ſhall be ſuch tribulation,* 13. 19. and in the 17. verſe: *Wo ſhal be to them that giue ſuck in thoſe daies:* which muſt needs be vnderſtood of the deſtruction of Ieruſalem: for at the comming of Chriſt, there ſhall be one and the ſame caſe of all, whether of thoſe that giue ſucke, or of thoſe that giue none.

Secondly, it cannot be meant of the laſt tribulation in the world, becauſe the words are, that as there was none ſuch ſince the beginning of the world; ſo there ſhall be none ſuch after: *Ergo,* there ſhall be tribulation after, though none ſuch.

The Proteſtants.

OVr hope and truſt is, that the greateſt perſecution of the Church of God is ouerpaſt; becauſe the kingdome or rather tyrannie of Antichriſt beginneth to decay, and we truſt, ſhall more and more be ſhaken, till it come to vtter ruine.

Argum. 1. The Scripture telleth vs, that hard vpon the end of the world there ſhall be great ſecuritie, men ſhall ſay, Peace peace vnto themſelues, 1. Theſſal. 5. 4. They ſhall eate and drinke, marry and be married, as it was in the daies of *Noah,* Matth. 24. 38. And therefore *Luke* ſaith, 21. 34. Take heed you be not ouercome of ſurfeiting and drunkennes, leaſt this day come vpon you vnawares. For as a ſnare ſhall it come, &c. All this proueth, that there ſhall bee rather generall ſecuritie, as in the daies of *Noah,* then generall tribulation. And there is greater daunger of ſurfeiting and wantonnes in time of proſperitie and abundance, then in the daies of perſecution.

And the text is plaine ſpeaking of warres, troubles and perſecutions, but the end ſhall not be yet, Mark. 13. 7. Wherefore it appeareth, that the troubles and perſecutions of the Church, ſhall be well ſlaked toward the ende of the world.

Argum. 2. Antichriſt, though he ſhall not vtterly be extinguiſhed before the comming of Chriſt, yet ſhall be deadly wounded: and he ſhall beginne to be iudged euen in this world, Apoc. 16. 6. *God ſhall giue them blood to drinke,* Apoc. 17. 16. The tenne hornes, that is the kings of the earth, ſhall hate the whore and eate her fleſh. The Church of God ſhall reward her, *as ſhe hath rewarded vs, and giue her double according to her workes,* Apoc. 18. 6. By theſe places it is gathered, that Antichriſt ſhall haue a great ouerthrow before the comming of Chriſt, who ſhall vtterly aboliſh him with the brightnes of his comming. 2. Theſ. 2. 8.

Antichriſt is alreadie come, and hath raged a long time againſt the Church: The perſecutions of the heathen did neither continue ſo long, neither were in exquiſite crueltie and bitternes to be compared to the outragious practiſes of the Antichriſt of Rome, and his adherents againſt the Church of God: which would fill a whole volume by themſelues, nay not one, but many and infinite volumes to be declared at large.

1 But *Bellarmine* heere telleth vs. 1. That the perſecution which we ſay the Biſhop of Rome hath raiſed againſt the Proteſtants, is nothing like to the perſecution of the heathen Romane Emperors againſt the Chriſtians, neyther for number of martyrs, nor for diuerſitie of moſt exquiſite torments.

2 2. He is not aſhamed to ſay, that the Proteſtants haue put more Papiſts to death in fewe yeers, then they haue killed Proteſtants.

3 3. The perſecution of Antichriſt ſhall be notorious and maniſeſt to all the world: as the perſecution of *Nero,* and *Domitian* were, we can tell when thoſe perſecutions began, and when they ended: but they cannot tell when the Pope began to perſecute, &c. Therefore his perſecution is not that, which Antichriſt ſhall raiſe.

4 4. Antichriſt ſhall aboliſh the daily ſacrifice, and all worſhip of God, in the time of his perſecution: but ſo doth not the Pope. *Bellarm. de Roman. pontif. lib. 3. c. 7.*

Anſw. 1. If the number of martyrs ſlaine by the tyrannie of the Pope is no whit inferior to the number of the ancient martyrs if the time & place be conſidered: the heathen Emperors tyrannized for the ſpace of three hundred yeers, and ouer the moſt part of the world which was vnder the Romane Empyre: the Romiſh Popes haue not practiſed their cruelty ſo long, neither I truſt euer ſhall, neither is his popiſh iuriſdiction any thing ſo large, as the Romane Empyre was: theſe two things conſidered, our late bleſſed martyrs, may compare in number, with thoſe of former time, if they goe not beyond them.

For proofe hereof, I will produce three examples: the firſt of the perſecution of Calabria vnder Pope *Pius* 4. *ann.* 1560. where in one towne 88. men had their throats cut, like calues and ſheepe, and an 100. women were determined to be put to death: and 1600. more were apprehended and condemned: this Maſter *Fox* reporteth out of a certaine letter written by a Romaniſt to a friend he had in Rome. p.942.

The ſecond example is of the perſecution of *Merindol* and *Cabriers* in France vnder King *Francis*: where eight townes in the countrie of Prouence with the inhabitants thereof were vtterly deſtroyed by mercileſſe *Minerius*: 500. women of *Merindol* were ſome rauiſhed, ſome whipped and ſcourged, ſome ſold like cattell, ſome murthered: and at the ſame time a 1000. perſons of men, women and children were put to death in *Cabriers, Fox.p.*953. *ex Henrico.Pantal.*

My third example is of the late maſſacre in France, *ann.* 1572. when and where in Paris in three daies, were ten thouſand Proteſtants cruelly murthered: in Lyons, Orleance, Tholouſe, Roane in the ſpace of one moneth thirtie thouſand moſt butcherly ſlaine. *Fox.p.*2153. Can any man now finde any difference in number of holy martyrs betweene theſe and the firſt perſecution? I thinke verily that the horrible outrages of cruell Popes and Papiſts, haue exceeded the crueltie of the perſecuting Emperors.

Concerning the diuers and exquiſite torments, whether the Papiſts haue beene behinde, I report me to the foreſaid recited ſtories: as in Calabria, where 88. had their throates cut by one executioner in one day: a Romaniſt deteſting the crueltie of the fact, thus writeth thereof: *I tremble & ſhake to remember how the executioner held his bloodie knife betweene his teeth, with the bloudy muffler in his hand, and his armes all in goare bloud vp to the elbowes, going to the fold, and taking euery one of them, one after another by the hand, and ſo diſpatching them all, none otherwiſe then doth a butcher kill his calues and ſheepe. Fox.p.*942. What greater crueltie could *Nero* or *Domitian* haue ſhewed?

In the ſacking of the towne of Calabria: they forced diuers women to go into a barne full of ſtrawe, and ſo ſet fire vpon the houſe: the women that aſſayed to eſcape by the doore, which a ſouldier opened in compaſſion toward them, the tyrant *Minerius* commaunded to be hewen in peeces, opening the bellies of the women great with child, that the infants fell out, p.952. O crueltie and horrible butcherie vnſpeakeable! Lord, thou haſt ſeene this wickednes in the earth, and wilt iudge it in thy time.

At Lyons in the time of the Maſſacre all the priſons being filled full of Proteſtants, when the ſouldiers and butchers refuſed to be inſtrumentes of ſo great villanie, the cruell gouernour procured the beaſtly kennell rakers and ſweepers of the ſtreets to goe into the priſons and hewe in peeces the ſilly innocent ſoules, that the ſtreets from the priſons ſtreamed with bloud. *ex hiſtor. maſſac.*

I thinke more fearefull preſidents of beaſtly and inhumane crueltie cannot be ſhewed vnder thoſe barbarous tyrants of Rome.

2 Secondly, it is a moſt ſhameleſſe lie, that the Proteſtants haue put more to death, &c. I will giue an inſtance of this realme of England, where in the ſpace of three yeeres, in the late daies of perſecution one bloudie butcher ſlaughtered twiſe ſo many innocent Proteſtants for the truth, as there haue beene executed Papiſts now theſe 42. yeeres for treaſon: the Papiſtes which haue died by the ſworde of Proteſtantes, were either ouercome in iuſt battell, or elſe condemned by iuſt lawes, not for their religion, but their rebellion, not for their profeſſion, but their practiſing againſt Princes.

Boner in three yeeres ſpace put 200. martyrs to death. Fox.p.2043.

3 Thirdly, it is no hard matter for vs to aſſigne the time when the Pope beganne is cruell rage, and Antichriſtian perſecution againſt the Church of Chriſt: for *ann.* 1400. vnder the raigne of *Henrie* the fourth we finde *William Sawtre* to haue beene the firſt that was burned heere in England for the faith of the Goſpell: and at that time *Boniface* the ſecond was Pope. *Fox. pag.* 518. and *ann.* 1414. followed the condemnation of *Iohn Hus* in the Councell of Conſtance, *pag.* 624. So that it is now 200. yeere ſince the Antichriſt of Rome beganne his open perſecution: his malice againſt the ſeruants of Chriſt did ſhew it ſelfe long before; but about that time his tyrannie was manifeſted to the world, and euer ſince hath encreaſed.

4 Fourthly, Antichriſt ſhall not prohibite all diuine worſhippe, but all true ſeruice and worſhip of God: that like as *Antiochus* in his time, and afterward the Romanes cauſed the daily ſacrifice to ceaſe, and brought into the Temple, *the abomination of deſolation*, Matth. 24.15. that is their prophane and idolatrous ſacrifices: ſo hath the Antichriſt of Rome expelled the

true ſpirituall ſeruice of God, and erected a new kind of idolatrie, ſetting vp the *abomination of deſolation*, the blaſphemous Idoll of the Maſſe.

Thus then notwithſtanding *Bellarmines* ſillie ſhiftes, where with as with figge leaues he would hide the filthie nakedneſſe of his holy Father, it is euident, that the greateſt perſecutions againſt Chriſtes Church haue beene raiſed by that Antichriſt of Rome, which wee truſt are well neere at an ende, and that the Lord will giue a breathing time to his Church after the reuelation of Antichriſt: This is the iudgement of ſome of their owne writers: as *Lyra* vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle, 2.Tim.4.9. *They ſhall preuaile no longer, for their madnes ſhall bee euident to all men: Potiſſimum implendum eſt Antichriſti tempore, cum retecta eius fallacia finaliter ad Chriſtum conuertentur:* This ſhall be chiefly fulfilled in the time of Antichriſt, when as his falſehood being detected, all ſhall be conuerted to Chriſt.

And *Eſpenſcæus* ſpeaking of thoſe times after the reuelation of Antichriſt ſayth: *O tempora tunc ad ſalutem facilia, fœlices quos tum naſci contigerit:* O times eaſie to obtaine ſaluation in, and O happie men, that ſhall be then borne, *in 2. ad Timoth. p.79. liter.c.*

In Pſal.9. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Prima perſecutio violenta fuit cum tormentis, altera fraudulenta eſt per hæreticos, tertia ſupereſt per Antichriſtũ ventura, qua nihil eſt periculoſius, quia & violenta & fraudulenta erit:* The firſt perſecution of the Church was violent with tormentes: the ſecond was by fraudulent heretikes: the third ſhall be vnder Antichriſt, the worſt of all, it ſhall be both violent, and fraudulent. This perſecution vnder the Popes of Rome, the Church of God endured a great while: who both dealt fraudulently, in poyſoning them with corrupt doctrine; and cruelly alſo, in puniſhing with ſword and fire the innocent members of Chriſt: wherefore ſeeing it is a plaine caſe, that Antichriſt is, and hath beene many a day reuealed to the world, and that the Church of God beginneth to haue ſome reſpit and libertie from his thraldome; we doubt not, but that the greateſt ſtormes of perſecution are ouerpaſt, if by our ſinnes we bring not backe againe the thicke and miſtie cloud vpon vs.

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The Papiſts.

34.Error. 1. THe faithfull ſhall iudge and giue ſentence with Chriſt (ſay they) at the latter day, *Rhemiſt.* 1.Corinth.6.verſ.2. They ſhall ſit in thrones with Chriſt, Matth.19. verſ.28. *Ergo*, iudge together with him, *Rhemiſt. ibid.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſw. 1. TRue it is, that the Saints ſhall iudge the world, 1.Corinth.6.2. But onely Chriſt ſhall giue ſentence, Matth.25. and is properly and onely the iudge of the world: for the father hath committed all iudgement to the Sonne, Iohn.5.22. If all, then there is no part left for any other. The Apoſtles therefore and Saints are ſaid to iudge, as Chriſt ſaith of his word, that he will not iudge the vnbeleeuers, but his word ſhall iudge them in the laſt day, Iohn.12.48. That is, ſhall be a witneſſe againſt them, accuſe them, lay in matter of iudgement againſt them. So the word preached by the Saints vpon earth, and practiſed in their liues, ſhall be the condemnation of the world. And not onely ſo, but they ſhall be aduanced to greater honour: They ſhall ſit in thrones and ſeates: that is, they ſhall not ſtand amongſt the wicked to receiue ſentence, but ſhall meete Chriſt in the ayre, and be caught vp in the cloudes, 1.Theſſ.4.17. Yea, they ſhall in the ſight and beholding of the vngodly enter into the kingdome of God, Luk.13.28. But in any other ſence they cannot be iudges of the world: for ſhall we thinke, that Chriſt in that day ſhall neede vnder-officers and iudges, as *Moſes* did? Exod.18. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Sancti ſedebunt cum domino attendere, qui fecerunt miſericordiam:* The Saintes ſhall ſit with the Lord, not to iudge, but to marke and attende, and to witneſſe, who haue followed the workes of mercie. In Pſal.121.

Saint *Ambroſe* thus teſtifieth: *Stantibus angelis ad dextram, vel ſiniſtram domini quomodo ſedebunt homines ad dextram, vel ſiniſtram, &c. erunt ſicut angeli non plus quam angeli:* Seeing the Angels ſtand at the right hand and left of the Lord, how ſhall men ſit at the right hand or left? they ſhall be as the Angels, not more than the Angels, &c. And againe, our Sauiour ſaith, Ioh.17.24. *Pater, quos dediſti mihi, volo vt vbi ego ſum, & illi ſint mecum; vt ſint mecum, non vt ſedeant mecum; vbi ego, non quomodo ego, vt videant claritatem, non vt habeant, ſed videant; ſeruus enim videt, dominus poſſidet:* Father, I will that they, whom thou haſt giuen me, be with me where I am: that they may be with me, not ſit with me; where I am, not as I am; to ſee my glorie, not to haue it: for the ſeruant ſeeth, the Lord or maſter poſſeſſeth, *lib.5. de fid. c.3.* Here *Ambroſe* euidently teſtifieth, that the Saints ſhall not ſit with Chriſt to giue ſentence and to iudge the world: But he further ſheweth in what ſenſe the Apoſtles are ſaid to ſit in ſeates: firſt, vpon theſe words, Epheſ.2.6. *He hath made vs to ſit together in heauenly places with Chriſt: Agnoſco ſcriptum, ſed non vt homines ſedere ad dextram ſibi patiatur deus, ſed vt in Chriſto ſedere quia ipſe eſt eorum fundamentum, caput eccleſiæ, in quo communis ſecundum carnem natura, prærogatiuam ſedis cæleſtis emeruit, &c.* I acknowledge it is ſo written, not that God doth ſuffer men to ſit by him at his right hand, but to ſit as in Chriſt, becauſe he is the foundation of all, and the head of his Church, in whom the common nature of man hath deſerued the prerogatiue of the heauenly ſeate, *lib.5.de fid.c.7.* Thus one way the Saints are ſaid to ſit in ſeates, that is, not in their owne perſon, but in Chriſt their head.

Secondly, vpon theſe words, Matth.19.28. *Ye ſhall ſit vpon twelue thrones: Non ſedis ſuæ dixit Apoſtolis dari poſſe conſortium, ſed alias illas eſſe ſedes duodecim, quas tamen non pro corporali conſeſſu, ſed pro ſucceſſu ſpiritualis gratiæ æſtimare debemus:* He ſaid not he would giue to his Apoſtles the fellowſhip of his ſeate, but other twelue ſeates, which wee muſt eſtimate not according to the corporall ſitting, but after the ſpirituall profiting in grace, *lib.5.de fid.c.3.* By the twelue ſeates he vnderſtandeth an higher degree of glorie, which ſhould be giuen to the Apoſtles.

Thirdly, Saint *Ambroſe* thus writeth vpon that place, 1.Cor.6.2. *The Saints ſhall iudge the world: Iudicabunt ſancti hunc mundum, quia exemplo fidei illorum perfidia mundi damnabitur, &c.* The Saints ſhall iudge the world, becauſe by example of their faith, the faithleſſe world ſhall be iudged, and ſo he ſaith afterward that the Angels ſhall be iudged. So likewiſe *Origen: Omnis vita iuſtorum iudicabit tribus Iſrael, quæ non crediderunt:* The whole life of the righteous ſhall iudge the tribes of Iſrael, that beleeued not, *tract.8.in Matth.* In any of theſe ſenſes the Saints may be ſaid to iudge the world, but not as iudges to giue ſentence with Chriſt, as we haue ſeene.

The Papiſts.

2. THey are ſo bold as to appoint the place, where Chriſt ſhall appeare, namely in the Eaſt: for his comming ſhall be as the lightening that ſhineth from Eaſt to Weſt, Matth.24.27. *Bellarm.de cultu ſanctor.lib.3.cap.3.* 35.Error.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, by that ſimilitude Chriſt onely ſheweth the ſuddennes of his comming: therefore it muſt be preſt no further, than to that purpoſe for the which it ſerueth. Secondly, our Sauiour ſaith plainly, that the kingdome of God commeth not with obſeruation, Luk.17.20. either of time, or place. And therefore, when men ſay vnto vs, Behold here, or behold there, wee ought not to beleeue them, verſ.23. As though they would point out Chriſts comming with the finger, either in the Eaſt or Weſt. Whereas *Matthew* therefore nameth the Eaſt and Weſt, in the ſimilitude of the lightening, *Luke* leaueth them out, ſaying, *As the lightening ſhineth from one part of the heauen to the other,* chap.17.24. leſt we ſhould thinke any great matter to be in the nomination of thoſe parts.

Auguſtine ſaith notably: *Non ab Oriente veniet, nec Occidente: quare? quia Deus iudex eſt: ſi in aliquo loco eſſet, non eſſet Deus: quia verò Deus iudex eſt, non homo, noli illum expectare de locis:* Hee will not come, either from the Eaſt, or from the Weſt: why ſo? becauſe God is iudge: if he were tyed to any place, he were not God: but becauſe God is iudge, and not a meere man, we muſt not look for him from any place. In Pſal.74.

Origen alſo of this matter thus writeth: *Non in aliquo quidem loco apparebit filius dei, cum venerit in gloria ſua, in altero non apparebit, &c.* The ſonne of God ſhall not appeare in one place when he commeth in his glorie, and not in another: but as the lightning comming forth of the Eaſt, becauſe it filleth all places, appeareth in the Weſt; ſo when Chriſt commeth in his glorie, hee ſhall appeare euery where, he ſhall be euery where in all mens ſight, and they euery where in his ſight: *tract.35. in Matth.*

The Papiſts.

3. THe Sonne of man ſhall appeare in the day of iudgement, with the ſigne of the Croſſe borne before him. Then ſhall the ſigne of the Sonne of man appeare in heauen, Matth. 24.verſ.3. that is (ſay they) the ſigne of the Croſſe, *Bellarm.de ſanct.lib.2.cap.28. Rhemiſt.in hunc locum.* 36.Error.

The Proteſtants,

Anſ. FIrſt, the ſigne of the ſonne of man in the heauens, is nothing elſe, but his conſpicuous and glorious appearing, who ſhall come in great glorie, as a ſigne in the heauens to be ſeene of all the world. It cannot ſignifie any ſuch viſible ſigne as they imagine: for Mar.13.26. Luk.21. ver.27. we reade thus: *Then ſhall they ſee the Sonne of man.* So then, the ſigne of the Sonne of man, is the Sonne himſelfe in his glorious appearing. And ſo *Origen* expoundeth: *Sicut in diſpenſatione crucis ſole deficiente tenebræ factæ ſunt ſuper omnem terram, ſic & ſigno filij hominis apparente in cœlo deficiet ſolis lumen:* Like as in the diſpenſation of the croſſe, the Sunne being eclipſed, darknes was ouer the face of all the earth: ſo the ſigne of the Sonne of man appearing, the Sunnes light ſhall faile, *Tract.30.in Matth.* It is the glorie of the Sonne himſelfe, and not of any other ſigne, which true ſpirituall ſeruice of God, and erected a new kind of idolatrie, ſetting vp the *abomination* of *deſolation*, the blaſphemous Idoll of the Maſſe.

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The Proteſtants.

*Anſw.*1. TRue it is, that the Saints ſhall iudge the world, 1.Corinth.6.2. But onely Chriſt ſhall giue ſentence, Matth.25. and is properly and onely the iudge of the world: for the father hath committed all iudgement to the Sonne, Iohn.5.22. If all, then there is no part left for any other. The Apoſtles therefore and Saints are ſaid to iudge, as Chriſt ſaith of his word, that he will not iudge the vnbeleeuers, but his word ſhall iudge them in the laſt day, Iohn. 12.48. That is, ſhall be a witneſſe againſt them, accuſe them, lay in matter of iudgement againſt them. So the word preached by the Saints vpon earth, and practiſed in their liues, ſhall be the condemnation of the world. And not onely ſo, but they ſhall be aduanced to greater honour: They ſhall ſit in thrones and ſeates: that is, they ſhall not ſtand amongſt the wicked to receiue ſentence, but ſhall meete Chriſt in the ayre, and be caught vp in the cloudes, 1.Theſſ.4.17. Yea, they ſhall in the ſight and beholding of the vngodly enter into the kingdome of God, Luk.13.28. But in any other ſence they cannot be iudges of the world: for ſhall we thinke, that Chriſt in that day ſhall neede vnder-officers and iudges, as *Moſes* did? Exod.18. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Sancti ſedebunt cum domino attendere, qui fecerunt miſericordiam:* The Saintes ſhall ſit with the Lord, not In Pſal.121. to iudge, but to marke and attende, and to witneſſe, who haue followed the workes of mercie.

Saint *Ambroſe* thus teſtifieth: *Stantibus angelis ad dextram, vel ſiniſtram domini quomodo ſedebunt homines ad dextram, vel ſiniſtram, &c. erunt ſicut angeli non plus quam angeli:* Seeing the Angels ſtand at the right hand and left of the Lord, how ſhall men ſit at the right hand or left? they ſhall be as the Angels, not more than the Angels, &c. And againe, our Sauiour ſaith, Ioh.17.24. *Pater, quos dediſti mihi, volo vt vbi ego ſum, & illi ſint mecum; vt ſint mecum, non vt ſedeant mecum; vbi ego, non quomodo ego, vt videant claritatem, non vt habeant, ſed videant; ſeruus enim videt, dominus poſſidet:* Father, I will that they, whom thou haſt giuen me, be with me where I am: that they may be with me, not ſit with me; where I am, not as I am; to ſee my glorie, not to haue it: for the ſeruant ſeeth, the Lord or maſter poſſeſſeth, *lib.5. de fid.c.3.* Here *Ambroſe* euidently teſtifieth, that the Saints ſhall not ſit with Chriſt to giue ſentence and to iudge the world: But he further ſheweth in what ſenſe the Apoſtles are ſaid to ſit in ſeates: firſt, vpon theſe words, Epheſ.2.6. *He hath made vs to ſit together in heauenly places with Chriſt: Agnoſco ſcriptum, ſed non vt homines ſedere ad dextram ſibi patiatur deus, ſed vt in Chriſto ſedere quia ipſe eſt eorum fundamentum, caput eccleſiæ, in quo communis ſecundum carnem natura, prærogatiuam ſedis cæleſtis emeruit, &c.* I acknowledge it is ſo written, not that God doth ſuffer men to ſit by him at his right hand, but to ſit as in Chriſt, becauſe he is the foundation of all, and the head of his Church, in whom the common nature of man hath deſerued the prerogatiue of the heauenly ſeate, *lib.5.de fid.c.7.* Thus one way the Saints are ſaid to ſit in ſeates, that is, not in their owne perſon, but in Chriſt their head.

Secondly, vpon theſe words, Matth.19.28. *Ye ſhall ſit vpon twelue thrones: Non ſedis ſuæ dixit Apoſtolis dari poſſe conſortium, ſed alias illàs eſſe ſedes duodecim, quas tamen non pro corporali conſeſſu, ſed pro ſucceſſu ſpiritualis gratiæ æſtimare debemus:* He ſaid not he would giue to his Apoſtles the fellowſhip of his ſeate, but other twelue ſeates, which wee muſt eſtimate not according to the corporall ſitting, but after the ſpirituall profiting in grace, *lib.5.de fid.c.3.* By the twelue ſeates he vnderſtandeth an higher degree of glorie, which ſhould be giuen to the Apoſtles.

Thirdly, Saint *Ambroſe* thus writeth vpon that place, 1.Cor.6.2. *The Saints ſhall iudge the world: Iudicabunt ſancti hunc mundum, quia exemplo fidei illorum perfidia mundi damnabitur, &c.* The Saints ſhall iudge the world, becauſe by example of their faith, the faithleſſe world ſhall be iudged, and ſo he ſaith afterward that the Angels ſhall be iudged. So likewiſe *Origen: Omnis vita iuſtorum iudicabit tribus Iſrael, quæ non crediderunt:* The whole life of the righteous ſhall iudge the tribes of Iſrael, that beleeued not, *tract.8.in Matth.* In any of theſe ſenſes the Saints may be ſaid to iudge the world, but not as iudges to giue ſentence with Chriſt, as we haue ſeene.

The Papiſts.

2. THey are ſo bold as to appoint the place, where Chriſt ſhall appeare, namely in the Eaſt: 35.Error.
for his comming ſhall be as the lightening that ſhineth from Eaſt to Weſt, Matth.24.27. *Bellarm.de cultu ſanctor.lib.3.cap.3.*

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. FIrſt, by that ſimilitude Chriſt onely ſheweth the ſuddennes of his comming: therefore it muſt be preſt no further, than to that purpoſe for the which it ſerueth. Secondly, our Sauiour ſaith plainly, that the kingdome of God commeth not with obſeruation, Luk.17.20. either of time, or place. And therefore, when men ſay vnto vs, Behold here, or behold there, wee ought not to beleeue them, verſ.23. As though they would point out Chriſts comming with the finger, either in the Eaſt or Weſt. Whereas *Matthew* therefore nameth the Eaſt and Weſt, in the ſimilitude of the lightening, *Luke* leaueth them out, ſaying, *As the lightening ſhineth from one part of the heauen to the other,* chap.17.24. leſt we ſhould thinke any great matter to be in the nomination of thoſe parts.

Auguſtine ſaith notably: *Non ab Oriente veniet, nec Occidente: quare? quia Deus iudex eſt: ſi in* In Pſal.74.
aliquo loco eſſet, non eſſet Deus: quia verò Deus iudex eſt, non homo, noli illum expectare de locis: Hee will not come, either from the Eaſt, or from the Weſt: why ſo? becauſe God is iudge: if he were tyed to any place, he were not God: but becauſe God is iudge, and not a meere man, we muſt not look for him from any place.

Origen alſo of this matter thus writeth: *Non in aliquo quidem loco apparebit filius dei, cum venerit in gloria ſua, in altero non apparebit, &c.* The ſonne of God ſhall not appeare in one place when he commeth in his glorie, and not in another: but as the lightning comming forth of the Eaſt, becauſe it filleth all places, appeareth in the Weſt; ſo when Chriſt commeth in his glorie, hee ſhall appeare euery where, he ſhall be euery where in all mens ſight, and they euery where in his ſight: *tract.35. in Matth.*

The Papiſts.

3. THe Sonne of man ſhall appeare in the day of iudgement, with the ſigne of the Croſſe 36.Error.
borne before him. Then ſhall the ſigne of the Sonne of man appeare in heauen, Matth.24.verſ.3. that is (ſay they) the ſigne of the Croſſe, *Bellarm.de ſanct.lib.2.cap.28. Rhemiſt.in hunc locum.*

The Proteſtants,

Anſ. FIrſt, the ſigne of the ſonne of man in the heauens, is nothing elſe, but his conſpicuous and glorious appearing, who ſhall come in great glorie, as a ſigne in the heauens to be ſeene of all the world. It cannot ſignifie any ſuch viſible ſigne as they imagine: for Mar.13.26. Luk.21. ver.27. we reade thus: *Then ſhall they ſee the Sonne of man.* So then, the ſigne of the Sonne of man, is the Sonne himſelfe in his glorious appearing. And ſo *Origen* expoundeth: *Sicut in diſpenſatione crucis ſole deficiente tenebræ factæ ſunt ſuper omnem terram, ſic & ſigno filij hominis apparente in cœlo deficiet ſolis lumen:* Like as in the diſpenſation of the croſſe, the Sunne being eclipſed, darknes was ouer the face of all the earth: ſo the ſigne of the Sonne of man appearing, the Sunnes light ſhall faile, *Tract.30.in Matth.* It is the glorie of the Sonne himſelfe, and not of any other ſigne, which ſhall obſcure the Sunne light. Secondly, it is great preſumption, ſo boldly to affirme, that it ſhall be the ſigne of the croſſe, hauing no ſcripture for it. Other ſignes we finde, that Chriſt hath appeared with, as the ſigne of the rayne-bow, Apocal. 10. 1. with a two edged ſword, Apocal. 1. 16. with a booke in his hand, Apocal. 10. 2. Wee haue better reaſon, that Chriſt may appeare with thoſe ſignes, by the which he hath ſometime ſhewed himſelfe, than they haue for the ſigne of the croſſe.

3. It is more like, that Chriſt at his comming ſhould ſhew the markes and prints of the nayles and ſpeare in his bodie, than the ſigne of the croſſe: for thoſe were felt and ſeene in his bodie after his reſurrection, ſo was not the other. But it is a looſe coniecture, and a vaine ſurmiſe, without any ground of ſcripture, that the wounds are either now in heauen to be ſeene in the glorious bodie of Chriſt, or that they ſhall be beheld and looked vpon in the day of iudgement. The wicked in deede ſhall behold him, whom they pierced: but it followeth not thereupon that hee ſhould appeare as pierced. How is it poſſible, that either the bodie of Chriſt being perfectly glorified, ſhould ſtill retaine any ſpots or blemiſhes, or that they could be eſpied in ſo glorious a bodie, which with the brightnes thereof ſhall obſcure the Sunne?

Eſpencæus (a writer of their owne) ſaith, that whereas ſome aſcribe this ſong to ***Bernard: Mater oſtendit filio pectus & vbera; filius patri latus & vulnera:*** That in heauen Chriſts mother doth ſhew her ſonne her breaſt and pappes; Chriſt ſheweth his father his ſide and wounds, &c. that it is, ***contemplatio non tam ex ſcripturis, quam picturis deprompta***, a contemplation taken not out of ſcripture, but out of ſome picture, *de Chriſt. Mediator. c.* 8.

Homil. de tempore 147. ***Auguſtine*** giueth this iudgement: ***Sic voluit reſurgere Chriſtus, ſic voluit quibuſdam dubitantibus exhibere in illa carne cicatrices vulneris vt ſanaret vulnus incredulitatis:*** So it pleaſed Chriſt to ariſe, and to ſhew in his fleſh vnto ſome that doubted, the ſkarres of his wounds, to heale and take away the wound of their incredulitie or vnbeleefe. This then being the onely cauſe, why Chriſt would at that time haue the prints and markes in his fleſh to bee ſeene, namely to confirme the faith of them which doubted; the cauſe being now ceaſed: for is it to be thought that there are any doubtfull perſons in heauen, which may be confirmed by beholding Chriſts wounds? or ſhall vnbeleeuers finde any reliefe in the day of iudgement? the cauſe (I ſay) being remoued, wee haue no warrant to thinke, that there are any ſuch ſkarres, either now to be ſeene in the glorious bodie of Chriſt, or which ſhall appeare in the day of iudgement. And ſeeing there is no ground for this opinion, the ſhewing forth alſo of the ſigne of the croſſe in that day, is alſo but a wandring and a fooliſh conceit.

The Papiſts.

37. Error. 4. SVch is their boldnes, that they dare aſſigne the very yeere, moneth, and day of Chriſts comming to iudgement: for they ſay, that Antichriſt ſhall raigne three yeeres and an halfe, and one moneth, 1290. dayes, and counting 45. dayes after that, they ſhall ſee Chriſt comming in the clowdes: Bleſſed is hee, ſaith *Daniel*, that waiteth and commeth to the 1335. dayes, Dan. 12. 12. *Bellarm. de pontif. Rom. lib.* 3. *cap.* 8.

The Proteſtants.

Anſ. 1. THe prophecie of *Daniel* we haue alreadie ſhewed, Controuerſie 4. queſt. 9. to haue bin fulfilled before the firſt comming of Chriſt, in *Antiochus* that cruell tyrant & perſecutor of the people of God: how he ſhould cauſe the daily ſacrifice to ceaſe 1290. dayes, that is, three yeeres and ſeuen moneths, 2. Macchab. 11. 33. and that 45. dayes after, *Antiochus* being dead, the Church ſhould finde eaſe, 1. Macchab. 6. 16. Wherefore, ſeeing this prophecie hath once alreadie had his effect, it is not neceſſarie to looke for any other: as *Auguſtine* ſaith of another prophecie of *Daniel*: *Quæ prophetia ſi tempore primi aduentus impleta eſt, non cogit intelligi, quod etiam de fine ſeculi implebitur:* Which prophecie if it hath been fulfilled in or before the firſt comming of Chriſt, it neede not be vnderſtood of the latter. Epiſtol. 80.

2. This preſumption of theirs is flat oppoſite and contrarie to Scripture, which ſaith, ***That the houre and day of Chriſts comming is not knowne to the Angels, nor to the Sonne of man, but to the Father onely***, Mark. 13. 33. How then dare they preſume beyond the knowledge of Angels?

I finde beſide, that two writers haue aduentured very farre in this matter to ſet downe the time and yeeres of Chriſts comming: one is *Cuſanus* among the Papiſts: the other is *Iohn Napeir* that learned gentleman of Scotland for the Proteſtants: the firſt thinketh, that the world ſhall end betweene the yeere 1700. and 1734. the other, that the finall conſummation is like to be accompliſhed betweene the yeere 1688. and *anno* 1700.

1 *Cuſanus* coniectures are theſe: 1. As Chriſt roſe again in the yeere 34. of his age: ſo the Church of God ſhall riſe at the latter day in the 34. Iubile, which make 1700. yeeres.

2 2. As after the firſt *Adam*, in the 34. Iubile there came a conſumption of ſinne by water: for the flood was *anno* 1656. after the creation of the world: ſo in the 34. Iubile after the ſecond *Adam*, ſhall there be a finall conſumption of ſinne by fire.

3 3. Dan. 12. 12. There ſhall be 1300. dayes, that is yeeres, from the going forth of the word,

which was the firſt yeere of *Cyrus*, who was 559.yeeres before Chriſt: now ioyne both theſe together, and wee come to the yeere after Chriſt 741. and ſo the world ſhall end at the yeere 1700.or before 1700.

4. He taketh another coniecture out of *Philo*, that it was reuealed to *Moſes*, that at his death two times of the world were paſſed, from *Adam* to *Noah* the firſt, and from *Noah* to *Moſes* the ſecond; and two more were behinde, the firſt from *Moſes* to Chriſt, which contained 1700.yeeres, the ſecond from Chriſt to the end of the world of the like continuance: *vid.Eſſ. in* 2. *ad Timoth. pag.*80. 4

Contra. Some of theſe coniectures are vncertaine and conclude not, ſome are improper, ſome of them falſe: of the firſt ſort are the two firſt reaſons: 1. They are grounded onely vpon humane collections, not diuine conſtitutions; as to eſtimate the age of the world and continuance thereof by Iubilees: by Sabboths and Iubilees we may make reckoning and account of times, but preciſely thereby to calculate how long the world ſhall endure, is an humane preſumption without any diuine preſcription. 2. Hereby it would follow, that the world ſhould end before *anno* 1700. in the middeſt of the laſt Iubile, which is contrarie to his owne opinion: for Chriſt dyed at 33. yeere and an halfe: and the deluge came *anno* 1656. in the middeſt of the laſt Iubile.

Secondly, the third coniecture is improper, and hath beſide many vncertainties: 1. The Prophet ſpeaketh of 1335.dayes, not of 1300.onely. 2. The computation of theſe dayes muſt begin from the ſetting vp of the *abomination of deſolation*, Dan.12.12. which was in *Antiochus Epiphanes* raigne, who was ſome hundred yeeres after *Cyrus*. 3. I ſee not though all the yeeres be put together, how we come to *anno* 1700. but onely to the yeere 741. vnleſſe hee adde 1000.yeeres more, which cannot be concluded from that place of *Daniel*. 4. I haue ſhewed before that this prophecie of *Daniel* was once alreadie fulfilled in *Antiochus* raigne, and therefore a ſecond propheticall effect thereof is not to be expected.

Thirdly, the laſt coniecture is altogether vncertaine and falſe: for neither are there 1700.yeeres betweene *Noah* and *Moſes* death, nor yet 1000.yeere: and from *Moſes* to Chriſt, are not aboue yeeres 1400.

That learned and religious gentleman of Scotland doth ground his opinion vpon better coniectures, yet vncertaine: as firſt, hee alleageth the prophecie fathered vpon *Elias*, that the world ſhould continue 6000. yeeres: 2000. before the Law, 2000. vnder the Law, 2000. vnder the Meſſiah, which dayes for the elect ſake ſhall be ſhortened.

Secondly, he buildeth vpon that place of *Daniel* of 1335.dayes, taking ſo many yeeres, and beginning the account from *Iulian* the Apoſtata, who would haue made an vtter deſolation of Chriſtian religion, *anno* 365. which two numbers compounded make iuſt 1700.

Thirdly, he vrgeth that place, Apocal.14.20. how the blood ranne out of the wine preſſe 1600. furlongs: whereby muſt be vnderſtood ſo many yeeres: and the account to begin from *anno* 99. when this booke was written: ſo that this number will bring vs to *anno* 1699. Theſe with other moe coniectures, that learned gentleman hath, *propoſ.*14. in his booke vpon the Reuelation: which he vrgeth not as certaine demonſtrations, but as probable ſuppoſitions for his opinion: which I thinke hee propoundeth not, as neceſſarie to be followed, or certaine to be beleeued, but as probable to be receiued, and as coniecturall further to be weighed and conſidered.

For otherwiſe the Scripture teacheth, that the very Angels knowe not the *houre* or *day*, that is, the time of Chriſts comming, Mark.13.32. how then are we able to ſearch it out? And if *Daniel* confeſſeth his ignorance concerning the ſecret of times, Dan.12.8. *I heard it, but I vnderſtood it not:* it were great preſumption for vs to ſeeke to comprehend that, which ſo great a Prophet apprehended not.

This we may know and remember, that many attempting to calculate the time of Chriſts comming, haue been greatly deceiued, and ouertaken in their owne conceites.

*Lactantius lib.7.cap.*14. is of opinion, that the world ſhould laſt ſo many thouſand yeeres, as it was dayes in making: according to the blind tradition fathered vpon *Elias*. In the ſame error are *Methodius, Euſebius, Beda.*

Gregorie the great, *Homil.*1.*in Euangel.* thought that in his time the day of iudgement was at hand: and that the ſignes of Chriſts comming were accompliſhed.

In *Iuſtinian* the Emperours time, there was a generall rumour, *Mundum cum prole periturum:* That the world ſhould preſently periſh with her children. And while all men were in expectation hereof, a certaine Captaine of the Emperours called *Mundus*, which is the Latine worde for the world, being ſent into Italie againſt the Gothes, was ſlaine with his children, and ſo that blind prediction tooke effect: *ex Procop. & Leonard. Aretin. de bell. Gothor. lib.*1.

Bullinger reporteth, that certaine Anabaptiſts were ſo ſure that the end of the world was at hand, that they wilfully waſted their goods, thinking they had enough for the time the world ſhould laſt, and ſo fell into extreame pouertie: *cont. Anabap. lib.*2.*c.*6.

And of late ſome confidently had written of the yeere 88. as though the world ſhould then haue ended. But all theſe haue proued themſelues falſe prophets.

Wherefore in ſo great vncertainties, I thinke *Auguſtines* reſolution beſt, who thus writeth, *epiſt.* 78. *De Saluatoris reditu, qui expectatur in fine, tempora dinumerare non audeo, nec aliquem prophetarum hac de re numerum annorum exiſtimo præſciuiſſe, &c.* Of our Sauiours returne, which is expected in the end, I dare not number the times, neither do I thinke that any of the Prophets knew the number of the yeeres, but rather that to ſtand, which the Lord ſaith: *It is not for you to know the times and ſeaſons, which the father hath kept in his owne power,* Act. 1. 7.

In Pſalm. 36. concion. 1. Againe, *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Vtiliter latere voluit Deus illum diem, vt ſemper ſit paratum cor ad expectandum, quòd eſſe venturum ſcit, & quando venturum ſit, neſcit:* The Lord to great purpoſe would haue that day kept ſecret, that our heart ſhould bee in continuall expectation of that, which it is ſure, ſhall come, but knoweth not when it ſhall come. *Quid ad te* (ſaith he) *quando veniet, ſic viue, quaſi hodie venturus ſit, & non timebis cum venerit?* What is it to thee when he commeth? ſo liue as though he ſhould come to day, and thou ſhalt not be afraide when he commeth, *ſerm. 6. &* 17.

Thus haue I through the Lords gracious aſſiſtance, now at the length finiſhed and brought to an end this long and tedious worke, which I truſt ſhall not be ſo yrkſome to the Chriſtian reader, as it was weariſome and painfull to the fleſh, in the collecting and compiling thereof: and yet not ſo painfull, but that God hath made me able and willing to endure this, and greater paines, and that with comfort, for the good of his Church. As *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Nullo modo oneroſi eſſe debent labores amantium, nam in eo quod amatur, aut non laboratur, aut ipſe labor amatur:* The labours of louers are not grieuous, for in that which a man loueth and deſireth, either there is no labour at al, or elſe he loueth the very labour: *de patient. cap.* 22.

I excuſe not, whatſoeuer hath fallen out of my pen in this worke, if I haue failed any where in the manner of handling: But as for the matter handled therein, I truſt I haue throughout maintained the truth: in the proſecuting whereof, if ſometime I chaunce to miſſe, I ſay with *Auguſtine: Nunquam errari tutius exiſtimo quàm cum in amore nimio veritatis, & reiectione nimia falſitatis erratur:* I thinke a man can neuer more ſafely erre, than when he erreth in the too much loue of the truth, and the reiecting of falſehood.

I haue laboured in this worke, to ſet downe not onely the chiefe and principall, but euen the moſt, and in a maner all the controuerſies of religion, betweene vs and the Papiſts, maintained De fide & operibus cap. 27. this day: If any thing be miſſing, I ſay againe with *Auguſtine, Tale eſſe arbitratus ſum cui mea reſponſio neceſſaria non fuiſſet, ſiue, quia ad rem de qua agitur, non pertinet, ſiue quod tam leue eſſet, vt à quolibet redargui facillimè poſſet:* I thought it to be ſuch, as vnto the which mine anſwere was not needfull, either becauſe it was not pertinent to the matter in hand, or elſe of ſo ſmall moment, that euery man might eaſilie anſwere vnto it.

I haue no more to ſay but this: If thou findeſt thy ſelfe any thing profited or helped (good Chriſtian Reader) by theſe ſimple labours of mine, giue God the praiſe, and I will praiſe him with thee: but one thing let me pray thee: *Quiſquis legis nihil reprehendas, niſi cum totum perlegeris, atque* Auguſt. *ita forte minus reprehendes:* Whoſoeuer readeſt in this booke, reprehend nothing, before thou haſt read the whole, and ſo perhaps thou wilt be more ſparing in reprehending.

The Lord giue vs all grace to loue the trueth, that they which knowe it, may continue and goe forward therein, as he ſaith, *Perſeuerate in eo, quod eſtis, proficite ad id, quod eritis:* Perſeuere in that you are, and proceede to that, you ſhall be: And they which as yet know it not, may ſeeke for it: and we all may embrace the Counſell of the wiſe man, to buie the truth, but in no wiſe to ſell it: that is, by all poſſible meanes to labour for it: and hauing attained thereunto, for no earthly reſpect, for feare or fauour to depart from it. The Lord God, Ieſus Chriſt, Iehouah, Emmanuel, our bleſſed Sauiour and redeemer, who is the way, the truth, and the life, giue vs of his heauenly grace, that we may walke obediently in his wayes, and conſtantly profeſſe his truth, that in the end he may bring vs to eternall life. Amen.

Soli Deo immortali patri, Filio cum Spiritu ſancto,
ſit omnis honor & gloria.

AN ADDITION, OR SECOND PART OF THIS FIFT AND LAST CENTVRIE, CONSISTING OF TWO SEVERALL CONTROVERSIES: THE FIRST OF the Papal Iubile ſolemnized at Rome this preſent yeare, 1600. The ſecond of the Popes Indulgences and Iubile Pardons.

THE FIRST CONTROVERSIE OF THE Romane Iubile.

THis controuerſie is deuided into foure parts. Firſt, of the name and inſtitution of the Papall Iubile. Secondly, of the errors of time, in the Popes Iubile. Thirdly, of the end and purpoſe thereof. Fourthly, of the ceremonies and manner vſed in ſolemnizing this Iubile.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NAME AND INSTItution of the Popes Iubile.

The Papiſts.

FIrſt, concerning the deriuation of the name, *Bellarmine* telleth vs, that this word *Iubile* is not deriued of the Hebrue יבל *Iobel*, which ſignifieth a trumpet: but of the word יבול *Iebul*, which ſignifieth the fruite of the earth, becauſe in this yeare of Iubile, the earth brought forth fruite of it owne accord without labour: *lib.1.de Indulg.c.1.* 1. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Contra.1. THe Hebrue word, that ſignifieth a horne or trumpet, hath the very ſame points or prickes, and the ſame and iuſt ſo many letters, as the word *Iobel*, that ſignifieth the Iubile: as may appeare by comparing, Leuit.25.10,11,12. with Ioſua 6.5. But the other word from whence he deriueth his Iubile, hath both more letters, and other pointes; ſo that the *Iubile* is more like to take denomination from (*Iobell*) that ſignifieth a trumpet.

Secondly, becauſe the yeare of *Iubile* was proclaimed with the ſound of a trumpet, Leuit.25.8. and therefore by the blowing of the ſeuen trumpets by the ſeuen Angels, Reuelat.8.8. ſome learned doe expound certaine great Iubilees of yeeres: euery blowing of the trumpet containing fiue Iubilees, that is 245. yeares: which make in all from Chriſt 1786. yeares: not that the world ſhall laſt ſo long; for thoſe dayes ſhall be ſhortened: ſo *Iohn Napeire* vpon the Reuelation, prop.5.10. Therefore it is moſt like that the *Iubile* being deſcribed, and proclaimed by the ſound of a Trumpet, hath his name from thence: and though in this place, not the word *Iobell*, but the Hebrue *teruha* be expreſſed to ſignifie a trumpet, Leuit.25.8. yet elſe where, we haue that word vſed for a trumpet, as I haue ſhewed before, Ioſua 6.5.

Thirdly, the common phraſe of ſpeech in Latine, which vſeth the words, *iubilare, iubilatio*, for reioycing, doth ſhew that the *Iubile* is deriued from (*Iobel*) which ſignifieth a trumpet, wherewith they vſed to reioyce: So *Auguſtine* vpon theſe words, Pſalm.98.4. *Iubilate Deo*, Sing vnto the Lord: *Gaudium veſtrum exprimat iubilatio, ſi non poteſt locutio:* Let your iubilation or reioycing, expreſſe your ioye, if your ſpeech or locution cannot.

Fourthly, S. *Hierome* alſo approoueth this interpretation, that the word Iubile ſignifieth a trumpet, or cornet: *de interpretat. nominum.*

The Papiſts.

SEcondly, the Pope borroweth the Iubile of the Iewes: as *Clement.6.* thus alleageth in his Bull: *Quia annus quinquageſimus, in lege Moſaica, quam non venit dominus ſoluere, ſed ſpiritualiter adim-* 2. Error.

plere; Iubilæus,&c. Becauſe the fiftith yeare in the law of *Moſes*, which the Lord came not to looſe but to fulfill was appointed for the *Iubile:* and becauſe the number of fiftie in the olde teſtament was honoured by the giuing of the law, in the new teſtament, by the ſending of the holy Ghoſt. *extrau.commun.lib.5.tit.9.Clem.6.*

The Proteſtants.

*Contra.*1. WHo taught them to burthen the Church of God with Iewiſh ceremonies: as beſides this of the *Iubile*, they take from them the ſprinkling of holy-water. *decr par.3.diſt.4. c.* 127. the conſecrating or hallowing of Churches, *diſtinct.* 1. *ca.* 11. Their annointing they haue from *Moſes, decret, Gregor. lib.* 1. *tit.* 15. *c.* 1. *gloſſ.* and many ſuch other rites and ceremonies they doe begge from the Iewes: contrarie to the Apoſtle who calleth ſuch, *beggerly and impotent rudiments*, Galat. 1 .9. Whereupon the Ebionite heretikes had their name, *à paupertate*, of their beggerlines, as their owne canons witneſſe, adding further: *Hi ſemi Iudæi ſunt, qui ita Euangelium tenent, vt legem carnaliter ſeruent:* Theſe are halfe Iewes, which ſo hold the goſpell, as that they carnally alſo obſerue the law: *cauſ.24.qu.3.can.*39. How much vnlike are the Papiſts, who in reſpect of the multitude of beggerly ceremonies, which they retayne may very well be called *halfe Iewes*, or halfe Ebionites.

2. Saint *Paule* ſaith, *That Chriſt hath cancelled the handwriting of ordinances,&c.and faſtened them to the croſſe*, Coloſſ.2.14. *And ſpeaking of holy daies, new moones, and ſabboths*, hee ſaith, *they were but ſhadowes of things to come, but the bodie is in Chriſt.* The Iubile then, which was the *Sabboth* of ſeuen yeeres, *ſeuen* times ſeuen yeeres being counted to a Iubile, was but a ſhadow: Chriſt then came to fulfill the law, the *moral* by reuiuing and eſtabliſhing it, the *ceremoniall* by accompliſhing and aboliſhing it: your owne law ſaith, *Poſtquam vmbra legis euanuit, illuxit veritas Euangelij:* After the ſhadow of the law had vaniſhed, the veritie of the Goſpell hath ſhined forth; *decret.Greg. tit.47.lib.3.c.*1. *Innocent* 3. And that the Iubile was but a ſhadow, *Bellarmine* confeſſeth: *Iubilæus Hebræorum typus & figura Euangelij:* The Iubile of the Hebrues was a type and figure of the goſpell: *de indulgent. lib.*1.*p.*5. then it followeth that the Iubile being a ſhadow is vaniſhed, and ought not to be reuiued.

3. As for the conſecration of the number of fiftie by the giuing of the law, and the comming of the holy Ghoſt, it maketh ſomewhat for the obſeruation of Pentecoſt, which is ſolemnized fiftie daies after Eaſter; but nothing at all for the Iubile which is vpon the fiftith yeare, no more then it ſerueth for the keeping of the fiftith weeke, or fiftith moneth.

4. If they will haue a *Iubile*, which is the Sabboth of ſeuen times ſeuen yeeres, they muſt alſo obſerue the yeeres of reſt euery ſeuenth yeere, according to the preſcript of *Moſes* law. Leuit. 25.4. And in the Iubile, the Land reſted, they did reape that which did grow of it ſelfe. Leuit.25.11. If the like bleſſing they can ſhew vpon the earth in their yeere of *Iubile*, they ſhould haue ſome warrant to keepe it: So then according to Saint *Paules* reaſon; *He that is circumciſed* (or keepeth any one part of the law) *is bound to keepe the whole law*, Galat.5.3. If they then tie themſelues to celebrate the yeere of *Iubile*, they are bound alſo to other points of the law: as *Hierome* well ſaith: *Si carnalem interpretationem ſequamur, Iudaicis fabulis acquieſcendum ſit, vt rurſum ædificetur Ieruſalē, & hoſtiæ offerantur in templo:* If we muſt follow a carnal interpretation, we muſt reſt in Iewiſh fables, Ieruſalem muſt be built againe, and ſacrifices offered in the temple. *Hieron.tom.4.Marcella.*

The Papiſts.

3.Error. 3. CLement the ſixt was the firſt that *ann.* 1350. inſtituted the Iubile of fifty yeeres, whereas *Boniface* the eight appointed it to be ſolemnized, but once in an hundred yeeres; and ſo celebrated the firſt Iubile *ann.* 1300. *Extrauag. commun.lib.5.tit.9.c.*1.

The Proteſtants.

Contra. BY this it appeareth that the Popes Iubile is but a late inuention: for if the firſt conſtitution of the Iubile made by *Boniface* had taken effect, they ſhould haue had but foure Iubilees in all: and according to the Bull of *Clement* the ſixt, there haue yet runne but onely eight Iubilees, ſo that this pontificall deuiſe is not yet aboue 300. yeere olde: 1. If then the Church of God was gouerned 1300. yeere without a Iubile, we muſt thinke it is not neceſſary now to be obſerued: for it is not like that Chriſt would ſo long a time haue kept from his Church, ſuch a neceſſarie inuention. 2. If neither the Apoſtles, nor holy martyrs, nor Doctors of the Church were inſpired, to finde out ſo neceſſary and profitable obſeruation, it was great preſumption in *Boniface* and *Clement* to ſeeme to ſee more into the vtilitie and profit of the Church, then ſo many apoſtolike and propheticall men, that went before them? 3. Wherfore as *Ieremie* ſaith, *We ought rather to aske for the olde way, which is the good way, and walke therein:* Ierem.6.16. This is too new an inuention, hauing no ground in Scripture, and being but lately taken vp, to winne any credit with the people of God. 4. *Auguſtine* therefore well ſaith, as he is alleaged alſo, *Diſtinct.*12.*c.*1. *Omnia talia, quæ neque ſanctarum ſcripturarum authoritatibus continentur, nec in concilijs epiſcoporum ſtatuta inueniuntur, nec conſuetudine vniuerſalis eccleſiæ roborata ſunt, &c. ſine vlla dubitatione reſecanda exiſtimo;*

ſtimo: All ſuch things, which neither are contained in the authoritie of Scripture, nor eſtabliſhed in the councels of Biſhops, nor confirmed by the cuſtome of the vniuerſall Church, I iudge to be cut off, &c. But ſuch is this inuention of the *Iubile*, neither warranted by Scripture, nor concluded in any ancient councell, nor yet practiſed of the vniuerſall Church in time and place: for the former ages of the Church, knew it not, and many Churches to this day receiue it not, and therefore by *Auguſtines* ſentence, it ought to be abrogated.

The Papiſts.

4. THe Popes themſelues haue verie much varied ſince this new deuiſe of the Iubile was taken vp: it hath beene chaunged no leſſe then fiue ſeuerall times. 1. *Boniface* the eight did appoint the Iubile euery hundred yeare *extrau.commu.lib.5.tit.9.c.*1. 2.*Clemens* 6. did abridge it to the 50. yeere. *extrau.ibid.c.*2. 3.*Vrbane* the ſixt brought it to 33. yeeres. *ex Balæo.* 4.*Paulus*.2. *Sixtus* the fourth limited the Iubile to 25. yeeres. *extrau. commun.ibid.c.*4. 5.*Iulius* the ſecond did yet curtall the *Iubile*, and appointed it euery tenth yeere. *Robert Pont. Scotus propoſ.*2. 4.Error.

The Proteſtants.

*Contra.*1. WE may now truly ſay of thoſe patrons of ſuperſtition, and their councels, as the Prophet ſaith of *Pharaoh* his counſellers: *Errant in opere, vt ebrius in vomitu:* They do erre in euery worke, as a drunken man in his vomite: Iſay. 19.14. Their reſtleſſe and brainſicke inuentions are neuer ſetled: and as *Origen* well ſaith: *Vt errantium à via multa differentia ſunt,&c.* As when men erre from the high way, they goe into many by-paths. *tract. 27. in Matth.* So falleth it out heere, that theſe ſwaruing from the truth, doe euery one follow his owne way, and cannot agree together. 2. It is pretie ſport to ſee how the Popes doe curſe one another for altering their predeceſſors decrees: firſt *Boniface* the eight, hauing erected a Iubile euery 100. yeere, doth ſhut vp his Bull thus: *Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ conſtitutionis &c. infringere, ſiquis attentare præſumpſerit indignationem omnipotentis Dei,&c. nouerit ſe incurſurum:* Let no man dare to infringe this Bull of our conſtitution, which if he preſume to attempt, let him know he ſhall incurre the indignation of Almightie God, and of *Peter* and *Paul*, &c. *extrau. commun.lib.5.tit.9.c.*1. Then commeth *Clemens* the ſixt, and infringeth this Conſtitution, and ſo ſtandeth vnder the Pope his predeceſſors curſe: and he reduceth the Iubile to 50. yeeres, impoſing the very ſame curſe and in the ſame words vpon the violators of his decree. *ibid.c.*2. After him followeth *Sixtus* the fourth, who bringeth the *Iubile* to 25. yeeres, and ſo incurreth the former curſe annexed to *Clemens* the ſixt his conſtitution. *ibid.c.*4.

Thus theſe fellowes, that would terrifie all the world with their curſes, yet take them to be but ſcarebugges themſelues. Or if they thinke the Popes curſe to be any thing worth, how can they bleſſe others, that ſtand accurſed themſelues?

The Papiſts.

5. SIxtus the fourth in his Bull thus decreeth: After he had recited the conſtitution of his 5.Error. predeceſſor *Paulus* the ſecond for the reſtraining of the *Iubile* to the 25. yeere: *Quod anno domini 1474. proximè futuro, à vigilia natiuitatis domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, Iubilæus celebrari deberet, &c.* That in the yeare of our Lord 1474. next comming from the vigile of the birth of our Lord the Iubile ſhould be celebrated: *extrau.commun.lib.5.tit.9.c.*4.

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. THis pope diſſenteth from all his predeceſſors, bringing the Iubile to the 24. yeere: for in the 1450. yeare the Iubile was kept according to the conſtitution of *Clemens* the ſixt, who reduced it to the 50. yeare, vnto the which adde 24. and we haue the foreſaid number of 1474. Thus as Saint *Paul* ſaith: 1. Tim.1.7. *They vnderſtand not what they ſpeake, nor whereof they affirme:* So vncertaine are theſe Popes in theſe new deuiſes diſſenting one from an other: like as *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Non diuiſus eſt Chriſtus, ſed qui eum (à veritate*) diuidunt, ipſi ſe ſcindunt:* Chriſt is not diuided: but they which deuide him (from the truth*) doe alſo deuide themſelues. *lib.*1. *de fid.c.*4.

* à patre.

* from the father,

THE SECOND PART, OF THE ERRORS of time in the Popes Iubile.

The Papiſts.

1. THey begin their account of the Iubile *à feſto natiuitatis*, from the feaſt of the Natiuitie, *Extrau.commun.lib.5.tit.9.c.1.Bonif.*8. 6.Error.

The Proteſtants.

Confut. TO reckon the yeares of Lord, from the natiuitie of Chriſt, and not from his conception. 1. is contrarie to their owne doctrine: for the Rhemiſts confeſſe, *That ſtraight vpon Chriſts deſcending from heauen, it was the dutie of Angels to worſhip him: annot. in 2. Hebr. ſect.2. Bellarm. ſuper Chriſtum hominem nondum natum, ſed conceptum, ſpiritus ſanctus deſcendit:* Vpon the man Chriſt, not yet borne but conceiued, the holy Ghoſt did deſcend: *de Chriſt. anima. lib.* 4. *c.*2. If Chriſt then deſcended from heauen in his conception, was then made man, and adored of Angels, what reaſon is there, why the yeers of the Lord ſhould not be accounted from that inſtant? 2. It is contrarie to their owne practiſe: for the Popes vſe to date their Buls: *Anno incarnationis, &c.* the yeere of the incarnation of our Lord, *Paul.*2.*extrau.commun.lib.*5.*tit.*9.*c.*3. *Sixtus.* 4. *ibid.* But Chriſtes incarnation began not onely in his natiuitie, but from his firſt conception. 3. It is contrarie to the Scriptures, Heb. 1. 6. *When he bringeth in his firſt begotten ſonne into the world*, hee ſaith, *let all the Angels worſhippe him:* If Chriſt muſt be worſhipped from his firſt comming into the world, which was in his conception, then frō thence the account of time muſt begin, which is a part of external honor & worſhip due vnto him. 4. *Iohn* Baptiſt being in his mothers wombe three moneths before he was borne, Luk.1.56. ſprang at the ſalutation of *Mary*, and ſo adored Chriſt, being but then conceaued in his mothers wombe by the holie Ghoſt: in like manner ought we to adore the conception of Chriſt, and not to exclude it out of the reckoning. 5. *Iob* curſeth the night, *wherein he was conceaued, that it be not ioyned to the dayes of the yeere, nor come into the count of the moneths*, Iob.3.6. but the time of Chriſts conception is bleſſed, and therefore it ought to come into the account of the moneths. Wherfore the yeere of the Lord is rather to begin from his conception, than from his natiuitie.

7.Error. Secondly, it is another of their errors in their account of time, that whereas the conception of Chriſt was three quarters of a yeere preceding his birth: yet they accounting from the Natiuitie, doe write the ſame yeere of the Lord, a whole quarter before vs: as this preſent yeere they write 1600. at the natiuity laſt, & we begin the ſame yeere at the Annuntiation laſt: ſo that they account ſooner by a yeere than they ſhould: for it being but 1600. from the conception of Chriſt the 25. of March laſt, according to the iuſt computation of the Church of England: it can be but from his natiuitie 1600. at the feaſt of the birth of Chriſt next enſuing. This is a groſſe & an apparant error.

8.Error. Thirdly, the natiuitie of Chriſt did fall neither in a Sabbaticall yeere, nor yet in the yeere of Iubile: for it was the third yeere of the Sabboth of yeeres, and almoſt 20. yeeres from the yeere of Iubile, which was in the yeere of the world 3910. and Chriſt was borne about the yeere 3930. Seeing then Chriſt was not borne in a yeere of *Iubile*, from thence reckoning by euen fifties, this preſent 1600. cannot be a yeere of Iubile: See Maſter *Broughtons Concent of Scripture* of this matter, whoſe labours in this kinde haue been moſt painfull, learned and profitable.

9.Error. Fourthly, though it ſhould be granted, that the natiuitie of Chriſt was incident into a yeere of *Iubile:* yet they miſſe againe, in the obſeruing the time of the yeere for Chriſts birth, and in taking the beginning of their *Iubile:* for *Moſes Iubile*, which they take vpon them to imitate, began in the tenth day of the ſeauenth moneth, Leuitic.25.9. If they anſwere, that they began their *Iubile* from the time that Chriſt was borne in: the learned doe thinke, that hee was borne in the moneth anſwering to our September: and that for theſe reaſons:

1 Firſt, it is euident, that betweene the conception of *Iohn*, and the conception of Chriſt, there were ſixe moneths, Luk.1.26. *In the ſixt moneth the Angel Gabriel was ſent, &c.* But *Iohn* was conceaued in the fourth moneth, which anſwereth to our Iune: for in that moneth *Zacharie* ſerued, being of the courſe of *Abia*, which was the eight courſe, 1.Chron.24.10. (two of thoſe courſes ſeruing euery moneth) which courſes began at the firſt moneth, Niſan anſwering to our March, the beginning of moneths, Exod.12.2. *Iohn* then being conceaued in Iune, his birth muſt fall out 9. moneths after about March: & ſo conſequently our Sauiour being conceaued 6. moneths after *Iohn*, muſt be borne about September following.

2 2. Againe, Chriſt preached three yeeres and an halfe: for hee dyed, according to *Daniels* prophecie, in the middeſt of a propheticall weeke of yeeres, Dan.9.27. which is three yeeres and an halfe: and when hee began to preach, hee was iuſt 30. yeere old, Luk.3.23. from the time then of Chriſts birth, to the time of his death, there muſt bee halfe a yeere: So it doth neceſſarily follow, that Chriſt dying in the ſpring, muſt be borne in the Autumne.

3 3. They ſeeing their error, haue of late ſomewhat reformed their Calendar, bringing backe the feaſt of the Natiuitie tenne dayes from the 25. of December to the 15. day: but yet they haue miſſed the marke: for whereas it is found that the courſe of yeeres is altered from the ancient Iulian Calendar, by reaſon that for euery 130. yeeres a day is loſt, in reſpect of certaine minutes and ſeconds encreaſing euery yeere, beſide the 6. od houres, which are recompenſed euery leape yeere; one *Aloyſius Lilius, ann.*82. in *Gregorie* the 13. his time, was authorized to reforme the Calendar: but being limited by the Papiſticall Clergie not to goe beyond the Nicen Synode, he was forced there to begin, which was from *anno* 328. and from thence counting a day for 130. yeeres, hee brought backe the Calendar onely tenne dayes, whereas it was ſlipt thirteene dayes from the time of *Iulius Caſar*, who liued about 45. yeeres before Chriſt. Thus yet are they in error concerning the iuſt computation of time.

4. It will be here obiected, that though the Church of Rome hath not yet perfectly reformed their Calendar, yet they come neerer to the ancient Iulian computation, than the Church of

England, that hath admitted yet no reformation of the Calendar. I anſwere: firſt, concerning the celebration of the natiuitie of Chriſt, to vs it is no great matter, though wee hit not the very ſame ſeaſon wherein hee was borne: for his birth day may bee as thankfully celebrated, as it is now kept, as if the very point of time were exactly calculated: wee doe not ſo much reſpect the time, as the myſterie remembred therein: But to them it is very materiall to obſerue the very preciſe time, becauſe they begin their Iubile from thence; wherein, as I haue ſhewed they doe greatly miſſe. Secondly, yet we are not againſt a reformation of the Calendar, if it ſo ſeemed good to Chriſtian Princes, which may much better be performed, than they haue done it: who by altering and chaunging the ancient Feſtiuals, and Faire and Market dayes, making them to come tenne dayes ſooner, haue brought a great confuſion and diſturbance into many common-weales More peaceable and ſafe way is found out, that if for the ſpace of 56. yeeres following, there ſhould be no leape yeere at all, wherein a day is added more, by this meanes foureteene dayes being cut off, for euery leape yeere one: by this meanes the computation would be reſtored to the ancient reckoning of the Iulian Calendar: *Robert. Pont. propoſ.5.*

5. It will be further obiected concerning the ſeaſon of Chriſts birth, that the fathers held, that he was borne when the dayes began to encreaſe, and therefore not in the Autumne, when they are ſtill in decreaſing: as *Auguſtine* ſeemeth ſo to allude in theſe words of *Iohn Baptiſt: Illum oportet creſcere, &c.* He muſt encreaſe, but I muſt decreaſe, Ioh. 3.30. *Ille natus, cum dies minuerentur, iſte, cum creſcere inciperent, &c.* He was borne, when the daies were leſſoned, Chriſt, when they were encreaſing, *lib.* 83. *queſtion. qu.* 58.

Anſ. 1. Any man may ſee that this collection is rather wittie than waightie, *pretie* rather, than *pithie*: as in the ſame place the author alleaged (whoſoeuer it was) alludeth further thus: *Iohn* decreaſed, *quia capite minuitur*, becauſe he was cut ſhorter by the head: Chriſt encreaſed, *quia in crucem tollitur*, becauſe he was lift vp to the croſſe, and ſo made higher.

2. We may well thinke, that in *Auguſtines* time, which was about 400. yeere after Chriſt, they might well be ignorant of the time of Chriſts birth, ſeeing almoſt 100. yeere before in the Nicen Synode, and long before that, there was ſuch ſtrife about the celebration of the Paſch, ſome affirming that the Apoſtles kept it one way, ſome another: the Eaſt Church pretending a tradition from Saint *Iohn*, to hold the Paſch the 14. day of the firſt moneth: the Weſt following a direction from Saint *Peter*, to ſolemnize it the firſt Lordes day after the firſt Moone following the *Equinoctium*.

3. Neither are all the fathers of this minde, that Chriſt was borne in the dayes encreaſing by the ordinarie courſe of the Sunne: Saint *Ambroſe* hath this ſuppoſition: *Ex eo factum puto, vt nox decreſceret, &c. quia ſol præter conſuetudinem in hac feſtiuitate matutinus illuxit*: Hence it was that the night was leſſened, becauſe the Sunne, beſide his vſuall courſe and cuſtome, did ſhine in the morning, becauſe of this feſtiuall: for if at *Ioſua* his prayer the Sunne ſtood ſtill in the day, *cur non ad Ieſus natiuitatem feſtiuus promoueret à nocte*: much more becauſe of Chriſts natiuitie, did he ſooner goe forward from the night, *ſerm.* 16. That the day then encreaſed, and the night decreaſed, when Chriſt was borne, *Ambroſe* thinketh it was extraordinarie, beſide the vſuall courſe of the yeere at that time.

Fiftly, ſeeing it is euident, that Chriſt dyed in a yeere of *Iubile*, it being the 28. *Iubile* in number, 10. Error.
as is well obſerued in that learned *Concent* of Scripture. And the Prophet *Daniel* ſheweth, that all the Sabbaticall yeeres determined at the death of Chriſt, Dan. 9.27. in whom the true *Iubile* was accompliſhed, well called by the Septuagint, ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως, the yeere of remiſſion, Leuitic. 25.8. This appeareth then to be another great error in the Romane Iubile, becauſe they doe count from the yeere of Chriſts natiuitie, which was no yeere of Iubile, and not from the yeere of his death, which was the true Iubile indeede, and concurring with *Moſes* Iubile: So the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, prophecying of Chriſt, Eſai. 49.8. *In an acceptable time haue I heard thee, and in the day of ſaluation I haue helped thee*: This ἡμέρα σωτηρίας, *day of ſaluation*, is the ſame which the Septuagint tranſlate ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως, *the yeere of remiſſion*, Leuitic. 25.8. which was the yeere of Iubile.

THE THIRD PART, OF THE END AND purpoſe of the Papall Iubile.

Concerning the intent, ſcope and end of this Popiſh deuiſe, we finde it to be firſt blaſphemous; ſecondly, ſacrilegious: thirdly, ſuperfluous: fourthly, iniurious: fiftly, couetous.

The Papiſts.

First, their blaſphemie appeareth in this, that the Pope taketh vpon him to giue full remiſſion 11. Error.
of all ſins to them, that viſite Rome in the yeere of Iubile perſonally: for theſe are the words of *Clement.* 6. his Bull: *Qui baſilicas Apoſtolorum, &c. perſonaliter viſitarent, ſi verè pœnitentes & confeſſi fuerint, ſuorum omnium pleniſſimam obtinerent veniam peccatorum*: They which perſonally viſite

the Apoſtles Churches *Peter* and *Paul* at Rome, if they be truly penitent, and confeſſed, ſhould obtaine moſt full remiſſion of all their ſinnes : *Extrau.commun.lib.5.tit.9.c.6.*

The Proteſtants.

*Contr.*1. THus they blaſphemouſly aſcribe full remiſſion of ſins to the viſiting of Rome, which is but a ſuperſtitious deuice of their owne, whereas the ſcripture ſaith, 1.Ioh.1.7. *The blood of Ieſus Chriſt purgeth vs from all ſinne :* But the blood or bodie of *Paul* or *Peter*, are not the blood of Chriſt, neither to viſite Rome in perſon, is not the blood of Chriſt : therefore it is blaſphemie contrarie to the Scripture to attribute remiſſion of ſinnes, to any other thing, than to the blood of Chriſt.

2. But they imagine, that this helpeth the matter, becauſe this clauſe is inſerted, *if they be truly penitent,&c.*

Anſw. 1. If then it be repentance that giueth remiſſion of ſinnes, what neede they perſonally viſite Rome? a man may repent as well at home, as at Rome, nay much better : for their licentious life there and euill example will hinder repentance rather, than prouoke vnto it. 2. True repentance they require not, but popiſh penance, which they make a ſatisfaction for ſinne, which ſhall neuer finde remiſſion of ſinne. 3. But if they had, or preſcribed true repentance indeede, yet is it not a cauſe of forgiuenes of ſinne, but a conſequence onely thereof, and aſſurance of it to our owne ſoules, and a manifeſtation that wee are cleere before God : As Saint *Paul* ſaith, hauing deſcribed their true repentance and godly ſorrow, their *care, feare, deſire, puniſhment,&c. In omnibus vos exhibuiſtis puros,&c.* In all things ye haue ſhewed your ſelues pure in this matter. Their outward repentance did ſhew the inward cleering of their conſcience by faith before God.

3. Laſtly, Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle, Rom.3.24. *Ye are iuſtified freelie : Quia nihil operantes, neque vicem reddentes, ſola fide iuſtificati ſunt dono dei:* Becauſe they working nothing, nor rendring the like, are iuſtified by onely faith through the gift of God, *in 3.cap.ad Roman.* If by neither working nor rendring any thing,&c. then not by viſiting Rome, or going to celebrate the yeere of Iubile ſhall a man finde remiſſion of ſinnes, but by faith onely.

The Papiſts.

12. Error. SEcondly, the popiſh Iubile is inſtituted to the honour of *Peter* and *Paul :* as it is extant in the Bull of *Boniface* 8. *Vt beatiſſimi Petrus & Paulus amplius honorentur :* That the bleſſed Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul* be more honoured, *Extrau.tit.9.c.1.* And in the Bull of *Clemens.6.ibid.c.2. Pro ipſorum memoria crebrius recolenda, & reuerentia à cunctis Chriſti fidelibus eis deuotius adhibenda:* For the more often celebrating of their memorie, and the more deuotion of all the faithfull of Chriſt to be giuen vnto them.

The Proteſtants.

Confut. FIrſt, this is great ſacrilege, to giue that honour to the Apoſtles, who are but Chriſts ſeruants, which is due vnto the Lord and maſter himſelfe : Iſai.42.8. The Lord ſaith, *My glorie will I not giue to another :* The ſame is the deſire alſo of the Saints, *not vnto vs, not vnto vs Lord, but vnto thy name giue the praiſe,* Pſal.115.1.

2. The Iubile was at the firſt inſtitution conſecrated onely as holy vnto God: for as the ſeuenth Sabbaticall yeere was holy vnto God, and is called the *Lords Sabboth*, Leuit.25.4. ſo ſeauen times ſeauen yeere, which was the yeere of Iubile, was holy to God, Leuit.25.12. *it ſhall be holy to you:* that is, in reſpect of your vſe, but holy to the honour of God. It is ſacrilege then to robbe God of his honour, and to conſecrate a Iubile vnto men.

3. Saint *Hierome* ſaith : *Nos non dico martyrum reliquias ſed ne ſolem quidem aut lunam, non angelos, archangelos, non Seraphim, Cherubim, & omne nomen, quod nominatur in præſenti ſæculo & futuro, colimus, & adoramus, ne ſeruiamus creaturæ potius, quam creatori, qui eſt benedictus in ſecula :* We doe not onely not worſhip and adore the reliques of Martyrs, but not the Sunne or Moone, not Angels, Archangels, Seraphim, Cherubim, or any name named in this world or the world to come, leſt we ſhould ſerue the creature, rather than the creator. And againe, *Quis ô inſanum caput aliquando martyres adorauit, quis hominem putauit deum ?* Who, ô mad braine, euer adored the Martyrs, or tooke man to be God ? *ad Riparium aduerſ. Vigilantium.* Wherefore by *Hieromes* ſentence all reuerence and diuine adoration is to be giuen onely to the creator, the creature hath no part therein.

4. But what kinde of honour is due vnto Saints, is very well expreſſed, *Synod. Moguntin.c.45. Sancti qui vitæ huius curſum beato fine clauſerunt,&c. non eo qui vero deo debetur, ſed eo ſocietatis & dilectionis cultu quo in hac vita ſancti homines, à nobis coli poſſunt:* The Saints, which haue happily ended this life, may be worſhipped of vs, not with that worſhip which is only due vnto God, but by that worſhip of fellowſhip and loue, by the which holy men may be worſhipped of vs in this life,&c. But Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, while they liued, would haue been aſhamed to haue had Temples, dayes, *Iubile* yeeres to be conſecrate to their name and memorie : *Ergo*, this honour is not due vnto them, now they are dead.

The

The Papiſts.

13.Error. Thirdly,theſe are the words of the Bull of *Sixtus* 4.*Verum quia poſtmodum, tam nos, quam idem Paulus prædeceſſor noſter,animarum ſaluti fidelium intenti,&c. deuotarum perſonarum pulſati precibus diuerſas indulgentias & peccatorum remiſſiones plenarias nonnullis eccleſijs, monaſterijs & pijs locis duximus concedēdas :* Becauſe as well we,as our predeceſſor *Paulus*,being intent vpon the ſaluation of mens ſoules,moued thereunto by the prayers of deuoute perſons,haue thought good to graunt indulgences,and plenarie remiſſions of ſinnes to certaine Churches, Monaſteries, and godly places: *Extrau.commun.lib.5.tit.9.c.4.*

The Proteſtants.

Confut. First,hence I inferre,that the Papall inſtitution of Iubile is ſuperfluous,becauſe the Pope can giue plenarie remiſſion and full indulgence without a yeer of *Iubile*,& to other places than Rome.Secondly,if he can do it,& wil not,he is an enemie to the ſaluation of mens ſoules: for as it is in the Bull alleaged before : *hauing an intent to the ſaluation of mens ſoules*, hee graunted plenarie indulgences to diuers places : then to denie to giue ſuch indulgences is to neglect and hinder the ſaluation of mens ſoules. Thirdly, it was appointed by the law of *Moſes*, that land, which was ſold and could not be redeemed, ſhould come out in the yeere of Iubile, Leuit.25.28. that bond ſeruants ſhould be ſet free in the yeere of Iubile,*ibid.verſ.*40. If this plenarie freedome and full reſtitution could haue been obtained before,then the yeere of Iubile had been needleſſe: by the ſame reaſon the Popes Iubile is ſuperfluous,ſeeing without it,plenarie indulgence,if he liſt, may be had. Fourthly,therefore Saint *Hierome* ſaith well:*Non audeo dei omnipotentiam anguſto fine concludere & coarctare paruo terræ loco,quem non capit cœlum;ſinguli quique credentium non locorum diuerſitatibus,ſed merito fidei ponderantur:* I dare not ſhut vp Gods omnipotencie in a ſmall roome,or include him in a little place, whom heauen cannot receiue : euery beleeuer,not by diuerſitie of place,but excellencie of faith is to bee meaſured, *epiſt.ad Paulinum.* It is not then neceſſarie to viſite Rome in the yeere of Iubile, if Chriſt be preſent euery where by faith to true beleeuers.

The Papiſts.

14. Error. Fourthly,this Papall indiction and promulgation of the Iubile is iniurious : for in the Bull of indulgence,the libertie of the Iubile is graunted to thoſe onely, which doe either perſonally viſite the Apoſtles Churches in Rome,or are *impediti in itinere*, hindred in their iourney,or *qui in via vel in vrbe deceſſerint*,which are dead in the way,or in the citie : *Clemens 6.Extrau.vbi ſupra.*

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. First,if none be prouided for in the Bull of Iubile but they that came thither, or would come,and are hindred,or dye in their iourney ; what ſhall become of thoſe that neither come thither,nor yet purpoſe it, will ye make them caſtawayes? Alacke then for vs poore ſoules of England,what ſhall we doe? Is the holie father ſo mercileſſe, that hee will ſend vs all to Purgatorie, becauſe we will not come to Rome to haue purſes *picked*,I would ſay *purged?* Secondly,if plenarie indulgence be onely had in the yeere of *Iubile*,in what caſe are they that dye before the Iubile commeth? doe they dye in their ſinnes? how is not then this conſtitution moſt iniurious to many poore ſoules, that neuer offended the Pope holy father? Thirdly, but Saint *Peter* (the Popes maſter,though he be an vntoward ſcholler, that will follow his maſter neuer a whit) doth put vs in better comfort, *that in euery nation,he that feareth God and worketh righteouſnes, is accepted with God,* Act.10.35.whether he were at Rome,or not,whether he liue to the yeere of Iubile or not. Fourthly, Saint *Hierome* alſo ſaith : *Nequicquam fidei tuæ deeſſe putes quia Hieroſolymam non vidiſti;nec nos idcirco meliores exiſtimes,quòd huius loci habitaculo fruimur :* Thinke not that any thing is wanting to your faith,that you haue not ſeene Ieruſalem,or that we are any thing better, becauſe we are there,*epiſt.ad Paulin.* I think Rome is no more priuiledged than Ieruſalem: a mans faith may be ſufficient to ſaue him,though he haue ſeene neither,nor yet deſired to ſee or viſite them.

The Papiſts.

15.Error. Fiftly,it is alſo euident, that the popiſh inſtitution of the Iubile was rather for lucre of ſiluer, than of ſoules ; that the end thereof is rather couetous,than religious ; of *greedines* more than *godlines*.

The Proteſtants.

First, 1. To what end elſe was their Iubile brought from 100.yeeres to 50.from 50.to 25. from 25.to 10. as I haue before ſhewed, but onely becauſe they found the Iubile profitable, and ſought their owne gaine? 2. What elſe moued *Sixtus* 4. to reuerſe diuers graunts of plenarie indulgence,but as it is expreſſed in the Bull, *Ne populorum concurſus ad eccleſias ante dictas retardari aut ipſius anni Iubilæi celebritas minui, vel intermitti poſſet,&c.* Leaſt the concourſe of people to the ſaid Churches might be hindred, or the celebritie of the *Iubile* yeere empayred or intermitted, &c. and by this meanes their gaine ſhould decreaſe,and their aduantage be diminiſhed : for that is the cauſe indeede,if they would ſpeake out,and not diſſemble the matter. 3. When as *Clemens* the 6. firſt reduced the Iubile to fiftie yeeres, *anno* 1350. there were numbred euery day of ſtraungers going and comming to Rome fiue thouſand, and a thouſand poore people wayting daily at the Popes pallace for their pardons: Can it be thought otherwiſe but this was very beneficiall to the Pope? *Calixtus* the 3. is found to haue left an hundred and fifteene thouſand ducates to his ſucceſſor, that hee had ſcraped together by Pardons and Indulgences, *ex Balao, &c.* Let all men now iudge, what maketh the Pope ſo earneſt in maintaining his Iubile. 4. I conclude then with *Hierome*, whoſe ſaying may very fitly be applied to the Romane Clergie: *Nunc ſub religionis titulo exercentur iniuſta compendia, & honor nominis Chriſtiani fraudem magis facit, quam patitur: plenis ſacculis morimur diuites qui quaſi pauperes viximus:* Now vnder pretence of religion vniuſt gaine is exacted, and the honor of Chriſts name doth offer deceit rather, than ſuffer it, and many dye with full coffers, that while they liued made profeſſion of pouertie, *Hier. ad Ruſticum.*

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE MANNER of ſolemnizing the Popiſh Iubile.

IN this laſt and fourth part I doe obſerue theſe particular errors: that the manner it ſelfe obſerued in the Romane Iubile, is firſt ſuperſtitious: ſecondly, idolatrous: thirdly, ambitious: fourthly, ſcandalous: fiftly, ridiculous.

The Papiſts.

16. Error. FIrſt, their ſuperſtition herein appeareth, in that they enioyne men in the yeere of Iubile to come onely to Rome to viſite the Churches of *Peter* and *Paul*, and of Saint *Mary* the greater, and the *Laterane* Church, which *Conſtantine* did erect to the honor of our Sauiour, being baptized by *Silueſter*, and ſo healed of his leproſie: which *Silueſter* alſo did conſecrate with a new kinde of Chriſme: *Clemens 6. Extrau. vbi ſupra.*

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. FIrſt, Pope *Clement* by his leaue coucheth here three great vntruths together: firſt, that *Conſtantine* was baptized by *Silueſter*: ſecondly, at Rome: thirdly, in the beginning of his Empire, while *Silueſter* was yet liuing: whereas hee was baptized firſt by *Euſebius*: ſecondly, at Nicomedia: thirdly, in the 31. yeere of his raigne, *Silueſter* being dead long before: *Euſeb. lib. 4. de vit. Conſtant. Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 11.*

Secondly, that *Silueſter* did *nouo Chriſmationis genere, &c.* with a new kinde of Chriſme dedicate the *Laterane* Church, it alſo ſauoureth. 1. It could not be a new kind of Chriſme, ſeeing your forged *Fabian, epiſt. 2.* before this maketh mention of Chriſme, and telleth vs, (if wee will credit him vpon his word) that *Ieſus poſtquam cænauit, &c. diſcipulos docuit chriſma conficere*, That Chriſt after he had ſupped, taught his Apoſtles to make Chriſme. 2. There was no ſuch Chriſme knowne in *Silueſters* time, nor long after: for *Ambroſe* vpon theſe words, 2. Cor. 1. 19. *God hath annoynted vs*, doth thus interprete: *Vnxit nos deus, id eſt, dedit regiam honorificentiam, ſicut dicit Petrus:* God hath annoynted vs, that is, giuen vs a kingly honor, as *Peter* ſaith, &c. He vnderſtandeth a ſpirituall annoynting: if he had knowne any other kinde of Chriſme or annoynting, he had occaſion here offered to ſpeake of it.

Thirdly, Rome is no more priuiledged than Ieruſalem, nor Italy than Iudea: but of theſe Chriſt ſaith, Ioh. 4. 21. that the true *worſhippers of God ſhall neither worſhip him at Ieruſalem, nor in that mountaine, &c.* If it be not neceſſarie to goe to Ieruſalem to worſhip, neither is it to viſite Rome. And *Moſes* ſaith, Deut. 30. 13. *Neither is it beyond the ſea, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, who ſhall goe ouer the ſea for vs to bring it to vs?* We neede not then goe ouer the ſea to Rome to ſeeke Chriſt.

Fourthly, *Hierome* well ſaith: *Illa expetenda eſt ciuitas, non quæ occidit prophetas, & Chriſti ſanguinem fudit, ſed quam matrem ſanctorum Apoſtolus clamitat:* That citie is to bee deſired, not which killed the Prophets, and ſhed Chriſts blood, but which the Apoſtle calleth the mother of the faithfull: *epiſt. ad Paulin.* But Rome as well as Ieruſalem hath killed the Prophets and Apoſtles. And againe, *Hierome* in the ſame place to the ſame purpoſe alleageth theſe Scriptures: *The ſpirit bloweth where it liſteth*, Ioh. 3. 8. *The earth is the Lords, and the fulnes thereof*, Pſal. 24. 1. *Deſijt tantum notus eſſe in Iudæa deus, in omnem terram exiuit ſonus Apoſtolorum:* God hath ceaſed onely to be knowne in Iudea, the ſound of the Apoſtles is gone forth into all lands. Laſtly, concerning the citie of Rome, *Hierome* doubteth not in his time to call it Babylon: *Gaudeo cum in Babylone inuenitur Daniel, &c.* I am glad that in Babylon is found *Daniel, Ananias, Azarias, Miſael. tom. 4. epiſt. ad Principiam.* Wherefore ſeeing the Lord biddeth vs come forth of Babylon, Reuelat. 18. 4. what reaſon haue Chriſtians to aſcend to worſhip in Babylon?

The Papiſts.

17. Error. SEcondly, their idolatrie is manifeſt, where the Bull maketh mention of the image of Chriſt in the Church of Laterane, *quæ toti populo deuotius veneranda*, which is deuoutly of all the people to be worſhipped: *Clemens 6. Extrau.* as before.

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. FIrſt, it is not ſafe nor lawfull to haue the image of Chriſt, as may appeare by theſe reaſons, firſt the ſeuenth councell of Conſtantinople thus reaſoned vpon theſe words of Chriſt, *this doe in remembrance of me: Ecce viuificantis illius corporis imaginem totam, panis ſubſtantiam:* Behold the whole image of that quickening bodie, the ſubſtance of bread. *ex ſynod. Nicen.2. action.6.tom.*3.

2. *Epiphanius* comming into a Church at Anablatha, and ſeeing the picture of Chriſt hanging in a cloth thus reporteth: *Cum hoc vidiſſem in eccleſia Chriſti contra authoritatem ſcripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem, ſcidi illud:* When I ſaw in the Church of Chriſt againſt the authoritie of ſcriptures a mans picture hanging, I cut it in peeces, and aduiſed rather to wrap a dead corſe in it: *epiſt.ad Ioann. Hieroſolym.* And he addeth further: *Præcipias in eccleſia Chriſti huiuſmodi vela, quæ contra religionē noſtram veniunt, non appendi:* Command that ſuch painted clothes, which are againſt our religion, be not hanged vp.

3. Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith: *In eccleſia vnam imaginem noui, hoc eſt, imaginem Dei inuiſibilis, &c.* In the Church I know one onely image, that is, the image of God inuiſible, of the which the Lord ſaid, *Let vs make man according to our image.* Gen.1.26. that image whereof it is written: *Chriſt is the ingrauen image of his perſon:* Hebr. 1.3. *orat.in Auxent.* Then no viſible image of God or Chriſt is to be retained.

Secondly, if it be not lawfull to haue the image of Chriſt, much more vnlawfull is it to worſhip or adore it: 1. it is contrarie to the ſecond commaundement to make the likenes or image of any thing to fall downe and worſhip it. 2. The Angell, who is to be preferred before a dead image, would not ſuffer Iohn to worſhip him, but bid him *worſhip God.* Reuel.22.9. 3. We haue the decree of a generall councell againſt the adoration of images, *Conſtantinop.7.ex Nicen.2.action.6. tom.6. Qui imaginem ab hoc die ſibi auſus fuerit parare, vel adorare in eccleſia, &c.* He that from henceforth dare prepare to himſelfe or adore an image in the Church, if a Cleargie man, let him be depoſed; if a lay man, let him be accurſed. See more of both theſe queſtions. *contro.9.qu.5. artic.*2.3.

The Papiſts

3. THis deuiſe of the Popes Iubile ſauoureth of ambition, in that he arrogateth this power in proclaiming the Iubile, and diſpenſing indulgences as proper to himſelfe: for this is their ſtile: *Statuentes de fratrum conſilio & apoſtolicæ plenitudine poteſtatis, &c.* Ordaining by the aduiſe of our brethren (the Cardinals) and the fulnes of our Apoſtolike power: And againe: *Quem quidem theſaurum per Petrum cœli clauigerum eiuſque ſucceſſores in terris vicarios commiſit, &c.* Which treaſure of the Church, Chriſt hath committed to be diſpenſed by *Peter* the key-bearer of heauen, and his ſucceſſors his vicars in earth: *Clemens 6.extrau.vbi ſuprà.* 18.Error.

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. 1. THe Scripture ſaith, that Chriſt onely hath the *key of Dauid, which openeth, and no man ſhutteth,* Apoc.3.7. The adminiſtration & diſpenſation of the keyes is no more committed to *Peter*, then to the reſt: for Saint *Paul* ſaith, *that the Church is built vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles,* Epheſ.2.20. None are excepted: whereupon Saint *Hierome* ſaith, *Eccleſia ex æquo fundatur ſuper omnes Apoſtolos:* The Church is equally founded vpon all the Apoſtles. *aduerſ. Iouinian.lib.*1.

2. Neither Saint *Peter*, nor yet the Pope need to be Chriſts vicar, for he hath promiſed himſelfe to be with vs to the ende of the world, Matth.28.22. And therefore by Saint *Paul*, our Sauiour is compared to the head, *by whom all the body is coupled together.* Epheſ.4.16. That as the head needeth no vicariall ſubſtitute in the bodie, no more doth Chriſt in his Church.

3. Neither can the Pope chalenge to be Saint *Peters* ſucceſſor, vnleſſe he ſucceeded him in life and doctrine: as Saint *Ambroſe: Non habent Petri hæreditatem, qui fidem Petri non habent:* They haue not *Peters* inheritance, that haue not *Peters* faith.

4. Howſoeuer it is, the Biſhop of Rome hath no more authoritie then other Biſhops haue, as Saint *Hierome* ſaith: *Vbicunque fuerit epiſcopus, ſiue Eugubij, ſiue Conſtantinopoli, ſiue Alexandriæ, eiuſdem meriti, eiuſdem eſt ſacerdotij, &c. potentia diuitiarum & paupertatis humilitas vel inferiorē, vel ſublimiorem epiſcopū non facit: Cæterum omnes Apoſtolorū ſucceſſores ſunt, &c. quid mihi profers vnius vrbis conſuetudinem, &c.* Whereſoeuer a Biſhop is, whether at Eugubium, at Conſtanſtinople, or Alexandria, he is of the ſame worthines, of the ſame prieſthood: the power of riches, and baſenes of pouertie make not an higher or inferior Biſhop: but they are all the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, &c. what doe you alleage the cuſtome of one Citie? *ad Euagr.* If then a Iubile were to be celebrated among Chriſtians, the Biſhop of Rome hath no more power to preſcribe the ſame, then other Biſhops haue in their dioceſſe: it is but a tricke of his ambitious humor, thus to perke aboue other his fellow Biſhops.

The Papiſts.

19.Error. 4. The popiſh inſtitution of the *Iubile* is alſo ſcandalous to the Iewes, and is a cauſe to harden and confirme them in their blindnes: 1. for when will they learne to know Chriſt, and acknowledge the Meſſias to be come, when they ſee their owne ceremonious obſeruations yet to be in force, and the Iubile, which was a type of the true Iubile and yeare of remiſſion in Chriſt, to be ſo ceremoniouſly obſerued?

2. Saint *Ambroſe* writeth a vehement Epiſtle to *Theodoſius*, diſſwading him from repayring a Iewiſh ſynagogue, which was burnt, and amongſt other excellent perſwaſions he thus ſaith, *Quomodo poterit nos Chriſtus iuuare, qui pro Iudæis aduerſus Chriſtum militamus*? How can we thinke, that Chriſt ſhould helpe vs, which doe warre with the Iewes againſt Chriſt? *epiſtol.29.* And what is this elſe, but to fight for the Iewes againſt Chriſt, in ſeeking to nouriſh their obſtinacie by retayning and reuiuing of their ceremonies?

3. Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1.Cor.10.32. *See that you giue no offence to the Iewes*: *Origen* alſo ſaith; *Qui ſcandali conſcius eſt animam dabit pro anima eius, quem ſcandalizauit*: He that is guiltie of offence, ſhall giue his ſoule for his, whom he offended. *Hom.10. in Exod.* Looke to it then ye Romaniſts, that by your ſuperſtitious rites doe not onely offend the people of God, but doe obdurate the hard hearted Iewes, how ye will make anſwere for this your doing before the tribunall of Chriſt.

The Papiſts.

20.Error. Laſtly the manner of their Iubile pompe, and oſtentation is ridiculous: as may appeare by theſe particulars.

1. The Pope going vpon the Natiuitie eeuen, to the Chappell of the Apoſtolicall pallace, falleth downe vpon his knees before the ſacrament, powring incenſe vpon it.

2. Certaine waxe candels, are lighted, and giuen to the Pope and Cardinals weighing each three pound a peece, with the which they go in proceſſion.

3. Then the Pope from thence is caried in his chaire vpon mens ſhoulders to Saint *Peters* gate, where he goeth vp into a higher ſeat.

4. The Pope ſtriketh three blowes vpon the gate with a golden hammer.

5. Then he pronounceth theſe verſes: *Open vnto me the gates of iuſtice, &c. Lord I will goe into thy houſe, &c.*

6. The Church gate being walled vp, then the maſons with tooles breake it downe, and ſpeedily all the people as in the twinkling of an eie, moued with deuotion do carry away all the rubbiſh and morter.

7. Then the Pope ſaith this verſicle: *This is the day which the Lord hath made, let vs reioyce and be glad in it, &c.*

8. Then the Pope prayeth thus: Lord, who by thy ſeruant *Moſes* didſt appoint for thy people of Iſraell the yeare of Iubile and remiſſion of ſinnes, grant to vs thy grace, &c. happily to begin this yeare of Iubile, &c.

9. Then the Pope entring by the gate of the Church, is borne in his chaire by the officers to the high altar in Saint *Peters* Church.

10. Then he deſcendeth, and prayeth before the altar; then he aſcendeth into an other ſeate higher and more eleuated: *ex libr. ceremoniar. ann. Iubilæi, &c.*

1. *Confutat.* 1. Where hath the Pope learned to worſhip a wafer cake or a peece of bakers bread? for if he thinke it is the bodie of Chriſt, he maketh Saint *Peter* a lyar, who ſaith, *Whom the heauens muſt containe, vntill the time that all things be reſtored.* Act.3.21. 2. Chriſt, whereſoeuer, is in his humanitie to be worſhipped of Angels, Hebr.1.6. *Let all the Angels of God worſhip him*: If you can ſhew vs, that euer Angels worſhipped the bread in the ſacrament, we are ſatisfied. 3. As Chriſt ſaith. Mark.14.9. *Me you ſhall not haue alwaies*, that is thus to anoint with oyle, as this woman now doth: no more haue we now the bodie of Chriſt to powre incenſe vpon it.

2. 1. Candles are made to giue light in the darknes of the night, not to be ſet vp in the day. Prou.31.18. *Her candle is not put out by night.* 2. As the ciuile vſe of candles and lights in houſes, ſo was the religious vſe in the tabernacle: the lamps ſerued for the night. 1.Sam.3.3. *yet the light of God went out*, that is toward the morning.

3. 3. The Prophet *Dauid* ſaith. Pſal.5.7. *I will come into thine houſe in the multitude of thy mercies, and in thy feare worſhip toward thy holy temple*: How much vnlike is the Pope to this kingly prophet: he commeth to Gods houſe in feare and humilitie, the Pope is caried vpon mens ſhoulders: *Dauid* daunceth before the Arke going on foote, 2.Sam.6.16. the Pope diſdaineth to goe on foote, or to ride on horſe, but maketh men his vaſſailes, to take him vpon their backes.

4. 4. What meaneth this knocking thrice vpon the gate? 1. if it be but the gate of Saint *Peters* Church, the Clarke or Sextin hath the keyes, which are at the Popes commaundement, he need not knocke ſo often. Secondly, if it repreſent the gate of Paradiſe, he hath the keyes himſelfe,

and may enter without knocking. 3. Or if the Angels keepe Paradiſe gate, as they did the terreſtriall Paradiſe with a fiery ſword; the Pope need not knocke as a ſuter, ſeeing he taketh vpon him to be a commaunder of Angels: as *Clement* the ſixt in his Bull, ſaith thus: ***mandamus Angelis, &c.*** we commaund the Angels, &c.

5. Firſt, if they be the gates of iuſtice, which you would haue opened, they are for the iuſt and 5
righteous to enter into: I doubt then that the Pope with his Cardinals, and many of his retinue muſt ſtand by, that ſuffer ſuch iniuſtice and vncleannes to be committed vnder their noſes, being acceſſarie vnto it themſelues, in ſpilling the bloud of many innocent ſoules, robbing of mens purſes with their Iubile illuſions, and ſuffering the Citie to abound with adulterie and ſodomitrie. 2. How can he ſay, ***I will come into thy houſe,*** when it is Saint *Peters* Church, and conſecrated to his honour: but God will haue no partner in his houſe. 3. And doe ye thinke that the gates of Gods houſe are open onely at Rome, and is the *ſcala cœli* there onely pitched, to climbe vp to heauen by?

6. If Paradiſe gate be but mured vp with a maſons wall, what need the Pope be ſent for 6
to make a way with his Iubile hammer: a maſon with his tooles may ſuffice to enter.

7. And it is falſe that the Lord made that day or yeare of Iubile, it was *Boniface* the eight, not 7
God, nor yet a good man, who firſt conſtituted the Iubile euery hundred yeere after the example of the Romane heatheniſh plaies, that were celebrated euery hundred yeare: of this Pope it is ſaid, he entred like a fox, raigned like a lion, died like a dog.

8. *Moſes* indeed by Gods commaundement erected a Iubile for the Iewes: if the Pope will
alſo be a Iubile maker for Chriſtians, let him ſhew his warrant, as *Moſes* could: and if you imi- 8
tate *Moſes* Iubile of fiftie yeeres, why doth Pope *Clement* the eight, in his late Bull commend the hundred yeere of Iubile, which was no conſtitution of *Moſes?*

9. And muſt the Pope be borne on mens ſhoulders in the Church, doth he enter in pride by
the gate of humilitie: and vniuſtly making mens ſhoulders as aſſes backes, who are his brethren, 9
to come in by the gate of iuſtice?

10. And can he not be contented to be higher then men, riding vpon their ſhoulders, but hee 10
muſt alſo be higher then God ſitting aboue his altar: what intollerable pride is this? the Angels, that would ſit in Gods throne were caſt down; and this prince of pride, that will ſit higher then his maker aboue the altar, muſt looke for a downe fall.

It is well noted by *Gregorie* vpon theſe words of the Lord ſpoken to Ezech. 2. 1. ***Stand vpon thy feete: Stans propheta viſionem ſpiritualem vidit:*** The prophet ſtanding doth ſee the ſpirituall viſion. *hom. 9. in Ezech.* And the prophet *Dauid* ſaith, Pſal. 25. 9. ***The humble will be teach his way:*** therefore it is not like that God will reueale his ſecrets to the Pope ſitting in the chaire of pride.

Thus we ſee, with what ridiculous toyes and ſuperſtitious ceremonies the Pope beginneth, and endeth his yeere of Iubile; ſo that as *Auguſtine* well ſaith, as he is alſo cited in their owne decrees, *diſt. 12. c. 12.* ***Tolerabilior eſt conditio Iudaeorum, qui licet tempus libertatis non agnouerint, legalib. tamen ſacramentis, non humanis præſumptionibus ſubijciuntur:*** So that the condition of the Iewes is more tolerable, who although they knew not the time of libertie, yet are ſubiect to legall ſacraments, not humane preſumptions.

And thus much of the firſt controuerſie of the Romane Iubile, and the ſeuerall partes thereof.

THE SECOND CONTROVERSIE OF INDVLGENCES AND IVBILE PARDONS.

THis controuerſie is deuided into eyght ſeuerall parts. Firſt, of the name of Indulgence. Secondly, whether there bee any Indulgences, and of the Spirituall treaſure of the Church. Thirdly, what Indulgence is. Fourthly, of the diuerſe kindes of Indulgences. Fiftly, of the fruite and vtilitie of Indulgences. Sixtly, to whom the power of graunting Indulgences belongeth. Seuenthly, of the diſpoſition of them that muſt receiue Indulgences. Eightly, whether Indulgences doe any way profite the dead.

THE FIRST PART, OF THE NAME OF Indulgence.

The Papiſts.

21.Error. BEllarmine taketh this word Indulgence to ſignifie *remiſſionem pœnarum,quæ remanent luendæ poſt remiſſionem culparum :* The remiſſion of the puniſhments,which remaine to be ſatisfied for,after the remiſſion of the faults, *lib.*1.*de Indulg.c.*1. And whereas he produceth two ſignifications of this word : that firſt it betokeneth remiſſion, Iſay 6.61. 1. *Prædicare captiuis indulgentiam:* To preach indulgence to the Captiues. Secondly,it ſignifieth facilitie, 1.Cor.7.6. *This I ſpeake by way of Indulgence or conceſſion,&c.* Of theſe two ſignifications, they make one,compounding them together : and ſo take Indulgence for a remiſſion of the puniſhment onely of fauour, *Bellarmin. ibidem.*

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt the place alleaged out of *Eſay* is directly againſt them,for S. *Luke* interpreting that place, Luk.4.18. readeth for Indulgence, ἄφεσιν,*remiſſion of ſinnes*,not of the puniſhment onely;ſo then Indulgence properlie ſignifieth remiſſion of ſinnes.

Secondly,the place alleaged out of S. *Paul* is impertinent : for there Indulgence is taken for *conceſſion:* as *Peter Lombard* very well ſheweth that Indulgence is taken three waies,for *remiſſion, permiſſion,conceſſion,lib.*4.*diſt.*26.*liter.d.* and he vnderſtandeth S. *Paul* to ſpeake here of *conceſſion:* but it is very improper to take *Indulgence* for *conceſſion,licence or a graunt*,when we ſpeake of ſinnes and the paine due vnto them,which both are pardoned,not by *conceſſion*,but by *remiſſion.*

Thirdly,the Fathers ſo vnderſtand *Indulgence* for the *remiſſion* of the ſinne it ſelfe, as *Auguſtine: Securus dicis,quando me correxero,dat Deus Indulgentiam,&c.* Thou ſaieſt well, if I doe amend my ſelfe,God will giue me Indulgence, *Serm.*16.*in Matth.* And againe, *Vt ad peccatorum mereamur Indulgentiam peruenire,&c.* That we may be meete to come or attaine to the Indulgence of our ſinnes: *Serm.de tempor.*210.

Fourthly,ſometime Indulgence is otherwiſe taken, but then it ſignifieth a *conceſſion* of reward, not a *remiſſion* of puniſhment,as *Ambroſe* taketh it : *Hora vndecima intromiſſos in vineam totius diei operarijs diuina indulgentia exæquauit :* The diuine Indulgence did make them,which were ſent into the vineyard at the eleuenth houre,equall to them,which laboured all day.

Fiftly,the Ciuill lawe,which he wreſteth to the contrarie, ſo taketh this word *Indulgence;* for a whole remiſſion of puniſhment and fault committed againſt the lawe : the lawe maketh two kindes of Indulgences : there is *Indulgentia generalis vel ſimplex*, a generall or ſimple Indulgence; and *indulgentia ſpecialis*, a ſpeciall indulgence : the ſimple or generall indulgence did not remit all the puniſhment: as *Cod. lib.*9.*tit.*51.*leg.*2.*Antonin. Non ideo quod indulgentia mea pœna metalli liberatus eſſet, etiam bonorum reſtitutionem impetrauit :* Becauſe by my Indulgence he is freed from the mettall mines,he hath not therefore obtained reſtitution to his goods. But the ſpeciall indulgence remitted both the penaltie and the infamie, *ibid. leg.* 10. *Dioclet.* And *leg.* 4. *Alexander. Ex indulgentia reuerſus non tenetur creditoribus:* He that is returned from exile by indulgence, is not bound to his creditors: And *Leg.*1. *Antonin.* This ſpeciall indulgence was *in integrum reſtitutio:* a reſtitution to the whole : *Vt ſcias quid ſit in integrum reſtituere : honoribus & ordini tuo & omnibus cæteris te reſtituo:* That you may know,what it is to reſtore wholy: I reſtore thee to thy order,to thy honour,and all the reſt: this then is the ſentence of the lawe : *Sententiæ ſeueritas cum cæteris damnis tranſigere videtur :* The ſeueritie of the ſentence doth paſſe together with all other dammages and inconueniences,*Cod lib.*2.*tit.*12.*leg.*4.*Seuer.* That is,where the penalty of the ſentence was remitted,there all other inconueniences as the infamie, diſhonour, tranſgreſſion,offence,were releaſed,which were ſequeles of the ſentence : *ex quo pœna remiſſa, & ſequela pœnæ,quæ eſt infamia:* The penaltie being remitted, the ſequele thereof, which is the infamie, is pardoned : ſo ſaith the lawe, *Cod.lib.*2.*tit.*12.*leg.*3.*in gloſſ.*

THE SECOND PART, WHETHER THERE BE any Indulgence in the Church.

THis part hath two queſtions. Firſt,of the ſpirituall treaſure of the Church. Secondly, of the power in diſtributing the ſame.

THE

THE FIRST QVESTION, OF THE SPIRITVALL treaſure of the Church: which is diuided into foure propoſitions.

THE FIRST PROPOSITION, WHETHER GOOD workes be meritorious and ſatisfactorie.

The Papiſts.

THis propoſition is affirmed by *Bellarmine*,that there is a double price in good workes,namely 22. Error.
of merite and ſatisfaction, the firſt procureth the reward, the ſecond redeemeth the pu-
niſhment.

First,good workes are ſatisfactorie. 1. Almes, Tobie 4.10. *Almes deliuer from death.* Eccleſia- 1
ſticus 3.33. *As water quencheth fire,ſo almes take away ſinnes.* 2. Faſting is ſatisfactorie,as appeareth 2
by the example of the Niniuites. 3. Prayer doth ſatisfie for ſinne,as Matth.6.12. *We pray for for-* 3
giuenes of ſinnes: and by this petition ſatisfie for our veniall ſinnes.

Secondly, the ſame good workes likewiſe are meritorious. 1. Almes, Matth.25.34. *Inherite* 1
the kingdome prepared for you, for when I was hungrie, ye gaue me meate. 2. Faſting doth merite, 2
Matth.6.verſ.8. *Your father,which ſeeth in ſecret will rewarde you openly.* 3. So likewiſe God is ſaid, 3
verſ.6. *To reward prayer openly.*

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. FIrſt,the places alleaged proue no ſatisfaction in our workes. 1. You muſt bring bet- 1
ter Scripture then Tobie or Eccleſiaſticus (which are not Canonicall) to confirme a
poynt of faith: and yet we denie not but almes may be ſaid to deliuer, not as cauſes of our deli-
uerance, but as liuely ſignes of our faith,whereby we are deliuered,as Pſalm.41. *Bleſſed is he that*
iudgeth wiſely of the poore,the Lord ſhall deliuer him: a man is firſt made bleſſed by the not imputa-
tion of his ſinnes by faith, Pſalm.32.1. This bleſſednes is teſtified by his charitie, and rewarded of
God in mercie by deliuerance.

2. The Niniuites faſting ſatisfied not for their ſinne, but onely teſtified their repentance, 2
Ionas 3.10. *God ſaw their workes,that they turned from their euill waies:* which repentance God ac-
cepted in mercie: otherwiſe how could the Niniuites being idolaters and ignorant of God, me-
rite or ſatisfie.

3. The Lords prayer ouerthroweth ſatisfaction: for we conclude, *for thine is the glorie:* we take 3
not the glorie to our ſelues,but aſcribe all to God: forgiuenes of the debt is of mercie: where then
there is *remiſſion* of grace,there can be no *ſatisfaction* of worthines.

Secondly, prayer, almes, faſting, are rewarded we graunt, but not for the worthines of the worke,but thorough the gracious acceptance of God. Firſt, the kingdome *is prepared from the foundations of the world*,Matth.25.34. How then can it be merited? Secondly, *When we haue done all that we are commaunded,we muſt ſay we are vnprofitable ſeruants*, Luke 17.10. Thirdly, Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Nulla poſſe tam præclara opera exiſtere,quibus hoc,quod gratis tribuitur, per retributionis iudicium retribuatur:* There can be no ſuch excellent workes,to the which,that which is freely giuen,is rendred by the right of retribution.But of this queſtion of the merite and ſatisfaction of good works, we haue treated before in the controuerſie of good works, that it were needleſſe and ſuperfluous now to handle the ſame matter againe.

THE SECOND PROPOSITION, WHETHER GOOD workes,as they are ſatisfactorie,may be applied vnto others.

The Papiſts.

BEllarmine alleageth Scripture to proue that good workes as they are meritorious, cannot be 23. Error.
communicated to others, which we willingly graunt, for a man cannot merite for himſelfe,
much leſſe for others: but to confirme this propoſition,that one may ſatisfie for another,he allea-
geth no Scripture at all, *lib.1.de Indulgen.c.2.propoſ.2.*

The Proteſtants.

THe contrarie is moſt euident out of Scripture, that all which a man can doe is little enough, yea and too little for himſelfe, much leſſe can he ſatisfie for another.

Matth.25.9. The wiſe Virgins make this anſwere to the fooliſh, *We feare there will not be enough for vs and you:* whereupon *Auguſtine* thus writeth: *Unuſquiſque pro ſe rationem reddet, nec alieno teſtimonio quicquam adiuuatur apud Deum,cui ſecreta cordis apparent,& vix ſibi quiſque ſufficit, cui teſtimonium perhibeat conſcientia ſua:* Euery man ſhall giue account for himſelfe: neither is a man helped by anothers teſtimonie before God, to whom the ſecrets of the heart are euident: euery man ſcarce ſufficeth for himſelfe, to whom his owne conſcience doth beare witneſſe : *ſerm.22.in Matth.*

But if the other words,that follow,be obiected : *Go to them rather that ſell, and buy for your ſelues,* Matth.25.9. *Origen* ſhall make anſwere, who vnderſtandeth by thoſe that *ſell,* the Doctors and teachers of the Church: *Non omnium habentium oleum,eſt etiam dare ex eo alijs,&c.* It is not the part of all that haue oyle to giue to others,but it belongeth onely to them,which are appointed to ſell it : *Congregauit aliquis doctrinam, quæ ei ſufficit ad bene viuendum,non tamen,vt doctor fieri poſſit :* One hath gathered doctrine,which may be ſufficient for himſelfe to liue well, but not to be a doctor or teacher to others : *Tract.32.in Matth.*

THE THIRD PROPOSITION, OF THE SPIrituall treaſure of the Church.

The Papiſts.

1 IT is affirmed that there is an infinite treaſure of the ſatisfactions purchaſed by the paſſion of
Chriſt extant in the Church, as it is written Act.20.28. *which hee hath purchaſed with his owne*
2 *blood.* Secondly, whereas Chriſt *dyed for all,* as Saint *Iohn* ſaith, 1.Ioh.2.5. *Hee is the reconciliation*
24.Error. *for the ſinnes of the whole world :* and yet the price of Chriſts blood hath not been applied to all, the
3 moſt part of men being ſubiect to condemnation : there remaineth then a great deale of the price
of Chriſts death yet to be applied, *Bellarm.c.2.prop.3.*

The Proteſtants.

1 FIrſt,we acknowledge that the price or vertue of Chriſts blood is infinite, and remaineth in his Church,as a rich treaſure,that can neuer be ſpent; as a fountaine,that can neuer be dried vp; as precious balme,that healeth alwaies effectually : and therefore the Apoſtle calleth it, *the riches of his glorious inheritance ; and the exceeding greatnes of his power toward vs, which beleeue,* Epheſ.1.18. And as one ſaith : *Effuſio iuſti ſanguinis Chriſti tam diues fuit ad precium,vt ſi vniuerſitas captiuorum in redemptorem ſuum crederet, nullum diaboli vincula retinerent :* The effuſion of Chriſts righteous blood is ſo rich in price, that if all the captiues did beleeue in their redeemer, the diuels bands could hold none: *ex epiſt.Gaij.*

2 Secondly,but it is vntrue that Chriſt dyed vniuerſally for the whole world, in his ſenſe, that is, for all men whatſoeuer : for Chriſt vouchſafeth not to pray for the world, Ioh.17.9. *I pray not for the world,but for thoſe which thou haſt giuen me :* much leſſe then dyed hee for the world. The Apoſtle then by the *world* vnderſtandeth the whole companie of the people of God,for whom Chriſt dyed: As Saint *Ambroſe* well noteth : *Habet populus dei plenitudinem ſuam,&c.& in electis,&c.ſpecialis quadam cenſetur vniuerſitas, vt de toto mundo totus mundus liberatus,&c.* The people of God then hath a certaine fulnes,and there is a ſpeciall kinde of vniuerſalitie in the elect, ſo that the whole world ſeemeth to be deliuered out of the whole world : *lib.1.de vocat.Gent.c.3.*

3 Thirdly,it is alſo vntrue that any,for whom Chriſt dyed,are ſubiect to condemnation, or that the price of his blood can be applied to any,that are not ordained vnto life : Chriſt prayeth thus, Ioh.17.24. *I will that they whom thou haſt giuen me, be with me where I am :* Chriſt prayeth, that all, which are giuen him,for whom hee dyed, ſhould come to euerlaſting glorie : but Chriſts prayer was alwaies effectuall : as he himſelfe ſaith,Ioh.11.42. *Thou heareſt me alwaies.* Saint *Ambroſe* alſo ſaith: *Chriſtus mortem vincens omnibus,qui ſunt ex eius corpore,vitam acquiſiuit:* Chriſt ouercomming death,hath purchaſed or obtained life to all,that are of his bodie, *in* 1.*Cor.*15. All then,that are of his bodie,haue ſurely life,and cannot periſh,nor be condemned.

THE FOVRTH PROPOSITION, WHETHER THE paſſions and ſatisfactions of the Saints belong to this treaſure of the Church.

The Papiſts,

25.Error. TO this treaſure of the Church belong the paſſions of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary,* and of all other Saints,who ſuffered more than their ſinnes required, *Bellarm.lib.1.de indulgent.cap.2.propoſ.4.* And in the Bull of *Clement.6.* it thus ſtandeth : *Ad cuius theſauri cumulum beatæ dei genitricis, & omnium iuſtorum merita adminiculum præſtare noſcuntur :* To the heape of which treaſure doe adde helpe,the merits of the mother of our Lord and of all Saints: *Extrau.commun.lib.5.tit.9.c.2.*

1 *Argum.* 1. *Mary* had neither actuall nor originall ſin to ſuffer for, and therefore her ſuffrings are communicable to others.

2 2. *Iohn* alſo was of a moſt innocent life,and was ſubiect ſcarce to the leaſt ſinnes,and therfore he had no neede of his faſting,auſtere life,impriſonment,death,to ſatisfie for himſelfe.

3 3. Likewiſe the Prophets ſuffrings were beyond their ſinnes : as *Iob* complaineth chap.6.1.

I would that my ſinnes,whereby I haue deſerued wrath, and the calamitie which I ſuffer, were laid in a balance ; as the ſand of the ſea this would appeare more heauie.

4. Saint *Pauls* ſuffrings were many and great : as he doth reckon them vp, 2.Cor.11.26. yet he had no neede of them himſelfe : for he ſaith, *I know nothing by my ſelfe*, 1.Cor.4.4.

5. The martyrdome of the Saints is able to redeeme great offences : as Chriſt ſaith, Matt.10. verſ.32. *Whoſoeuer confeſſeth me before men, him will I confeſſe before my father in heauen:* But many of the Martyrs had ſmall offences at the time of their martyrdome,and therefore there remaineth abundance of ſatisfaction for others ; *Bellarm.lib.1.de indulg.c.2.prop.4.*

Anſw. Firſt, 1. It is blaſphemie to ſay,that any man doth or hath ſuffered more,than his ſinnes require : for this were to accuſe God of iniuſtice,to lay vpon any man that which he hath not deſerued. But the Prophet ſaith otherwiſe, Pſalm.130.3. *Lord if thou ſtreightly markeſt iniquities,who ſhall abide it?* God layeth vpon no man ſo much as hee hath deſerued : much leſſe doth any ſuffer more. 2. As for the Virgin *Mary*,ſhe acknowledgeth Chriſt her *Sauiour*, Luk.1.47. *My ſpirit reioyceth in God my Sauiour*,and ſo conſequently confeſſeth her ſelfe a ſinner ; for he is therefore called Ieſus,a Sauiour,becauſe *he ſhall ſaue the people from their ſinnes*, Matth.1.21. 3. Saint *Ambroſe* accordingly ſaith ; *Non mirum ſi dominus redempturus mundum diuinam operationem ſuam inchoauit à matre,vt per quam ſalus omnibus parabatur,eadem prima fructum ſalutis hauriret ex pignore:* No marueile, if the Lord being to redeeme the world,did begin his diuine worke in his mother, that ſhe, through whom ſaluation was in preparing for al,ſhould firſt receiue the benefit of ſaluation from her pledge or birth, *lib.2.in 1.Luc.* If ſhe receiued the benefit of ſaluation, what elſe was ſhe ſaued from,than her ſinnes? 1

Secondly,concerning *Iohn Baptiſt*, 1. wee confeſſe he was an holie man,and endued with great grace,yet not without his ſinnes and corruptions : and therefore confeſſeth,that he had need to *be baptized of Chriſt*, Matth.3.14. which was to remiſſion of ſinnes. 2. His afflictions were not laid vpon him as puniſhments for ſinne,but as Gods louing corrections to exerciſe his faith, and prepare him for his kingdome : As the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, Pſal.119.67. *Before I was afflicted I went aſtray.* Afflictions then to the righteous are not *inflictions for their ſinne*, but admonitions to encreaſe their vertue. 3. Of *Iohn* and of all other it is truly ſaid, as *Hierome* reciteth the Apoſtles words ; *Deus concluſit omnes ſub peccato,&c.* God hath ſhut all vnder vnbeleefe, to haue mercie of all, *abſque hoc qui peccatum non fecit:* he onely excepted,that did no ſinne. 2

Thirdly, 1. *Iob* doth confeſſe himſelfe a great ſinner, *that he could not anſwere God one thing of a thouſand*, Iob.9.3. and he confeſſeth with *Dauid*, that God *had afflicted him iuſtly*, Pſal.119.75. for thus he ſaith, Iob.13.26. *Thou makeſt me to poſſeſſe the iniquities of my youth.* 3

2. Concerning that place, Iob.6.2,3. The Latine text doth tranſlate moſt corruptly. 1. There is no mention at all made of ſinnes, but the Hebrue word there vſed, ſignifieth wrath and indignation, which the 70. well expreſſe (ὀργὴν). 2. Where the Latine readeth, *hæc grauior eſſet*, this would be heauier, as though it were referred onely to his calamitie waighed againſt ſinne, the Septuagint well expreſſe the ſenſe of the Hebrue (though the ſingular number be vſed) βαρυτέρα, *grauiora ſunt*, are heauier, in the plurall. 3. The Latine ſaith, *quaſi arena*, as the ſand : ſo is not the Hebrue, מחול *meecol* : which ſignifieth *præ arena*, in reſpect of the ſand, or *then the ſand :* as the ſeptuagint readeth ; ſo that this is the meaning, if his griefe and vexation were put into a balance, and weighed with the ſand,they would be found heauier then it : for who can endure this ſenſe, that his afflictions in reſpect of his ſinne were as a light thing to the ſand?

Fourthly, 1. Saint *Paul* doth frankely confeſſe of himſelfe, 1.Tim.1.15. *Chriſt came into the world to ſaue ſinners, of whom I am chiefe:* If he acknowledge himſelfe a ſinner ; what reaſon hath any man to extenuate it : 2. *He knew nothing by himſelfe*, that is in reſpect of the faithfull diſcharging *of his calling*, whereof he ſpake before : his conſcience therein did not accuſe him, yet he ſaith, *he was not thereby iuſtified*, 1.Cor.4.3. Much leſſe then is Saint *Paul* able to iuſtifie an other. 3. He ſaith, Philipp.3.9. *That I may be found in him not hauing mine owne righteouſnes* : If Saint *Paul* diſclaimeth his owne righteouſnes, how can it be a ſatisfaction for vs. 4

Fiftly, 1. The martyrdome of the Saints was profitable to themſelues,God crowning their patience with immortalitie, through Chriſt : but they are not auaileable to vs,but onely for example: ſo Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1.Cor.1.13. *was Paul crucified for you?* Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith well ; *Pendebat in cruce filius,&c.* While her ſonne hanged vpon the croſſe, *Mary* offered her ſelfe to the perſecutors, *Si fortè ſua morte publico muneri aliquid adderetur,ſed Chriſti paſſio adiutore non eguit :* If ſo ſhe by her death might adde any thing to the publike benefit ; but Chriſts paſſion needed no helper: *inſtitut. virg.c.5.* If the ſufferings of *Mary* could adde nothing to Chriſts paſſion, much leſſe the affliction of others. 5

The Proteſtants.

THat the ſufferings of the Saints muſt be added to Chriſts ſatisfactions to make vp the treaſure of the Church : we iudge it a moſt horrible blaſphemie, which hath diſliked ſome of the Papiſts themſelues: as *Durand. in* 4. *Diſt.* 20. *qu.*3. whoſe argumentes I will propound.

1. *Argum.* 1 The ſatisfaction of Chriſt is of infinite vertue, and therefore there is no need, that the ſatisfactions of the Saints ſhould be ioyned vnto them.

2. 2. The Saints are alreadie abundantly rewarded, and farre aboue their deſert, as the Apoſtle ſaith, Rom.8.18. *I count that the afflictions of this preſent time are not worthie of the glorie, which ſhall be reuealed:* wherefore the Saints ſufferings being ſo fully alreadie recompenced, cannot helpe toward the expiation of the ſinnes of others.

3. 3. The Saints neither did, nor ſuffered any thing, which they were not bound in duty to do and ſuffer: as appeareth, Luc.17.10. *We are vnprofitable ſeruants, we did that which was our dutie to doe:* and Matth.25.9. the wiſe virgins ſay: *Leaſt there will not be enough for you and vs: Ergo,* the Saints haue nothing to communicate to others.

4 4. If by the Saints ſufferings our ſins could be *expiated* or redeemed, then might they be counted our redeemers; but the Scripture onely acknowledgeth Chriſt our redeemer, 1.Cor.1.30. *Chriſt is made our righteouſnes, ſanctification, redemption.*

1 *Anſw.* 1. The Saints paſſions are ioyned vnto Chriſts ſufferings, not becauſe theſe are not ſufficient, but for that it is glorious vnto Chriſt, that the Saints ſuffrings ſhould not be in vaine, ſeeing they receiue all their efficacy from Chriſt.

2 2. The Saints ſufferings as they are meritorious, are alreadie abundantly rewarded; but as they are ſatisfactorie, they ſhould be in vaine, vnleſſe they were imployed, in the expiation of other mens ſinnes, ſeeing the Saintes needed not ſo great laboures and ſufferings for themſelues.

3 3. Euen the obedience of the law, to the which the Saints are bound, is meritorious and ſatisfactorie: the virgins ſpeake not of ſatisfaction, but of the oyle of grace and charity, which euery one keepeth to himſelfe, and cannot powre forth vpon another.

4 4. Properly & ſimply Chriſt is our redeemer, becauſe he redeemeth vs from our captiuitie, but as a redeemer is largely taken for one that redeemeth from a ſmal debt, ſo the ſaints may be ſaid to be our redeemers: if *Nabuchadnezzer* be aduiſed by *Daniel* to redeeme his ſinnes by righteouſnes, much more the Saints may be ſaid to redeeme our ſins by their paſſions: and Saint *Paule* ſaith, 1.Cor.9.22. *I am made all things to all men, to ſaue ſome:* why might he not be as well ſaid to redeeme them, as to ſaue them? ſeeing the name of Sauiour is as proper to Chriſt, as the name of Redeemer. *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de indulgent c.*4.

1 *Contra.* 1. The paſſions of the Saints are not in vaine, though they be not ioyned to Chriſts, as ſatisfactorie: as Saint *Paul* ſheweth, 1.Cor.15.58. *Foraſmuch as ye know, that your labour is not in vaine in the Lord:* that is, in reſpect of the reſurrection of the iuſt, when all their labours and trauailes ſhall be recompenſed. 2. It is inglorious for Chriſt to haue any ioyned vnto him as a helper: as the Prophet ſheweth, Iſay.63.5. *I looked, and there was none to helpe, therefore mine owne arme helped me.* 3. Though the Saints receiue all their power and grace from Chriſt, yet they receiue no ſuch power, whereby to ſatisfie for others: for the Lord by the Prophet ſaith, Iſay.48.11. *I will not giue my glory to another.*

2 1. If the Saints ſufferings are rewarded, as they are meritorious; much more as they are ſatiſfactorie: for it is more to deſerue a reward, then to ſatisfie for a puniſhment: but the truth is, that the ſufferings of the Saints, do neither merit nor yet ſatisfie the wrath of God, but yet their labors through Chriſt are abundantly recompenſed: *Iacob* confeſſeth, *He was not worthie of the leaſt of Gods*(temporall)*mercies*. Gen.32.10. how much leſſe are the Saints worthy of eternall. 2. Their labours are not in vaine, though thereby they neither ſatisfie for themſelues nor others: for thereby their faith is exerciſed, and they learne obedience, Pſal.119.71. *It is good for me, that I haue beene afflicted, that I may learne thy ſtatutes.* 3. And whereas he ſaith the Saints need not ſo many ſuffrings for themſelues, it is blaſphemy: for *Iob* for all his vnſpeakable affliction confeſſeth, *he did not anſwere God one thing of a thouſand:* Iob.9.3. *Quis amplius grunniet dicens, nimium laboramus, nimium ieiunamus, nimium vigilamus, cum nec milleſimæ, imo nec minimæ parti debitorum ſuorum valeat reſpondere:* Who dare complaine from henceforth, and ſay, we labour too much, faſt too much, watch too much, when he cannot anſwere the thouſandth, nay not the leaſt part of his debt. *ſer. de quadrupl. debit. Bernard.*

3 Firſt, it is contrarie to reaſon and Scripture, that a man ſhould merite by doing his dutie: our Sauiour ſaith, Luke 17.9. *Doth he thanke that ſeruant, becauſe he did that, which was commanded him? I trow not:* if it be not thanke-worthie, how is it meritorious or ſatisfactorie? Secondly, if the oyle of charitie cannot be communicated, then not the price of good workes, which proceede from charitie, being the fruits thereof: for no workes are good without charitie, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, 1.Cor.13.3. then cannot a man lend the price of his workes, but he muſt alſo lend his charitie, which maketh them precious. Thirdly, the virgins ſpeake of their iuſtice or righteouſneſſe, which they holde to be little enough for themſelues; and ſo *Bernard* expoundeth, vpon theſe words,

Matth.25.8. *Giue vs of your oyle: Stulta petitio; vix iuſtus ſaluabitur, vix ſanctis iuſticia ſua oleum ſufficit ad ſalutem, quanto minus & ſibi & proximis:* A fooliſh petition, the righteous ſhall ſcarce be ſaued, the oyle of their owne righteouſneſſe hardly ſufficeth the Saints to ſaluation, how much leſſe themſelues and their neighbours: *Noe, Daniel, Iob,* ſhall not deliuer a ſonne or daughter, Ezech. 14.18. but like as the ſoule, that ſinneth, ſhall die, Ezech.18.20. *Sic anima quæ iuſticiam fecerit, ſola ſaluabitur:* So that ſoule that doth righteouſneſſe, onely ſhall bee ſaued, *Bernard. ſerm. de virgin.*

First, Chriſt hath left neither great nor ſmall debt vnanſwered or vnpayed for, 1.Iohn 1.7. *The blood of Ieſus cleanſeth vs from all ſinne:* and therefore the Saints cannot be ſaid to redeeme vs, no not from the leaſt debt. Secondly, you tranſlate corruptly, *Daniel* biddeth him, not redeeme, but breake *off his ſinnes by righteouſnes:* And ſo man when he beginneth to doe well, leaueth to doe euill, and by well doing breaketh off, or ſtoppeth the courſe of the ſinne. Thirdly, *Paul* ſaueth, not as Chriſt ſaueth: he as the author, *Paul* as the *miniſter of reconciliation,* 1.Cor.5.18. but there can be no redemption without paying of a raunſome, 1.Cor.6.20. *Ye are bought for a price:* This price becauſe no man could pay but Chriſt, no man can be ſaid to redeeme but Chriſt, as the Apoſtle ſaith: *Chriſt is made vnto vs our righteouſneſſe, ſanctification, redemption,* 1.Cor.1.30. as no man elſe can be ſaid to be our *righteouſneſſe, ſanctification,* ſo neither *our redemption.* 4

Peter Lombard alſo ſheweth, how Chriſt *propriè dicitur redemptor:* is properly called the redeemer, in reſpect of the Father and Sonne, who are called alſo Redeemers, but not ſo properly, *lib.3. diſt.19. liter.e.* Whereby he inſinuateth, that no creature either properly, or improperly can be called a Redeemer.

Here ſhould haue followed other arguments, of Maſter *Luther* and Maſter *Caluine,* with others vſed by them, and obiected in their time againſt the Popes Indulgences, with a confutation of *Bellarmines* anſwere vnto the ſaid arguments: But ſo it was, that the Printer calling earneſtly for an ende of this worke, and fearing leaſt it might growe to a further charge, then he expected, and hauing my ſelfe no great leaſure, not aboue the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, to runne ouer *Bellarmines* firſt booke of Indulgences, I was conſtrained altogether to leaue the ſecond booke vnanſwered: truſting, that ſome other better able, may ſupplie my want herein, or that I may hereafter, if it pleaſe God, and it ſhall be thought neceſſarie, finiſh that, which now is omitted.

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE POWER OF diſtributing the ſpirituall treaſure and Indulgence of the Church.

THE FIRST PROPOSITION, WHETHER THE ſatisfactions of the Saints may be communicated to others.

The Papiſts.

THat the ſuffrings and ſatisfactions of the Saints may be applied to others, thus they labour to proue it: 26. Error.

First, by that article of the Creede, *I beleeue the communion of Saints:* therefore their ſatisfactions are communicable. 1

Secondly, Saint *Paul* ſaith, 1.Corinth.12.15. *I will moſt gladly beſtow and be beſtowed for your ſoules.* 2

Thirdly, Coloſſ.1.24. *Now reioyce in my ſuffrings for you, and fulfill the reſt of the afflictions of Chriſt in my fleſh for his bodie ſake, which is the Church:* Saint *Paul* did communicate his ſuffrings and ſatisfactions to the faithfull: *Bellarm.lib.1.de indulg.c.3.propoſ.1.Rhemiſt.annot.in hunc locum.* 3

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. FIrſt, 1. the argument followeth not, *there is a communion of Saints: Ergo,* ſatisfactions are communicable: the communion is in things communicable, but ſatisfactions they cannot communicate, becauſe they haue them not. 2. If they had ſatisfactions and merits, yet they could no more applie them vnto others, than they doe their faith, which is proper to euery man: Rom.1.17. *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith.* 3. This communion conſiſteth in the mutuall helpe and aſſiſtance of one another, as by prayer, Rom.1.9. *Without ceaſing I make mention of you:* By mutuall comfort, 1.Theſſ.4.18. *Comfort one another:* By exhortation, 1.Theſſ.5.11. *Exhort one another:* By teaching, 2.Pet.1.13. *I thinke it meete to ſtirre you vp by putting you in remembrance.* 4. So *Origen* ſaith: *Cæteri precibus peccata, hic ſolus poteſtate dimiſit:* Others (namely the Apoſtles, of whom he ſpeaketh) remit ſins by their prayers, Chriſt by his power, *Hom.24.in Numer.* Chriſt onely then hath power to ſatisfie.

Secondly, how Saint *Paul* would be beſtowed, he ſheweth Philip.2.17. *he would be offered vp for the ſeruice,* λειτουργία, *of their faith:* His death then ſerued not for ſatisfaction, but for confirmation of their faith. As Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith: ***Chriſti paſſio nobis ſufficit ad ſalutem; Petri, Pauli contulit ad exemplum:*** Chriſts paſſion ſufficeth to ſaluation: ***Peter*** and ***Pauls*** paſſion ſerue for example and confirmation, *ſerm.66.*

Thirdly, 1. Saint *Paul* expoundeth himſelfe in the next verſe, how he ſuffereth for the Churches ſake, Coloſſ. 1.25. *Whereof I am a miniſter according to the diſpenſation of God, which is giuen me to yonward, to fulfill the word of God:* He did not then ſatisfie for others by his ſuffrings, but thereby miniſter to their faith: that by his patience and example of ſuffring, the worde of God *might be fulfilled*, that is, generally receiued, and freely confeſſed of the brethren: as he himſelfe again ſaith, Philip. 1.13. *My bands in Chriſt are famous throughout all the iudgement hall, and in all other places; inſomuch that many of the brethren in the Lorde are boldened through my bands, and dare more frankly ſpeake the word.*

2. Saint *Auguſtine* thus interpreteth: ***Non dixit preſſurarum mearum, ſed Chriſti, quia membrum erat Chriſti, & in perſecutionibus ſuis, quales Chriſtum in toto ſuo corpore pati oportebat, etiam ipſe preſſuras eius pro ſua portione adimplebat:*** He ſaith not my afflictions, but Chriſts, becauſe he was a member of Chriſt, and in his perſecutions, which Chriſt was to ſuffer in his whole bodie, he alſo fulfilled his afflictions for his part: *Tract.in Ioann.* 108. Saint *Paul* then did but for his part ſuffer as a member of Chriſt, as all other his members muſt for their parts.

3. So *Auguſtine* againe ſaith elſewhere, writing vpon this text: ***Si in membris Chriſti es, quicquid pateris ab eis, qui non ſunt in membris Chriſti, deerat paſſionibus Chriſti: ideo additur, quia deerant, menſuram implens, non ſuperfundens: tantum ergo pateris, quantum inferendum erat vniuerſæ paſſioni Chriſti, qui paſſus eſt in capite, & patitur in membris, &c.*** If thou art a member of Chriſt, whatſoeuer thou ſufferest of thoſe that are not his members, was wanting to the ſuffrings of Chriſt: therefore it is added (which are wanting) filling the meaſure, not ouerflowing: therefore thou ſuffreſt ſo much, as was to be laid vpon the whole paſſion of Chriſt; who then ſuffered in the head, and now in the members, *in Pſal.60.* Saint *Paul* then did ſuffer for his part, as all other members muſt for their parts: and the meaſure of affliction is but filled vp, it ouerfloweth not by their ſuffrings: ***Ergo***, no mans ſuffrings doe abound or ouerflow to ſatisfie for another.

THE SECOND PROPOSITION, WHETHER THE paſtors of the Church haue power to diſpenſe the ſatisfactions and ſuffrings of the Saints, and to graunt indulgences.

The Papiſts.

26.Error. THat this power is committed to the paſtors of the Church, to diſpenſe this ſpirituall treaſure, and thereby to abſolue from all ſinnes, and the puniſhment of ſinnes, to diſpenſe with othes, vowes, lawes, if there be reaſonable cauſe: thus they would proue it.

1 Firſt, Chriſt ſaith to his Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors, ***whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted***, Ioh.20.
2 verſ.23. and to ***Peter, Feede my ſheepe***, Ioh.21.15. Here the ſupreame throne of Eccleſiaſticall power
3 is giuen to ***Peter***. Likewiſe, Matth.18.18. ***What ſoeuer ye binde in earth, ſhall be bound in heauen.***

Secondly, Saint *Paul* executeth this power, 2.Cor.2.10. ***To whom ye forgiue any thing, I forgiue alſo: for verily if I forgaue any thing, to whom I forgaue it, for your ſakes forgaue I it in the ſight of Chriſt.*** Here Saint *Paul* forgiueth vnto the inceſtuous perſon, that, which remained of his penance.

This hath been the continuall practiſe of the Church to remit the puniſhment to offenders: and to this purpoſe *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* are alleaged, with diuers Councels, and conſtitutions of the Biſhops of Rome: ***Bellarm.lib.1.de indulg.c.3.prop.2.***

The Proteſtants.

1 ***Confutat.*** FIrſt, 1. our Sauiour ſpeaketh of remiſſion of ***ſinnes***, what is this to their ***indulgences***, which ſerue to releaſe the puniſhment onely, as they ſay? and the Apoſtles did remit ſinnes not by their owne power, but as miniſters and diſpenſers in Chriſts name: Act.3.12. S.*Peter* denieth, that ***by his owne power he had made the lame man goe:*** much leſſe by his owne power could he heale the ſoule.

2. Firſt, ***feeding the flocke***, is not diſpenſing with them, or exerciſing iudiciall power ouer them, but preaching the worde: ſo doth Saint *Paul* expound it, Act.20.28. and Saint *Peter*, 1.Pet.5.3. ***Feede the flocke of God:*** but the Pope vſeth not to preach, therefore he feedeth not. Againe, this ***feeding*** is not proper onely to *Peter*, but common to all other paſtors, as he himſelfe ſheweth writing to his fellow paſtors, 1.Pet.5.3.

3. Firſt, our Sauiour ſaying, ***Whatſoeuer you binde***, ſpeaketh of binding and looſing of ſinnes, and not the puniſhment onely: as this place is expounded by that, Ioh.20.23. ***Whoſe ſinnes ye retaine.*** Againe, he ſpeaketh to all the Apoſtles: wherefore they all, and their ſucceſſors, and not ***Peter*** onely haue this power. Further, this power muſt be executed in Chriſts name, verſ.20. Indulgences then in the name of Saints haue no place here.

Secondly, 1. Saint *Paul* did not enioyne the inceſtuous perſon penance to ſatisfie God for his ſinne,but *he was deliuered to Sathan, that his ſpirit might be ſaued,&c.* 1.Cor.5.5. that hee might be brought to effectuall ſorrow for his offence: which was accordingly effected. 2. Another end of his ſeparation,was for the example of others,and that the Church might be ſatisfied,whom he had offended: and therefore the Apoſtle writeth to the whole Church, that they would forgiue him, 2.Cor.2.7.and hold themſelues ſatisfied with his ſufficient ſorrow. 3. The Apoſtle then remitteth not any puniſhment to the young man due vnto Gods iuſtice, but releaſeth him of the cenſure of excommunication,after he did ſee him ſufficiently to haue ſorrowed. And this power wee denie not but the Church hath, to reconcile thoſe againe to the congregation, and to remit the cenſure of the Church,when the partie hath teſtified his effectuall ſorrow, and ſatisfied the congregation. Thus *Auguſtine* ſaith: *Recte conſtituuntur ab his qui eccleſiæ præſunt tempora pœnitentiæ, vt ſatisfiat etiam eccleſiæ:* Certaine times of penance are appointed by the gouernours of the Church, that the Church may be ſatisfied, *diſt.*1 *de pœnitent.c.*84. Satisfaction then is made not to God,but to the Church,and the releaſing thereof,as a remitting not of the puniſhment of ſin before God, but of the cenſure impoſed by the Church.

Thirdly,after this manner we denie not but the Church vſed in *Tertullian* and *Cyprians* time to reconcile offenders to the peace of the Church, and many times at the inſtance and requeſt of Martyrs,to remit vnto them ſome part of eccleſiaſticall cenſure: but this maketh nothing for the applying or communicating of other mens ſatisfactions. *Auguſtine* ſaith,as he is cited, *diſt.*1.*de pœnitent.c.*84. *In actione pœnitentiæ,vbi tale crimen commiſſum eſt, vt qui commiſit à Chriſti corpore ſeparetur,non tam conſyderanda eſt menſura temporis,quam doloris:* In the action of penance, where ſuch a ſinne is committed,that hee which committed it, muſt be ſeparated from the bodie of Chriſt, the meaſure of time muſt not be ſo much conſidered,as of griefe, &c. So then the ancient indulgence of Chriſt was this,when the Church ſeeing the vnfained ſorrow of the penitent perſons,in Chriſtian compaſſion,leſt they ſhould be *ſwallowed vp of too much griefe*,as the Apoſtle ſaith,2.Cor.2.7. did mitigate the rigor of the ſentence of the Church, and releaſe them of their penance. This diſcreete and Chriſtian lenitie ought ſtill to be retained in the Church,as *Ambroſe* well ſaith: *Quemadmodum ſe tibi curandum præberet, qui ſe contemptui, non compaſſioni medico ſuo putet futurum: non ſunt pro Chriſti diſcipulis habendi,qui cum ipſi quærunt domini miſericordiam, alijs eam denegant:* How ſhould a man commit himſelfe to be cured,when he ſeeth *contempt* rather than *compaſſion* to be in the Phiſition? they are not to be counted for the diſciples of Chriſt, that ſeeking mercie themſelues,denie it vnto others: *de pœnitent.lib.*1.1.

THE THIRD PROPOSITION, OF THE ANTIquitie and originall of Iubile pardons and indulgences.

The Papiſts.

IT is affirmed by them, that whereas the beginning, authors, time and place of other hereſies may be aſſigned, yet it cannot be ſhewed when Indulgences and Pardons were brought in: and therefore it is moſt like, that they tooke beginning from the Apoſtles time, *Bellarm.lib.*1.*de indulg.c.*3. 27. Error.

The Proteſtants.

Confut. FIrſt,the propoſition is not true, that all hereſies may be aſſigned to their ſeuerall authors: as *Bernard* thus witneſſeth of the Heretikes called *Apoſtolici: Quære ab illis ſectæ authorem neminem dabunt:* Aske of them the author of their ſect,they can ſhew none,&c. the Manichees had *Manes*, the Sabellians *Sabellius*, the Arrians *Arrius*, beginners of their ſect, &c. but theſe can ſhew none: *Cantic ſer.*66.

Secondly,it followeth not, the author of generall and plenarie Indulgences, grounded vpon the ouerflowing ſatisfactions of the Church cannot bee produced: *Ergo*, they came from Chriſt and his Apoſtles. *Bernard* ſheweth that this is no good conſequent: ſpeaking of the foreſaid heretikes, *Apoſtolici*, and in the ſame place: *Non eſt ab homine illorum hæreſis abſit tamen vt per reuelationem Ieſu Chriſti, ſed magis per immiſſionem & fraudem dæmoniorum:* Their hereſie is not from man,yet God forbid it ſhould be by reuelation of Ieſus Chriſt, but rather by the deceit and illuſion of the diuell.

Thirdly,we can produce and demonſtrate the author of their Iubile pardons,which was *Boniface* the 8.*anno* 1300.the firſt inſtitutor of the popiſh Iubile: Wee denie not, but that before this time in the declining ages of the Church,Indulgences were abuſed,and that *anno* 1170.or thereabout,exception was taken againſt them by the Waldenſes: but at the time aforeſaid, *ann.*1300. when Antichriſt came to his height,the moſt blaſphemous Indulgences, and Iubile pardons came in together with the Iubile,which then was reuiued by *Boniface* 8.

THE FOVRTH PROPOSITION.

The Papiſts.

28.Error. 1 B*Ellarmine* here telleth vs,that the Prelates of the Church may diſpenſe Chriſts ſuffrings both
by the Sacraments,and by their Indulgences; yet the ſatisfactions and ſuffrings of the Saints
29.Error. 2 cannot be applied,but by indulgences: The reaſon is, becauſe their ſatisfactions ſerue onely for
30.Error. 3 the releaſe of the puniſhment, not for the remitting of the ſinne: but in the Sacraments,the puniſhment is not remitted without the ſinne,*Bellarm.lib.1.c.3.propoſ.3.*

The Proteſtants.

1 *Confut.* FIrſt, it is vntrue that the Sacraments doe giue and applie the grace of remiſſion by Chriſts ſuffrings: they are ſeales *of the righteouſnes of faith*,Rom.4.11.it is the propertie onely of faith to apprehend Chriſt,and to applie his merits: which faith is confirmed and encreaſed by the Sacraments. Wee doe in the Sacraments ſhew forth the death of Chriſt,1.Cor.11.26. as *Ambroſe* ſaith,*Euchariſtia myſterium memoria redemptionis eſt:* The myſterie of the Euchariſt is the memorie of the redemption, *in* 1.*Cor*.11. Faith by this memorie being renewed and reuiued, applieth Chriſt: without faith the Sacraments profit not: the Apoſtle biddeth to examine themſelues,and ſo eate of the bread, 1.Corinth.11.28. which examination is to trie *their faith*,1.Corinth.13.5. *Ambroſe* ſaith,*Quid proficiunt Iudæi,quod ſanguine agni domos & poſtes illiniunt? quoniam ligna,aut ſaxa prodeſſe non poſſunt:* What doth it profit the Iewes,that they annoynt their houſes and poſts with the blood of the Lambe? what can wood or ſtones profit them? *ſerm.12.Pſal.119.* No more doth water,bread or wine profit without faith.

2 Secondly,if in the Sacraments,as namely in Baptiſme,*remittitur omnis pœna ſiue temporalis, ſiue aterna*,all puniſhment of ſinne is remitted, both temporall and eternall, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, the application of the ſatisfactions of Saints is ſuperfluous to releaſe the temporall puniſhment, ſeeing it is done alreadie: And that the efficacie of Baptiſme extendeth to the waſhing away of all ſinnes both preceding and following; Saint *Paul* ſheweth, ſaying, that wee *are ſaued by the waſhing of the new birth*,and the renewing of the *holie Ghoſt*,Tit.3.5. If wee haue then perfect ſaluation in Baptiſme, what can bee added more? So Saint *Hierome: Si baptiſmus nouum hominem facit,& ex toto nouum creat,nihilque in eo veteris hominis reſeruatur, non poteſt nouo imputari, quod in veteri quondam fuit:* If Baptiſme make a man wholy new,that nothing of the old man remaine, that cannot be imputed to the new man,which was ſometime in the old:*Hieron.Ocean.tom.3.*

3 Thirdly,neither doth there remaine any puniſhment before God to be ſatisfied for, the ſinne being once remitted: but we being releaſed of our ſins,are alſo exempted from the puniſhment: as Chriſt ſaid to the man ſicke of the palſie, *Thy ſinnes are forgiuen thee*,Mark.2.5. ſignifying, that together with his ſinne, his ſicknes, as it was a puniſhment thereof, was alſo looſed. The ſorrowes and griefes that ſtill hang vpon vs doe remaine,as *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Vel ad demonſtrationem debita miſeria,vel ad emendationem labilis vita, vel ad exercitationem neceſſaria patientia:* Either for a demonſtration of our deſerued miſerie,the emendation of our fraile life, or the exercitation of our neceſſarie patience: *Tract.124.in Ioann.* Wherefore the ſatisfactions of the Saints applicable by Indulgences,are ſuperfluous,ſeeing there remaineth after remiſſion of ſinnes obtained,no puniſhment before God to be ſatisfied for.

THE THIRD PART, WHAT Indulgence is.

THis part is diuided into foure queſtions: Firſt, whether the Indulgence of the Church be a ſpirituall ſolution,or a iudiciarie abſolution. Secondly,whether it be a releaſe, *de pœnitentijs iniunctis vel iniungendis*,of penance alreadie enioyned or to be enioyned. Thirdly, whether it be a remiſſion of the fault,or of the puniſhment onely. Fourthly,whether by indulgence the puniſhment due vnto ſinne be remitted before God.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER THE Indulgence of the Church be a ſpirituall ſolution onely, or a iudiciarie abſolution.

The Papiſts.

THis queſtion though it be chiefly controuerted among the popiſh writers thēſelues,yet I will briefly ſhew which part commeth neereſt the truth. Some of them thinke, that the Indulgence of the Church is onely an application of the treaſure of the Church,without any iudiciarie authoritie, and ſo a ſolution only: *ſic Durand.in 4.diſtinct.20. qu.3. Paludan.ibid.qu.4.cum alijs.*

Others thinke Indulgence to be nothing elſe, but *iudiciariam abſolutionem*, a iudiciarie abſolution, *Franciſcus Maironis 4.ſent.diſt.19.qu.2.* which ſeemeth to be the truer opinion, as I will ſhew afterward. *Bellarmine* he confoundeth both theſe opinions, and maketh Indulgence not onely a iudiciarie abſolution, but a ſpirituall ſolution. 31.Error.

Argum. His beſt argument is, becauſe Indulgence may be graunted to the dead, ouer whom no iudiciarie power can be exerciſed.

Anſw. 1. It is well that theſe popiſh Diuines, ſomewhat better aduiſed than their forefathers, doe exempt the dead from their iudiciarie Conſiſtories: yet the elder Papiſts haue not bin aſhamed to proceed iudicially againſt the dead: to cite them by proceſſe, call them by name in court, and for not appearing to proceede againſt them as contumacious, to produce witneſſes againſt them, and to condemne and burne them being dead. Thus was *Richard Hun* ſerued being dead, condemned and burnt in Smithfield: ſee his ſtorie *Fox* pag.808. And in like manner were *Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius* proceeded againſt in Cambridge before the Cardinals viſitors there: ſee likewiſe the ſtorie *Fox* pag.1961.

2. *Bellarmine* hath vſed a very ſillie argument: for the dead can neither be abſolued nor condemned by the ſentence of the liuing: God hath diſpoſed of them; and euery one receiueth his finall ſentence at his death: as a man dieth, ſo he lieth, and ſo he riſeth: As *Auguſtine* well ſaith: *Vnuſquiſque cum cauſa ſua dormit, cum cauſa ſua ſurgit:* Euery man ſleepeth or dieth with his cauſe, and with the ſame riſeth againe. So that in this caſe wee may applie the Apoſtles ſpeech, Rom.14. verſ.4. *Who art thou that condemneſt another mans ſeruant? he ſtandeth, or falleth to his owne maſter.* The dead are at Gods diſpoſition, and are no more ſeruants or at the commaund of the liuing. This place of the Apoſtle is ſo applied by *Anaſtaſ.decret.2.*

The Proteſtants.

WE acknowledge a ſpirituall ſolution of ſinne in the Church of God, which is diſpenſed by the miniſterie of the word, and applicable to all them, which by faith are capable of it: but the Indulgence of the Church, which they make a releaſe onely of temporall puniſhment, is onely a iudiciarie abſolution in the outward face of the Church.

Argum. Such was that indulgence, pardon and forgiuenes graunted by Saint *Paul* to the penitent young man, 2.Cor.2.10. *To whom you forgaue any thing, I forgiue alſo:* This was nothing elſe but a releaſing of the offender from the ſentence of excommunication, after hee had ſufficiently ſorrowed. The ſpirituall ſolution, and forgiuenes of ſinnes, which followed his repentance, he receiued at Chriſts hands: but the outward cenſure was releaſed by the iudiciarie power of the Church.

Franciſcus Mairon. one of their owne Doctors, cited before, is of this opinion, that the Indulgence of the Church is but a *Iudiciarie abſolution.*

*Argum.*2. It further appeareth thus: no eccleſiaſticall Iudge, no not the Pope, can be partaker of that Indulgence, which he graunteth to another. Of this opinion are ſome of the Papiſts, *Archidiacon.in cap.de indulg.in c.6.* and the reaſon is, becauſe no man can abſolue himſelfe: wherefore the Indulgence is onely an abſolution: for as concerning the ſpirituall ſolution of ſinnes, he is as well partaker of it, that miniſtreth it, as he to whom it is miniſtred. And *Bellarmine* here greatly beſtirring himſelfe to ſhew how the Pope may receiue abſolution, reſolueth thus: that he vſeth abſolution to another, but himſelfe is benefited onely by the ſpirituall ſolution. But the Pope can applie no Indulgence to himſelfe: *Ergo*, it is an abſolution iudiciarie, *Bellarm.cap.6. reſponſ.ad obiect.7.*

The ſame is proued out of their owne law: *Decret.Gregor.lib.5.tit.38.c.4.Alexand.3. A non ſuo iudice ligari nullus valeat, vel abſolui:* No man can bee looſed or abſolued but of his owne iudge: *Ergo*, Indulgence onely reſpecteth the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, and iudiciarie power of the Church: for otherwiſe the ſpirituall ſolution of ſinne may be miniſtred by another, than the proper paſtor, in the preaching of the word, and applying of other ſpirituall comforts.

THE SECOND QVESTION, WHETHER INDVLgence be for penance enioyned, or to be enioyned.

The Papiſts.

WHen Indulgence is graunted, it muſt be vnderſtood that all kinde of penance is pardoned, both that which is alreadie enioyned or inflicted, or may be enioyned afterward: arguments he hath none of account, nor yet good reaſon for this aſſertion, *lib.1.de Indulg.cap.7. concluſ.6.* 32.Error.

The Proteſtants.

IT is a moſt abſurd and groſſe thing, that *Indulgence* ſhould not onely diſpenſe, with the penance alreadie inflicted by the ſentence of the Church, but to giue licence for that which may afterward be incurred: for what is this elſe but to giue men libertie from ſinne, beeing now exempted from the cenſure of the Church?

Argum. Saint *Paul* doth not ſo, but onely forgiueth the young man and releaſeth that cenſure which he was then vnder for his ſinne paſt, 2.Cor.2.6. *It was ſufficient for the ſame man, that he was rebuked of many*: he ſpeaketh of the rebuke and cenſure already paſt, he deliuereth him not from any ſentence of the Church, which he might incurre afterward.

Gelaſius to this purpoſe ſaith notably: *Auditum ſub cœlo non legitur, quod eorum voce depromitur, date nobis veniam, dum tamen nos in errore duremus: neſcio inter quæ mundi prodigia hoc poſſit admitti: remitti culpa de præterito poteſt, correctione ſine dubio ſubſequente: nam ſi deinceps ſinitur manſura peruerſitas, non eſt benignitas remittentis, ſed conſentientis aſſentio*: It was neuer heard vnder heauen, as they ſay; giue vs pardon, while we notwithſtanding continue in error: I cannot tell among what monſters this may be accounted: the fault may be remitted for the time paſt, correction or amendment following: but if by this meanes their peruerſitie doe remaine, it is not a benignitie in the remitter, but a conſpiracie in the conſenter: *Gelaſ. epiſt. ad Fauſtum:* Thus then the remiſſion of puniſhment to come, is a further inſtigation vnto ſinne.

THE THIRD QVESTION, WHETHER AN Indulgence be a remiſſion of the fault, or puniſhment.

The Papiſts.

BEllarmine alleageth to this purpoſe certaine diſtinctions, there is a double guilt, eyther of the ſinne, or puniſhment: the puniſhment is either ***naturall***, as death, ſicknes; or ***perſonall***, as was the plague ſent vpõ the people in *Dauids* time: and it is either in the ***internal*** court of the conſciẽce; or the ***external*** court of the Church: the internal is of two ſorts, either to ſatisfie God, or the Church.

33.Error. Then he ſetteth downe this poſition, that by the Indulgence of the Church we are not deliuered from the guilt of any ſinne, veniall or mortall, but of the puniſhment onely.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, I note certaine abſurdities and contradictions in the foreſaid diſtinctions, 1. Whereas he maketh the plague in *Dauids* time to be a perſonall puniſhment, and he thinketh that Indulgences may take away perſonall puniſhments, I aske whether the Popes Iubile-Pardons and indulgences can preuent, or turne aſide the peſtilence: If they were of ſuch force, I thinke the Pope would not ſuffer the plague ſo often to viſite Rome. 2. He maketh the ſatisfaction of the Church to belong to the internall court, whereas the court of the Church is externall.

Secondly, we ſay that the ſpirituall indulgence of Chriſt in the Church, being applied and apprehended by faith doth deliuer vs both from the ſinne and paine: but the eccleſiaſticall indulgence doth onely releaſe the externall puniſhment not before God, but before men.

Thirdly, this poſition of *Bellarmine* is contrarie to the Popes Iubile-pardons, which go vnder this tenure: *Boniface.* 8. *Non ſolum plenam & largiorem, ſed pleniſſimam concedimus veniam omnium peccatorum: extrau.commun.lib.*5.*tit.*9.*c.*1. We grant not onely full, and larger, but moſt full remiſſion of all their ſins: ſo likewiſe *Clemens* 6. in his Bull: *Suorum omnium obtinerent pleniſſimam veniam peccatorum:* That they ſhould obtaine moſt full pardon of all their ſins: *Sixtus* the fourth alſo doth call them, *indulgentias & remiſſiones peccatorum*, indulgences and remiſſions of ſinnes.

Bellarmine anſwereth, 1. That whereas ſometime mention is made in the letters of abſolution, ***à pœna & culpa***, from the puniſhment and the fault, it is ſo ſaid, becauſe ordinarily abſolution is ioyned with confeſſion, whereby the fault is pardoned: 2. By pardon or remiſſion of ſinnes we muſt vnderſtand the puniſhment.*c.*7.*propoſ.*1.

Contra 1. But your indulgences are properly granted, you ſay, without a Sacrament: as ***Bellarmine*** defineth it, *Indulgentia eſt abſolutio, &c. extra ſacramentum data:* Indulgence is abſolution giuen without a Sacrament. *c.*8. *in fine:* Then cannot an indulgence take away the fault, which is onely releaſed in the Sacraments: that clauſe therefore, ***à pœna & culpa***, in their indulgences is contrarie to their owne doctrine.

2. Neither by plenarie remiſſion of ſins can the puniſhment in any ſenſe be vnderſtood, 1. It is called *pleniſſima*, a moſt full pardon, *omnium peccatorum*, of all ſinnes: if moſt full, and of all, how are the ſins themſelues excluded? 2. I pray you how doe you vnderſtand your beliefe: *credo remiſſionem peccatorum*, I beleeue the remiſſion of ſinnes: doe ye beleeue the puniſhment only remitted, and not the ſinne? vnleſſe your Bull beleeueth otherwiſe then the Creed, as it doth indeed, and bringeth in a new faith. 3. *Boniface* in his Bull maketh this preface: *Quia iuxta officij noſtri debitum, ſalutem appetimus ſingulorũ:* Becauſe according to our bounden dutie, we ſeek the ſaluation of all: but to ſaluation, not the releaſing only of the paine, but the remitting of the debt belongeth.

Fourthly, that the ſatisfactions of Chriſt applied (for ſatisfactions of Saints applicable, we acknowledge none) doe deliuer ***à pœna & culpa***, both from the ſinne and the puniſhment, it is euident

uident out of Scripture, Iohn.13.10. He that is waſhed by Chriſt, *eſt mundus totus*, is cleane euerie whit: there remaineth then nothing to be waſhed away: And they themſelues confeſſe, that baptiſme doth waſh away both the ſinne and puniſhment: likewiſe the Apoſtle, Hebr.7.25. *He is able perfectly to ſaue them, that come vnto God.* If Chriſt then do ſaue vs perfectly, then both from ſinne and the penaltie.

Peter Lombard confeſſeth as much: *Per ipſius pœnam, quam in cruce tulit, omnis pœna temporalis, quæ pro peccato conuerſis debetur in baptiſmo penitus relaxatur, vt nulla à baptizato exigatur, &c.* By Chriſts paine, which he ſuffered vpon the croſſe, all temporall paine, which is due for ſin to them, which are conuerted, is altogether releaſed in baptiſme, that none at all is exacted of him that is baptized. *lib.*3.*diſt.*19.*liter.d.* If then there remaine no puniſhment after baptiſme, your indulgences are nothing worth.

I will conclude with Saint *Ambroſe*: who ſpeaking of the gathering of *Manna*, Exod. 16.18. *He that had gathered much, had nothing ouer, and he that had gathered little, had no lacke: Hoc plenius de ſanguine Chriſti intelligitur, &c. Etſi parum ſumas, etſi plurimum haurias eadem perfecta eſt omnibus menſura redemptionis:* This is more fully vnderſtoode of the blood of Chriſt, though you take little or draw much, there is the ſame perfect meaſure of redemption to all, *Epiſt.*1. Wherefore if by Indulgences, neuer ſo little of Chriſts blood be applied, the redemption is perfect, both from the ſinne and penaltie, for otherwiſe it ſhould not be perfect.

THE FOVRTH QVESTION, WHETHER THE INDVLgences of the Church, deliuer from the puniſhment of ſinne, not onely before the Church, but before God.

The Papiſts.

IT is ſo affirmed by *Bellarmine*, that by the cenſure of the Church impoſed vpon offenders, they doe not onely ſatisfie the Church, but God alſo, and ſo conſequently the Indulgence of the Church doth ſet them free from the guilt of the puniſhment of ſinne, both before God and men. 34 Error

*Argum.*1. Matth.18.18. *Whatſoeuer ye looſe in earth, ſhall be looſed in Heauen:* if it be looſed in heauen, then before God. 1

2. Penance voluntarilie aſſumed, or priuatly enioyned, cannot be for example ſake to ſatisfie men, therefore thereby God is ſatisfied: as Pſalm.6.6. *I water my couch euery night with teares.* 2

3. *Tertullian* ſaith: *Qui per delictorum pœnitentiam inſtituerat domino ſatisfacere:* Which had purpoſed to ſatisfie God by the penance of his ſinnes: *lib. de pœnitent.* *Cyprian* alſo is alleaged: *Dominus noſtra ſatisfactione placendus:* God is to be pleaſed with our ſatisfaction. Likewiſe *Auguſtine: De ijs, quæ facta ſunt, ſatisfiat Deo per pœnitentiæ dolorem:* God muſt be ſatisfied for the things that are done by the ſorrowe of repentance: *Ergo*, God is ſatisfied by penitentiarie workes: *Bellarm.c.*7.*prop.*4. 3

The Proteſtants.

Confutat. FIrſt, we graunt that the ſpirituall diſpenſation of the Church doth truely looſe the penitent perſons by faith in Chriſt, both from the ſinne and puniſhment: but that Indulgence which onely releaſeth the puniſhment, is but a relaxation before the Church, therefore this place, which is vnderſtoode of looſing and binding of ſinnes, is vnproperly alleaged for the releaſe of the puniſhment onely. 1

Secondly, 1. Voluntarie and priuate repentance, though it be not to the eye of the world, to ſatisfie men: yet it is profitable more effectually to humble their owne ſoule: as *Auguſtine* ſaith ſpeaking of prayer, which may be applied alſo to outward ſorrowe for ſinne: *Geſtu corporis, vt flexione genuum, extenſione manuum ſeipſum magis homo excitat ad orandum, illiſque rurſus viſibiliter factis, inuiſibilis animi affectus augetur:* By the geſture of the bodie, as the bowing of the knees, the ſpreading of the hands, a man doth ſtirre vp himſelfe to prayer: and theſe things being viſiblie done, the inuiſible affection of the ſoule is encreaſed: *de cur. mortuor. lib.*5. 2. It followeth not then in priuate repentance, man is not ſatisfied: *Ergo*, God is ſatisfied: for there is another ſatiſfaction beſide, when a man by ſufficient ſorrowe and puniſhment, as it were taken of himſelfe, doth ſatisfie his owne ſoule: and beſide priuate repentance, though it preuaile not to ſatisfaction, yet it is auailable to effectuall contrition, and vnfained conuerſion. 2

Thirdly, concerning the teſtimonie of the Fathers. Firſt, we deny not but ſome of them doe vſe that phraſe of ſpeech, *to ſatisfie God by repentance:* but not in the popiſh ſenſe, to ſatisfie Gods iuſtice, for *Tertullian* ſpeaketh of ſatisfying for ſinne: yet the Papiſts themſelues holde no ſatiſfaction in penance for ſinne, but for the puniſhment onely. Secondly, God then is ſaid to be ſatiſfied, that is pleaſed with the worke of repentance: as the Apoſtle ſaith, Hebr.13.17. *With ſuch ſa-* 3 *crifice, God is pleaſed or delighted:* his iuſtice is not ſatisfied, but his will pleaſed in Chriſt, when he ſeeth his pleaſure obeyed by our repentance: So *Bernard* vnderſtandeth ſatisfaction. *Condigna ſatisfactio eſt malefacta corrigere, & correcta non reiterare :* It is condigne ſatisfaction, to correct euill deeds, and not to iterate or do them againe, *proœm. de inter. dom.* But this is no ſatisfaction to Gods iuſtice for a man to turne from his euill wayes, otherwiſe then as God through Chriſt is well pleaſed therewith. Thirdly, there are then foure kinds of ſatisfactions: the *firſt* is to God: the *ſecond* to the Church publikely: the *third* to men whom we haue offended priuately: the *fourth* to a mans owne ſoule : the firſt by vs can be no way perfourmed : for as *Iob* ſaith, 9.3. *Wee cannot anſwere God one thing of a thouſand : Vix milleſima parti debitorum quis valeat reſpondere* : a man can ſcarce anſwere the thouſandth part of his debt to God: *Bernard. de quadrupl. debit.* This ſatisfaction to Gods iuſtice we muſt wholly remit vnto Chriſt. The other three ſatisfactions are in mans power : firſt, to ſatiſfie the Church, 2.Cor.2.6. *It is ſufficient for the ſame man, that he was rebuked of many : Arauſican. concil. 1. decret. ex Gratian.* The ancient forme of excommunication was this: *Authoritate Dei & iudicio ſancti ſpiritus è gremio ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ eliminamus, quouſque reſipiſcant & Eccleſiæ ſatiſfaciant, &c.* By the authoritie of God and his holy ſpirite, we caſt them out of the boſome of the Church, vntill they repent, and ſatisfie the Church. Secondly, our brother whome we haue offended, muſt be ſatisfied; as *Zacheus* reſtoreth foure foulde, that which he had wrongfully gotten, Luke 19.8. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith : *Peccaſti in fratrem, fac ſatis & ſanatus es:* Haſt thou offended againſt thy brother, ſatisfie him, and thou art healed : *Serm. 16. in Matth.* Thirdly, by godly repentance a man doth ſatisfie his owne ſoule, and cleare his conſcience by puniſhing of himſelfe: as 2.Cor.7.11. this godly ſorrow, *what great care hath it wrought in you, &c. what puniſhment, &c. you haue ſhewed your ſelues in all things that you are pure in this matter.* To this purpoſe S. *Auguſtine, Quid aliud eſt ieiunium, quam debita membrorum ſatisfactio? membra enim ſatisfacere debent propter peccata, quæ commiſerunt; vnde ſi quis in gula peccauerit, ſatisfaciat ieiunio, ſi in oculo claudatur :* What elſe is faſting, but a due ſatisfaction of the members? for the members muſt ſatisfie for the ſinne they haue committed : if a man haue ſinned in gluttonie, let him make ſatisfaction by faſting; if in his eye, let him keepe it ſhut : *Ad fratres in erem. ſerm. 24.* All theſe kinds of ſatisfactions we admit, but Gods iuſtice cannot be ſatisfied by vs: Chriſt onely hath ſo ſatisfied God for vs, both for ſinne and puniſhment, and appeaſed his wrath, and *ſlaine hatred by his croſſe, and reconciled vs to God,* Epheſ.2.16. *Auguſtine* well ſaith (to conclude this poynt) *Fateor, quia peccaui & conſcientia mea meretur damnationem, & pœnitentia mea non ſufficit ad ſatisfactionem; ſed certum eſt, quod miſericordia tua ſuperat omnem offenſionem :* I confeſſe I haue ſinned, and my conſcience deſerueth damnation, but my repentance ſufficeth not for ſatisfaction; but it is certaine, that thy mercie exceedeth all tranſgreſſion: *Tom. 9. meditat. c. 39.*

Laſtly, we haue one of their owne ſide againſt them : *Petrus Paludanus,* who affirmeth, that veniall ſinnes and not the puniſhment onely are releaſed by Indulgences: *In 4. diſt. 20. qu. 4.*

THE FOVRTH PART, OF THE DIVERS kinds of Indulgences.

The Papiſts.

35.Error. BEllarmine rehearſeth fiue kindes of Indulgences, and he iuſtifieth them all : 1. There is an Indulgence of fortie dayes, which is a releaſe of the penance which was to be done fortie dayes.

36.Error. 2. There is an Indulgence of the third or fourth part of their ſinnes, that is, of the puniſhment due for ſo much of their ſinnes.

37.Error. 3. An Indulgence plenarie was from the whole puniſhment : and ſometime Indulgences are graunted for ten or twentie thouſand yeares : for euery mortall ſinne deſerueth a penance of three or ſeuen yeares : then ſo many blaſphemies and other ſinnes, as are by ſome committed euery moment, deſerue many thouſand yeares penance : which notwithſtanding by the ſharpnes of Purgatorie paine, may be ſatisfied for in three or foure hundred yeares.

38.Error. 4. Indulgences are graunted to ſome in their life time, to ſome in the poynt of death.

39.Error. 5. Some are *temporarie,* for a time, as limited to dayes or yeares, ſome are *perpetuall,* which are tied to places, Churches, altars, or to things moueable, as to *roſaries, holy graines, &c.* All theſe kindes of Indulgences *Bellarmine* holdeth to be good and godly : but for this we muſt take his word, for Scriptures or good reaſons he hath none.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, 1. if your Indulgences doe releaſe the puniſhment due to Gods iuſtice, what great preſumption is it for you, to limite God to fortie dayes, that the puniſhment of the offender ſhould for that time be ſuſpended : this was the ſinne of Iſrael, Pſalm. 88.41. *Circumſcripſerunt Deum Iſrael:* They limited the God of Iſrael. 2. Likewiſe *Bellarmine* hath this poſition, that Indulgences doe not take away the paines, that are inioyned in courts eccleſiaſticall : *cap.7.prop.3.* and yet here he ſaith, that *indulgentia quadragena*, this indulgence of fortie daies is a releaſe of penance, which was to be done fortie daies : which penance is inflicted by the Church. Thus he is found contrarie to himſelfe. 3. I haue ſhewed before that the releaſe of puniſhment to be inflicted, is contrarie to the Scriptures and the ancient practiſe of the Church : ſee before.*err.*32.

Secondly, if your indulgences doe releaſe from puniſhment before God, then they ſhould not releaſe from the third or fourth part onely, but from the whole puniſhment : for where God pardoneth, he forgiueth al: he worketh perfectly, Pſal.68.28. *Finiſh, O Lord, that which thou haſt wrought in vs*: and the wiſe man ſaith : Eccleſ.3.14. *I know, that whatſoeuer God doth, it ſhall be for euer, to it can no man adde, and from it can none diminiſh.* 2. Neither when the Church forgiueth, doth it pardon onely in part, but wholly; as 2.Cor.2.8. *Confirme or ratifie your loue toward him*; verſ.10. *I forgaue in the ſight of Chriſt*, that is freely from the heart : thus was the young man fully reſtored to the Church, and not in part only : likewiſe Philem.15. Saint *Paule* writeth vnto him to receiue his ſeruant *Oneſimus, Who had offended him, for euer*; verſ.17. *receiue him as my ſelfe* : that is, freely, frankely, wholly, fully. 3. But this releaſiug of the third or fourth part of penance is but a popiſh tricke for their further aduantage : that looke how many parts men would be releaſed of, they ſhould pay ſo many pounds more. 2

Thirdly, 1. Plenarie indulgence from the whole puniſhment of ſinne, is but an encouragement to ſinners, and a meanes to make them more ſecure : for though they ſinne, yet they are free from puniſhment : Chriſt ſaith otherwiſe to the lame man, Iohn.5.14. *Sinne no more, leaſt a worſe thing happen vnto thee* : Chriſt releaſeth him for that preſent of the puniſhment of his ſinne, the lamenes of his bodie, but he giueth him no generall warrant. To this purpoſe *Gelaſius* as I cited him before, and as he is alleaged, *cauſ.24.qu.2.c.2. Date veniam dummodo nos in errore duremus*: pardon vs, that we may continue in error ſtill. Secondly, they are blaſphemous indulgences, that are made for twentie thouſands of yeeres: for thus they take vpon them to releaſe eternall puniſhment, which is contrarie to their owne doctrine : for that puniſhment which is extended beyond the time of purgatorie, which ſhall end with the world, muſt needes be the euerlaſting puniſhment of hell. 2. If then they can giue indulgence for hell puniſhment, they can deliuer damned ſoules, which is an horrible blaſphemie, and contrarie to the Scripture, Luk.26.16. *They cannot come from thence to vs* : and how farre are they then from that hereſie, that diuels and all in the end ſhould be ſaued, which is confuted by Saint *Auguſtine.lib.21.de ciuitat.c.*17.23. 3. It is true, that a mans ſinnes may be ſo great and ſo many, as that he may be worthie not onely of twentie thouſand yeeres but euerlaſting puniſhment : as he giueth inſtance of ſuch as blaſpheme euery moment : but doe ye thinke ſuch obſtinate and incorrigible ſinners capable of your indulgences? you are verie lauiſh of the treaſure of the Church, to grant it to ſuch. 4. And ſeeing your purgatorie paine is imagined to be ſo great, that one day of puniſhment there is anſwerable to many yeeres of penance in this life, how can three or foure hundred yeeres paines in purgatorie ſatisfie for twentie thouſand? and miſerable comforters are ye, to appoint men ſo many hundred yeeres puniſhment in purgatorie: it is nothing elſe but to feare them, that they may giue the more money not to come there. 5. But though *Bellarmine* be not aſhamed of theſe blaſphemous indulgences for twentie thouſand yeeres, who taketh vpon him euerywhere to defend the moſt groſſeſt points in poperie : yet ſome of the learned Papiſts are more modeſt, who thinke that ſuch indulgences are neuer granted by the Pope, but deuiſed of the pardoners for their gaine : *Gerſon in tract. de abſolut. ſacrament. Dominic. à Soto in* 4. *diſtinct.* 21.*qu.* 2.*artic.* 1. and ſo *Bellarmine* himſelfe alleageth. 3

Fourthly, 1. I pray you from what puniſhment doe you releaſe men at the point of death? ſeeing there remaineth none but in hel, frō the which (ſay you) you releaſe not: for your purgatory fire is but a popiſh ſcarbugge to feare thoſe with, that beleeue your lies : ſeeing the theefe, that had ſo many ſinnes to be purged of, and made no ſatisfaction for them, went ſtraight from the croſſe to Paradiſe, which I thinke you will not ſay was in purgatorie. 2. A man vpon his deathbed being truly contrite, may be comforted with the declaration of the forgiuenes of his ſinne in Chriſt, as it is in Iob.33.23. *His ſoule draweth neere to the graue, and his life to the buriers : if there be a meſſenger with him, to declare vnto man his righteouſnes* : but puniſhment there remaineth none to be releaſed to him, that dieth in the faith of Chriſt : 3. Vnleſſe we count it a puniſhment for the bodie to lie in the graue : but from this not your *indulgence*, but Chriſts *omnipotence* ſhall free vs at the latter day; as your maſter ſaith: *A temporali pœna nos penitus liberabit in futuro, cum nouiſſima mors inimica deſtruetur, adhuc enim expectamus redemptionem corporis* : From temporall paine he ſhall fully free vs hereafter, when as the laſt enemie death ſhall be deſtroyed, for we yet looke for the redemption of our bodies, *lib.3.diſtinct.19.lit.c.* 4

Fiftly, it is moſt groſſe and abſurd, to limit the power of indulgences to altars, Churches, or any other thing without life and ſenſe. 1. The Phariſes were not ſo blinde, for they held this as a 5 principle, ***that none can forgiue ſinnes but God***, Mark.2.7. What then doe ye elſe, but make ſtones and walles as Gods to forgiue ſinnes? 2. The Prophet ***Haggie*** ſheweth that a mans ***garment touching holy fleſh is not holy***, Hag.2.23. your altar ſtones haue no greater vertue, then the holy fleſh of the ſacrifices, nor yet ſo much, becauſe that was of Gods inſtitution, the other is of your owne inuention; how can they then make holy thoſe that touch them? 3. We may ſay then as ***Ambroſe*** of the poſtes and ſtones of the Iewes houſes, which they ſtriked with the bloud of the Lambe: ***Quid ligna & ſaxa prodeſſe poſſunt?*** What can wood or ſtones profit. ***ſerm.12.in Pſal.***119.

6 Sixtly, to conclude then: we may finde that in the ancient former times, there were diuers kindes of penance enioyned for yeeres more or leſſe according to the qualitie of the offence: As players at dice had one yeeres penance appointed. ***Eliberin.***79. They which were preſent at the pagans feaſtes, two yeeres. ***ibid. can.*** 55. They which, though conſtrained, did eate in idoll temples, foure yeeres. ***Ancyran.c.***5. They which obſerued diuinations, fiue yeeres. ***concil. Ancyran. can.***23. They which were threatened and ſo ſacrificed, did penance ſix yeeres. ***ibid.c.***6. They which did twice ſacrifice to idols, ſeuen yeeres. ***Ancyran. can.*** 8. They which perſwaded others to ſacrifice, tenne yeeres. ***ibid. can.*** 9. They which lay with brute beaſtes, twentie yeeres. ***Ancyran. can.***16.

We alſo confeſſe that this power was left to the gouernors of the Church, to ſhorten theſe times of penance according to the contrition of the offender: as it was thus decreed. ***Nicen.1.can.***11. ***Quicunque cum omni timore & lachrimis conuerſationem ſuam non verbis ſolum, ſed opere demonſtrant, licebit epiſcopo humanius circa eos aliquid ſtatuere:*** Whoſoeuer with feare and teares doe not onely in word, but in deed ſhew their conuerſation, it ſhal be lawfull for the Biſhop to ſhew them fauour, &c. But theſe were relaxations of penance inflicted by the Church, no indulgences of puniſhment not enioyned by the Church before God.

THE FIFT PART, TO WHOM INDVLGENces are profitable

The Papiſts.

40. Error. They hold that indulgentes are profitable to all whoſoeuer, not onely to notorious and publike offenders, but euen to thoſe that are tending to perfection: his reaſon is this; becauſe it is profitable to all to be deliuered from thoſe things, which hinder them from eternall life; but ſuch is the temperall paine of purgatorie, which keepeth them backe a while, that they cannot go to heauen. ***Bellarm.cap.***10.

Anſw. 1. We grant that all men though neuer ſo perfect haue need of Chriſts indulgence in the remiſſion of their ſinnes, for there is none that ſinneth not: as Saint ***Iohn*** ſaith. 1.1,10. ***He that ſaith he ſinneth not, is a lyar.*** 2. But as for the externall indulgences of the Church (for other indulgence from the puniſhment onely we acknowledge none) they belong not to the innocent and vertuous liuers, but to offenders that muſt be reſtrained by the cenſures of the Church: for as the Apoſtle ſaith, ***lex non eſt poſita iuſtis:*** the law is not giuen to a righteous man, 1.Tim.1.10. 3. Doth your purgatorie paine then hinder mens going to heauen? it is a ſhame for you then to driue ſo many ſoules thither, if you can keepe them from thence by your plenarie indulgences. 4. If purgatorie were ſuch a place as you imagine it, where men are purged from their ſinnes, and ſo made fitter to go to heauen, it is no hindrance but a furtherance to them: like as the fire doth no hurt to the gold that is purified by it: as ***Iob*** ſaith, ***exibo vt aurum***, I ſhall come forth like golde. Iob.23.10. 5. And they which are perfect, in your owne doctrine ſhall not goe to purgatorie, but ſtraight to heauen: as ***Paul*** preſently vpon his diſſolution knew he ſhould be with Chriſt, Phil. 1.23. And it is an approued ſaying among you: ***Iniuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre:*** He doth iniurie to a martyr that prayeth for him, that is, ſuppoſing him to be in purgatorie, for they only of the dead are to be praied for in your ſenſe: if all then need not feare purgatory, then indulgences are not profitable to all.

The Proteſtants.

That indulgences of the Church are not profitable to the iuſt and righteous, it is thus proued.

Argum. 1. It profiteth not to be deliuered from that which worketh vnto a mans ſaluation: but the afflictions and puniſhment of this life are ſuch, as the Prophet ſaith, Pſal.119.71. ***It is good for me that I haue beene afflicted***, and the Apoſtle ſaith, 1.Pet.1.23. Chriſt ſuffered for vs, leauing for vs an example that we ſhould follow his ſteps: ***Ergo***, from ſuch temporall afflictions, indulgences are not to be ſought.

2. It is better for a man to liue by himſelfe and his owne faith, then to ſeeke ſatisfaction by an other: but the iuſt liueth by his faith, Rom.1.17. ***Ergo***, he needeth not another mans ſatisfaction.

Anſw. Firſt,ſuch afflictions as further their ſaluation,are not to be ſhunned: but ſuch as withhold from entring into heauen,as is the temporall paine of Purgatorie. 1

Secondly, as it is better for a man to goe vpon both legges, than one: ſo to relie vpon other mens ſatisfactions as well as his owne, is a ſafer and more ſure way: *Bellarm.cap.*10.*reſponſ.ad* 1. *&* 3.*obiect.* 2

Contra. Firſt,if you graunt all temporall paines profitable,but onely the ſuppoſed torments of Purgatorie,then are no paines or puniſhments at all left,to be releaſed by your Indulgences: for your purgatorie fire hath been long agoe quenched by the water of life flowing from the Scriptures: 1. *Chriſt hath by himſelfe purged our ſinnes,* Hebr.1.3. wee doe not purge them our ſelues. 2. The Scripture acknowledgeth but two places after this life, *heauen* or *hell:* Rom.2.9. *Tribulation and anguiſh ſhall be vpon the ſoule of euery one that doth euill: but to euery one that doth good, glorie and honour.* So ſaith Saint *Ambroſe: Qui non intrat regnum,neceſſario remanet in inferno:* He that entreth not into the kingdome,remaineth in hell, *ſerm.*22. 3. That ſtate wherein a man dyeth can not be altered, 2.Cor.5.10. *Euery man ſhall receiue according to the things done in the bodie. Ambroſe* alſo ſaith: *Mors deteriorem ſtatum non efficit, ſed qualem in ſingulis inuenerit,talem iudicio futuro reſeruat:* Death maketh not a mans ſtate worſe,but as it findeth euery one; ſo it reſerueth them to the iudgement to come,&c. But concerning the vanitie of this deuice of Purgatorie,I haue treated before at large, *Contr.*9.*qu.*1.*part.*2. 2. If Purgatorie be ſuch a place, as they imagine, which ſerueth to purge away the reliques of ſinne,it is no hindrance but a furtherance: like as the rodde of correction is profitable to the childe,and *doth deliuer his ſoule from hell,* Prou.23.14. 3. If Purgatorie be a let becauſe it ſtayeth the ſoule a while from heauen: by the ſame reaſon alſo all the afflictions of this life are lets: for as the Apoſtle ſaith, *While we are at home in the bodie, we are abſent from the Lord,* 2.Cor.5.6. 1

Secondly, 1. the ſimilitude which he vſeth is not fitly or properly applied,which rather may be turned thus: that as it is better for a man to go vpon his owne legs, than to leane vpon anothers ſtaffe; and if he can goe vpright of himſelfe,to lay hold of another is but an hindrance: ſo in the matter of ſaluation it is better to truſt to a mans owne faith. 2. So the Scripture ſaith, Rom.1.17. *The iuſt ſhall liue by faith,* that is,euery one by his owne faith: As, *The ſoule that ſinneth ſhall dye,* Ezech.18.20. No man ſhall beare anothers puniſhment: ſo no mans faith can profit another: *Qui per vos peccaſtis,per vos erubeſcatis:* They that ſin by themſelues,muſt repent by themſelues: *Cauſ.*33. *diſtinct.*1.*c.*88. 2

THE SIXT PART, TO WHOM THE POWER to graunt Indulgences belongeth.

The Papiſts.

First,the power of graunting Indulgences doth reſt onely in the Pope as the ſucceſſor of *Peter,* to whom Chriſt ſaid, *Whatſoeuer you looſe in earth, ſhall be looſed in heauen,* Matth.16.19. 1 41.Error.

Secondly, plenarie Indulgences can onely bee graunted by the Pope, neither by Cardinals, whoſe indulgences exceede not an hundred dayes, neither by Biſhops or Metropolitanes,who can graunt indulgences but for one yeere in the dedication of Churches, and for fortie dayes at other times: nor yet by generall Councels. 2 42.Error.

Thirdly,Biſhops receiue this power to giue indulgences not immediatly from God, but from the Pope,from whom alſo they receiue their iuriſdiction: and this is an argument thereof,becauſe the Pope may make voyde indulgences graunted by Biſhops: but ſo can he not Orders or Sacraments miniſtred by them. 3 43.Error.

Fourthly,Pariſh paſtors haue no power to giue indulgences,but by commiſſion from the Pope, or their Biſhop; becauſe they are the princes of the people of God, to whom it belongeth to diſtribute the common goods of the Church. 4 44.Error.

Fiftly, the power of order is not neceſſarie to giue indulgences,but the power of iuriſdiction onely, and therefore the Pope or Biſhop may graunt indulgences, though they bee not in Orders. 5 45.Error.

Sixtly,neither is this power of indulgences loſt by any deadly ſin: *ſic Bellar.lib.de Indulg.c.*11. 6 46.Error.

The Proteſtants.

First,the keyes of the Church to binde or looſe, open or ſhut, were no more committed to *Peter,*than vnto the reſt of the Apoſtles: as Saint *Hierome* well noteth: *Cuncti claues regni cœlorum accipiunt, & ex æquo ſuper eos eccleſiæ fortitudo ſolidatur:* All the Apoſtles receiue the keyes of the kingdome,and the ſtrength of the Church equally is founded vpon them all, *lib.* 1.*aduerſ. Iouinian.* For as in this place the words ſeeme to be ſpoken to *Peter,* though for, and in the name of the reſt: ſo elſewhere the commiſſion is graunted generally to all, Matth.28.18. *Whatſoeuer you binde in earth,&c.* And Ioh.20.23. *Whoſe ſinnes you remit,they are remitted.* 1

2 Secondly, 1. plenarie Indulgences neither Pope, Cardinall, nor Biſhop haue power to graunt, but they are reſerued onely to Chriſt: 1. Iohn. 1. 7. *The blood of Chriſt* (onely purgeth) *from all ſin.* 2. In the adminiſtration of the Church-keyes, the Pope hath no preeminence before other Biſhops, but they haue the ſame power in their dioceſſe, which he hath in his: as Saint *Peter* diſdaineth not to call the reſt of the paſtors Elders, and himſelfe συμπρεσβύτερον, a fellow Elder, 1. Pet. 5. 1. *and he exhorteth them to feede the flocke:* not taking this office of feeding wholy to himſelfe. 3. Yet though *Peter* bee prooued to haue had a ſuperioritie, it is not ſtraight deriued to the Pope, who is not his true ſucceſſor. Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Oues Chriſti non ſolum tum ſuſcepit beatus Petrus, ſed & nobiſcum eas ſuſcepit, & cum illo eas ſuſcepimus omnes:* The ſheepe of Chriſt bleſſed *Peter* did not then onely receiue, but he tooke them together with vs, and wee with him: *de dignit. ſacerdot. c.* 2. 4. As for that diſtinction of plenarie Indulgences for fortie, an hundred dayes, for a yeere, it is but a Romiſh deuice, and of no antiquitie, for the Popes aduauntage, and as a ſteppe to lift vp the Pope into his chaire of pride, that in euery caſe ſtill a prerogatiue may be reſerued to him. 5. The office and calling of Cardinals is one of the Popes creatures, and what priuiledge they haue, wee do not greatly force: it is grounded rather vpon cuſtome, than any law, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth *cap.* 11. we hold both the calling of them, with all their immunities to be Antichriſtian, as I haue ſhewed before, *Contr. 5. qu. 3. part.* 3. 6. Concerning generall Councels, that they haue authoritie aboue the Pope, I haue likewiſe prooued before, *Contr.* 3 *qu.* 7. whither I referre the reader: And that Councels may alſo giue plenarie Indulgences as well as the Pope, it appeareth both by their practiſe: for ſo did the Councell of Baſill, wherein *Panormitane* alloweth the act of the Councell, a great popiſh Doctor, though *Bellarmine* call it a ſchiſmaticall Councell: And beſide of this iudgement are *Felinus ſer. de indulg. num.* 28. *Dominic. à Soto, Nauarrus,* with others cited by *Bellar. cap.* 11.

3 Thirdly, Biſhops and paſtors receiue their calling from God, and not from the Pope: Act. 20. verſ. 28. *Spiritus ſanctus conſtituit vos Epiſcopos, &c.* The holie Spirit hath made you Biſhops. *Cyprian: Chriſtus dicit ad Apoſtolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpoſitos, qui Apoſtolis vicaria ordinatione ſuccedunt:* Chriſt ſaith to the Apoſtles, and to all gouernours of the Church, which ſucceede the Apoſtles as their Vicars, *lib. 4. epiſt. 9. Hierom. Omnes epiſcopi Apoſtolorum ſucceſſores:* All Biſhops are the Apoſtles ſucceſſors, *Euagrio.* Their authoritie then is not deriued to them from the Pope: 2. neither can the Pope infringe or make voide the acts of other Biſhops by right, but therein he is an vſurper: As *Cyprian* ſaith: *Nec quiſquam epiſcopum ſe eſſe epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut tyrannidis terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem collegas ſuos adigit, &c.* None of vs muſt make himſelfe a Biſhop of Biſhops, or with tyrannicall feare compell his colleagues to obey, &c. *in concil. Carthag.*

4 Fourthly, 1. that Biſhops are princes of the Lords people, is contrarie to the Apoſtle, 1. Peter 5. 3. *Not as though ye were Lords ouer Gods heritage.* Saint *Hierome* ſaith: *Patres ſe ſciant eſſe, non dominos:* Let them know themſelues to be fathers, not Lords, *Hieron. ad Theophil.* 2. All paſtors, to whom the preaching of the word is committed, by the ſame word haue authoritie to bind and looſe: that which our Sauiour ſpake to his Apoſtles, Ioh. 20. 23. *Whoſe ſinnes you remit &c.* is vnderſtood of all paſtors: and the Rhemiſts confeſſe in their annotations vpon this place, *that this ſpeciall facultie of the Prieſthood conſiſting in remitting of ſinne, is here beſtowed vpon them.* Saint *Paul* ſheweth, that all paſtors and teachers are giuen, for *the gathering together of the Saints, the worke of the miniſtrie, the edification of the bodie of Chriſt,* Epheſ. 4. 12. But theſe duties cannot be performed without the power of binding and looſing. *Hierome* ſaith, *Quid facit excepta ordinatione epiſcopus, quod non facit preſbyter?* What doth a Biſhop, beſide ordination, which a presbyter doth not? *Hierom. Euag. Origen* ſaith: *Epiſcopis & preſbyteris credita ſunt cathedræ:* The chaire of the Church is committed to Biſhops and Prieſts, *tract.* 15. *in Matth.* Your owne decrees witneſſe: *Qui vult confiteri quærat ſacerdotem ſcientem ligare, & ſoluere:* Hee that will confeſſe, let him ſeeke a prieſt, that knoweth how to binde and looſe, *Cauſ.* 33. *diſt.* 1. *c.* 88. Laſtly, ſome of your owne Doctors doe affirme, that euery prieſt that heareth confeſſions, hath authoritie to abſolue and graunt Indulgences: *Angelus in ſumma verb. indulgent. num. 5. Bartholom. Fumus. in ſumma verb. indulgent. num.* 2. And thus much *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth.

5 Fiftly, 1. that the power of Indulgence may be diſpenſed by any which are not entred into the Orders of the Church, nor admitted to the miniſtrie of the word, it is contrarie to the Scriptures: for Chriſt ſpeaketh to his Apoſtles, whom hee had choſen and appointed to that office before, Matth. 10. 1. *Whatſoeuer you binde in earth, &c.* And Iohn. 20. 22. hee firſt doth breath vpon them the holie Ghoſt, and ſaith, *Whoſe ſinnes ye remit, &c.* Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Verbum dei dimittit peccata, &c.* The word of God forgiueth ſinnes, *qui ſoluendi ius non habet ligandi non habet, &c. ius hoc ſolis permiſſum eſt ſacerdotibus:* They that haue not power to looſe, haue not power to binde, &c. this power is onely permitted to prieſts, *lib. 2. de Cain & Abel. cap.* 4. Therefore he muſt be a prieſt, and a miniſter of the word, which hath power to binde or looſe. Yea, the Rhemiſts confeſſe, *that to*

remit ſinnes is a ſpeciall facultie of the prieſthood, as I alleaged before : wherefore none can execute this power that is not in orders.

Sixtly, 1. this laſt aſſertion is contrarie to the Scripture, *for he that hath a beame in his owne eye cannot ſee clearely to caſt out the moat out of his brothers eye:* Matt.7.5.for how can a man iudge rightly of another mans ſinne, that doth not iudge it in himſelfe? 2.*Origen* ſaith : *Qui funibus ſuorum peccatorum conſtringitur, fruſtra vel ligit, vel ſoluat :* He that is tyed with the cordes of his owne ſinnes, bindeth or looſeth in vaine : *tract.in Matth.*1. 3.*Nicholaus* 1.one of their Popes, *Epiſt. ad Michaelem,* thus ſaith : *Qui ligati ſunt ligare, & qui ipſi mortui ſunt alios mortificare non poſſunt :* They that are bound themſelues cannot binde others, and they which are dead themſelues, cannot mortifie or giue ouer others to death,&c. And to the ſame purpoſe he alleageth his predeceſſor *Celeſtinus : Non indicamus eum remotum, quia non poterat quenquam eius remouere ſententia, qui ſe iam præbuerat ipſe remouendum :* We doe not iudge him as remooued, becauſe his ſentence coulde not remooue any, who did ſhew himſelfe worthie to be remooued, &c. He then that is in any damnable ſinne, and is worthie to be caſt out himſelfe, hath no power to caſt out others.

AN APPENDIX TO THIS PART, WHETHER Indulgences may be graunted without great and waightie cauſe.

The Papiſts.

WHere as the popiſh diuines are diuided about this queſtion, ſome affirming that ſo the cauſe be lawfull and honeſt, not euill, vaine or worldly, but belonging to Gods glory, though it be not otherwiſe a matter of great *waight,* indulgēces may be granted: as when the Pope vpon Eaſter day giueth plenarie indulgence to the people that ſtand about the gate of Saint *Peters* Church; which ſeemeth to be but a ſmall matter*: ſic Thom.in.4d.20.qu.1.ar.3.qu.2. Durand. Antoninus,* and others by *Bellarmine* produced : others do thinke, that the cauſe muſt not onely be honeſt and godly, but proportionable in greatnes to the indulgence graunted : *ſic Bonauentur. Richard. Ioan. Gerſon. Adrianus Papa,* with others rehearſed by *Bellarmine* : to the latter opinion he ſeemeth to encline, giuing notwithſtanding ſuch cauteles, as that he alloweth indulgēces granted for the ſmalleſt matters : as firſt the cauſe, which is light in it ſelfe may tend to a great ende, as the ſtanding of the people before Saint *Peters* Church gate, is a meane to teſtifie their faith of the head of the Church, to the honour of the Apoſtolike Sea: ſecondly, it is not for the ſubiect to iudge which are great and waightie cauſes : they may be great, which ſeeme but ſmall to them: *Bellarm.de indulgent.lib.*1.*c.*12.

47. Error.

The Proteſtants.

FIrſt, who ſeeth not how this captious and quaint diſtinguiſher by his quirkes and ſubtilties goeth about to maintaine all the ridiculous & raſh indulgences, which are granted by the Popes: for if ſtanding at Saint *Peters* Church doore, and looking vpon it, be a matter of ſo great waight, to deſerue a plenarie indulgence, you ſhall neuer want waightie cauſes for your pardons : and to barre the people (whom you call the Popes ſubiects) from eſtimating or valuing the greatneſſe or ſmalneſſe of cauſes, you doe but make a waye, to doe what you liſte with your pardons.

Secondly, whereas then you require theſe conditions in giuing of pardons, they muſt not be granted, firſt, for euill works: ſecondly, for worldly matters: thirdly, but ſuch as tend to the honour of God : fourthly, and are not light or vaine , but of ſome waight and importance. It is euident that the Popes pardons haue offended againſt all theſe rules : firſt, fortie daies pardon was proclaimed vnder *Longland* Biſhoppe of Lincolne to as many as brought a fagot to burne the poore ſeruants of Chriſt, which was an euill and vncharitable worke. *Fox.p.*983.

2. Full remiſſion of ſinnes was granted to as many as did aſſiſt *Spencer* Biſhop of Norwich to fight for Poope *Vrbane* the ſixt, againſt the Antipope *Clement* : p. 446. which was but a meere worldly and temporall matter.

3. *Sixtus* the fourth granted great indulgences to thoſe that did celebrate the feaſt of the conception of the virgin *Mary,* adding this clauſe to the *Aue Marie : Haile Mary full of grace,&c.* and bleſſed is *Anna* thy mother, *of whom thy virgins fleſh hath proceeded without ſpot of originall ſinne.Fox p.*800. this cauſe was not to the honour, but to the diſhonour of Chriſt ; whoſe onely conception was without ſinne : as is before ſhewed, *contr.9.qu.9.part.*1.

4. When as the Friar *Tecellius* went about with the Popes pardons, offering for ten ſhillings, that who ſo would, ſhould deliuer one ſoule out of purgatorie. *ex Chriſtian. Maſ. lib.*20. This was no waightie or great cauſe, being but a matter of ten ſhillings.

Thirdly, the Popes friends then ſhould giue him counſell to be more ſparing and not ſo lauiſh of the Church treaſure: *Eugenius* the fourth being requeſted to ioyne with the councel of

Baſil to graunt generall Indulgences for the reducing of the Greeke Church, anſwered, *Ne claues eccleſiæ contemnerentur,velle ſe maturius incedere:* That hee would take pauſe in the matter,leaſt the keyes of the Church ſhould be contemned,*epiſt.ſynodal.*8. If the Pope would be aduiſed in ſo great a matter,it is intolerable raſhnes to laſh out with his Indulgences,where no ſuch cauſe is.

Fourthly,Saint *Paul* would not graunt pardon or indulgence lightly to the young man, but after he perceiued his ſorrow and heauines to be ſo great,that *he was like to be ſwallowed vp of it,if he were not comforted,*2.Cor.2.7.

Saint *Cyprian* ſaith,as he is cited in the Decrees,*diſt.*50.*c.*27. *Satis eſt temerarius, qui remiſſionem peccatorum cunctis ſe dare poſſe confidit:* He is very raſh,that thinketh he can giue remiſſion of ſinnes to all, &c. as the Pope doth, when hee giueth plenarie Indulgence to whole multitudes together.

THE SEVENTH PART, OF THE DISPOſition required to be in them that receiue Indulgences.

The Papiſts.

48.Error. 1 First,Indulgences may be graunted to a ſinner,and for ſuch workes as are done while hee is in the ſtate of ſinne,as if a ſinfull man doe contribute toward the recouering of Ieruſalem: *Bellarm.cap.*13.

49.Error. 2 Secondly,yet a man cannot perceiue the fruite of ſuch indulgences,vnleſſe hee be in the ſtate of grace,*Bellarm.lib.*1.*c.*13.*quæſt.*1.

50.Error. 3 Thirdly,if the good worke enioyned to be done be accompanied or ioyned with veniall ſinne, it hindreth the fruite of indulgence,*Bellarm.ibid.*

51. Error. 4 Fourthly, hee that will receiue benefite by theſe indulgences, muſt confeſſe and be truly penitent.

52. Error. 5 Fiftly,he cannot enioy the indulgence,that doth not performe all the workes that are enioyned,*ibid.qu.*4.

53.Error. 6 Sixtly,Indulgences may be profitable to thoſe that will not,though they can,ſatisfie for themſelues,but doe reſt in the ſatisfaction of others,*ibid.qu.*5.

The Proteſtants.

1 First, 1. the Apoſtle ſaith, *without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God,* Heb.11.6. how dare ye then graunt indulgence or remiſſion to them which are yet in their ſinnes, and not reconciled to God? 2. This is alſo contrarie to their owne doctrine: for they ſay, an indulgence is a releaſe of the puniſhment of ſinne, which remaineth after the fault it ſelfe is remitted: but now it is affirmed,that indulgence may be graunted to them which are yet in their ſinnes. 3. It is contrarie to their owne law: *Peccati venia non datur niſi correcto:* The pardon of ſinnes muſt be graunted to none,but to them that are amended, *ſext.decretal.regul.iuris.*5.

2 Secondly,as we willingly graunt,that a man being not in the ſtate of grace, cannot be partaker of the true indulgence and remiſſion of ſinnes: for as the Apoſtle ſaith,Epheſ.2.8.*By grace are ye ſaued through faith:* ſo this poſition is flatly oppoſite to the popiſh error of indulgences: for if a man be in the ſtate of grace before the indulgence be graunted, which they ſay is but a releaſe of the puniſhment,then is their indulgence altogether ſuperfluous: for to a man being in the ſtate of grace, there remaineth neither ſinne nor puniſhment of ſin: Rom.5.1.*Being iuſtified by faith, we are at peace with God:* verſ.9.*Being iuſtified by his blood,we ſhall be ſaued from wrath through him.* If wee are then preſently vpon our iuſtification at peace with God, and deliuered from his wrath, then there remaineth no puniſhment of ſinne: for God doth not puniſh for ſinne but in wrath. Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Qui fidem habet,habet regnum cœlorum:* He that hath faith,hath the kingdome of heauen,*in Luc.*13. And he that is in the ſtate of grace hath faith,he hath then alreadie the kingdome of heauen,and ſo your Indulgences come too late.

3 Thirdly, 1. If euery veniall,that is ſmall offence, ſhould hinder the true indulgence and remiſſion of ſinnes,then it were impoſſible for any man to attaine vnto it: for our beſt workes are blemiſhed; as the Prophet ſaith,Iſai.64.6. *All our righteouſnes is as a ſtayned cloath.* And *Origen* verie well noteth vpon theſe words of our Sauiour,Luk.17.10.*When you haue done all, ſay, you are vnprofitable ſeruants: Nec enim ſi verè bona eſſent, quæ facimus, ſcriptum eſſet, vt facientes ea dicamus nos inutiles ſeruos,&c.* For if they were truly good things which wee doe,it ſhould not be written, that doing ſuch things, wee ſhould ſay wee are vnprofitable ſeruants: in compariſon of other mens workes they are called good, *ſed quantum ad veritatem bonum noſtrum non eſt bonum:* But in reſpect of the veritie it ſelfe, our good workes are not good,*Tract.*8.*in Matth.* 2. And concerning your owne indulgences,think you,that when vnder *Clemens* 6. in the Iubile celebrated *ann.*1350. there were numbred 500. euery day going and comming to Rome, and an hundred thouſand

wayting at the Popes gates for pardons, that none of theſe had any veniall faults? 3. And are your Iubile pardons of ſo ſmall force, that whereas they can releaſe Purgatorie paines for many thouſand yeeres, they cannot remoue one poore veniall ſinne? If this doctrine were generally knowne to your friends and welwillers, I think your Iubile pardons would not finde many chapmen to buy them

4 Fourthly, 1. If your Indulgences profit not, vnleſſe they bee truly penitent and confeſſe their ſinnes which doe receiue them, what neede the poore people take ſo long iourneyes to come to Rome for pardons? for if they be truly contrite, they ſhall finde forgiuenes at home: yea, *if they examine their heart vpon their beds, and tremble*, Pſal.4.4. it ſhall be a good ſacrifice to God: *A broken and a contrite heart God will not deſpiſe*, Pſal.51.17. *To whom will I looke, ſaith the Lord? to him that is poore and of a contrite ſpirit*, Iſai.66.2. Whereſoeuer a man repenteth, and whenſoeuer, hee ſhall finde remiſſion. *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Iob in ſtercore ſedens, omnia, quæ amiſerat, recuperauit: Iob* ſitting vpon the dunghill, recouered al he loſt, *de pœnit. lib.*1.*c.*1. No place can be ſo meane, or baſe, where true repentance is not accepted of God.

2. But how ſtandeth this with your doctrine of Indulgences, to require repentance and confeſſion, whereby we obtaine remiſſion of ſinnes, and not of the puniſhment onely? and you ſay indulgence releaſeth onely the puniſhment remayning after remiſſion: but now your Indulgences are proclaimed, before remiſſion of ſinnes by repentance and confeſſion: for in the Bull of Indulgences this clauſe is inſerted: *Pœnitentibus & verè confeſſis, vel qui verè pœnitebunt & confitebuntur:* The Indulgence is graunted to them that are truly penitent and confeſſed, or which ſhall be truly penitent, and confeſſe, *Bonif.*8.*extrau. lib.*5.*tit.*9.*c.*1. And thus they are promiſed, a releaſe of the puniſhment, before they haue repented of the ſinne.

3. It is an hard matter, for your poore ſuppliants, by this meanes to finde repentance: for your yeere of Iubile maketh them ſecure, and many doe ſin willingly in hope of forgiuenes then. But this is no true repentance, to ſinne that grace may more abound, and *to doe euill, that good may come of it*, Rom.3.8. Of ſuch Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Alij propoſita ſpe agendæ pœnitentiæ, licentiam ſibi peccandi propagatam putant:* Some vpon hope of penance propounded or publiſhed, doe thinke their libertie of ſinning enlarged, *lib.*2.*de pœnitent.c.*9. And it is *Bellarmines* owne poſition, that if a man in hope of the yeere of Iubile doe willingly fall into ſinne, he may notwithſtanding be abſolued, *lib.*1.*de Indulg.c.*10.*p.*60.

5 Fiftly, it is an hard condition, that a man cannot enioy a Popes pardon, vnleſſe he performe all workes that are inioyned: Firſt, pardon with God is more eaſily obtained: for he requireth of vs no ſuch painfull workes, but onely to *ceaſe to doe euill, and to learne to doe well*, Iſai.1.16. Secondly, he requireth not of vs to goe ouer the ſea in pilgrimage, to Ieruſalem, to Rome, or to any other place: Deuter.30.13. *Neither is it beyond the ſeas, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, who ſhall goe ouer the ſea for vs, to bring it vs?* Thirdly, Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith of *Dauids* repentance: *Dauid exclamauit, peccaui, & mox audiuit, Deus abſtulit peccatum; quantum valent tres ſyllabæ: tres enim ſyllabæ ſunt, peccaui, ſed in iſtis tribus ſyllabis flamma ſacrificij cordis eius ad cœlum aſcendit: Dauid* cried out, I haue ſinned, and ſtraight he heard, God hath taken away thy ſinne: ſee how much three ſyllables auaile: *I haue ſinned*, are but three ſyllables, yet in theſe three ſyllables the flaming ſacrifice of his heart aſcended: *exhortat. ad pœnitent.* Here are all the workes required of *Dauid*, with a ſorrowfull heart to pronounce three ſyllables. Fourthly, *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith: *Nunquam ſpernit pœnitentiam, ſi ei ſyncerè & ſimpliciter offeratur, etiamſi quis explere non poterit omnem ſatisfaciendi ordinem:* He neuer deſpiſeth repentance, if it be ſyncerely and ſimply offered him, although a man doe not fulfill all the order of ſatisfaction, *de tempor. ſerm.*181.*c.*16. God then forgiueth, though a man cannot fulfill all that is enioyned: but the Pope will not pardon, vnleſſe the whole ſatisfaction enioyned bee performed.

6 Sixtly, againſt the laſt propoſition Cardinall *Caietane* reaſoneth thus: That Indulgences can not profit them, that haue not a purpoſe to ſatisfie for themſelues:

1. Becauſe ſuch are vnworthie of indulgence, but the Church intendeth not to beſtow Indulgences vpon the vnworthie.

2. It is not fit for a man to aske of his friend to ſatisfie for him, if hee be able himſelfe to doe it.

3. In a well conſtituted common-wealth, the common treaſure muſt not be employed to pay their debts, that are able themſelues, &c.

4. Indulgences are graunted to ſuch as are truly penitent; but they are not that refuſe to bring forth fruits of repentance: *ſic Caietan. tract.*10.*de ſuſcipientib. indulg. c.*1.

Anſw. 1. *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that ſuch bee not vnworthie, but *non digni*, not worthie onely.

2. A man may craue his friends ſatisfaction in ſuch a caſe of fauour, becauſe his friend hath no neede himſelfe.

3. There may be cauſe,when it is fit their debts ſhould be payd of the common treaſurie, that are able to diſcharge them of their owne.

4. They are truly penitent,that haue a purpoſe to ſatisfie themſelues, if others did not ſatisfie for them,*Bellarm c.*13.

1 *Contra.* 1. This is a very nice diſtinction,to make a difference betweene ***indignum***,vnworthie, and ***non dignum***,not worthie: the Scripture vſeth them both indifferently: as Heb.11.36.*Of whom the world was not worthie:* was not the world vnworthie of them alſo? So Matth.22.8.*They which were bidden,were not worthie:* were they not alſo vnworthie? And ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, Act.13.46. *You iudge your ſelues vnworthie of euerlaſting life:* ſo to bee ***vnworthie***, and not ***worthie***, are all one. 2. The ſpirituall treaſure of the Church is not beſtowed vpon any, but ſuch as are thought worthie,2.Theſſ.1.11.*That our God may make you worthie of his calling:* therefore it is not to be giuen to thoſe that *are not worthie.*

2 Secondly, 1. If it bee no fault for a man to borrow of his neighbour when hee hath enough himſelfe,why did *David* iudge him worthie of death,that hauing many ſheepe of his owne,fetcht his poore neighbours ſheepe to entertaine his friend with? 2.Sam.12.4,5. 2. One friend vſeth not to lend to another,but when he needeth,as it is in the Parable,Luk.11.6. *One commeth to his friend at midnight,and ſaith, Lend me three loaues, for a friend of mine is come out of the way vnto me, and I haue nothing to ſet before him:* verſ.8. *Though he would not ariſe and giue him, becauſe he is his friend, yet becauſe of his importunitie,he would riſe and giue him as many as he needed.* Here we ſee that one friend is not to trouble another,but when he hath neede. 3. In ſpirituall things a man hath neede of all himſelfe,Matth.25.9.*Leſt there be not enough for vs and you.*

3 Thirdly,Saint *Paul* commaundeth the contrarie, that where there is ſufficient beſide, none ſhould be at the common charge,1.Tim.5.16. *If any faithfull man or woman haue widowes,let them miniſter vnto them,and let not the Church be charged:* and this reaſon is giuen,*that there may be ſufficient for widowes indeede:* that is,for them which haue no maintenance of their owne. So then, if the commonwealth ſhould ſpend their treaſure vpon them that are able of themſelues,the poore ſhould want it.

4 Fourthly, 1. the Scripture ſaith,*Haue ſalt in your ſelues*,Mark.9.50. Euery man muſt be ſeaſoned in himſelfe,and not looke to be ſeaſoned by another. 2. And *Iohn Baptiſt* ſheweth who they are that bring forth fruits worthie of repentance by the example of a tree,Matth.3.10.*Euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruit,is hewen downe and caſt into the fire.* It excuſeth not a barren tree,to haue another tree that is fruitfull to grow by it: ſo neither can one man be ſaued by anothers workes. 3. ***Ambroſe*** therefore ſaith: ***Ablue igitur te lachrymis tuis, ſi tu ipſe te fleueris,alius te non flebit: nam ſi Saul defleſſet peccata ſua, Samuél eum non fleuiſſet:*** Therfore waſh thy ſelfe with thine owne teares,if thou weepe for thy ſelfe, another ſhall not neede to weepe for thee: for if ***Saul*** had wept for his ſinne, ***Samuel*** would not haue wept for him: ***lib.5.in Luc.*** Like as then ***Samuels*** teares did not profit ***Saul***, becauſe he lamented not for himſelfe, ſo neither can other mens workes helpe them that doe not worke for themſelues. Wherefore ***Caietane*** doth here come ſomewhat neere the marke,and ***Bellarmine*** hath miſt the cuſhin.

THE EIGHT PART, WHETHER INDVLGENCES doe profit the dead: This part is diuided into fiue queſtions.

THE FIRST QVESTION, WHETHER THE dead haue any benefit by the Indulgences of the Church.

The Papiſts.

54.Error. BEllarmine prooueth the queſtion thus:

Argum. 1. The prayers of the liuing and other workes by way of impetration profit the dead: *Ergo*,the ſame workes,as prayer,faſting, being alſo ſatisfactorie, doe alſo benefit them by way of ſatisfaction.

2. The faithfull departed make one bodie,and one Church with the faithfull liuing: therefore the ſatisfactions of the liuing may be applied to the dead.

3. And if priuate men may applie their ſatisfactions to the reſt of the members being dead, much more may they applie vnto them the ſatisfactions of Chriſt, and of the Saints: ***Bellarm. cap.14.qu.1.***

The Proteſtants.

1 *Confut.*1. FIrſt,the argument followeth not,we may pray for the dead: *Ergo*,we may alſo ſatisfie for them: for we grant that we may one pray for another while we liue,but wee can not ſatisfie one for another, becauſe ſupplication is of mercie: but ſatisfaction is of deſert. Secondly,

condly, neither is it true that the prayers of the liuing doe profit the dead: requeſt or interceſſion auaileth not after ſentence giuen, and iudgement paſt, which is in the finall end and departure in this life: for *after the gate is ſhut*, there is no entring, Matth.25.10. and your Canons ſay, *Mortuorum cauſa Deo reſeruanda eſt*: The cauſe of the dead muſt be reſerued to God. *cauſ.24. qu.2.c.1.Leo.*

Secondly, Firſt the Apoſtle ſaith, *Of whom is named the whole family in heauen and in earth:* we acknowledge a glorious part of the family of the Church to be in heauen; but of any part thereof to be in purgatorie we reade not: 2. If this be a good reaſon, the ſoules in purgatorie are our fellow members; *Ergo*, wee may ſatisfie for them, it will follow as well, that they may ſatisfie for vs, becauſe we are their members alſo; and much rather, becauſe the torments of purgatorie being ſo exceeding painefull, they are ſo much the more able to ſatisfie. 3. It is not a ſufficient warrant to pray for the dead, becauſe they are members; for then we ſhould pray alſo for the ſpirits of the iuſt that are in heauen: but our prayer muſt be in faith, Iam.5.15. *the prayer of faith:* We muſt haue a particular knowledge of their ſtate, for whom we pray, and an aſſurance that our prayers ſhall be heard; but concerning prayer for the dead, we can haue neither knowledge of their ſtate, neyther haue we any ſuch warrant out of the word that our prayers are heard. 2

Thirdly, 1. It followeth not, a man may diſpenſe his own goods, *Ergo*, another may doe it for him: the Saints ſatisfactions are (as the Rhemiſts ſay. *annot. in Coloſſ.*1. verſ. 24.) applicable by *the ſufferers ſpeciall intention: Ergo*, a man hath more right to diſpoſe of his owne, then the Pope hath, 2. No man can ſatisfie for himſelf at all, & we denie abſolutely that there are any ſuch ſatisfactiōs applicable, priuately or publikly to the liuing, or to the dead: ſome of our reaſons are theſe. 3

Argum. 1. The Prophet ſaith, Pſal.49. *A man can by no meanes redeeme his brother, hee cannot giue his ranſome to God:* but to deliuer ſoules out of purgatorie, and to ſatisfie for them, is to redeeme them: *Ergo*, by ſatisfactions ſoules cannot be helped out of purgatorie, if there were any.

2. No man can ſatisfie for himſelfe, much leſſe for any other; for when a man hath done all, he is but an vnprofitable ſeruant, Luk.17.10. if he be an vnprofitable ſeruant for himſelfe, he cannot be profitable for another.

3. *Dauid* ceaſeth to pray for his childe, when it was dead: though he were out of hope of life for it in this world, yet he might haue prayed, and faſted, and ſatisfied for the ſoule of his childe being departed, if ſo be any ſuch courſe to be taken for the dead, were acceptable to God: But ſo *Dauid* doth not, but reaſoneth thus: 2.Sam.12.23. *Now being dead, wherefore ſhould I now faſt?* Hee ſeeth no reaſon why he ſhould faſt or vſe any other ſatisfaction for the dead.

4. Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith directly: *Nihil proſunt flagella poſt mortem, & ideo Dauid, dum eſſet in iſtius corporis vita, in flagella ſe preparauit, vt eum Dominus reciperet caſtigatum:* Stripes profite not after death, and therefore *Dauid*, while he was in the life of this bodie, prepared himſelfe for ſtripes, that the Lord might receiue him now alreadie chaſticed and corrected.

5. *Gelaſius* ſaith, as he is cited. *cauſ.24. qu.3.c.4. de eo qui in diuino eſt iudicio conſtitutus, nobis fas non eſt aliud decernere præter id, in quo eum dies ſupremus inuenit:* Of him that is now appointed to the diuine iudgement, it is not lawfull for vs otherwiſe to diſcerne and iudge, then as his laſt day *found him, &c.* How then can any man thinke to alter the ſtate of the dead, by ſatisfactions, or indulgences whatſoeuer?

6. The wordes of the Popes Bull of indulgences are theſe: *Verè pœnitentibus & confeſſis pleniſſimam concedimus veniam peccatorum:* Wee grant plenarie forgiuenes of ſinnes to them that are truely penitent and confeſſed: but in purgatorie there is no repentaunce, which muſt be done in the bodie, when they may bring forth fruites of repentance; neyther is there any Prieſt there to bee confeſſed vnto: *Ergo*, the benefite of indulgences cannot extend to them.

7 Wee haue teſtimonie heere of ſome of our aduerſaries: theſe are of opinion, that indulgences doe not profite the dead: *Oſtienſis in ſumma. lib.5. tit. de remiſſionib. Num.9. Gabriel lect. 57. in canon. miſſ. Ioan. Maior. in.4. diſt.20. qu.2.*

THE SECOND QVESTION, OF THE MANner how Indulgences are applied to the dead.

The Papiſts.

FIrſt, ſome of them affirme, that the Pope may iudicially abſolue the ſoules in purgatorie, and 1
that they doe belong vnto his iuriſdiction, and ſo he may extend his indulgences vnto them, 55. Error.
as vnto the liuing: *Michael Medina diſput.7. de indulgent.c.34. Bellarmine* with other Papiſts miſliketh this opinion, who denie not, but that the Pope may apply indulgences to the dead, but not iudicially, or as exerciſing any iuriſdiction ouer them. *Bellarm.c.14.qu.2.*

2 56.Error. Secondly, ***Bellarmine*** aſſirmeth, that indulgences are profitable to the dead, ***per modum ſuffragij***, after the manner of the ſuffrage of the Church, that as the ſuffrage or prayer of the Church doe helpe by way of merite, impetration, ſatisfaction; ſo indulgences are granted to the dead, as they are ſatisfactorie, and ſo ***per modum ſuffragij ſatsfactorij*** : after the manner of a ſuffrage as it is ſatisfactorie. *Ibid.qu.*3.

3 57.Error. Thirdly, ſome of them thinke, that indulgences doe profit the dead, ***ex condigno***, of condignitie and worthines: ***Dominicus à Soto in*** 4. ***diſt.***22.***qu.***2. ***art.***3. ***Nauarr.de Iubilæo.notab.*** 22. ***num.***20. Other of them rather thinke, that indulgences are not auaileable for the dead, otherwiſe then by the mercie of God, and ſo of ***congruitie***, rather then of ***condignitie***; ſo ***Caietanus, Petrus à Soto, Cordubenſ.*** to whom ***Bellarmine*** ſubſcribeth: their reaſon is, becauſe one liuing cannot ſatisfie for another of condignitie, much leſſe for the dead. ***Bellarm.c.***14.***qu.***4.

4 58.Error. Fourthly, to apply indulgences to the dead, there is required a ſupreame and high authoritie, and therefore Biſhops and other inferior prelates cannot apply indulgences to the dead, but onely the Pope. *ibid.qu.*5.

5 59.Error. Fiftly, the Pope cannot deliuer at his pleaſure ſoules out of purgatorie, but there muſt be ſome particular iuſt cauſe belonging to the glorie of God, and the profit of the Church, &c. a generall cauſe is not ſufficient, for then Chriſt himſelfe ſhould haue deliuered all the ſoules alreadie out of purgatorie. *Bellarm.ibid.qu.*5.

6 60.Error. Sixtly, indulgences directly belong to the liuing, indirectly to the dead, no otherwiſe, then as the liuing doe performe the workes enioyned for the dead. ***Bellarm.ibid.***

7 61.Error. Seuenthly, indulgences doe not profite the dead in common, otherwiſe then as they reioyce one for anothers good, but onely thoſe ſoules are deliuered therby, to whom they are particularly intended. ***Bellarm.c.***14.***qu.***6.

8 62.Error. Eightly, the Pope may releaſe vnto a man liuing by indulgence, the paine of purgatorie, which otherwiſe he were ſubiect vnto. ***c.***6.***reſp.ad obiect.***1.

9 63.Error. Ninthly, concerning the greatnes of the paine of purgatorie, ***Bellarmine*** thinketh, that though it be greater then all the paines of this life, yet the voluntarie puniſhment of this life is more effectuall for the expiation of ſinne, then the more grieuous paine of purgatorie: becauſe this is a time of mercy, that of iuſtice: others doe thinke contrarie, that one day of paine in purgatorie is more auaileable then many yeeres of moſt ſeuere penance in this life. ***Dominicus à Soto in*** 4.***diſt.***21. ***qu.***2.***artic.***1.***Bellarm.c.***9.

The Proteſtants.

1 First, 1. the Pope hath no power to extend his indulgences anie way at all to the dead, eyther iudicially by way of abſolution, or ***indulgently*** by way of diſpenſation: for the Scripture is euident, ***whatſoeuer you binde in earth ſhall be bound in heauen***, Matth. 18.18. ***Gelaſius*** vrgeth theſe words, ***ſuper terram***, vpon the earth: ***in hac ligatione defunctum nuſquam dixit abſolui***, he no where ſaith, that a man dying being bound, can afterward be abſolued. ***cauſ.*** 24 ***qu.***3.***c.***2. And whereas ***Bellarmine*** telleth vs, that this is ſpoken onely of ***iudiciall abſolution***: the words are generall of all binding and looſing, that it muſt be done vpon earth, and therefore cannot be extended to them, which are dead.

2. Yet contrarie to this doctrine of ***Bellarmine***, the Pope taketh vpon him as a iudge to abſolue and condemne the dead. 1. Becauſe he doth excommunicate the dead; which although ***Bellarmine*** ſaith is nothing elſe but a declaration of that ſentence, which ſhould haue beene pronounced, while they liued: yet it is euident by their owne law, that ***indulgentiæ non proſunt non ſubditis***, that indulgences, abſolutions (and ſo conſequenly, ligations, excommunications) doe not profite (and ſo likewiſe diſprofit or preiudice) them that are no ſubiects. ***decr. Greg. lib.***5.***tit.*** 38. ***c.***4. Wherfore if the dead be not ſubiect to the Popes iuriſdictiō, the ſentence of exeommunication or abſolution doth not bind or looſe them. 2. It is ***Bellarmines*** owne poſition, ***vt indulgentiæ dentur, requiritur iuriſdictio***: that indulgences may be granted, there is required a iuriſdiction. ***lib.***1 ***de indulg.c.***14.***qu.***3. if the Pope then haue no iuriſdiction ouer the dead, he can grant no indulgences vnto them. 3. One of their owne Doctors ſaith: ***Animæ exiſtentes in purgatorio, ſunt de iuriſdictione papæ***: Soules being in purgatorie are of the Popes iuriſdiction, ***Iohan. Angelus.*** 4. And though they will not be bound to the opinion of one Doctor, yet they cannot refuſe the iudgement of the Pope: ***Clemens*** 6. thus ſaith in his Bull, ***Mandamus Angelis paradiſi***: We commaund the Angels of Paradiſe, to carry the ſoules deliuered out of purgatorie to the glorie of Paradiſe, &c. If the Pope then doe commaund Angels, and ſo doe exerciſe iuriſdiction ouer them, much more ouer purgatorie ſoules: the Pope then cannot giue indulgence, but where he hath iuriſdiction: but their new Doctors aſhamed of the groſſenes of the elder Papiſts, allow the Pope no iuriſdictiō ouer the dead, then conſequently he cannot grant them any indulgence.

2 Secondly. 1. We deny ỳ the ſuffrages & the praiers of the liuing, are ſatisfactory for one another, but only deprecatorie & impetratorie: for praier receiueth all the force thereof from faith: Ia.5.15.

the prayer of faith : and faith is grounded vpon grace and fauour : as the Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ.2.8. *By grace are ye ſaued through faith.* It is one thing to pray and intreate, another to ſatisfie : as *Origen* ſheweth the difference. *Cæteri precibus, peccata Chriſtus ſolus poteſtate dimiſit :* Others by prayers, Chriſt by his power onely remitteth ſinnes : *hom.24. in Numer.* If then we cannot ſatisfie by our praiers for the liuing, much leſſe for the dead.

2. Some of the Papiſts do thinke, that indulgences do not profit the dead, but *ſola vi ſuffragiorum,* onely by the force of ſuffrages or prayers : *Oſtienſ.* If indulgences then are not auailable but by prayer, indulgences are ſuperfluous and needleſſe. But I haue ſhewed before, that neither prayers profit for the dead.

3 Thirdly. 1. If an indulgence be an application of Chriſts merits, it muſt needs be auaileable *ex condigno,* of condignitie; for Chriſt, I truſt, hath worthily ſatisfied, and done all neceſſarie things to our redemption, Reuel.5.9. *thou art worthie.* 2. A ſatisfaction muſt be *ex condigno,* of condignitie, or worthines: for how can a man *facere ſatis,* ſatisfie, that is fully content, if he do it not ſufficiently? An acceptation is not properly a ſatisfaction, the one is of fauour, the other of debt, Rom.4.4. *To him that worketh, the wages is not counted by fauour, but by debt* ; but ſatisfaction is a worke, therefore what is due vnto it, is by debt, and ſo of *condignitie*; congruitie is of fauour. 3. But we affirme that neither indulgences, nor any other workes of the liuing doe benefit the dead at all; and ſo neither of congruitie, nor condignitie, Reuel.14.13. *They that die in the Lord, their workes follow them :* their owne workes, and not any bodies elſe. *Leo Epiſt.89. Multum vtile & neceſſarium eſt vt peccatorum reatus ante vltimum diem ſacerdotali ſupplicatione ſoluatur* : It is verie profitable and neceſſarie, that the guilt of ſinnes ſhould be looſed by the ſupplication of the Prieſt before the laſt day, that is the day of death, &c. if it be neceſſarie before, then it commeth too late afterward.

4 Fourthly, 1. That the Pope hath no more iuriſdiction in the Church then other Biſhops in their dioces, I haue ſhewed before in the confutation of the 41. error: ſo that I need not to repeat the ſame here. 2. If the Pope haue no iuriſdiction at all ouer the ſoules in purgatorie, & ſo no more then any other prelate hath ; he hath no more authoritie to conferre indulgences vpon them, then others. 3. All the authoritie that Saint *Peter* had, was to feed his ſheepe, when Chriſt ſaid, *paſce oues,* feed my ſheepe, Iohn.21. but the ſoules in purgatorie are not his ſheepe, becauſe they cannot be fed, as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth. *c.14. qu.2.* therefore neither *Peter,* nor the Pope from *Peter* can chalenge any prerogatiue more then other ouer the dead. 4. That prerogatiue which *Peter* had ouer hell, when Chriſt ſaid; *Hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it,* Matth.16.18. was giuen to his faith and confeſſion, and ſo is common to all faithfull : as *Ambroſe* well expoundeth : *Non de carne Petri, ſed de fide dictum eſt, quia portæ mortis non præualebunt, ſed confeſſio vicit infernum* : Not of the fleſh of *Peter,* but of his faith it was ſaid, the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile, &c. his confeſſion ouercame hell.

5 Fiftly, firſt if the Pope cannot deliuer all ſoules out of purgatorie, then is one of your great Doctors proued a lyar and a falſe prophet : *Papa ſi vellet poſſet totum purgatorium euacuare :* the Pope if he would, could euacuate and emptie all purgatorie. *Iohan. Angel.* 2. But what particular cauſe I pray you doth moue the Pope to deliuer ſome ſoules, more then other? hath he ſome ſpeciall reuelation, to know the particular needs of the purgatorie ſoules ? or is not the generall cauſe of Chriſts glorie in ſending ſo many ſoules to be Angels fellowes, to be preferred before the Popes particular cauſe, in bringing ſo many Angels to his purſe ? for if they would ſpeake plainely, this is the *particular* cauſe, that moueth the Pope, when he or his are *particularly* waged and feed to deliuer ſome particular ſoules. 3. Wherefore this old obiection againſt the Popes purgatorie is not yet anſwered : that if the Pope can deliuer all ſoules at once, and will not, hee is vncharitable ; if he would and cannot, then Saint *Peters* keyes doe fayle and are not auaileable. 4. But concerning your reſpect of particular cauſe, *Clemens* the ſixt derideth it : for hee in his Bull giueth authoritie *cruce ſignatis,* to thoſe, that tooke vpon them the croſſe, *vt tres vel quatuor animas, quas vellet,* to deliuer out of purgatory three or foure ſoules, which they would, &c. this power was left to the libertie of their will, not tyed to the neceſſitie of the cauſe : 5. And doe you doubt, whether Chriſt hath cleered purgatorie? you ſay, that by his deſcent he harrowed hell, and deliuered all the Patriarches : hath he done leſſe for beleeuers ſince his death, then for thoſe which before by faith, expected his death ? the Apoſtle ſaith, *the bloude of Chriſt doth cleanſe vs from all ſin,* 1.Ioh.1.7. what remaineth then to be cleanſed in purgatorie? Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Qui hic non acceperit remiſſionem peccatorum, illic non erit, quia vita æterna remiſſio peccatorum eſt* : He that hath not receiued here the remiſſion of ſinnes, ſhall not be there, that is in heauen, for eternall life is the remiſſion of ſinnes : *de bon. mort. c.2.* He then that hath here receiued remiſſion of ſinnes, is preſently in heauen, and ſo not in purgatorie; he that hath not, ſhal neuer come to heauen, and ſo is in hell.

6 Sixtly, 1. It is ſtraunge doctrine, that ſatisfactorie workes may be enioyned the liuing in behalfe of the dead : *Bellarmine* himſelfe reporteth this to haue been an erronious practiſe of the

Montaniſts and Marcionites, to baptize the liuing in the name of the dead; to the which cuſtome ſome thinke Saint *Paul* had relation, where he ſaith, 1.Cor.15.29. *Why are they baptized for the dead? Bellar.lib.1.p.*1800. But if a man may pray, and faſt, and giue almes for the dead, why not alſo be baptized for them? 2. The Diſciples, when *Dorcas* was dead, did not vndertake any works for her of theirs, but onely ſhewed her owne workes, the coates and garments which ſhe had made, Act.8.39. whereof Saint *Cyprian* ſaith, *Non pro defuncta ſuis vocibus, ſed ipſius operibus deprecantes:* Not making requeſt for the dead with their voyces, but with her workes, *ſerm.de eleemoſ.* And againe: *Confiteantur fratres vos ſinguli delictum ſuum, dum adhuc, qui deliquit, in ſeculo eſt, dum admitti confeſſio eius poteſt, dum ſatisfactio & remiſſio per ſacerdotem facta apud dominum grata eſt:* Confeſſe (brethren) euery one his fault, while hee that ſinned is yet in the world, while his confeſſion may be admitted, while ſatisfaction and remiſſion giuen by the Prieſt are accepted with God, *ſer. de lapſ. Ergo,* ſatisfaction done afterward, is not accepted.

7 Seuenthly, 1. what reaſon haue you to thinke, that your *Limbus* was emptied all at once at Chriſts comming, and that Purgatorie ſhall be but *ſucceſſiuely* cleered, and one after another deliuered? If ſome are freed, while other frie in Purgatorie, becauſe of ſome particular prayers, the ſame reaſon may be alleaged for the Fathers that were in *Limbus*, that they alſo might haue been holpen by particular prayers. If you ſay Chriſt was not then come, and therefore hell could not be harrowed; ſo neither is Chriſt yet come to iudgement, before which time you ſay all Purgatorie ſhall not be cleanſed. 2. To ſee others exempted from paine, and themſelues ſtill in bondage, it can bee no great ioy: the Scripture ſaith, Luk.13.28. there *ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth, when they ſee all the Prophets in the kingdome of God, and your ſelues thruſt out at the doores.* The beholding then of other mens felicitie doth not miniſter ioy, but encreaſe torment to them that are ſtill in miſerie. 3. And why are not the common prayers of the whole Church for all ſoules as effectuall to deliuer all, as particular prayers are of ſome to deliuer their friends? what letteth then but all ſoules ſhould bee let looſe by common prayers? vnleſſe it bee this, as the truth is, then the Pope ſhould want vtterance for his Iubile pardons, and ſoule-prieſts for their Maſſes for the dead. 4. That all the ſoules of the faithfull and iuſt men (for as for vnbeleeuers, they haue their part in the lake, Apocal.21.8.) are altogether in heauen, the Apoſtle witneſſeth, Heb.12.22. *We are come to celeſtiall Ieruſalem, to the congregation of the firſt borne, &c. to the ſpirits of iuſt and perfect men.* I aske where theſe iuſt men are, if not in celeſtiall Ieruſalem? they are then all out of Purgatorie. Saint *Cyprian* ſaith: *Ad refrigerium iuſti vocantur, ad ſupplicium rapiuntur iniuſti, datur velocius tutela fidentibus, perfidis pœna:* The iuſt are called to reſt and refreſhing, the vniuſt are haled to paine, pardon is quickly giuen to the beleeuing, to the perfidious paine: *ſerm.de immortal.* All men then are either iuſt, or vniuſt: the iuſt are ſpeedily carried to heauen, the vniuſt to puniſhment: no iuſt men then are out of heauen, nor none vniuſt ſhall come thither. 5. If the Pope know how to deliuer ſome, and not all out of Purgatorie, hee hath not Saint *Peters* ſpirit: of whom S. *Ambroſe* thus ſaith: *Hic eſt Petrus, qui reſpondit pro cæteris Apoſtolis, &c. quia nouit non ſolum proprium ſed commune ſeruare, &c.* This is *Peter*, which anſwered for the reſt of the Apoſtles, and therefore is called a foundation, (or a rocke or ſtone) becauſe he knew how to ſaue not himſelfe onely, but in common: *de incarnat.c.*4.

8 Eightly, 1. no thankes to the Pope to deliuer a man from that, which hee ſhall neuer taſte of: for, *there is no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſus,* Rom.8.1. ſuch neede neither feare hell, nor Purgatorie. 2. And is it in the Popes power to deliuer a man that he ſhall neuer goe to Purgatorie? how commeth it then to paſſe, that he cannot deliuer his owne ſoule from thence? for, you doe not thinke otherwiſe, but that ſome of your Popes are in Purgatorie: it were in vaine elſe to ſay ſo many Maſſes for the Pope when he is dead. The Scripture thus reaſoneth, Ezech.14. verſ.20. *Noe, Iob, Daniel, though they were in the middeſt of it, ſhall neither deliuer ſonne nor daughter, but onely their owne ſoules.* A man may ſaue himſelfe, though he ſaue not another: but if he ſaue others, not *inſtrumentally*, as one that giueth counſaile, but *efficiently*, as one hauing power, as they imagine of the Pope, he muſt needes alſo ſaue himſelfe: he therefore that ſeeth the Popes ſoule broyling in Purgatorie, will neuer thinke he can pull others out of the fire. 3. It is not the Popes pardon, but a mans owne faith that preſerueth him from condemnation: Ioh.5.24. *He that beleeueth ſhall not come into condemnation, but is paſſed from death to life.* Saint *Ambroſe* well ſaith: *Aliæ cruces nihil mihi proſunt, ſola crux Chriſti mihi vtilis eſt, per quam mihi mundus crucifixus eſt, &c.* Other croſſes profit me little, onely the croſſe of Chriſt is profitable to me, whereby I am crucified to the world, and the world to me, &c. *lib.6.in Luc.* Wherefore no croſſes of penance, of any ſatisfactorie or painfull workes, but onely faith in Chriſts croſſe doth deliuer vs.

9 Ninthly, 1. *Bellarmine* ſaith truly, that repentance in this life is more effectuall to doe away ſin, than penance or puniſhment afterward: for *Auguſtine* well ſaith, *Ibi erit pœnitentia dolorem habens, ſed medicinam non habens:* There ſhall be repentance hauing griefe, but no reliefe: *tom.9.de rectitud. cathol.conuerſ.*

2. For it is euident that after this life there is no place at all for repentance, but for iudgement: *Where there remayneth no more ſacrifice for ſinnes, but a horrible looking for of iudgement*, Hebr. 10, 26. But after this life, there is no ſacrifice for ſinnes: *Ergo*, an horrible expectation of iudgement. *Auguſtine* againe ſaith, *Corrigant ſe, qui tales ſunt, dum viuunt, ne poſtea velint & non poſſint, quia ſubito venit mors, & non eſt qui corrigatur, ſed vt in ignem mittatur:* Let them that are ſuch, correct themſelues while they liue, leſt afterward they would and cannot; becauſe death commeth ſodainely, that they can bee no more corrected, but committed to the fire. *ſerm*.164.

3. When they are ſo deuided themſelues about purgatorie: ſome holding, that a man cannot, though he be a notable ſinner, be aboue twentie yeeres in purgatorie, *Dominic. à Soto in* 4. *diſt*. 21. *qu*. 2. *art*. 1. others, that purgatorie paynes may continue an hundred, yea, a thouſand yeeres, *Bellarm. lib*. 1. *de indulg. c*. 9. ſome that purgatorie paine exceedeth all paine in this life, *Dominic. à Soto ibid.* other that the penance of this life is more effectuall: doe they not now by this their vncertaintie make all the world beleeue that purgatorie fire is but a drowſie dreame of their owne?

4 For if there were any ſuch purgatorie paine, it ſhould farre exceede all the griefe of this life, and ſo conſequently more effectually purge ſinne: As *Origen* ſaith, *Vt vehementius corpus cruciant verbera nudum, quam veſtitum; ſic anima carnis indumento depoſito, ſubtilius ſentiet tormenta:* Like as the bodie naked feeleth ſtripes more, then clothed; ſo the ſoule being vnclothed of the fleſh hath a more liuelie ſenſe of torment. *Origen. ex Pamphil.*

5. *Bellarmines* reaſon is verie good vtterly to ouerthrow Purgatorie penance, becauſe that is a time of iuſtice, this of mercy: this ſheweth well, not that repentance onely is more effectuall in this life, but that it is onely here to be found: as S. *Auguſtine* well applieth theſe wordes of the Apoſtle, 2. Cor. 6. 2. *Behold now the accepted time, behold the day of ſaluation: Ecce nunc tempus ſalutis, tempus eſt nunc remiſſionis pœnitentibus, ſed tempus erit poſt mortem vindicationis negligentibus confiteri peccata:* Behold now the time of ſaluation, the time of remiſſion to the penitent, but after death it is a time of vengeance to all them that neglected here to confeſſe their ſinnes. *ſerm*. 66.

6. Laſtly, becauſe *Bellarmine* ſeemeth to extenuate the paines of purgatorie, preferring the ſuffrings of this life before the torments thereof: I will to the ſame purpoſe adioyne the notable teſtimonie, and moſt godly ſentence of the bleſſed ſeruant of God Maſter *Latimer*, a reuerend Biſhop and holy Martyr: who doubteth not to ſay, that he had rather be in purgatorie, then in Lollards Tower the Biſhoppe of Londons priſon, for diuers reaſons, whereof ſome I will ſet downe.

1. I might in the one die for lacke of meate and drinke, but not in the other.
2. In this I might lacke charitie.
3. Looſe my patience.
4. I might be in perill of death.
5. I might be without ſuretie of ſaluation.
6. In this I might murmur againſt God.
7. I might diſpleaſe God.
8. I might be iudged to perpetuall priſon.
9. I might be brought to beare a fagot.
10. I might be ſeparated from Chriſt.
11. I might be a member of the diuell.
12. An inheritour of hell.

In that I could not.

13. In this my Lord & his chaplẽs might manacle me by night,
14. They might ſtrangle me and ſay I hanged my ſelfe.
15. They might haue me to their conſiſtorie and iudge me after their faſhion.

In that they could not.

Ergo, I had leuer be there then here, for though the fire be called neuer ſo hot, yet and if the Biſhops two fingers can ſhake away a peece, a friars coule, an other part, and *ſcala cœli* altogether, I will neuer found Abbey, Colledge, nor Chantrey for that matter: thus much Maſter *Latimer*. *Fox. p*. 1742.

Thus this godly Martyr derided long ſince, this popiſh ſcare-bug of purgatorie fire, making it inferior to the Biſhops priſon. And *Bellarmine* much diſſenteth not, making the penance which a man may ſuffer in this life of greater efficacie and vertue, then purgatorie paines: This being ſo, men may learne to be wiſer, and ſeeke to be reconciled to God in this life, & not much care for Popes pardons, which are not ſo much worth, as to be ſet free out of their Biſhops priſons, and Inquiſitors purgatorie.

Thus haue I briefly diſcouered the errors of the Popes Iubile, and Indulgences; whereby I truſt it is euident, how they delude the world with their fooleries, and ſeeke to ſnare men with their toyiſh ceremonies, and to blinde them with their phantaſticall deuices. They that haue not viſited Rome this Iubile yeere, neede not repent them, that they went not ſo farre to ſee nothing: they that are gone, at their returne (I truſt) will remember what they haue ſeene, and regard ſuch toyes but as a ſtage play, and think, that they may finde a much better Iubilee at home in their countrie by the faith of the Goſpell, than they could ſee at Rome in the Popiſh pompous vanitie.

I haue now ſpun out (by Gods aſſiſtance) this wearie taske, and found out an end of this long twined thread: the cauſe which I haue handled, is of God; the ſtrength wherewith I haue trauailed in it, was from God; the end wherefore I haue laboured in it, is to God his glorie. And as to his honour I referre all theſe my labours, as the principall end; ſo to the iudgement of the true Church of God I ſubmit my ſelfe and my penne, as the meane, whereby I may attaine that chiefe end. I ſay no more, but with *Auguſtine: Si quid in ſcriptis meis veri comprehenderis, exiſtendo enim eſt meum; at intelligendo & amando & tuum ſit & meum: ſiquid falſi conuiceris, errando fuerit meum, ſed iam cauendo, nec tuum fuerit, nec meum:* If you finde that is true in my writings, it is mine in being, but in vnderſtanding, and louing the ſame, let it be both mine and thine: if thou conuince any thing that is falſe, it was mine in erring, but let it be neither mine nor thine in heede taking: *lib. 3. de Trinitat. præfat.* But as I am not guiltie to my ſelfe of any error eſcaped, but am perſwaded that I haue throughout the truth defended; ſo I would deſire the Chriſtian reader to be aduiſed in iudging, that which was not without aduiſement written. And here againe I remember *Auguſtines* words in the ſame place: *Sicut lectorem meum nolo mihi eſſe deditum; ita correctorem nolo ſibi: ille me non amet amplius, quam catholicam fidem; iſte ſe non amet amplius, quam catholicam veritatem:* As I would not haue the reader addicted to me, ſo neither the corrector wedded to himſelfe: let not him be more affected to me, than to the veritie; nor the other loue himſelfe more than the truth, &c. And ſo I conclude: *Videor mihi debitum huius ingentis operis reddidiſſe adiuuante Deo, quibus parum, vel nimium eſt mihi ignoſcant; quibus autem ſatis eſt, non mihi ſed domino mecum gratias congratulantes agant:* I haue now by Gods aſſiſtance rendred the debt of this great worke, to whom it is ſhort or ouer, let them forgiue me; to whom it ſeemeth ſufficient, let vs to God giue thankes together, &c. who enableth vs to euerie good worke, to whom be praiſe through Ieſus Chriſt in his Church for euer. Amen.

Soli Deo immortali, Patri, Filio cum Spiritu ſancto,
ſit omnis honor & gloria.

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HERE FOLLOW TWO SEVERAL TABLES, THE FIRST OF THE PLACES OF THE SCRIPTURE handled and expounded in this treatiſe: the ſecond of the particular matter *and queſtions which are contained therein.*

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In the firſt Table the firſt figures note the chapter, the ſecond the verſe, the third the page.

BVt here I muſt aduertiſe the Chriſtian Reader of two things concerning this preſent Table: firſt, that I haue not ſet downe the words of the texts, whereunto this Table directeth, but the chapter onely and verſe: for that had been too long and tedious, and the other way I truſt is as ſufficient to finde out any ſcripture, though it bee more compendious. Secondly, I muſt deſire the reader, that whereas the verſes of the ſeuerall chapters are not digeſted in order, for want of time, and that for the ſame cauſe one verſe is quoted in diuers places, that it would pleaſe the reader, when he ſearcheth for any ſcripture, to runne ouer with his eye all the verſes expreſſed vnder any chapter. Howſoeuer, I truſt that the carefull reader ſhall finde himſelfe much helped by this direction to finde out the places of ſcripture in controuerſie, in the true vnderſtanding whereof conſiſteth the deciding of all queſtions in religion.

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The end of the ſecond Table.

Certaine additions and explanations of ſome doubts.

Page.91.Line.33. Let this be added, that we make not the Scripture in ſuch ſort iudge in matters of faith, as though we excluded the Church: but like as the ciuil Iudge determineth controuerſies according to the lawe; for the Iudge is the mouth of the lawe, and the lawe is a rule and direction to the Iudge: ſo in matters of faith the Church iudgeth according to the word. It hath authoritie to explaine and interpret and iudge according to Scripture, but not againſt it: So Maſter *Philpot* ſaith, *I will be tried by the word, and ſuch as will iudge according to the word, Fox.*pag.1808.

Page.189.Line.17. Our further anſwere is this: Firſt, the ſaying of our Sauiour is indefinite and conditionall: *If another come, &c.* but prophecies are vttered definitely, as Deuter.18.18. *The Lord thy God will raiſe vp vnto thee a prophet like to me, &c.* Chriſt then doth not here prophecie of any particular man. Secondly, this word another ὁ ἄλλος, doth not neceſſarily ſignifie a particular man: as 1.Cor.3.10. *I haue laid the foundation, another hath builded thereon, but let euery man take heede, &c.* Here ὁ ἄλλος, another, is expounded, ἕκαστος, euery one. Thirdly, our Sauiour ſpeaketh directly to that preſent generation of the Iewes, when as Antichriſt was not to be reuealed. Fourthly, whereas *Bellarmine* obiecteth, that this place cannot be vnderſtoode of other falſe prophets, becauſe they came not in their owne name, as the others ſhall, but they vſe the name of God: our anſwere is, that although the falſe prophets pretend the name of God, yet they come in their owne name: Ierem.28.21. *I haue not ſent theſe prophets, yet they ran; I haue not ſpoken to them, yet they prophecied:* and if falſe prophets came not in their owne name, and Antichriſt doth, then it would followe by his argument, that Antichriſt is no falſe prophet, contrarie to the Scripture. Fiftly, ſee a further anſwere to this place, pag.200.lin.50.

Page.189.lin.35.ſee a further anſwere pag.196.lin.3.

Page.955.lin.32.ſee further of the immoderate faſting of Monkes.pag.311.lin.34.

Page.978.lin.37. Of Chriſts ſoule no ſuch death can be affirmed, by the feare, doubt, horror or daunger of damnation, as it may be of ours, but onely by the feeling and fearing of Gods wrath and indignation, as is expreſſed. lin.21.*ibid:* And ſtill we affirme that very improperlie in any ſenſe Chriſts ſoule is ſaid to die, which phraſe I wiſh rather to be forborne.

Page.990.lin.17. *All his prayers while he was not in this traunce.*

Page.996.lin.46. *You muſt either graunt no agonie or aſtoniſhment at all, or continue it all the while of his prayer, as the Euangeliſts doe:* theſe ſpeeches may ſeeme in ſhew to be contrarie: but they are eaſily reconciled: for the agonie of Chriſt continued all the while of his prayer in the garden, as it may appeare by the thrice rehearſall of the ſame requeſt for the paſſing of the cup, but yet there was ſome intermiſſion of the agonie fittes, and the *infirmitie*, as *Ambroſe* calleth it, as *tentation* of his fleſh (as *Damaſcene*) had their entercourſe: ſo it continued, but not alwayes in the ſame meaſure or degree of working, as is expounded pag.*989.reſp.2.4.ad argum.*3.

Page.1003.lin.27. The meaning is this, that there is the ſame ſpiritual efficacie of Chriſts body and bloud, yet a diuers ſacramentall vſe and application.

Page.1006.lin.17. We meane not, that the heart hath any power of it ſelfe to allay the ordinarie paſſions thereof, but onely comparatiuely in reſpect of the extraordinarie, which it hath leſſe power of: like as the wiſe man ſaith, Pro.16.1. *The preparations of the heart are in man, but the anſwere of the tounge is from the Lord,* not that a man hath power to prepare his heart ſimplie, but this is rather in his hand and power then the other.

If in any other place ſome doubts may occurre, as I denie not, but ſome things may eſcape me, as *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Neſcio quomodo præter imprudentiæ caliginem quæ me circumfundit vnumquemque fallunt ſua ſcripta, & aurem prætereunt, atque vt filij deformes delectant, &c.* I cannot tell how beſide the cloud of darknes, which compaſſeth me, euery man is deceiued in his owne writings, as children though deformed pleaſe the parents: I deſire the godly and charitable reader, to examine euery thing according to the rule of charitie, not to wreſt any thing to a diuers ſenſe, then wherein it was ſpoken, but to interpret the words to the beſt meaning: for as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Loue thinketh not euil*, and againe, *loue beleeueth all things, it hopeth all things.* 1.Cor.13.7. and ſo I conclude with that ſaying of *Ambroſe* to the Chriſtian reader: *Malo tuo caſtigatus iudicio ſi quid mouet, quam laudari à te, quod ab alijs reprehendatur:* I had rather, if any thing moue thee, in thy iudgement to amend it, then to winke at it, that others ſhould reprehend it: *Epiſtol.*40.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

The faults eſcaped, may be thus amended.

Pag.4.lin.7.reade aſsigne his repentance p.6.l.*vlt*.reade *Tecla*.p.12.l.10.r.did commend.p.22.l.21.r.obſcured.p.23.l.28.r.100.pag.25.l.49.r.diſpenſe.l.49.theſe.p.24.l.44.r.*Theotiſcam*.p.34.l.7.r.Pſa.95.l.38.r.properly.p.48 l 5.r.ſupplie.*lib.5.in Luc*.p.55.l.38.r.11000.p.65.l 45.r.thus. p.75.lin 34.r.hoaſts.p.72.50.r.*captiuus*.p.90.l.2.r.looke. p.113.l.48.r.as.Pſal.145.l.25.r.Rome.p.180.l.53.r.*reges*. p.135.l.6.r.*Adulpho*. p.188.l.45.r.much more. p.195.l.40.r. *Hentenius*.p.198.l.11.r. ἄντιμος, p.218.l.31.r.*Marozia*.p.243.l.14.r.Patriarkes eight, p.248.l.*vlt*. r.ſometime more. p. 266.l.2 r.*Clictoueus*. p.269.l.21.r.Bulgarians.p.347.l.37.r.they pray. p 380.l.27.r.ſalutation.p 388.lin.52.r.*ſtator*.p.432.l.10.r.ſcripture alſo. p.471 l.7.r.Rom.2.28. p.485.l.42.*Adeodatus*.p.500.l.6.r.in no ſenſe.p.599.lin.46.r.affected. p.643.l.11.r.any thing hurt. p.649.50. r.keepe counſell. p.664.l.34. r.Publicanes.p.663.l.52. for ſecond part,reade an appendix to this part.pag.682.l.25.r.theſe.p.689.l.10.r.inſufficient.p.715.l.28.r.was this.p.719.l.53.r.*circuitus*.p.721.l.18.r.orders.p.734.l.7.r.Mark.6.13. p.721.l.9. r.Rom.3.25.p.728.l.40. for many among them, reade all of them. pag.784.l.27.r.*Snecanus*.and ſo throughout. p.753.l.24. r.Iſay.18.20.p.793.l.18.r.Iſay.42.p.831.l.21. r.the will, God.p.841.l.17.r.free and.p.842.l.18.r. *voluero curuare*.p.860.l.1.r.then to good.p.878.l.29.r. *prophetis*.p 930.l.59.r.that it is. p.974.l.18.r.*Feuardentius*. l.50.r.in him lieth. p.978.l.37.r.doubt.p.989.l.26.r.though.p.1001.l.3.r.the place.p.1002.l.59.r.4.p.1003.l.50.*Clictoueus*.p.1007.l.9.r.Exodus 32.p.1027.l.8.r.was purchaſed.p.1038.l.22.r.diſpenſed.p.1046.l.14.r.beſide.p.1011.l.29.r.Luk.1.16.p.1108.l.42.for fiue,reade two queſtions.

I further aduertiſe the reader, that vvhereas I throughout this booke alleage that vvorthie hiſtorie of the Martyrs, ſet forth by Maſter Fox, *I follovv the edition printed* ann.1583. *and vvhereas pag.374.381. and elſevvhere I alleage diuers things of the acts of the Popes, forgetting to cite the authors, I referre the reader to the collections of Maſter* Bale *out of* Platina, Functius *and others in his booke* de actis Roman. Pontificum.

Sedenti ſuper thronum & agno benedictio, honor &
gloria, Amen. Apocal.5.13.

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